Title: Trends in the prevalence of grandparent households in selected European countries and the United States

Authors: Karen Glaser, Rachel Stuchbury, Giorgio DiGessa, Eloi Ribe Montserrat, Anthea Tinker, Debora Price.

Institute of Gerontology, Department of Social Science, Health & Medicine, King's College London

Abstract

Our aim is to investigate trends in the prevalence of grandparent households over time (that is households including a grandparent-grandchild dyad) in selected European countries and the United States. We also identify the socio-economic and demographic characteristics associated with variations in such households. Given changes in family behaviour (for example, rises in divorce and step-families) and improvements in longevity, family ties among extended family members are likely to become more important, such as those between grandparents and grandchildren (Bengtson, 2001, Hagestad, 2006). Research from the U.S. has shown significant increases in the prevalence of multi-generational and grandparent-headed households. However, to date little is known in Europe about trends in grandparent households, the characteristics of these households, and how these characteristics vary across Europe. Given the important role that grandparents play in family life, a better understanding of grandparent households is likely to shed new light on a key aspect of grandparent care: those co-residing with grandchildren (Lewis et al., 2008). Thus using the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International (IPUMS), theONS Longitudinal Study for England and Wales, and SOEP for Germany we will use multivariate techniques to investigate how grandparent households vary across selected European countries and the U.S. and changes in the prevalence of adults living in these households over time. In line with other studies, our results show increases in the proportion of those aged 40 and over living in grandparent households in the US since the 1980s. All the other European countries studied (that is England and Wales, France, and Germany) with the exception of Romania, and to a lesser extent Portugal, showed a decline in the percentage of people aged 40 and older residing in three-generation grandparent households. However England and Wales, like the U.S., showed an increase in the percentage of skipped-generation households.

1 INTRODUCTION

Given changes in family behaviour (e.g. rises in divorce and step-families) and improvements in longevity, family ties among extended family members are likely to become more important, such as those between grandparents and grandchildren (Bengtson, 2001, Hagestad, 2006). Research from the U.S. has shown significant increases in the prevalence of multi-generational and grandparent-headed households (Aquilino, 1990, Harrell et al., 2011, Pleau, 2010, Pew Research Center, 2010). It is thought that this rise is largely due to the structure of payments and benefits related to grandparental care (Mutchler and Baker, 2004, Pebley and Rudkin, 1999). However, to date little is known in Europe about trends in grandparent households, the characteristics of these households, and how these characteristics vary across Europe. Given the important role that grandparents can play in family life, a better understanding of grandparent households will shed new light on a key aspect of grandparent care (Lewis et al., 2008). Thus our aim is to investigate trends over time in the prevalence of grandparent households (i.e. households containing at least one grandparent-grandchild dyad) in selected European countries and the United States and to examine the socio-economic and demographic characteristics associated with variations in such households using the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series International (IPUMS), German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP), and the ONS Longitudinal Study for England and Wales.

2 BACKGROUND

2.1 DEFINITIONS

Researchers have become increasingly interested in grandparents in the last decade as populations age and the roles of grandparents in society, care and work have become more visible to policy makers. A vast number of studies over the last decade in the U.S. have stressed the increasing numbers of children in informal kinship care, most often by grandparents (Cuddeback, 2004). Grandparents are frequently involved in childcare arrangements involving custodial or primary care (defined as being the child's guardian via court or other legal orders or the child's primary caregiver) as well as co-resident care (either with or without either of the grandchild's parents being present) (Baydar and Brooks-Gunn, 1998, Caputo, 2001, Cuddeback, 2004, Fuller-Thomson and Minkler, 2001, Fuller-Thomson et al., 1997, Goodman and Silverstein, 2002, Goodman and Silverstein, 2001, Hayslip and

Kaminski, 2005, Mutchler and Baker, 2004, Minkler and Fuller-Thomson, 2005, Minkler and Fuller-Thomson, 2000, Minkler, 1999, Pebley and Rudkin, 1999). Because of these changes, data in the U.S. is routinely collected on whether grandparents have 'primary responsibility' for raising a grandchild, whereas to our knowledge, no national surveys in Europe or the U.K. collect these data save for such 'kinship care' as might be inferred from coresidence (Nandy and Selwyn, 2011). Here, distinctions can be made between 'three-generational households' (comprising grandparents and grandchildren, with at least one of their parents) and 'skipped generation households' (consisting of grandparents and grandchildren but without the parents) (Casper and Bryson, 1998, Mutchler and Baker, 2004). In the US with better data, 'custodial households' can be identified where living with a grandchild is combined with a grandparent acting as primary carer, not possible in Europe (Baker and Silverstein, 2008). In any event, these studies have shown that the vast majority of coresident grandparents whether in three-generation or skipped generation households have primary care responsibilities (Fuller-Thomson and Minkler, 2001).. We have chosen to focus on coresidence given its strong association with care.

2.2 EVIDENCE OF TRENDS

Until recently there was clear evidence of a decline in intergenerational coresidence in Western industrialised countries {Palloni, 2001 #2344;Pampel, 1992 #1216; Ruggles 2007 Wall, 1995 #623; Tomassini, 2004 #2469; United Nations 2005}. However, the latest research from the U.S. shows a significant increase in the prevalence of multi-generational households (Aquilino, 1990, Harrell et al., 2011, Pleau, 2010, Pew Research Center, 2010). For example, the Pew Research Center (2010) in the US, using a broad definition of multigenerational households (i.e. including those consisting of older parents living with adult children only), showed an increase in such households from 12 to 16 per cent over the last 30 years. Even when a more restricted definition of multigenerational or intergenerational household is used (i.e. excluding those comprising parents and adult children only) studies still found an increase in these households in the U.S. (from 4.8 per cent in 2000 to 6.1 per cent in 2010) (Harrell et al., 2011). Households where a grandparent is present are a significant component of these household types (Harrell et al., 2011). The increasing prevalence of coresidence between grandparents and grandchildren can also be seen from the child's perspective. Earlier work in the U.S. shows rises in the percentage of children under 18 coresiding with a grandparent (from 3.2% in 1970 to 5.5% of children by 2003) (Casper and Bryson, 1998, Pebley and Rudkin, 1999).

Especially significant in the U.S. has been the rise in 'skipped-generation households' – those comprising grandparents and their grandchildren but without the child's parents being present (Casper and Bryson, 1998, Minkler, 1999, Pebley and Rudkin, 1999, U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). Overall, these household types appear to be less common than three-generation households (Pebley and Rudkin, 1999, U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). However, a recent study, by Mutchler and Baker (2004), using data from the U.S. Census 2000 Supplementary Survey, found the percentage of skipped-generation households to be as large as shared-care households (that is, households where a grandparent reports responsibility for a minor grandchild but where at least one of the child's parents is also present) in two U.S. geographic regions (Mutchler and Baker, 2004). For example, 2.6 per cent of households in the Deep South with children under 18 were skipped-generation households in comparison with 2.9 per cent for shared-care households (Mutchler and Baker, 2004).

2.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF GRANDPARENT HOUSEHOLDS

Several studies, again mainly in the U.S., have focused on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics associated with the provision of different types of care for grandchildren, including coresident care (Albuquerque, 2011, Baker and Mutchler, 2010, Baydar and Brooks-Gunn, 1998, Casper and Bryson, 1998, Cuddeback, 2004, Fuller-Thomson and Minkler, 2001, Fuller-Thomson et al., 1997, Goodman and Silverstein, 2001, Hayslip and Kaminski, 2005, Minkler, 1999, Minkler and Fuller-Thomson, 2000, Minkler and Fuller-Thomson, 2005, Mutchler and Baker, 2004, Pebley and Rudkin, 1999). Grandparents with primary care responsibilities (the majority of whom are living with grandchildren) are thought to be among the most vulnerable groups in society(Fuller-Thomson and Minkler, 2001) with those in 'skipped generation households' in particular more likely to fall below the poverty line (Casper and Bryson, 1998, Minkler, 1999, Minkler and Fuller-Thomson, 2005, Mutchler and Baker, 2004). For example, Fuller-Thomson and colleagues (1997), employing data from the U.S. NSFH, found that grandparents who were primary caregivers to a grandchild were more likely to be poor, female, African American, younger, with lower educational levels and with fewer grandchildren.

Mutchler and Baker (2004) compared two types of grandparent households in two different US regions (New England and the Deep South): skipped-generation and three-generation households. The authors also showed that three generation households were less likely to fall below the poverty line than skipped-generation households (Mutchler and Baker,

2004). Minkler (1999), in her review of the literature, also found most studies to report higher poverty rates among kinship-care families (that is among grandparents with a primary responsibility for a grandchild who are usually coresident) (Minkler). In addition, grandparents in multi-generation households are likely to be younger than those in skipped generation households, and both grandparents are more likely to be present. In skipped generation households grandchildren are more likely to be younger in comparison to multi-generation households (Mutchler and Baker, 2004).

2.3.1 EVIDENCE FOR EUROPE

While evidence suggests an increase in co-residence between grandparents and grandchildren in the U.S. (Casper and Bryson, 1998), the limited analysis which exists does not appear to show a similar development in European countries {ref} although such living arrangements remain more common in Southern than in Northern Europe (Koslowski Smith, 2009, Tomassini et al., 2004). For example, Koslowski and colleagues' analysis of European Community Household Panel (ECHP) data shows that the prevalence of parental households with resident grandparents and grandchildren, ranges from 16% per cent in Portugal to just 0.1% in the Netherlands (Koslowski Smith, 2009). Moreover, there is little evidence on the characteristics of grandparents and their households in Europe (Albuquerque, 2011, Hank and Buber, 2009, Koslowski Smith, 2009).

2.4 REASONS FOR CAREGIVING AND POLICIES

Primary care provided by grandparents varies according to a wide range of family or social circumstances (Goodman and Silverstein, 2001, Goodman and Silverstein, 2002, Jendrek, 1993, Minkler, 1999, Minkler and Roe, 1996). Much research shows that mother's drug or alcohol abuse, mental health problems or emotional difficulties, were among the most common reasons for grandparents raising grandchildren (Jendrek, 1993, Goodman and Silverstein, 2002, Goodman and Silverstein, 2001); for reviews see (Copen, 2006, Minkler, 1999, Pebley and Rudkin, 1999). For example, a study conducted by Goodman and Silverstein (2001) on grandparents raising grandchildren in Los Angeles, U.S. found that in 75 per cent of cases grandparents assumed responsibility for the child because of a parent's drug addiction. There is also some evidence to suggest that increasing rates of imprisonment among mothers of young children (which is often drug related) is leading to an increase in households headed by grandparents (for a review see Copen 2006 or Minkler 1999).

Parents' neglect or abuse of their children is another common reason for grandparents assuming co-resident care (Goodman and Silverstein, 2001, Jendrek, 1993). Grandparents may seek a legal relationship if they consider a parent's problem is causing distress to the child (Jendrek, 1993). In such circumstances it is likely that grandparents feel compelled to protect their grandchildren reflecting their commitment to their grandchildren's lives (Hunt et al., 2008).

Recent changes in family policies in the U.S. have greatly contributed to enhancing the role of grandparents in childcare. Especially significant in the U.S. has been the 1996 Welfare Reform Act, which introduced a limit to welfare benefits for non-working mothers. This Act is likely to have had the indirect effect of increasing the number of unmarried teenage mothers who are living with their parents. Young parents, especially mothers, may also live with their parents as a means of overcoming social risks and impoverishment. Jendrek (1993) examined the reasons for providing childcare among grandparents living with their grandchildren (not necessarily the children of teenage mothers) and found them to be motivated by concerns over the child's parents' financial problems, work hours, lack of confidence in formal care and emotional problems. The grandparents were more likely to be providing childcare if the grandchild's mother was not married to the grandchild's father at the time of birth.

These recent policy changes in the U.S. have led to a greater interest in grandparents assuming grandchild care (Pebley and Rudkin, 1999) than is found in Europe. For example, as part of the 1996 Welfare Reform Act mentioned above, the U.S. Census Bureau is required to find out how many grandparents are looking after their grandchildren. Thus three questions about grandparents living with grandchildren were introduced in the 2000 U.S. Census (that is a question on whether the person has a minor grandchild living at home, whether the grandparent is currently responsible for most of the grandchild(ren)'s 'basic needs', and how long the grandparent has been responsible for the grandchild(ren)) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003).

2.5 SUMMARY

In the US there has been a significant rise in the number of children growing up in households headed by a grandparent. This includes both households where three generations are living together, and households where the parent is absent or unable to fulfil their parental role and the grandparent has become the primary caregiver. Grandparents (and therefore

grandchildren) in these families are more likely to be in poverty than other grandparents. Grandparents may take on the role of a parent, either legally or informally, for a range of reasons including parental neglect or abuse, drug or alcohol misuse and mothers' imprisonment or death. In the US, changes in welfare benefit entitlement introduced in the Welfare Reform Act 1996 is likely to have had the indirect effect of increasing the number of single teenage mothers living with their parents. There is a lack of evidence about families in grandparent households in Europe, although evidence from the UK suggests that grandparents form the largest group among family and friends awarded kinship care of children.

3 DATA AND METHODS

3.1 DATA AND MEASURES OF CORESIDENCE

3.1.1 DATA SOURCES

The analyses reported here used a number of different data sources. They were chosen partly because they offered a time-series of three, dated around 1981, 1991 and 2001; and partly because they offered the possibility of identifying relationships between persons in private households.

Census microdata from IPUMS

For France, Portugal, Romania and the USA the source was samples of census microdata, prepared and provided by IPUMS (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series) International. The IPUMS project is based at the University of Minnesota and offers cleaned and (as far as possible) harmonised samples of census data from many countries.

For France, data came from the 1982, 1990 and 1999 censuses; each of these included Corsica and overseas departments as well as mainland France. The samples comprised 5% of private dwellings enumerated in 1982 and 1999, and 4.2% of those enumerated in 1990. The sources for Portugal were similar, being 5% samples of dwellings from the census data for 1981, 1991 and 2001. For the USA the censuses took place in 1980, 1990 and 2000 and 5% samples were taken of households rather than dwellings; the US Census Bureau provided weights for analysts using the 1990 and 2000 samples

In Romania the censuses were more widely spaced, taking place in 1977, 1992 and 2002. The 1977 census excluded two counties and parts of others, thus omitting

approximately 7% of the population. The three censuses also had varying rules for who should be enumerated, the main difference being that in 1977 any foreigner who resided legally in Romania was included but by 2002 they were only included if their legal residence had existed for at least one year previously. Samples in each case comprised 10% of households (groups of people living together and sharing income and expenditure) rather than dwellings.

All these census microdata sets can provide representative samples both of private households or dwellings (depending on the country) and of persons in private households or dwellings. For our analysis, persons living in group quarters (institutions, rooming houses, boarding schools etc.) were excluded. None of the microdata sets offered data on the relationship between every pair of members in the household (which would be unusual in census data) but all offered the relationship of each member to the head of household, though the relationships were from a restricted range of possibilities. This meant that we could only reliably identify grandparent-grandchild dyads where either the head of household had a grandchild in the household or the head of household was in the intervening generation that is someone with a parent and a child in the household. The proportion of households thus identified is therefore likely to be an underestimate, since a grandparent-grandchild dyad could occur in a household where, for example, the grandparent's sibling was the head, and this dyad would not be identifiable in these datasets. The IPUMS project provides weighting variables which take account of different sampling fractions in different microdata sets.

SOEP: the German Socio-Economic Panel Study

In the absence of any census for several decades up to 2011, data for Germany came from SOEP, a panel study which started in 1984 with 5,921 households and 12,245 persons. Individual sample members are followed annually and everyone in a sample member's household is interviewed; the study therefore offers a representative sample either of persons or of households. Refreshment samples are added at intervals, the most notable addition taking place in 1990 with new samples from the states of the former German Democratic Republic. This addition means, of course, that the geographical entity being surveyed was changed and this must be taken into account when interpreting results. The additions also mean that the sampling fraction varies from year to year. Weighting variables are made available for each wave of data.

Our analysis was cross-sectional, using data from 1984, 1994 and 2004. As in the census microdata samples provided by IPUMS, the relationship of each person to the head of household was the best indicator of a grandparent-grandchild dyad and the method used to identify such dyads was the same as for the IPUMS datasets. People living in communal establishments were excluded.

England and Wales: the ONS Longitudinal Study

Census microdata from IPUMS could not be used for this study as, apart from the 1991 census, the microdata sets did not allow the identification of relationships between persons in the household. (This was also the case for some other countries that could otherwise have been analysed, e.g. Spain.) Rather than use survey data for Great Britain, it was thought better to use the Office for National Statistics' Longitudinal Study (ONS LS), even though this only covers England and Wales (and therefore omits Scotland), as the sample size would be very much larger than any offered by a survey. The ONS LS offers linked microdata for the censuses of 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001; census records for each sample member include data for the whole household in which he or she is enumerated. Sample members are selected by day and month of birth, irrespective of year, and the sample is annually refreshed by the addition of new births and immigrants who have an LS birthday. The study therefore offers a 1% representative sample of the population of England and Wales in any year from 1971 onward. However, the sample is not representative of households unless measures are taken to reduce it to one member per household; in our analysis, where household representation is required, only LS sample members who were head of household (or Household Reference Person) were used.

Census data for 1981, 1991 and 2001 were analysed cross-sectionally for this study. Grandparent-grandchild dyads in the household were identified with reference to the LS sample member's relationships to other household members; in other words, if the LS sample member was the grandparent or, alternatively, had a parent and child in the household, a dyad was present. Unlike the datasets used for other countries, in the LS it made no difference who was the head of household. However, like the other datasets, grandparent-grandchild dyads in the household could be missed because the LS member was not one of the three generations involved. As with the other datasets, LS members in communal establishments were excluded from analysis.

3.2 MEASURES

Our study identifies grandparent households using the household rosters in IPUMS and SOEP (which list relationships of household members to the head of household or first person listed) and, for the ONS LS, through the relationship of LS members to other household members. Two types of grandparent households are thus identified: three-generation and skipped generation households. A three-generation household is defined as one containing a grandparent-parent-child triad; these can be identified where the grandparent or the parent, or the partner of either, is the head of household. A skipped generation household is defined as one containing a grandparent-grandchild dyad without the intervening (parent) generation. Our analysis is based on adults aged 40 or over and classifies them both by whether or not they live in a grandparent household and by whether or not they are themselves one of the grandparents identified. Covariates considered are age, gender, marital status, educational attainment, employment status and whether foreign-born. These socio-economic and demographic characteristics have all been identified as key determinants of multi-generational co-residence in previous studies.

3.3 METHODS:

We will use this data to report on trends over time in the prevalence of adults living in grandparent households (i.e. three generation and skipped generation households). Using multivariate analysis we will investigate how individual characteristics (e.g. employment status) are related to such living arrangements. In addition to England and Wales the countries of interest are: France, Germany, Portugal, Romania, and the US.

4 RESULTS

4.1 TRENDS IN PREVALENCE OF GRANDPARENT HOUSEHOLDS

Table 1 shows the characteristics of the data samples included in the analysis. The IPUMS samples are large, covering between 5 and 10% of the population. The samples for the ONS LS are smaller at around 1% of the population, and the German samples are even smaller as they are survey samples. As others have indicated, the census data is generally comparable; however, a key difference lies whether censuses employ a de facto enumeration rule {Ruggles, 2008 #4233}. This is important as the application of such a rule may mean that those who are temporarily away for the night may not be counted as coresident, thus multigenerational households may be underestimated. However, all the samples used in this

analysis employed a de jure rule (meaning those who were normally resident were counted as household members).

The percentage of people aged 40 and older residing in three-generation households in the U.S. rose from 5.2% in 1980 to 5.9% in 2001. All the other European countries studied apart from Romania, showed a decline in the percentage of people aged 40 and older residing in three generation grandparent households. In Portugal the percentage of those in three generation households rose from 9% in the 1980s to 13% in the 1990s, but then declined again in the 2000s. In England & Wales this percentage declined from 3.5% in 1981 to 1.6% in 2001. Nevertheless, there were still over 400,000 people aged 40 or over living in three generation grandparent households in England and Wales in 2001 (the latest census date for which data is currently available).

In line with other research, the U.S. has also seen a rise in the percentage of the people aged 40 and over in skipped-generation households from 0.9% in the 1980s to 1.4% in the 2000s. England & Wales is the only country studied which has also shown an increased prevalence in these households, rising from 0.3% among those aged 40 and over to 0.5% in 2001 - – representing 125,000 people aged 40 or over.

Table 2 shows the percentage of people aged 40 and over in grandparent households (either three-generation or skipped generation) by selected characteristics. As in the U.S. literature these household types are generally associated with socio-economic disadvantage, being more prevalent among women, at older ages, in the lower educational groups, among those who are either not in the labour force or unemployed as well as those who were born abroad.

Table 3 shows the characteristics of grandparent households (either three generation or skipped generation). By definition skipped generation households are headed by grandparents and as in the US grandmother-only households are more common in three-generation households than in skipped generation households.

The characteristics of grandchildren in grandparent households are shown in Table 4. In general, skipped generational households are more likely to have only one grandchild in comparison to three-generational households. Further, three-generational households are more likely to have a grandchild under the age of 6.

4.2 MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

To examine the associations between the individual-level characteristics and trends in grandparent households we used a multinomial logistic regression. We estimated models for all the countries; two of the countries studies are shown in Table 5. These models show that even taking into account basic demographic characteristics such as sex, age and marital status to control for differences in the composition of the population, England and Wales and the US show a significant increase in the prevalence of skipped-generation households over time. England & Wales was the only European country that showed a rise in skipped generation households. Unlike in the US, the prevalence of three generation grandparent households declined over the same period. However, the prevalence of three-generational households also showed a significant increase in Portugal and Romania from the 1980s to 2000s. For Germany and France both types of grandparent households declined over the time period considered.

As previous research has shown in the US such households are more likely to be associated with socio-economic disadvantage. Moreover, adults aged 40 in skipped-generation households are more likely to be female, married, in lower educational groups, and to be either economically inactive or unemployed in comparison to those in three-generation households. Those who were born abroad are more likely to be in both types of grandparent households in England & Wales, whereas in the US those born abroad are less likely to be in skipped generation households.

5 SUMMARY

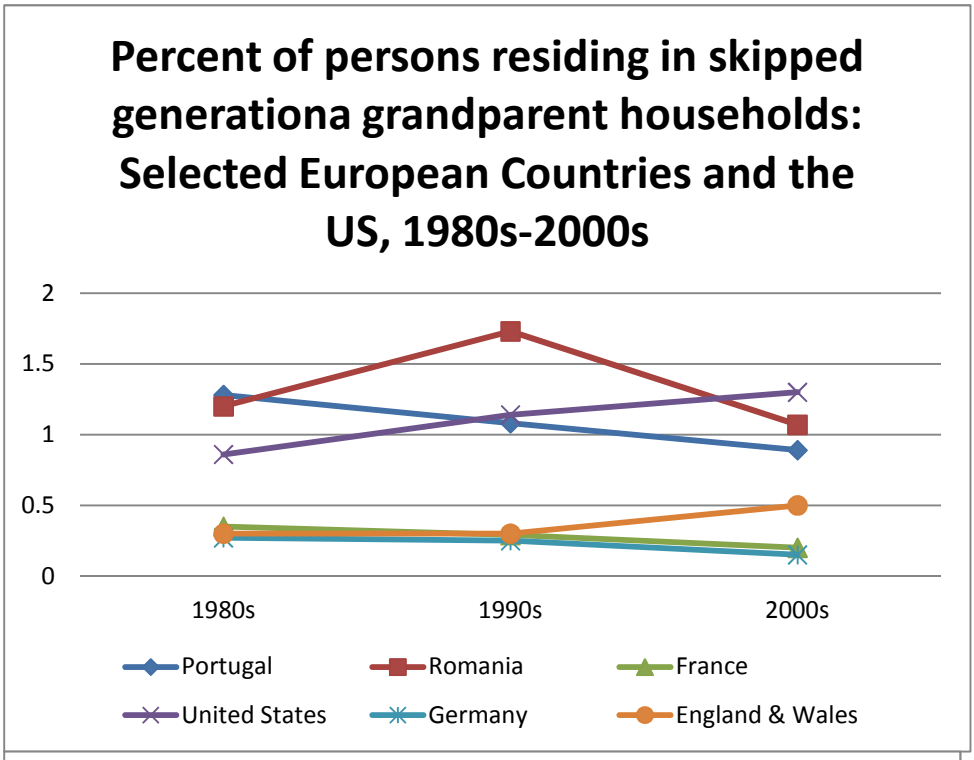
In line with other studies, our results show increases in the prevalence of those aged 40 and over living in grandparent households in the US since the 1980s. All the other European countries studied (that is England and Wales, France, and Germany) with the exception of Romania, and to a lesser extent Portugal, showed a decline in the percentage of people aged 40 and older residing in three-generation grandparent households. However England and Wales, like the U.S., showed an increase in the prevalence of skipped-generation households.

Table 1 Characteristics of data samples used in the analysis

	Sample density (%)	Enumeration rule (if applicable)	Persons aged 40 and over living in private households	Persons aged 40 and over in 3 gen household	Persons aged 40 and over in skipped generation households	Notes
England and Wales						
1981	1.1	De jure	230,550	8,109	656	
1991	1.1	De jure	237,147	6,507	726	
2001	1.1	De jure	254,850	4,055	1,240	
France						
1982	5.0	De jure	1,019,868	50,849	3,559	
1990	4.2	De jure	962,741	33,293	2,756	
1999	5.0	De jure	1,309,809	28,323	2,575	
Germany						
1984	0.02	De jure	6,423	252	17	West Germany only
1994	0.02	De jure	7,520	295	19	
2004	0.03	De jure	15,251	252	22	
Portugal						
1981	5.0	De jure	189,781	17,761	2,421	
1991	5.0	De jure	207,511	26,994	2,251	
2001	5.0	De jure	239,585	25,126	2,141	
Romania						
1977	10.0	De jure	756,461	112,144	9,091	Omits 2 counties: Alba and Arad

1992	10.0	De jure	911,747	142,016	15,769	
2002	10.0	De jure	965,235	157,831	10,366	
United States						
1980	5.0	De jure	3,984,098	208,761	34,266	
1990	5.0	De jure	4,820,748	265,371	56,071	
2000	5.0	De jure	5,965,723	351,733	81,160	

Figure 1: Percent of people aged 40 and over residing in grandparent household: Selected - countries, 1980s-2000s



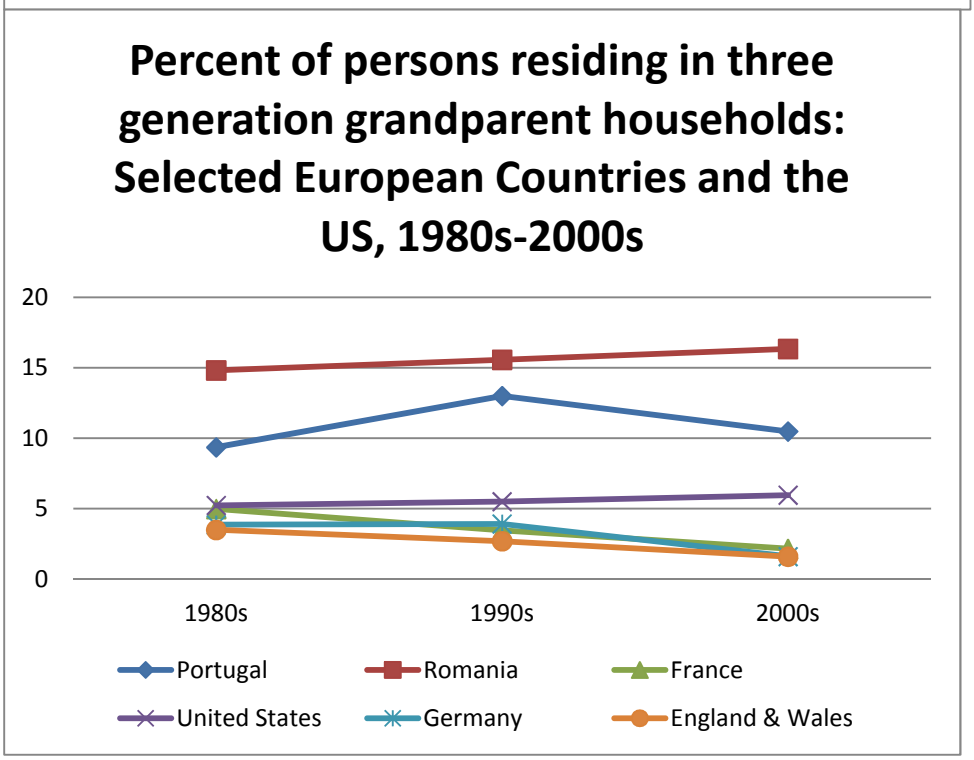


Table 2: Percent of people aged 40 and over residing in grandparent households (either three or skipped-generation) by selected characteristics, weighted data.

	England and Wales			France			Germany			Portugal			Romania			USA		
	1981	1991	2001	1982	1990	1999	1984	1994	2004	1981	1991	2001	1977	1992	2002	1980	1990	2000
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sex																		
Male	3.4	2.7	1.8	4.8	3.3	2.0	3.0	2.0	0.9	9.7	12.6	9.9	14.2	15.8	16.0	5.1	5.5	6.1
Female	4.2	3.4	2.4	5.8	4.1	2.7	4.1	2.5	1.6	11.4	15.4	12.6	17.6	18.6	18.7	6.9	7.6	8.3
Age																		
40s	3.7	3.0	1.5	5.0	3.2	1.9	3.5	2.1	1.3	8.3	12.0	10.0	12.8	14.9	14.3	6.0	5.9	6.5
50s	3.7	3.4	2.1	5.0	3.8	2.4	3.8	2.8	1.3	10.6	13.3	10.6	15.1	17.4	18.2	6.4	7.9	7.7
60s	3.5	2.9	2.6	4.4	3.3	2.4	1.9	1.5	1.3	11.8	14.0	10.9	18.4	17.8	20.1	5.7	7.1	8.7
70s	4.0	2.7	2.3	6.2	4.2	2.5	3.7	2.7	0.9	12.7	16.7	12.8	21.6	20.2	18.1	6.0	5.9	7.2
80s	5.6	3.1	2.4	8.9	6.0	3.5	8.1	2.5	1.8	14.7	21.7	18.2	24.0	22.1	18.7	7.1	6.0	6.0
90 plus	4.5	4.8	2.6	9.7	7.3	5.0	14.1	2.4	3.8	16.1	22.8	20.8	24.0	21.8	19.3	9.2	7.3	7.6
Marital Status																		
Never-married	0.6	0.8	0.5	2.3	1.9	1.5	0.0	0.6	0.3	7.5	7.0	8.1	8.8	8.7	11.2	3.4	5.1	6.6
Married	3.3	2.9	1.9	4.8	3.4	2.1	3.1	2.2	1.1	9.6	12.1	9.7	13.9	16.2	16.2	5.1	5.7	6.3
Divorced/Separated	4.3	3.0	2.3	4.1	3.1	2.1	2.5	0.9	1.4	13.8	16.0	13.4	13.3	12.3	14.4	8.4	8.7	8.8
Widowed	7.2	5.1	4.0	9.4	6.5	4.4	7.0	3.7	2.8	17.7	27.1	21.9	27.2	24.8	24.5	10.4	10.3	11.3
Education																		
Less than primary	na	na	na	6.3	5.1	3.7	na	na	na	11.0	14.9	12.6	17.6	21.1	23.4	13.1	17.1	22.5
Primary	3.7	3.1	2.3	4.9	3.4	2.2	4.2	2.8	1.7	7.8	11.5	9.7	14.7	17.3	19.3	7.4	9.9	12.2
Secondary	2.9	2.3	1.5	3.1	2.3	1.6	2.7	1.4	0.7	6.9	10.0	7.7	11.0	12.2	13.1	4.8	5.9	6.9
University	2.8	2.0	1.3	2.2	1.7	1.2	1.4	1.9	1.0	5.6	7.7	6.0	10.8	9.9	8.1	3.1	3.0	3.5
Employment status																		
Employed	3.2	2.8	1.6	4.8	3.2	1.9	3.1	2.2	1.0	9.0	12.1	9.6	14.2	15.5	14.8	5.5	6.0	6.2

Unemployed	4.2	3.4	1.9	4.1	3.7	2.7	3.0	2.7	1.3	8.9	12.6	10.3	na	16.5	14.8	7.2	9.3	10.0
Not in labour force	4.3	3.3	2.5	5.8	4.2	2.7	4.0	2.3	1.5	11.8	15.5	12.8	18.5	18.7	19.1	6.7	7.3	8.5
Country of birth																		
Born abroad	6.7	6.9	5.5	5.9	4.9	2.1	4.0	3.5	3.1	11.9	15.9	11.9	14.5	16.2	15.5	9.1	11.7	15.0
Native	3.5	2.6	1.7	5.3	3.6	3.9	3.6	2.2	1.0	10.6	14.1	11.4	16.1	17.3	17.4	5.8	6.1	6.1
Housing tenure																		
Owned home	4.3	3.2	2.1	6.4	4.2	2.5	5.5	3.5	1.4	11.0	14.5	11.7	17.6	18.4	17.7	6.2	6.5	7.0
Not owned home	3.3	2.7	2.1	3.5	2.8	2.0	1.5	1.2	1.1	10.1	13.2	10.1	9.8	10.6	11.1	5.9	7.3	8.3

Table 3 Household features and grandparent characteristics, grandparent households (either skipped or three-generation)

Country	Grandparent Household Type	Year	Household headship		Skipped-generation households		Grandparent(s) in household			Age of youngest grandparent			
			Grandparent	Parent	Grandparents and grandchildren only	Other(s) present	Grandmother only	Grandfather only	Grandmother and grandfather	Under 50	50-59	60-69	70+
England and Wales			58.3	41.7									
	Multi-generational	1981					50.6	15.2	34.2	14.7	19.4	19.1	46.9
		1991	64.7	35.3			46.1	12.3	41.6	20.9	22.5	19.1	37.5
		2001	55.2	44.8			40.9	10.2	48.9	22.5	23.5	15.1	39.0
	Skipped-generational	1981			85.9	14.1	43.9	7.4	48.7	4.1	22.9	39.9	33.2
		1991			90.0	10.0	44.7	6.6	48.7	6.4	20.6	39.5	33.5
		2001			95.7	4.3	45.6	6.0	48.4	6.0	24.5	32.9	36.7
France	Multi-generational	1982	19.0	81.0			58.4	13.3	28.3	3.9	16.0	22.1	58.0
		1990	23.9	76.2			56.5	11.9	31.6	5.8	17.2	25.8	51.1
		1999	25.1	74.9			56.0	11.1	32.9	7.0	18.1	25.7	49.2
	Skipped-generational	1982			92.0	8.0	31.0	2.3	66.6	1.4	20.4	39.8	38.4
		1990			94.7	5.3	26.6	2.6	70.8	1.5	15.6	42.0	41.0
		1999			96.5	3.5	30.2	3.2	66.6	1.5	9.6	37.8	51.1
Germany	Multi-generational	1984											
		1994											
		2004											
	Skipped-generational	1984											
		1994											

		2004										
Portugal	Multi-generational	1981	64.7	35.3				40.8	10.5	48.7	7.4	26.6	30.6	35.4
		1991	49.4	50.6				50.8	11.6	37.6	4.3	18.6	31.9	45.2
		2001	53.2	46.8				52.4	11.0	36.7	5.5	15.1	27.7	51.8
	Skipped-generational	1981			81.7	18.3		39.8	3.4	56.7	2.3	19.3	42.0	36.5
		1991			88.7	11.3		37.9	4.5	57.6	1.4	14.3	43.7	40.7
		2001			89.8	10.2		42.0	3.3	54.8	1.7	13.8	36.5	48.0
Romania	Multi-generational	1977	42.9	57.1				48.3	9.3	42.4	8.3	23.8	35.1	32.8
		1992	71.1	29.0				42.6	8.6	48.8	7.7	27.5	34.0	30.9
		2002	78.1	21.9				44.5	9.5	46.0	6.9	24.0	36.4	32.7
	Skipped-generational	1977			82.8	17.2		28.7	5.1	66.2	7.2	28.5	39.9	24.5
		1992			81.2	18.8		36.4	6.4	57.2	2.3	21.4	44.5	31.8
		2002			73.9	26.1		44.8	7.4	47.8	2.2	14.9	35.8	47.2
USA	Multi-generational	1980	58.8	41.2				54.4	10.5	35.2	16.4	27.4	26.4	29.9
		1990	69.1	30.9				51.7	8.9	39.4	19.2	27.7	27.8	25.3
		2000	66.6	33.5				51.1	10.4	38.5	19.9	28.5	24.8	26.7
	Skipped-generational	1980			82.1	17.9		44.6	5.7	49.6	4.4	20.5	38.8	36.3
		1990			84.0	16.0		47.8	5.4	46.8	6.5	21.0	35.0	37.4
		2000			79.6	20.4		45.9	6.1	48.0	8.2	26.4	31.2	34.3

Table 4 Grandchildcharacteristics, grandparent households (either skipped or three-generation)

Country	Grandparent Household Type	Year	Number of grandchildren			Age of youngest grandchild			
			One	Two	Three or more	0-5	6-12	13-17	18+
England and Wales	Multi-generational	1981	57.6	28.5	13.9	35.1	25.8	19.7	19.4
		1991	63.5	25.9	10.7	48.4	17.7	13.9	20.1
		2001	67.7	24.2	8.1	41.7	22.3	15.3	20.8
	Skipped-generational	1981	87.4	10.3	2.4	4.5	22.7	28.4	44.4
		1991	89.6	8.2	2.2	7.6	18.8	21.6	52.1
		2001	89.9	7.7	2.4	6.8	21.2	24.1	48.0
France	Multi-generational	1982	48.8	31.4	19.8	29.6	29.0	20.3	21.1
		1990	55.6	29.2	15.3	33.8	22.4	17.3	26.5
		1999	58.9	28.4	12.7	38.9	23.3	13.8	24.0
	Skipped-generational	1982	84.9	12.0	3.1	9.1	33.4	29.4	28.1
		1990	85.7	11.7	2.7	8.7	21.5	29.0	40.9
		1999	86.9	11.1	2.0	5.8	18.8	24.9	50.5
Germany	Multi-generational	1984							
		1994							
		2004							
	Skipped-generational	1984							
		1994							
		2004							
Portugal	Multi-generational	1981	52.1	30.5	17.4	58.3	24.4	9.6	7.8
		1991	49.8	34.9	15.2	39.3	29.2	15.8	15.7

		2001	57.4	32.8	9.8	35.6	25.0	14.7	24.8
	Skipped-generational	1981	73.5	18.3	8.2	22.4	39.0	19.4	19.3
		1991	75.4	18.1	6.5	16.1	29.3	24.6	30.1
		2001	77.1	17.4	5.5	12.5	23.1	22.5	41.9
Romania	Multi-generational	1977	49.0	34.8	16.1	52.8	26.8	9.3	11.1
		1992	50.2	33.0	16.8	52.0	22.7	13.2	12.1
		2002	57.4	32.2	10.5	42.9	28.7	14.2	14.1
	Skipped-generational	1977	86.5	11.2	2.3	33.8	26.4	13.3	26.5
		1992	80.8	15.9	3.3	19.1	24.4	21.1	35.3
		2002	84.5	12.8	2.8	10.7	21.0	19.5	48.8
USA	Multi-generational	1980	53.7	28.1	18.2	48.6	25.8	13.9	11.7
		1990	55.4	28.1	16.5	52.2	24.6	11.3	11.9
		2000	55.1	28.6	16.3	51.2	26.7	11.3	10.9
	Skipped-generational	1980	77.3	15.8	7.0	12.6	24.7	24.0	38.8
		1990	77.1	15.8	7.2	15.5	22.8	19.8	41.9
		2000	74.8	17.2	8.0	17.5	27.7	20.9	33.9

Table 5 Multinomial logit regressions of coresidence in three generation or skipped generation grandparent households: Persons aged 40 and over in England & Wales and the US

		England & Wales			**United States**		
	Household Type	*Odds Ratios*	*SE Odds Ratios*	Sig	*Odds Ratios*	*SE Odds Ratios*	Sign
female	1	*1.01*	*0.02*	0.47	*1.20*	*0.00*	<.0001
	2	*1.17*	*0.06*	<.0001	*1.35*	*0.00*	<.0001
age	1	*1.02*	*0.00*	<.0001	*0.98*	*0.00*	<.0001
	2	*1.02*	*0.00*	<.0001	*1.02*	*0.00*	<.0001
nevermar	1	*0.26*	*0.02*	<.0001	*0.97*	*0.00*	<.0001
	2	*0.14*	*0.03*	<.0001	*0.68*	*0.00*	<.0001
Divorce/sep	1	*1.23*	*0.04*	<.0001	*1.63*	*0.00*	<.0001
	2	*1.03*	*0.08*	0.67	*1.11*	*0.00*	<.0001
Widowed	1	*2.66*	*0.05*	<.0001	*2.20*	*0.00*	<.0001
	2	*1.12*	*0.12*	0.05	*1.06*	*0.00*	<.0001
primary	1	*1.00*	*0.02*	0.99	*3.06*	*0.00*	<.0001
	2	*1.38*	*0.08*	<.0001	*5.16*	*0.00*	<.0001
secondary	1	*0.76*	*0.02*	<.0001	*1.86*	*0.00*	<.0001
	2	*0.93*	*0.08*	0.45	*2.51*	*0.00*	<.0001
unemp	1	*1.29*	*0.05*	0.31	*1.27*	*0.00*	<.0001
	2	*1.20*	*0.20*	<.0001	*1.22*	*0.00*	<.0001
not active	1	*1.24*	*0.02*	<.0001	*1.11*	*0.00*	<.0001
	2	*2.10*	*0.13*	<.0001	*1.14*	*0.00*	<.0001
bornabroad	1	*2.77*	*0.05*	<.0001	*2.32*	*0.00*	<.0001
	2	*2.14*	*0.13*	<.0001	*0.58*	*0.00*	<.0001
notowned	1	*0.72*	*0.01*	<.0001	*0.74*	*0.00*	<.0001

	2	*1.45*	*0.06*	<.0001	*0.99*	*0.00*	<.0001
1990s	1	*0.79*	*0.02*	<.0001	*1.19*	*0.00*	<.0001
	2	*1.05*	*0.05*	0.34	*1.62*	*0.00*	<.0001
2000s	1	*0.45*	*0.01*	<.0001	*1.35*	*0.00*	<.0001
	2	*1.68*	*0.08*	<.0001	*2.20*	*0.00*	<.0001

Acknowledgements

Minnesota Population Center. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, International: Version 6.1* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2011.

for providing census samples to IPUMS:

National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, France

National Institute of Statistics, Portugal

National Institute of Statistics, Romania

Bureau of the Census, USA

for making SOEP data available:

German Institute for Economic Research

for making ONS LS data available:

The permission of the Office for National Statistics to use the Longitudinal Study is gratefully acknowledged. The authors alone are responsible for the interpretation of the data.

Census output is Crown copyright and is reproduced with the permission of the Controller of HMSO and the Queen's Printer for Scotland.

6 REFERENCES

ALBUQUERQUE, P. C. 2011. Grandparents in multigenerational households: The case of Portugal. *European Journal of Ageing,* 8**,** 189-198.

AQUILINO, W. S. 1990. The likelihood of parent-adult child coresidence: Effects of family structure and parental characteristics. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 52**,** 405-419.

BAKER, L. A. & MUTCHLER, J. E. 2010. Poverty and material hardship in grandparent-headed households. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 72**,** 947-962.

BAKER, L. A. & SILVERSTEIN, M. 2008. Preventive health behaviors among grandmothers raising grandchildren. *Journals of Gerontology Series B-Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences,* 63**,** S304-S311.

BAYDAR, N. & BROOKS-GUNN, J. 1998. Profiles of grandmothers who help care for their grandchildren in the United States. *Family Relations,* 47**,** 385-393.

BENGTSON, V. L. 2001. Beyond the nuclear family: the increasing importance of multigenerational relationships in American society. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 63**,** 1-16.

CAPUTO, R. K. 2001. Grandparents and coresident grandchildren in a youth cohort. *Journal of Family Issues,* 22**,** 541-556.

CASPER, L. M. & BRYSON, K. R. 1998. Co-resident grandparents and their grandchildren: Grandprent maintained families. Working paper no. 26. Washington, D.C.: Population Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

COPEN, C. E. 2006. Welfare reform: challenges for grandparents raising grandchildren. *J Aging Soc Policy,* 18**,** 193-209.

CUDDEBACK, G. S. 2004. Kinship and family foster care: a methodological substantive synthesis of research. *Children and Youth Services Review,* 26**,** 623-639.

FULLER-THOMSON, E. & MINKLER, M. 2001. American grandparents providing extensive child care to their grandchildren: Prevalence and profile. *Gerontologist,* 41**,** 201-209.

FULLER-THOMSON, E., MINKLER, M. & DRIVER, D. 1997. A profile of grandparents raising grandchildren in the United States. *Gerontologist,* 37**,** 406-411.

GOODMAN, C. C. & SILVERSTEIN, M. 2001. Grandmothers who parent their grandchildren - An exploratory study of close relations across three generations. *Journal of Family Issues,* 22**,** 557-578.

GOODMAN, C. C. & SILVERSTEIN, M. 2002. Grandmothers raising grandchildren: Family structure and well-being in culturall diverse families. *The Gerontologist,* 42**,** 676-689.

HAGESTAD, G. O. 2006. Transfers between grandparents and grandchildren: The importance of taking a three-generation persepctive. *Zeitschrift Fur Familienforschung,* 18**,** 315-332.

HANK, K. & BUBER, I. 2009. Grandparents Caring for Their Grandchildren Findings From the 2004 Survey of Health, Ageing, and Retirement in Europe. *Journal of Family Issues,* 30**,** 53-73.

HARRELL, R., KASSNER, E. & FIGUEIREDO, C. 2011. Multigenerational households are increasing. Washington, D.C.: AARP Public Policy Institute.

HAYSLIP, B. & KAMINSKI, P. L. 2005. Grandparents raising their grandchildren: A review of the literature and suggestions for practice. *Gerontologist,* 45**,** 262-269.

HUNT, S. M., WATERHOUSE, S. & LUTMAN, S. 2008. Keeping them in the family: Outcomes for abused and neglected children placed with family or friends carers through care proceedings. Research brief DCSF-RBX-050-08. London: DfES.

JENDREK, M. P. 1993. Grandparents who parent their grandchildren - effects on lifestyle *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* 55**,** 609-621.

KOSLOWSKI SMITH, A. 2009. Grandparents and the care of their grandchildren. *In:* STILLWELL, J. (ed.) *Fertility, living arrangements, care and mobility.* London: Springer.

LEWIS, J., CAMPBELL, D. A. & HUERTA 2008. Patterns of paid and unpaid work in Western Europe. *Journal of Social Policy,* 18**,** 21-37.

MINKLER, M. 1999. Intergenerational households headed by grandparents: Contexts, realities, and implications for policy. *Journal of Aging Studies,* 13**,** 199-218.

MINKLER, M. & FULLER-THOMSON, E. 2000. Second time around parenting: Factors predictive of grandparents becoming caregivers for their grandchildren. *International Journal of Aging & Human Development,* 50**,** 185-200.

MINKLER, M. & FULLER-THOMSON, E. 2005. African American grandparents raising grandchildren: A National Study using the Census 2000 American Community Survey. *Journals of Gerontology Series B-Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences,* 60**,** S82-S92.

MINKLER, M. & ROE, K. M. 1996. Grandparents as surrogate parents. *Generations-Journal of the American Society on Aging,* 20**,** 34-38.

MUTCHLER, J. E. & BAKER, L. A. 2004. A demographic examination of grandparent caregivers in the Census 2000 Supplementary Survey. *Population Research and Policy Review,* 23**,** 359-377.

NANDY, S. & SELWYN, J. 2011. Spotlight on kinship care: Using Census microdata to examine the extent and nature of kinship care in the U.K. London: University of Briso.

PEBLEY, A. R. & RUDKIN, L. L. 1999. Grandparents caring for grandchildren - What do we know? *Journal of Family Issues,* 20**,** 218-242.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2010. The return of the multi-generational family household. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center.

PLEAU, R. L. 2010. Trends and correlates of multigenerational coresidence, 1989-2009. *PI Workshop.* University of California Davis, Department of Sociology.

TOMASSINI, C., GLASER, K., WOLF, D. A., BROESE VAN GROENOU, M. I. & GRUNDY, E. 2004. Living arrangements among older people: An overview of trends in Europe and the USA. *Population Trends,* 115**,** 24-34.

U.S. CENSUS BUREAU 2003. Grandparents living with grandchildren: 2000. Washington, D.C: U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration.

U.S. CENSUS BUREAU 2004. Table CH-7. Grandchildren Living in the Home of Their Grandparents: 1970-Present. http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hh-fam/tabCH-7.pdf