Young grandchildren and their grandparents: continuity and change across four birth cohorts

Jane Gray, Ruth Geraghty and David Ralph

National University of Ireland, Maynooth

25th January 2013

(Word Count: 4,673)

Introduction

There has been a significant growth in scholarship on intergenerational relationships, and particularly on the relationships between grandparents and grandchildren, in western societies. This increased interest is inspired partly by demographic research suggesting that such relationships make up an increasing proportion of family ties as societies age (Harper 2003, Bengston 2001, A. Gray 2005), partly by concerns about intergenerational solidarity in the context of increased age dependency ratios (Kohli 2006), and partly by the availability of major new longitudinal datasets that facilitate more dynamic analyses of family relationships. However, the majority of studies have focused on grandparent/grandchild relationships from the perspective of grandparents. While there have been some studies focusing on adolescents' and adults' experiences of relationships with their grandparents, few have explored the significance of intergenerational family ties from the perspective of younger children (Timmonen and Arber 2012, p.10, but see M. Gray et al. 2005).

This paper examines patterns of continuity and change in the texture, meanings and rhythms of family relationships between young (school-aged) children and their grandparents in Ireland, from the first half of the twentieth century through 2008, focusing on memories and contemporary experiences of grandparent/grandchild relationships from a 'child's eye' perspective. The paper is based on a qualitative longitudinal analysis of two major datasets: (1) Life Histories and Social Change, which consists principally of life history interviews with three twentieth century birth cohorts of Irish people and (2) the Growing Up in Ireland Qualitative Study which consists of semi-structured interviews with a sub-sample of children born at the turn of the twenty-first century (and their parents) in one of the two birth cohorts that form part of a prospective national panel study.[1]

The analysis thus addresses some key methodological opportunities and challenges, including: making comparisons across qualitative datasets generated through different methodologies; comparing childhood perspectives based on adult memories with those based on contemporary children's accounts; managing the scale and depth of data in the two studies. We argue that, in spite of those challenges, it is possible to work backwards and forwards across the four cohorts to develop an innovative portrait of relationships between the generations over a comparatively long historical period. Furthermore, while our analysis here focuses principally on the perspectives of children, the data enables individual case study analysis, to examine grandparent/grandchild relationships from

---

multiple generational 'standpoints' and across individual lives. The findings support Duncan's (2011) recent argument that family change takes the form of 'bricolage' – whereby past institutions 'leak' into the present as people make sense of – and adapt to – changing circumstances. Our analytical strategy thus illustrates Irwin and Winterton's (2011 p. 16) argument that contextual diversity across qualitative datasets can be mobilized as a resource for building an enhanced understanding of processes that lie beyond the confines of specific datasets.

Background

Recent demographic research has suggested that population ageing gives rise to a "verticalization" of family ties, or "beanpole families," as reduced mortality and increased longevity lead to an increase in the number of living generations, while reduced fertility leads to a reduction in the number of living relatives within the generations (Harper 2003, p. 155). Bengston (2001) suggested that as a result of these changes, multi-generational relationships would become increasingly important for individual and family well being – perhaps even more important than nuclear family ties (but see Herlofson and Hagestad 2011).

Increased life expectancy for older people – together with the reduction in age at childbirth in many European countries during the decades following the Second World War – means that a young child's chances of having a living grandparent have increased. Furthermore, as a result of smaller family sizes, individual grandchildren may have less competition for their grandparents' attention (A. Gray 2005, p. 572). In the Irish case, this is complicated by a distinctive demographic history. In the early decades of the twentieth century life expectancy was comparatively good and in Ireland, and marital fertility was very high, but high levels of emigration resulted in an "Irish population [that] was both top heavy with older people and bottom heavy with children" (Fahey and Field 2008, p. 57). Due to low marriage rates, relatively high proportions of older people were single and without children. The young-age dependency ratio increased between the 1950s and 1970s, because even as age at marriage and first childbirth decreased (leading to a "mini baby boom" in the 1960s and 1970s), rates of emigration increased. Poor rates of improvement in life expectancy during this period meant that old-age dependency did not increase to the same extent. "Having had the highest old-age dependency among developed countries in 1960, Ireland now has the lowest, and is the only country in the world in which old-age dependency is lower today than it was in the 1960s" (Fahey and Field 2008, p. 58).

Nevertheless, absolute numbers of older people in Ireland have increased, and are more likely to be married resulting in an increased availability of grandparents to grandchildren. Nearly two thirds of the GUI child cohort reported having "quite a lot of contact" with grandparents. Most of these 9-year olds had one (32%) or two (33%) siblings living with them (Williams et al. 2009, p. 25). It is clear that grandparents have become available to more young children in Ireland, but have there been changes in the quality and significance of grandchildren's relationships with their grandparents? Qualitative longitudinal data can help to answer this question.

Data

The analysis in this paper is based on two major qualitative datasets that are available for re-use through the Irish Qualitative Data Archive (www.iqda.ie)

1. The **Life Histories and Social Change** (LHSC) database comprises 113 in-depth life history interviews that were carried out between 2005 and 2008 with respondents from three birth cohorts (see Table 1).[2]

2. **Growing Up in Ireland National Longitudinal Study on Children** (GUI) database comprises 117 in-depth interviews with 9-year-old children and their parents, conducted between April and August 2008 (see Table 1). [3]

The paper addresses two related dimensions of the grandparent/grandchild relationship; co-residence and caring for grandchildren. Amongst the oldest two cohorts, there were two main paths to intergenerational co-residence from the perspective of young grandchildren: when their parents lived with their grandparents as part of the process of land inheritance and when children were sent to live with grandparents. Over time the experience of living with grandparents was succeeded by one of extended visiting, especially during the summer holidays, and most recently by a pattern of frequent visiting and, in many cases, of being cared for by grandparents after school.

---

[2] Gray, J. & O'Riain, S., Life History and Social Change Project [collection]. Maynooth, Co. Kildare: Irish Qualitative Data Archive [producer], ID10028. Irish Qualitative Data Archive [distributor]. Full details of this dataset are available at http://na-srv-1dv.nuim.ie/iqda/archive/view/iqda:10028

[3] Williams J., Greene, S., Doyle, E., Harris E., McDaid, R., McNally, S., Merriman, B., Nixon, E., & Swords, L., Growing Up in Ireland – National Longitudinal Study of Children [collection]. Maynooth, Co. Kildare: Irish Qualitative Data Archive [producer], ID10027. Irish Qualitative Data Archive [distributor]. Full details of this dataset are available at http://na-srv-1dv.nuim.ie/iqda/archive/view/iqda:10027

Table 1: Summary of cohort characteristics

Cohort Name	Study	DOB range	Number of respondents	Commonly reported characteristics of grandparent-grandchild relationship
Cohort One	Life Histories and Social Change	1914-1934	46	✓ Co-residence due to stem family system ✓ Fostering of grandchild by grandparent
Cohort Two	Life Histories and Social Change	1945-1954	41	✓ Co-residence due to stem family system ✓ Fostering of grandchild by grandparent
Cohort Three	Life Histories and Social Change	1965-1974	26	✓ Extended visits by grandchild to grandparents during holiday periods
GUI Cohort	Growing Up in Ireland	1998-2000	117	✓ Temporary co-residence due to relationship breakdown or financial constraints of parents ✓ Separate homes but in close proximity, grandparents provide support childcare

Co-residence and extended visiting

Despite the substantial growth in skilled manual and middle-class occupations during the 1950s and sixties (Whelan, Breen and Whelan 1992; Layte and Whelan 2000), as late as 1961, "42 percent of total male employment in Ireland was still in agriculture, mostly in small-scale family production units, with a median size of 38 acres" (Hannan and Commins 1992, p. 97). Building on the classical anthropological study carried out by Arensberg and Kimball (2001) in the 1930s, Irish rural

households of the time were thought to have been characterized by a stem family system, in which land was inherited by a single male heir, whose marriage coincided with the retirement of his father. Under this system, we might expect to find grandparents commonly co-residing with grandchildren, however, stem-extended family households have proven difficult to find in census records from the early part of the twentieth century (J. Gray 2012; Guinnane 1997; Corrigan 1993).

Nevertheless, memories of sharing the farm household, with all three generations accommodated in close quarters, do occur in the life history narratives of the two oldest cohorts in our study, in some cases conforming very closely to the descriptions of the ethnographers. Both anthropological research and literary accounts have highlighted the extent to which relationships between adult children and parents were strained in such inter-generational households, especially from the standpoint of the 'marrying-in' wife. The co-resident grandparent offered an extra pair of hands with raising children, but in some instances grandparents could dominate in this relationship: John described his grandmother as "like a second mother to me, even more bossy than my mother!" (LH217, male, born in 1946). On the whole, however, memories of the relationships between co-residing grandchildren and grandparents were positive, with many respondents recalling intimate moments, listening to a grandparent telling stories, playing games and praying with them.

A different pattern of intergenerational co-residence, one that involved grandchildren leaving their parental home to live with their grandparents, occurred just as frequently in our data. Alleviating the strain of large families on mothers was the most frequent reason given for sending the first and second child to live with a grandmother or unmarried female relative, on the birth of subsequent siblings. Such arrangements were also made to facilitate attendance at school in the absence of a school transport system (Gray and O'Carroll 2012). Grandchildren in these circumstances usually enjoyed a good relationship with their grandparents, but the trauma of their removal from, and subsequent return to, the family home, could lead to estrangement from their immediate family. Peter recalled that, 'I came back from there with a [western] accent and I didn't recognise my mother and I used to look for my aunty and my mother would be very upset" (LH121, male, born in 1926). Many of these respondents described a disconnection with both homes, of being "very lonely when you are reared with two adults" (LH141, female, born between 1929 and 1934).

In the younger cohorts, as the proportions of people living in urban settings increased, childhood stories of being sent to live with grandparents gradually gave way to stories about spending long

summer holidays with them. Our respondents mostly remember these times as a welcome opportunity to "run wild" in the rural setting of their grandparental home (LH206, female, born in 1945). Recent research suggests that inter-generational co-residence occurs infrequently in contemporary Ireland, although it may be more common than in other northern European countries Jappen and Van Bavel (2012, p. 101). New panel data (Barrett et al. 2011) shows that the proportion of older people living with children or grandchildren drops significantly (from more than 40% to less than 20%) after age 65, so it seems likely that in most instances, intergenerational co-residence occurs with unmarried, adult offspring.

Accounts of inter-generational co-residence between grandchildren and their grandparents do occur in the younger cohorts, LHSC Cohort Three and in the GUI Cohort. However long term co-residence is atypical. Where co-residence occurred, the themes of strained relationships in the inter-generational home, and the emotional trauma of removing the child from their grandparental home persisted, for example in Mandy's memory of collecting her brother after an extended stay with his grandparents in the 1970s: "they were out waving and crying and he was [saying] 'let me out, my granny is crying for me, let me out'. Oh it was awful and my parents were so, everybody was so upset. (LH303, female, born in 1965)

Similarly a mother from the GUI cohort, Sue, described how, "Mammy bawled her eyes out" when her grandchild was taken home after a four week stay (GUI 088_Parent, female child, born in 1999), yet the continued involvement in her granddaughter's upbringing began to cause tension between Sue and her mother. Such tensions frequently resolved when parents moved out, creating a physical boundary between both households and enabling parents, like Sue, to "mooch away" (GUI 088_Parent) an over-involved grandparent. Ruggles (2007) showed that in the United States, long-term decline in intergenerational co-residence can be explained principally by growing economic opportunities for the younger (adult) generation. In Ireland, a similar process appears to have taken place during a more compressed period of time. The parents in the two youngest cohorts had the resources to establish an independent home. However, contemporary grandparents face new forms of interaction with their grandchildren that nevertheless bear echoes of the past, as we discuss below.

Grandparents as carers

There is growing scholarly interest in the phenomenon of grandparents caring for their grandchildren, in the context of increased labour force participation by mothers. In Ireland, from the mid-1980s onwards, manual occupations began to decline (Whelan, Breen and Whelan 1992; Layte and Whelan 2000), alongside an increase in the proportions of married women in paid employment (Fahey et al. 2000) a trend that accelerated during the 1990s and 2000s. Between 1998 and 2007 the proportion of women with school-aged children in the labour force increased from 52% to 65% (Russell et al. p. 17). These changes in the structure of the economy and society were accompanied by rapid suburbanisation (Corcoran, Gray and Peillon 2010). Data from the European Social Survey place Ireland in an intermediate group of countries where between 24 and 34 percent of working mothers rely on grandparents as their main source of childcare (Jappens and Van Bavel 2011, p. 90). The GUI study found that after parents (62%), grandparents were the next most common (12%) providers of regular care for infants (Williams et al. 2010, p. 90).

The provision of informal childcare by grandparents featured strongly in the youngest GUI cohort, and this was supported by the accounts of grandparents from the older LHSC cohorts. Mothers emphasized the importance of this arrangement for reducing the cost of employment outside the home. As Jillian explained, "financially you wouldn't be able to do it if you had to pay someone to mind the kids"(GUI 003_Child, female child, born in 1999). From the grandchildren's perspective, grandparents eased the transition from school to home, picking them up, providing meals and assistance with homework until parents returned from work. Children often identified carer grandparents as people they would talk to about their day. In some cases, the carer grandparent took the form of chief disciplinarian: "In a way I think he sees my mum as the mum, as in the one that gives out and has rules and regulations. I get to be the cool one" (GUI 085_Parent, male child, born in 1999). This echoes descriptions from the older cohorts of the grandparent's role in intergenerational households.

An important aspect of this childcare arrangement is that grandchildren are living close by to a grandparent. Many of the parents in the GUI Cohort exulted in having a grandparent living, 'only around the corner' or 'five minutes away', indicating that such family support networks had been consciously created by parents through their decision to set up home nearby. The grandparents of the oldest respondents were found to play a similar role during the early decades of the twentieth century, even in the quite different context of rural small-farm communities, where children

dropped in to them for sustenance on the long journey home from school on foot. For contemporary grandparents, however the biggest change to their caring role is the requirement to engage in the "full time job" (LH134, female, born in 1932) of collecting, feeding and minding grandchildren to co-ordinate with the parent's work schedule. This can be complex and tiring, as described by one grandmother, Lilly (LH134), who was in her 70s at the time of interview. If the job became overwhelming Lilly felt she could "say it in the morning" to her son and daughter-in-law. However she feared that she "wouldn't see," her grandchildren at all if she stopped providing this care. This case highlight the extent to which, as Ruggles (2007) suggests, the balance of power across the generations has shifted away from grandparents, despite parents' need for their assistance with childcare.

Specific to the GUI Cohort was the capacity of parents to affect the degree of physical and emotional closeness between their child and a grandparent, whether intentionally or unintentionally. One such instance was Tim, father to 9 year old Sebastian, who bemoaned the close proximity of the grandparents who were "only across the way looking out the window [...] We moved 30 miles from where we grow up and low and behold the grandparents move 30 miles" (066_Parent). Jennifer, mother to nine-year-old Damian, described how her dependence on his grandparents following a relationship breakdown, was impinging on her ability to move on with a new partner: "[I]t would be like taking half their limbs away if we said, 'thanks for everything but we are taking Damien now and we don't want you to mind him anymore'" (085_Parent). For parents such as Tim and Jennifer, the degree and form of grandparental involvement was a matter of getting the balance right, between living close enough to avail of the childcare arrangement, while maintaining a private space exclusive of grandparental involvement. Thus some of the tensions between parents and grandparents about how the latter relate to their grandchildren appear similar to those from earlier periods, but there has been a change behind the scenes.

Changing relationships across lives and times

According to King and Elder (1997), the quality of grandparents' relationships with grandchildren is determined in part by their own experiences of being grandchildren. The qualitative longitudinal data examined in this study allow us to explore the transformation of grandparent-grandchild relationships across individual lives. This sheds a unique light on the processes of change giving rise to new forms and meanings within structurally similar family relationships. Here we present three case studies that illustrate the transformation of intergenerational relationships in modern Ireland.

Cohort 1: Jimmy (LH109, male, born in 1924) was the son of an agricultural labourer and small farmer in the south-west of Ireland.

- Childhood in 1920s and 1930s: He remembered frequent, informal visits to his grandmother "everyday, whenever there was time" in the company of his mother and brother, while walking to and from the shops.

- Parenthood in 1950s and 1960s: Two of Jimmy's eight children were sent to live with his wife's mother, making it easier for them to attend school. During the interview, his wife described how her daughter became so attached to her grandparents that, "she stayed with them till she was thirteen". Any upset was allayed by the fact that she "had such a crowd of them" to look after.

- Grandparenthood in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s: When asked if his relationship with his grandchildren was different from that with his children Jimmy was dubious at first, but acknowledged " I'd see more of the grandchildren now than I did, I only saw one of my family being confirmed ".

Cohort 2: Sally (LH225, female, born in 1949) was born into a farming family in the south-east of Ireland.

- Childhood in 1950s and 1960s: Sally's mother had married-in to the farm, taking on the responsibility of caring for Sally's grandmother for thirty years until her death. Sally had warm memories of an intimate relationship with her grandmother and because of her co-residence, "granny was always there to give the dinner to us".

- Parenthood in 1980s and 1990s: Sally married a farmer and moved in with his mother, who was "a great support" when she was raising her own children, and her two brothers-in-law. She was at pains to distinguish her own circumstance from those of her mother, because her mother-in-law lived in an extension to the house.

- Grandparenthood in the 2000s: Like her own grandmother and her mother-in-law before her, Sally recognised her role in providing assistance to her daughter who lived in the city.

Despite the distance, Sally was enthusiastic about travelling to her daughter's home every weekend to help out.

Cohort 3: Maria (LH313, female, born in 1970) is from a working-class background in an urban centre in the south-east of Ireland.

- Childhood in 1970s and 1980s: Maria remembered spending her summer holidays and weekends at her maternal grandmother's home, in a seaside town some distance from her own urban home, explaining: "[We] lived there in the summer really". Her paternal grandmother lived nearby and despite her "hard life" raising ten children she provided childcare when Maria's mother had to work outside the home.

- Parenthood in 1990s and 2000s: Maria's mother lives "15 minutes away" and since she is no longer working, she provides childcare for all of the children of her two daughters. However, Maria feels guilty about relying on her mother in this way, "because you know she is not going to say no, even if she doesn't want to".

Discussion

In this paper, we have illustrated the potential for understanding changing inter-generational relationships through a secondary analysis of two major qualitative datasets that, together, provide a window on the life experiences of four birth cohorts. Bringing the datasets together presented challenges that we addressed through two strategies: (1) working backwards and forwards across the cohorts to develop a thematic analysis of changing grandchild/grandparent relationships; (2) examining individual case studies to show how continuities and changes in the relationships between grandchildren and grandparents played out across individual lives. As other research has shown, the key transformation occurred in the position of parents in the "middle generation," who increased their capacity to act as mediators between grandparents and their grandchildren (Arber and Timonen 2012, p. 9). During the first half of the twentieth century, grandparents had a more direct say in their grandchildren's lives, either because they controlled access to land or because poverty, together with large families, meant that their adult children depended on them for assistance. When this involved 'taking in' some of their grandchildren, it created strain within families and sometimes problems for grandchildren growing up.

As the Irish socio-economic structure changed, parents acquired greater independence and instances of grandparent-grandchild co-residence became infrequent. However, the increased labour force participation of women – together with the absence of affordable childcare – and in some cases a preference for having children minded by their grandparents, has created a new pattern of interdependence – and new opportunities for tension, as well as mutual support - between adult children and their parents. May et al. (2012) have shown how, in the contemporary United Kingdom, normative grandparenting is a delicate balancing act between "being there" and "not interfering." Our study has shown how, across different socio-historical contexts, the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren has been mediated by continuities and changes in the character of relationships with the middle, parenting generation. We have seen how past practices and conflicts have 'leaked' into the present (Duncan 2011), as grandparents and parents adapted to changing socio-economic contexts and as the balance of power between the generations shifted over time. For many grandchildren, however, a grandparent continues to be "one of the best members of the family" (GUI 101_child).

References

Arensberg, Conrad M. and Solon T. Kimball. (2001 [1940]), *Family and Community in Ireland (Third Edition)*, Ennis, County Clare: Clasp

Barrett, Alan, George Savva, Virpi Timonen and Rose Anne Kenny, eds. 2011. *Fifty Plus in Ireland 2011: First Results from the Irish Longitudinal Study on Ageing* (TILDA). Dublin: TILDA.

Bengston, Vern L. 2001. "Beyond the Nuclear Family: The Increasing Importance of Multigenerational Bonds." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 63 (February): 1-16.

Corcoran, Mary P., Jane Gray and Michel Peillon. 2010. Suburban Affiliations: Social Relations in the Greater Dublin Area. New York: Syracuse University Press.

Corrigan, Carmel. 1993. "Household Structure in Early Twentieth Century Ireland," *Irish Journal of Sociology* 3: pp. 56-78.

Duncan, Simon. 2011. "Personal Life, Pragmatism and Bricolage." Sociological Research Online 16, (4) 13. <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/16/4/13.html>P

Fahey, Tony, Russell, Helen and Emer Smyth. 2000. "Gender equality, fertility decline and labour market patterns among women in Ireland". In: Nolan, B., O'Connell, P. J. and Whelan, C. T. (eds) *Bust to Boom? The Irish Experience of Growth and Inequality*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 244-267

Fahey, Tony and Catherine Anne Field. 2008. *Families in Ireland: An Analysis of Patterns and Trends*. Dublin: The Stationery Office

Gray, Jane. 2012. "Household formation, inheritance and class-formation in nineteenth century Ireland: Evidence from County Fermanagh." Pp. 153-180 in Anne-Lise Head-König ed. in collaboration with Péter Pozsgai, *Inheritance Practices, Marriage Strategies and Household Formation in European Rural Societies*. Turnhout, Belgium: BREPOLS.

Gray, Anne. 2005. "The Changing Availability of Grandparents as Carers and its Implications for Childcare Policy in the UK." *Journal of Social Policy* 34, 4: 557-577.

Gray, Jane and Aileen O'Carroll. 2012. "Education and Class-formation in 20th Century Ireland: A Retrospective Qualitative Longitudinal Analysis." *Sociology* 46, 4: 696-711.

Gray, Matthew, Misson, Sebastian and Hayes, Alan. 2005. "Young Children and their Grandparents." *Family Matters* 72, pp. 10-17.

Guinnane, Timothy W. 1997. *The Vanishing Irish: Households, Migration and the Rural Economy in Ireland, 1850-1914*. Princeton: University Press.

Hannan, Damien. and Commins, Patrick. 1992. 'The Significance of Small-scale Landholders in Ireland's Socio-Economic Transition.' Pp. 79-104 in John H. Goldthorpe and Christopher T. Whelan, eds. *The Development of Industrial Society in Ireland*. Oxford: The British Academy.

Harper, Sarah. 2003. "Changing Families as European Societies Age." *Archives Europeennes de Sociologie* 44, 2: 155-184.

Herlofson, Katharina and Hagestad, Gunhild. 2011. "Challenges in Moving from Macro to Micro: Population and Family Structures in Ageing Societies. *Demographic Research* 25: 337-370.

Irwin, Sarah and Mandy Winterton. 2011. "Debates in Qualitative Secondary Analysis: Critical Reflections." *Timescapes Working Paper Series*, No. 4.

Jappens, Maikke and Jan Van Bavel. 2011. "Regional family cultures and childcare by grandparents in Europe." *Demographic Research* 27, 4: 85-120.

King, Valerie and Glen Elder, Jr. 1997. "The Legacy of Grandparenting: Childhood Experiences of Grandparents and Current Involvement with Grandchildren." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 59, 4: 848-859.

Kohli, Martin. 2006. "Ageing and Justice." Pp. 456-478 in Robert H. Binstock & Linda K. George, eds. *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, 6th edition. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Layte, R. and Whelan, C. T. (2000) 'The rising tide and equality of opportunity: the changing class structure'. In: Nolan, B, O'Connell, P. J. and Whelan, C. T. (eds) *Bust to Boom? The Irish Experience of Growth and Inequality*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 90-108.

Ruggles, Steven. 2009. "Reconsidering the Northwest European Family System: Living Arrangements of the Aged in Comparative Historical Perspective." *Population and Development Review* 35, 2: 249-273.

Ruggles, Steven. 2007. "The Decline of Intergenerational Coresidence in the United States, 1850-2000. *American Sociological Review* 72, 6: 964-989.

Russell, Helen, Frances McGinnity, Tim Callan and Claire Keane. 2009. *A Woman's Place: Female Participation in the Irish Labour Market*. Dublin: Equality Authority and Economic and Social Research Institute.

Settles, Barbara H., Jia Zhao, Karen Doniker Mancini, Amanda Rich, Shawneila Pierre and Atiena Odour. 2010. "Grandparents caring for their grandchildren: emerging roles and exchanges in global perspective." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 40, 5: 827-848.

Whelan, Christopher T., Richard Breen and Brendan J. Whelan. 1992. "Industrialisation, Class Formation and Social Mobility in Ireland." Pp. 105-128 in John H. Goldthorpe and Christopher T. Whelan, eds. *The Development of Industrial Society in Ireland*. Oxford: The British Academy.

Williams, James, Sheila Greene, Erika Doyle, Elaine Harris, Richard Layte, Selina McCoy, Cathal McCrory, Aisling Murray, Elizabeth Nixon, Tom O'Dowd, Mona O'Moore, Amanda Quail, Emer Smyth, Lorraine Swords and Maeve Thornton. 2009. *National Longitudinal Study of Children, Growing Up in Ireland. The Lives of 9-Year Olds. Report 1*. Dublin: Stationery Office.

Timonen, Virpi and Sara Arber. 2012. "A New Look at Grandparenting." Pp. 1-24 in Sara Arber and Virpi Timonen, eds. *Contemporary Grandparenting: Changing Family Relationships in Global Contexts.* Bristol: Policy Press.