

University of Southampton Research Repository

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis and, where applicable, any accompanying data are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis and the accompanying data cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content of the thesis and accompanying research data (where applicable) must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holder/s.

When referring to this thesis and any accompanying data, full bibliographic details must be given, e.g.

Thesis: Author (Year of Submission) "Full thesis title", University of Southampton, name of the University Faculty or School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

Data: Author (Year) Title. URI [dataset]

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Department of Gerontology

**Social Change and Intergenerational Family Support amongst Three Cohorts of
Older People in China-A Mixed Methods study**

by

Ning Wang

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

[August_2018]

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Department of Gerontology

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Social Change and Intergenerational Family Support amongst Three Cohorts of Older People in China-A Mixed Methods study

Ning Wang

China's ageing process is accelerating as the large birth cohorts of the 1950s and 1960s enter their old age. Existing literature in China, as in many developing countries, has largely regarded older people as a homogeneous group and neglects the changing life experiences of different ageing cohorts and how their characteristics change accordingly. This study contributes to ageing research by using a life-course perspective and cohort lens to investigate the early life experiences and later life ageing scenarios amongst the cohorts born in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s; cohorts whose lives have been shaped by China's social and economic transformation over the past seven decades. It sheds light on the possible family care circumstances of future older people, represented by the 1960s cohort, and proposes relevant policy interventions.

By employing a sequential-explanatory mixed methods approach, this research finds that: 1) Each birth cohort has been influenced by the transformation of the last 70 years in a distinctive way. Thus they have different needs and expectations for later life, and the vulnerable groups within each cohort are distinct and have specific primary needs. 2) Overall, there are four main influences on the patterns of intergenerational support between older people and their adult children: parents' SES, parents' needs, children's SES, and the effect of investment. 3) Although the 1960s cohort has fewer adult children 'available', they are better off, better educated, and more modern and independent than previous cohorts. Consequently, they are likely to expect more emotional rather than material support from their children. 4) Social support agencies need to collaborate, and to work alongside adult children, to provide long-term care for future cohorts of older people in China. More targeted social policies are needed to meet the specific needs of vulnerable groups amongst different cohorts of older people.

Future research needs to address the following groups: older men who have experienced divorce, those older people who have migrated, and one-child families; and issues: technological development and ageing scenarios, and long-term care provision for rural and less-developed communities.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	i
Table of Tables	ix
Table of Figures.....	xiii
Acknowledgements.....	xvii
Academic Thesis: Declaration of Authorship	xix
Definitions and Abbreviations	xxi
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Overview	1
1.2 Research Context.....	2
1.3 Research Questions	6
1.4 Research Contribution	7
1.5 Thesis Outline	8
Chapter 2 Understanding Ageing and Intergenerational Family Support:	
Perspectives, Theories and Influencing Factors	9
2.1 The life course perspective.....	9
2.1.1 The origin and development of the life course perspective	10
2.1.2 The life course perspective and its application to ageing and intergenerational family support	12
2.1.2.1 Ageing as a lifelong process.....	12
2.1.2.2 Ageing in particular times and spaces	14
2.1.2.3 Timings in people's lives	14
2.1.2.4 Linked lives and the synchronisation of individual life courses with family life cycles	15
2.1.2.5 Human agency and resilience	16
2.2 Types of intergenerational family support	17
2.3 Theories for Explaining Intergenerational Relations and Family Support	18
2.3.1 The socioeconomic perspective	18
2.3.2 The relationship perspective.....	20
2.3.3 The cultural perspective	22

Table of Contents

2.3.4	The motivational perspective.....	23
2.4	Factors that Influence People's Intergenerational Family Support in Later Life	25
2.4.1	Factors from adult children.....	25
2.4.1.1	<i>Gender</i>	25
2.4.1.2	<i>Socioeconomic status</i>	29
2.4.1.3	<i>Marital and parental status</i>	29
2.4.1.4	<i>Living arrangements and proximity</i>	31
2.4.2	Factors from Parents	32
2.4.2.1	<i>Gender</i>	32
2.4.2.2	<i>Age</i>	33
2.4.2.3	<i>Marital status</i>	34
2.4.2.4	<i>Parental status</i>	36
2.4.2.5	<i>Health status</i>	37
2.4.2.6	<i>Socioeconomic status</i>	38
2.4.3	Other factors	39
2.4.3.1	<i>Social norms, obligations, and affection</i>	39
2.4.3.2	<i>Reciprocity</i>	40
2.5	Chapter Summary	42
Chapter 3	Ageing in China: Research Context through a Cohort Lens.....	43
3.1	Population Ageing in China: an Overview	43
3.1.1	Trends and prospects	43
3.1.2	Locating the three birth cohorts in China's social and historical change	48
3.2	Social Context: China's Social and Political Change in Four Historical Periods ...	49
3.2.1	The national building period (1949-65).....	50
3.2.2	The Cultural Revolution period (1966-1977)	52
3.2.3	The early Market-Reform period (1978-1991)	54
3.2.4	The Post-Reform period (1992-).....	56
3.3	Family Context: Family Structures and Living Arrangements of Older People	58
3.3.1	Household size and family structure.....	58

3.3.2	The living arrangements of older people.....	59
3.4	Geographic Context: Urban Rural Differences in Older Age Support in China.....	61
3.5	Chapter Summary.....	64
Chapter 4	Methodology	65
4.1	Mixed Methods: Research Design	65
4.1.1	The implementation of mixed methods: debates and rational.....	65
4.1.2	Research aims and research design	69
4.2	Phase I: Quantitative Analysis of Secondary data	71
4.2.1	Data	71
4.2.2	Outcome variables.....	75
4.2.3	Primary independent variable.....	78
4.2.4	Covariates.....	78
4.2.5	Data Analysis	80
4.3	Phase II: Qualitative Study at Two Provinces of China.....	84
4.3.1	Study aims and rational	84
4.3.2	Research settings	84
4.3.3	Semi-structured interview: sampling, interview guide, and participant recruitment	85
4.3.4	Data analysis	89
4.4	Ethical Issues.....	91
Chapter 5	Descriptive Statistical Results	97
5.1	Sociodemographic Background of the Three Birth Cohorts in China	97
5.1.1	Educational levels	99
5.1.2	Marital status	104
5.1.3	Parental status.....	108
5.2	Living Arrangements of the Three Cohorts	110
5.2.1	Co-residence.....	110
5.2.2	Non-coresidence.....	117
5.3	Family Support Resources for the Three Cohorts	121

Table of Contents

5.3.1	Intergenerational material transfers	121
5.3.2	Meeting and contact with children.....	125
5.3.3	Instrumental help from children.....	128
5.4	Key Preliminary Findings of the Descriptive Data.....	132
Chapter 6	Regression Analysis of Family Support in China.....	135
6.1	Adult Children Proximity	135
6.2	Material Support from Non-co-resident Children.....	138
6.3	Frequent Meeting with Non-co-resident Children	141
6.4	Frequent Contact with Non-co-resident Children.....	145
6.5	Children Are Assumed to Be the Main Future Carer	148
6.6	The Difference of Influential Factors between Different Birth Cohorts.....	151
6.7	Towards a typology of intergenerational support among Chinese older people ...	163
6.7.1	Parents' 'attractive' effect.....	164
6.7.2	Parents' needs effect	165
6.7.3	Child's high SES effect.....	166
6.7.4	Investment effect.....	167
Chapter 7	The Children of the New PRC: Intergenerational Support amongst the 1940s Cohort.....	169
7.1	Social and Historical Events, Early Life Experiences, and Potential Later Life Care Resources and Care Needs.....	169
7.1.1	The 1940s Cohort Living in Rural Villages.....	170
7.1.2	The 1940s cohort living in small towns.....	175
7.1.3	The 1940s cohort living in the city	179
7.2	Current Patterns of Intergenerational Family Support.....	185
7.2.1	The 1940s Cohort Living in Rural Villages.....	185
7.2.2	The 1940s cohort living in small towns.....	189
7.2.3	The 1940s cohort living in the city	191
7.3	Preparations and Expectations for Later Life: An Investigation from the Parents' Perspective	196
7.3.1	The 1940s Cohort Living in Rural Villages.....	196

7.3.2	The 1940s cohort living in small towns	198
7.3.3	The 1940s cohort living in the city.....	202
7.4	Chapter Summary.....	205
 Chapter 8 The ‘Lost Generation’: Intergenerational Support amongst the 1950s Cohort.....207		
8.1	Social and Historical Events, Early Life Experiences, and Potential Later Life Care Resources and Care Needs	207
8.1.1	The 1950s Cohort Living in Rural Villages	207
8.1.2	The 1950s cohort living in small towns	212
8.1.3	The 1950s cohort living in the city.....	214
8.2	Current Patterns of Intergenerational Family Support	219
8.2.1	The 1950s Cohort Living in Rural Villages	220
8.2.2	The 1950s cohort living in small towns	223
8.2.3	The 1950s cohort living in the city.....	224
8.3	Preparations and Expectations for Later Life: An Investigation from the Parents’ Perspective	228
8.3.1	The 1950s Cohort Living in Rural Villages	228
8.3.2	The 1950s cohort living in small towns	230
8.3.3	The 1950s cohort living in the city.....	232
8.4	Chapter Summary.....	236
 Chapter 9 The Cohort under Reform: Intergenerational Support amongst the 1960s Cohort.....237		
9.1	Social and Historical Events, Early Life Experiences and Potential Later Life Care Resources and Care Needs	237
9.1.1	The 1960s Cohort Living in Rural Villages	237
9.1.2	The 1960s cohort living in small towns	242
9.1.3	The 1960s cohort living in the city.....	244
9.2	Current Patterns of Intergenerational Family Support	248
9.2.1	The 1960s Cohort Living in Rural Villages	248
9.2.2	The 1960s cohort living in small towns	251

Table of Contents

9.2.3	The 1960s cohort living in the city	253
9.3	Preparations and Expectations for Later Life: An Investigation from the Parents' Perspective	257
9.3.1	The 1960s Cohort Living in Rural Villages.....	257
9.3.2	The 1960s cohort living in small towns.....	260
9.3.3	The 1960s cohort living in the city	262
9.4	Chapter Summary	266
Chapter 10 Discussion and Conclusion.....		267
10.1	Highlights of Quantitative Research Findings	268
10.2	Highlights of Qualitative Research Findings	270
10.3	Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Research Phases of This Study	275
10.4	Implications of This Study.....	279
10.4.1	Conceptualisation of three cohorts and rethinking ageing and modernisation theory in the context of contemporary China	279
10.4.2	The vulnerable groups of older people highlighted by the qualitative study.	282
10.4.3	The emerging trends among Chinese older people in the context of social modernisation.....	284
10.5	Recommendations for Social Policy	285
10.5.1	Social policy for potentially vulnerable groups of older people.....	286
10.5.2	Multi-agent care systems for future cohorts of older people	287
10.6	Research Contribution	290
10.6.1	Theoretical contribution.....	290
10.6.2	Methodological initiative	292
10.6.3	Empirical contribution	293
10.7	Limitations and Future Directions	296
10.7.1	Research limitations.....	296
10.7.2	Future directions	297
Appendix A	Key Terminology in the Life Course Perspective	299
Appendix B	Data Structure of CHARLS 2011 Baseline Dataset	301
Appendix C	Sample Size of CHARLS 2011 Baseline Dataset	303

Appendix D	The Flow Diagram of Subsets Merging Process	305
Appendix E	Number of cases that Have Been Dropped from the Analytical Dataset	307
Appendix F	Stage One- Screening Questionnaire	309
Appendix G	Stage Two - Semi-Structured Interview Guide	319
Appendix H	Participant Information Sheets (Stage One)	323
Appendix I	Participant Information Sheet (Stage Two)	327
Appendix J	Consent Form (Stage One for screening questionnaire participants).....	331
Appendix K	Consent Form (Stage Two for in-depth interview participants)...	333
Bibliography		335

Table of Tables

Table 1: Life trajectories of China's three cohorts under particular social-historical periods.....	2
Table 2: Six main elements in intergenerational solidarity and their indicators	20
Table 3: The life table of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s birth cohorts in China.....	48
Table 4: Primary source of support for Chinese older people, 2005 – most significant share of support reported	62
Table 5: Five justifications of integrating quantitative and qualitative methods	67
Table 6: The correlations between outcome variables	80
Table 7: Logistic regression models comparison.....	81
Table 8: Type 1 participants – urban parents with urban adult child/children (completed school education and economically active).....	86
Table 9: Type 2 interviews – rural parents with at least one urban adult child (completed school education and are economically active).....	87
Table 10: Type 3 interviews – rural parents with all of their adult children living in rural areas (completed school education and economically active)	87
Table 11: Themes from qualitative data analysis.....	90
Table 12: Demographic backgrounds of three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data ^{1,2,3,4}	98
Table 13: Percentage of educational levels for men and women with rural and urban Hukou status amongst three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data.....	101
Table 14: The proportion of marital status for the three cohorts with rural and urban Hukou in CHARLS 2011 data.....	106
Table 15: The proportion of marital status for men and women of the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data.....	107
Table 16: Percentage of different types of living arrangements for men and women of three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data.....	112
Table 17: Proportion of living arrangements for the three cohorts with rural and urban Hukou in CHARLS 2011 Data	113

Table of Tables

Table 18: Percentage of men and women living with their married sons and daughters amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data.....	117
Table 19: The proportion of having a co-resident child amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data	118
Table 20: The proportion of having a child in the same neighbourhood/community amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data:.....	120
Table 21: Percentage of people who receive and give material support from and to non-co-resident children amongst three cohorts with rural and urban Hukou	123
Table 22: The proportion of men and women with urban and rural residence from the three birth cohorts who get different types of material support from their non-co-resident children in CHARLS 2011 data	124
Table 23: The proportion of people who have ADL/IADL difficulties in daily life amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data.....	128
Table 24: Source of help available for functional difficulties among each birth cohort (%)	130
Table 25 : Logistic regressions for Adult children proximity	137
Table 26: Logistic regressions for having material support from non-co-resident children.....	140
Table 27: Logistic regressions for frequent meeting with non-co-resident children	143
Table 28: Logistic regressions for having frequent contact with non-co-resident children.....	146
Table 29: Logistic regressions for regarding children as the main future carer	150
Table 30: Comparison of odds ratios regarding adult child proximity amongst three birth cohorts	152
Table 31: Adjusted predicted probabilities of having an adult child living in the same city amongst three birth cohorts.....	153
Table 32: Comparison of odds ratios of material support from non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts.....	154
Table 33: Adjusted predicted probabilities of material support from non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts	155
Table 34: Comparison of odds ratios of frequent meeting with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts.....	156

Table 35: Adjusted predicted probabilities of frequent meeting with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts	157
Table 36: Comparison of odds ratios of frequent contact with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts	158
Table 37: Adjusted predicted probabilities of frequent contact with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts	159
Table 38: Comparison of odds ratios of assuming the children as the main future carer amongst three birth cohorts	161
Table 39: Adjusted predicted probabilities of assuming the children as the main future carer amongst three birth cohorts	161
Table 40: Factors that are positive or negative for all of the five types of family support	163
Table 41: Factors that are positive for adult child proximity, frequent meeting and contact but negative for material support	165
Table 42: Factors that are positive for adult child proximity, material support, but negative for frequent contact	166
Table 43: Adult child's social economic predictors and family support.....	167
Table 44: Investment to adult children /grandchildren and family support	167

Table of Figures

Figure 1: Modernisation and ageing theory	19
Figure 2: Share of the Chinese population by age group (%), selected years, 1953-2000 and projections to 2050	44
Figure 3: Total Fertility Rate (TFR) (children per women) in China: 1955–2010	45
Figure 4: Birth rate and death rate in China: 1949–2004 (births/deaths per 1,000 people)	46
Figure 5: The effect of ageing on the future number of people with at least one NCD, by gender	47
Figure 6: Distribution of households by number of members (1982–2000).....	59
Figure 7: Prototypes of research design	70
Figure 8: Sampling method of CHARLS 2011–12 baseline data	72
Figure 9: Sampling process.....	86
Figure 10: Illiteracy rate for men and women of the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011data	99
Figure 11: Illiteracy rate for people with rural and urban Hukou amongst three cohorts in CHARLS 2011data.....	100
Figure 12: The proportion of different categories of marital status for three cohorts in CHARLS 2011data.....	104
Figure 13: Mean number of alive children for three cohorts with rural and urban Hukou in CHARLS 2011data.....	108
Figure 14: Mean number of alive sons and daughters for three cohorts in rural and urban areas in CHARLS 2011data.....	109
Figure 15: Living arrangements for three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data	111
Figure 16: The rate of co-resident with married children amongst three cohorts in CHARLS 2011data.....	114
Figure 17: The proportion of co-residing with married children amongst the three cohorts with rural and urban Hukou in CHARLS 2011data	116
Figure 18: The distance to adult children amongst three cohort in CHARLS 2011data	118

Table of Figures

Figure 19: The proportion of having a child in the same neighbourhood/community, when having no co-resident children (sample size 5,544), amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data	119
Figure 20: The proportion of having a child in the same city when having no access to a child in the same neighbourhood/community, amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011data	120
Figure 21: Different kinds of material support from and to non-co-resident children, amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011data.....	122
Figure 22: Frequency of meeting non-co-resident children amongst three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data	125
Figure 23: Weekly meeting with non-co-resident children amongst three cohorts with rural and urban Hukou in 2011 CHARLS data	126
Figure 24: Frequency of contacting with non-co-resident children if cannot meet the children within one week, amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011data	127
Figure 25: Children as main carers to support ADL/IADL difficulties in daily life amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data.....	129
Figure 26: Hypothetical main carers in the future among the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011data	131
Figure 27: Adjusted predicted probabilities of having an adult child living in the same city amongst three birth cohorts.....	153
Figure 28: Adjusted predicted probabilities of having an adult child living in the same city amongst three birth cohorts in different social groups.....	153
Figure 29: Adjusted predicted probabilities of material support from non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts	155
Figure 30: Adjusted predicted probabilities of material support from non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts in different social groups	156
Figure 31: Adjusted predicted probabilities of frequent meeting with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts	157
Figure 32: Adjusted predicted probabilities of frequent meeting with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts in different social groups	158

Figure 33: Adjusted predicted probabilities of frequent contact with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts	160
Figure 34: Adjusted predicted probabilities of frequent contact with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts in different social groups	160
Figure 35: Adjusted predicted probabilities of assuming the children as the main future carer amongst three birth cohorts	162
Figure 36: Adjusted predicted probabilities for three cohorts in different groups regarding having a child available as future carer	162
Figure 37: Early life experiences and later life family support circumstances amongst China's 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts	270
Figure 38 The integration of quantitative and qualitative phases in response to four research questions	278
Figure 39: Three-dimensional conceptualisation of the three cohorts in terms of their later-life long- term care circumstances.....	281
Figure 40: Multi-agent care system for future cohorts of older people	289
Figure 41: Revised modernisation and ageing theory	292

Acknowledgements

This research cannot be done without the support of many people. Firstly, my sincere gratitude goes to Prof. Jane Falkingham and Prof. Maria Evandrou. Jane is the one who led me to the research of ageing and life course. I got substantial guidance and support from both supervisors' academic expertise and research experience. Thank you both for the opportunity you gave me to do this PhD, and for your continuing patience, encouragement and support, without which I could not arrive at the destination of this PhD journey.

I would like to thank Prof. Athina Vlachantoni and Dr Gloria Chepngeno Langat for their constructive comments during my upgrade. Thanks to Dr Frank Zhixin Feng for his help with my statistics, and other staff in the department of Gerontology for their support. Gratitude also goes to Athina and Prof. Qiang Ren from Peking University for their helpful comments during the viva.

Sincere thanks to all my research participants and local helpers from China, especially Ms Guan, Ms Chen, Mr Li and many others, without whom the fieldwork could not have been completed. Particularly thanks to Associate Professor Xiaoting Liu from Zhejiang University for her help during my fieldwork in Zhejiang. Also thanks to the CHARLS team from Peking University for their release of the research data.

This PhD research is funded by University of Southampton, Faculty of Social, Human and Mathematical Sciences Studentship, and I am very grateful for this. The fieldwork is partially supported by Research Mobility Programme (RMP) from the Worldwide Universities Network (WUN), which is much appreciated.

Thanks to Fiona Barnett for her helpful editing advice on the thesis. With the oversight of my main supervisor, no changes of intellectual content were made as a result of this advice, and the author is responsible for any remaining imperfections.

Thanks to my friends and colleagues: Luiz, Frank, Patricia, Margarida, Kathryn, Nele, Hui, Min, Yazhen, and my dear housemates and other PhD peers for their academic and emotional support. Thank you all!

Finally, this thesis is dedicated to my beloved family: father, mother, Shengqiang, and Zihao. Thank you all for your unwavering and endless love, understanding, and encouragement throughout the process. You are a wonderful source of courage and strength and I am indebted to you all!

This thesis is also in memory of my dearest grandma, who left us during my PhD study. I miss you and thank you for your boundless love!

Academic Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

I, Ning Wang.....

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Social Change and Intergenerational Family Support amongst Three Cohorts of Older People in China,

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date:

Definitions and Abbreviations

ADL	Activities of Daily Living
CAPI	Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing
CFPS	China Family Panel Study
CGSS	China General Social Survey
CHARLS	China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study
CLASS	China Longitudinal Ageing Social Survey
CLHLS	Chinese Longitudinal Healthy Longevity Survey
CPCC	Chinese Political Consultative Conference
DSE	Display Screen Equipment
ERGO	Ethics and Research Governance Online
FGS	Five Guarantee Scheme
FPP	Family Planning Policy
HALE	Healthy Life Expectancy
IADL	Instrumental Activities of Daily Living
MAR	Missing At Random
MCAR	Missing Complete At Random
NCD	Non-Communicable Diseases
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPC	National People's Congress
NRCMI	New Rural Cooperative Medical Insurance
NRPS	New Rural Pension Scheme
PID	Participant Identifier

Definitions and Abbreviations

PPS	Probability-Proportional-to-Size
PRC	People's Republic of China
PSU	Primary Sampling Units
RMP	Research Mobility Programme
SES	Social Economic Status
SOE	State-owned Enterprise
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
WUN	Worldwide Universities Network

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

China has the largest older population in the world (Phillips and Feng, 2015), and its ageing process will accelerate as the large Chinese cohorts born in the 1950s and 1960s enter later life over the next decades (Max-Planck Research, 2008). In the 2010 Chinese Census, the population aged 40–49 years old (roughly the 1960s birth cohort) comprised 17,818,608 individuals, representing 2.41 times the size of the 60–69 age group (approximately the 1940s birth cohort). At the same time, the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in China has been below two children per women since the year 1993 (The World Bank, 2016). This means that in twenty years' time, China will witness a dramatic rise in its old age dependency ratio as the number of people of working age falls relative to those of retirement age; presenting a challenge to China's social welfare system.

However, the statistics just tell part of the story, which largely neglects the changing characteristics of the older population themselves. As China has undergone remarkable social transformation after its foundation in 1949, the life trajectories of successive birth cohorts are distinct as they have been shaped by the times and social transitions. Being born and raised up in different social periods of contemporary China, their growth environment, education, chances for employment as well as the choice of fertility are distinct. These early life experiences and accumulated socioeconomic resources will significantly impact upon their outlook as well as the scenarios of social support in later life. In addition, this may also suggest potential distinctive demands for social support among different birth cohorts of older people in China.

This research, therefore, employs the 'cohort lens' to investigate how social change in China has influenced three birth cohorts (the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts) regarding their experiences in early life and how this in turn may affect the likelihood of receiving family support in later life. Before proposing the specific research questions of this research, it is worth briefing discussing how the life trajectories of each birth cohort in the context of China's recent social and economic transformations.

1.2 Research Context

During the past six or seven decades, China has undergone a series of social and political events, which may be used to divide recent Chinese history into several distinct periods (Zhou, 2004). Table 1 outlines each historical period and locates the life courses of each birth cohort within these. Chapter 3 will provide a fuller discussion of each of these historical periods and the potential influences on each birth cohort. However here in the introduction, we briefly review these ‘events’ from a life course perspective in order to provide the overarching context and justification for our research questions and design.

Table 1: Life trajectories of China's three cohorts under particular social-historical periods

<div> <div>Cohorts</div> <div>Periods</div> </div>	1940s	1950s	1960s
	cohort	cohort	cohort
<div> <div>1949–1965</div> <div>National building period</div> </div>	0~25	0~15	0~5
	Young adulthood	Adolescence	Infanthood
<div> <div>1966–1977</div> <div>Cultural Revolution period</div> </div>	17~37	7~27	0~17
	Family formation-mid-life	Young adulthood-family formation	Adolescent-young adulthood
<div> <div>1978–1991</div> <div>Early Market-Reform period</div> </div>	29~51	19~41	9~31
	Mid-life	Family formation-mid-life	Young adulthood-family formation
<div> <div>1992–</div> <div>Post-Reform period</div> </div>	50s	40s	30s
	Younger-old age	Mid-life	Family formation
<div> <div>2011</div> <div></div> </div>	62~71	52~61	42~51
	Middle-old age	Younger-old age	Mid-life
<div> <div>2030</div> <div></div> </div>			61-70

Source: the author's work.

According to the political orientation, social events and economic development, the history of contemporary China can be divided into several periods: the national building period (1949-65), the Cultural Revolution period (1966-77), the early Market-Reform period (1978-91) and the Post-Reform period (1992-) (see 3.2 for more details).

The 1949–1965 period witnessed a series of hardships in the exploration of nation-building and central government enhancement. The most evocative social events were the ‘Great Leap Forward’ campaign (1958-62) and ‘The Great Famine (1958-61)’. It was estimated that 36 million people had died during the famine, most of whom were living in rural areas (Kane, 1988). Previous research has confirmed that childhood health and nutrition status have a significant influence on adult health, employment and socioeconomic status (Case, Fertig and Paxson, 2005; Chen and Zhou, 2007). It is highly likely therefore that people born during the late 1940s and 1950s may have been negatively influenced in this way, as many of them were in their adolescence or early childhood during The Great Famine. The deprived living conditions in their early life course may also have a persisting influence upon their values, outlook and lifestyles in later life.

Besides the Great Famine, this period also witnessed various political campaigns which altered the life chances of a large number of people (Zhou, 2004). In this aspect, some people from the 1940s cohort may have been impacted directly, while others from the 1950s and 1960s cohort may have been influenced indirectly because of the involvement of key family members.

In addition, the Hukou registration system was built in this period. This registration system has differentiated the life chances for urban and rural residents by enshrining distinct entitlements for resources and social welfare depending on residence; it also strictly controlled rural to urban migration, resulting in a great divide between the two regions. The three birth cohorts have all been influenced by the Hukou system at different stages of the life course, however, the 1940s cohort seems to have been most heavily affected as they were in their young adulthood throughout this period of national building. Many life chances were limited for those from the 1940s growing up in rural areas; for example, the opportunities for other economic activities outside of agriculture and farming were severely constrained.

The 1966-1977 period roughly coincides with the period of the Cultural Revolution, when Chinese society experienced social chaos in many aspects. For example, the Cultural Revolution caused massive disruption of education in China, in particular between 1966-68,

when almost all secondary and tertiary level institutions were shut down completely (Deng and Treiman, 1997). When the universities reopened in 1972, the principal criteria for college admission became class background and party loyalty rather than academic achievements (Shirk and Shirk, 1982), therefore the children of the intelligentsia were likely to have been especially negatively affected in their personal development as intelligentsia origins were treated as ‘bad elements’ at that time (Deng and Treiman, 1997). In addition, about 17 million Chinese urban youth (mostly from junior and senior high school) were forced to work in rural areas, and life trajectories of the ‘Sent-down Youth’ were most likely to be interrupted and shaped by the state policy (Zhou and Hou, 1999; Xie, Jiang and Greenman, 2008).

Amongst the three birth cohorts, people who were born in the late 1940s and early 1950s were likely to be negatively influenced¹. Their normative life trajectories may have been adversely affected by experiencing interrupted education, delayed marriage, and possible marriage disruption when the ‘sent-down’ policy ended (Chang, 1996b).

The 1978-1991 period can be classified as the early Market-Reform period with the launch of the ‘Open-Door Policy’ in 1978. Since then, China had seen a great transformation in many of its societal, economic and cultural aspects. The Open-Door Policy not only created lots of job opportunities and led to significant economic prosperity to China, but also introduced western values, such as individualism to Chinese society, which may in turn influence people’s family values and attitudes towards intergenerational support. One study suggests that the Open-Door Policy has four aspects of influences on the Chinese families: Family support and responsibility, family membership and stability, family involvement and interdependence and family diversity (Quach and Anderson, 2008). It implies a series of changes for Chinese families in the context Economic Reform; for example, the change of family values, household composition, people’s fertility choice, women’s social roles and labour force participation and so on. In addition, the One-Child Policy was introduced in 1979, exerting a great influence on people’s fertility choice and family building patterns during this period.

Amongst the three birth cohorts, the 1950s and 1960s cohorts are more likely to have been influenced by the social changes that came about from the introduction of Market Reforms

¹ The well-known ‘Lao-San-Jie’, which means the junior and senior high school graduates between 1966-68, are likely to be born between the 1949-1954 and they are the main body of the ‘sent-down youth’ during the Cultural Revolution.

as they were entering young adulthood during this period and thus this phase of their life course would have been shaped by the availability of new economic opportunities and changing social values, as well as by the more restrictive population policy. Patterns of family building for some people from the urban 1950s cohort and many from the 1960s cohort were affected by the One-Child Policy, and they have significantly lower fertility compared with the older cohorts (see Figure 3). The extent to which these changes in their economic status, social values as well as patterns of family formation may impact upon their circumstances in later life, and particularly their attitudes to and availability of family care, is worthy of further investigation.

The year 1992 is a milestone in contemporary Chinese history as Deng Xiaoping set out the future direction for China's Economic Reform during his Southern Tour (Nanxun) in 1992. After the Southern Tour, the central government further boosted the opening-up process. Numerous 'development zones' were established to attract foreign and domestic investment which in turn resulted in the growth of the Chinese economy (Qian, 1999). During this period, the State-Owned Enterprise (SOE) Reform initiated in the 1990s, resulted in a restructuring of public sector industry, which was accompanied by the emergence for the first time of open unemployment in urban society. At the same time, the growth of private sector in the development zones led to large-scale rural to urban migration, reflecting the high demand for labour during this period of rapid economic development.

People from the 1940s and 1950s cohorts were already in their early old age and midlife during this period. Some of those living in urban areas working for state enterprises may have experienced being laid-off or have taken 'early retirement' during the SOE reform (Lee, 2000). Many from the 1960s cohort, however, were in their 30s and very likely to benefit from the new economic opportunities arising from the economic reforms. Many of the 1960s cohort living in rural areas were amongst the first wave of rural-urban migrants and as a consequence might be anticipated to have better income compared with the older cohorts in rural China. The economic reforms and accompanying large-scale internal migration have interacted to reduce the extent of traditional multi-generational co-residence in rural China, and this change may impact differently upon the 1960s cohort and their parents who were born during the 1930s and 1940s.

In 2011², the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts were aged 62-71, 52-61 and 42-51, in their middle-old age, early-old age and late midlife respectively. Their current socioeconomic circumstances to some extent reflect their early life experiences, and these in turn may inform their resource preparation for later life. Their current patterns of interaction with their adult children, including transfers both from and to adult children, may also influence future patterns of family support circumstance in later life. In-depth investigation of all of these aspects is essential to identify changes and continuities between different birth cohorts of Chinese elders regarding the reality of alternative care scenarios in later life and is crucial for informing future policy design.

1.3 Research Questions

Dramatic demographic and social change in China during the past few decades suggests distinct earlier life trajectories as well as different ageing scenarios for each birth cohort. Therefore, this research aims to investigate these differences particularly with respect to people's later life family support resources and try to seek explanations from a life course perspective. The following research questions are addressed in this study:

RQ1: How do sociodemographic characteristics, family formation, and current patterns of intergenerational support and exchange of resources differ between the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s birth cohorts in China?

RQ2: What are the key factors that influence different types of intergenerational family support among currently middle-aged and older people in China?

RQ3: For China's 1940s, 1950s and 1960s birth cohorts, a) how are their family support circumstances in later life shaped by China's recent periods of social change and their own life events? b) How do their views and expectations differ regarding future long-term care?

RQ4: Who are the vulnerable groups and what are the trends amongst the three cohorts of older people and how can social policy address these?

This study employs a mixed methods approach to address the research questions. The quantitative phase of secondary data analysis will be conducted initially to identify the

² This research uses the data of China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS) 2011 baseline wave. In order to be consistent with the data, we discuss the life stages of the three birth cohorts in the year 2011.

differences regarding the current sociodemographic and socioeconomic characteristics as well as the intergenerational support resources amongst three birth cohorts. In the second stage, 54 in-depth interviews will proceed to seek triangulation, explanation and enrichment of quantitative results from people's views and previous life experiences. The interviews will cover three cohorts in both urban, small-town and rural areas, central and eastern China, as well as those under different living arrangements (see 4.3.3).

1.4 Research Contribution

Based on the above discussion, this research intends to investigate how three birth cohorts of older people in China have been influenced differently by China's social transformations during the past six decades, and how the particular experience of social events in one's early life stages impact upon their ageing scenarios, and expectations and plans for later life.

This research is innovative by adopting a cohort lens under the life course perspective to investigate ageing issues in China. The cohort-comparative perspective is significant in two aspects. Firstly, previous ageing research in China has generally regarded older people as a homogeneous group and has largely neglected the dynamic nature of the older population, with the replacement of ageing birth cohorts as different cohorts enter and leave the population pyramid and the associated changing sociodemographic and socioeconomic characteristics of older people themselves (Yao and Chen, 2013). This research therefore is amongst the first to explicitly acknowledge the changes between cohorts regarding their views, demands and plans for later life to inform future policy to be more targeted and effective. Secondly, older people in previous research within China have often been regarded as vulnerable groups who are passive recipients of social support. The cohort-comparative perspective, however, focuses on the changing nature of older people and emphasises their agency, which is consistent with the espoused concept of active ageing and healthy ageing in recent policy-oriented ageing research.

The research contribution is both theoretical, involving the exploration of the life-course perspective and its application within the Chinese context, as well practical - informing the policymakers to plan ahead for the future older people. The majority of life-course research to date has mainly focused on developed areas such as North America and Europe, with significant research gaps on practices in less-developed contexts (Dannefer, 2003). This research, studying the changing life course of three cohorts in China's particular social settings and the potential ageing scenarios for the future older people, will contribute to

filling the gap of research on ageing and the life course in developing countries. The methodology is a combination of the quantitative study of a nationwide dataset and the qualitative in-depth interviews, which can provide a more comprehensive understanding of ageing and the life course. In the policy aspect, it will help the policymakers to be better aware of changes and continuities of the ageing scenarios between birth cohorts, and to make more effective decisions.

1.5 Thesis Outline

The thesis constitutes ten chapters. This first chapter has provided a general background of this study and outlined the research aims, rationale and the specific research questions. The next chapter, Chapter 2, includes a review of the literature pertaining to the life course perspective, theories for intergenerational support as well as its influential factors from both parents and adult children's aspects. Chapter 3 provides the contextual information of this research by outlining the social, familial and regional contexts in China. Chapter 4, the methodology chapter, discusses the rationale of adopting the mix-methods approach and the particular research design, research process as well as the potential ethics issues. The following Chapters, 5 and 6 present the results of the quantitative analysis. They examine the differences in the sociodemographic and socioeconomic characteristics of each birth cohort, as well as their current intergenerational support circumstances. Factors which are associated with each type of intergenerational support are identified by regression models, and typologies are summarised. Chapters 7, 8 and 9 are the three qualitative result chapters regarding the early life experience and its impact on the care scenarios in later life among each birth cohort. Chapter 10 summarises the key findings of the quantitative and qualitative research phase and endeavours to integrate both sets of results. Moreover, based on the research findings, it discusses the policy implications, contributions and limitations of this study. The thesis ends with the outlook of directions for future research informed by this empirical research.

Chapter 2 Understanding Ageing and Intergenerational Family Support: Perspectives, Theories and Influencing Factors

Chapter 2 aims to provide a review of the literature which has informed the conceptualisation of the research design and the interpretation of the findings. It starts with an introduction to the life course perspective, which is the main theoretical perspective used throughout this research. Then it discusses types of intergenerational family support, and introduces four theoretical perspectives on intergenerational relations. Finally, it reviews the factors that influence intergenerational family support from both adult children's and parents' perspectives, and discusses the influence of social norms and reciprocity.

2.1 The life course perspective

Ageing is a lifelong process; when studying old age, it is important to connect it to earlier life trajectories, and to pay attention to historical conditions and cumulative effects on a person's life (Hareven and Adams, 1982; Dannefer and Settersten, 2010). The life course perspective acknowledges the importance of societal, historical, and cultural influences on people's life courses, and the timing of each particular life event along a person's life course. In addition, it considers each person's own life course to be linked to other people's life courses, and acknowledges the role of human agency in making decisions. It is appropriate to employ a life course perspective in this research, which compares three cohorts in terms of their potential family support circumstances in old age.

Firstly, as has been briefly discussed in the Introduction, the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s cohorts, which are the objects of this study, lived through distinct social and historical contexts in China and have had different life trajectories. The life course perspective explicitly acknowledges the influence of historical time and space to help understand the circumstances of ageing of different age cohorts in a transitional Chinese context. Secondly, the focus on intergenerational relations and family support relates to 'linked lives', especially the relation between family members. This is another theme of the life course perspective. Thirdly, this research investigates the views and plans of different birth cohorts in terms of their preparations for later life, which links to the theme of 'human agency' in the life course perspective. In addition, the investigation of key family life events, such as marriage and

childbearing, involves the theme of ‘timing’ in the life course perspective. This research regards people’s ageing as ‘a lifelong process’, and aims to seek evidence from each cohort’s early life experiences to explain their later-life family support circumstances.

Therefore the life course perspective is a powerful analytical tool for this research. Before adopting this perspective, it is important to review its origin, development, and theoretical framework.

2.1.1 The origin and development of the life course perspective

The life course perspective had not been adopted as an orientation to study human lives until the pioneers, Thomas and Znaniecki, first made use of life histories and trajectories in their work, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918), and argued that such concepts should be taken into consideration by social scientists. However, it was not until the 1960s that Thomas’s advice was adopted for understanding people’s lives, and it only towards the end of the twentieth Century that the ‘life course’ became widely recognised within social and behavioural sciences (Elder, 1992). Elder is one of the scholars who have made the greatest contributions to the development of the life course perspective. Starting with the work *Children of the Great Depression* (Elder, 1999), Elder shifted the orientation of his study from the study of socialization to the study of life courses. He integrated role theory with age-based theories, and located individuals in historical time in order to better understand their independent lives along with the concepts of timing, context, background and human agency. Later as his academic career developed, he conducted comparative cohort studies, researched on people’s vulnerability and resilience in World War II, and expanded his research to other cultures by studying Japan’s military service and its impact, the influence of China’s Cultural Revolution, and the rural changes in the former East Germany (Elder, 2005).

Life course research has benefitted from four empirical research traditions in its development: historical demography, sociology of ageing, life history, and longitudinal surveys. Each of these four traditions provides part of the elaboration on life course principles. The general principles of historical demography identify particular features of individuals by locating them in time and space. The sociology of ageing, on the other hand, analyses the ageing process by considering social roles and structural changes or constraints, and regards the life course of one person as linked to others by his/her social networks. Life history studies emphasise human agency as the key element in shaping one’s life path, while the method of longitudinal study makes it possible to study the timing of life events and operationalises the

life course paradigm (Giele and Elder, 1998). The life course perspective has been applied in disciplines such as sociology, epidemiology, psychology, and history during the past half century; and each discipline has evolved its own particular research fields and analytical frameworks.

Chinese scholars in social science started to pay attention to the life course perspective in the 1990s, where it was applied to research on the Cultural Revolution and its impacts on particular cohort's life courses (Chang, 1996b;a). There is also a series of theoretical review articles introducing the main themes and analytical frameworks of the life course perspective from the 1990s onwards (Li, Deng and Xiao, 1999; Bao, 2005). Over the last two decades, the life course perspective has been widely applied to empirical social research in China in several domains. Sociological and demographic research in China has applied this perspective in research on migrant workers (Chen, 2008; Yuan, Yu and Yang, 2009; Liang, 2011; Zeng, 2014), the one-child generation and their parents' cohorts (Zhao, 2006; Song and Huang, 2011; Bao, 2012), sex preference of births (Liu, 2005; Wang, 2015), women's life courses (Hu and Zhu, 1996) and the Cultural Revolution (Chang, 1996b;a; Ci, 2002). Life course research adopts a historical view which mainly focuses on important social events such as the Cultural Revolution, the Open Door Policy, and the SOE (state-owned enterprises) reform, and their general impact on people's life courses (Zhou and Hou, 1999; Guo and Chang, 2005). However, previous life course research in China has generally focused on one particular group of people, and to the best of our knowledge, barely any research has adopted a 'cohort lens' or 'generation lens' to compare the life courses of different groups. This research on the life courses of three birth cohorts will therefore fill a gap with this respect.

Research on ageing and intergenerational relationships in China using the life course perspective has been relatively scarce. It was not until the twentieth century that Gerontology was established as an independent discipline in China's Renmin University and several other key universities (Jiang, 2003). Before that, ageing research in social science was mainly undertaken by sociologists or demographers. The development of interdisciplinary gerontological research is still ongoing, and research using an interdisciplinary life course perspective still remains sparse in China and needs to be enriched. Most published literature about life course research in China are theoretical review papers, followed by quantitative research. A few studies have used qualitative interviews as their data source, but very few pieces of empirical research within the Chinese literature have adopted mixed methods.

This research, regarding intergenerational family support in China, therefore aims to contribute to the interdisciplinary gerontological research using a life course perspective. In addition, its mixed methods approach aims to fill the research gaps in the methodological aspects of life course research in China.

2.1.2 The life course perspective and its application to ageing and intergenerational family support

The life course perspective provides both a developmental and historical framework for investigating intergenerational relations and family support (Hareven, 1996). First and foremost, it regards ageing as a lifelong process and acknowledges people's accumulation of socioeconomic resources in early life and intergenerational interaction in forming their later-life family support. Secondly, it considers the effect of historical background and cultural heritage in shaping people's life trajectories. Further, it respects the interplay of people's own life courses with family life cycles, and links individuals' family support in later life to the flow of family resources. Finally, it acknowledges older people and their family members' human agency in making decisions and finding coping strategies for receiving and providing care.

2.1.2.1 Ageing as a lifelong process

Rather than taking 'older age' as an isolated life stage, the life course perspective connects the later stage of life to various earlier life stages, and considers experience in early life when researching people's later life circumstances. In life course epidemiology studies, scholars explain the association between people's health (or mortality) in later life, and their earlier socioeconomic status (SES) using four theoretical mechanisms: the 'critical period' model, the 'accumulation of risk' model, the pathway model and the social mobility model (Ben-Shlomo and Kuh, 2002; Hallqvist *et al.*, 2004; Pudrovska and Anikputa, 2014). Although originally used in life course epidemiology, these models can also be applied to the analysis of the social aspects of ageing, and help investigate the intergenerational family support in later life.

The critical period model in epidemiology emphasises that SES during people's early lives has long-lasting and potentially irreversible effects on their biological systems (Ben-Shlomo and Kuh, 2002). Borrowing from epidemiology to analyse the ageing process, the critical period within gerontology refers to the important periods in an individual's life that will have a continuous impact on their situation in old age. Some of the impact could be irreversible.

For example, working life is a critical period that determines people's pension status in later life, and childbearing choices during one's reproductive age relate to potential intergenerational support resources in old age.

The cumulative life chance model is modified from the accumulation of risks model in epidemiology. Unlike the original one, the new model does not emphasise risk factors that may affect one's health status in old age. Instead, it studies various life events and transitions in an individual's prior life stages and their cumulative effects on people's resources in coping with situations in their old age. These resources could be personal health status, having children as caregivers, and economic resources or resources from family and other kinships. For example, Blau and Duncan (Blau and Duncan, 1967) emphasise group differences in socioeconomic status and their returns in terms of social and economic resources. The cumulative life chance model is of relevance in this research, providing a framework to understand how people from urban and rural areas, with different occupations and educational backgrounds, might be different in terms of their later -life family support resources.

The pathway model is distinct from the previous two models. Instead of drawing attention to one particular life period or the cumulative effects of early life periods, it emphasises the mediation of later life experiences on exposures in earlier life, and assumes concurrent effects of earlier and later life resources. One of the important mediators between earlier life experiences and later life outcomes is midlife experience (Ben-Shlomo and Kuh, 2002). Work, occupation, social networks, or marriage could all mediate the effects of earlier life on later life circumstances.

The social mobility model holds the idea that people have some mobility across the whole life course, and that people's experiences in adulthood, to some extent, can possibly mitigate or even reverse negative effects from early life (Ferraro and Shippee, 2009). Work career, marriage, family building, and childbearing in midlife are potential factors that might contribute to social mobility.

The four models are inspiring in researching people's later-life family support. On one hand, it is essential to consider the continuity and cumulative factors in people's life courses. On the other hand, it is necessary to pay attention to changes and social mobility. By considering ageing as a lifelong process, which contains both continuities and changes, one can better understand how family support resources were formed and how people's distinct coping strategies were developed for their later lives.

2.1.2.2 *Ageing in particular times and spaces*

Individuals are embedded in social environment; they are constrained by time and space. When doing research, the life course perspective emphasises the consideration of the interaction of demographics, social structures, and cultural factors (Hareven, 1994). These social and cultural factors could influence birth cohorts differently at their particular life stages, which would result in specific cohort effects. For example, the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) in China had a profound impact on people living in that period. However, its impact on the 1950s birth cohort was generally more dramatic since it possibly interrupted their education, reduced their job opportunities, and postponed their subsequent marriages and childbearing. By contrast, the influence on other birth cohorts who had already finished their school education or were still in early childhood was relatively minor. Alongside the cohort differences, there might be important intra-cohorts differences between those within the same cohort but living in different places e.g. between people living in rural and urban areas of China. Intra-cohort differences may also be the result of institutional factors, such as the differential impact of social policies within different social institutions.

The experience of a particular social event may alter people's life trajectories and result in distinct later life scenarios. To be more specific, historical events can be thought to affect people's life on two levels: individuals can experience these events themselves and be affected directly via their own life courses, or the effects of these historical events could be transmitted indirectly across the generations (Hareven and Masaoka, 1988). Thus, societal and historical events may have profound effects across generations through the intergenerational transfer of life chances. In this research, the 1950s cohort were more likely to be affected by the Cultural Revolution than the other two cohorts: some returned 'sent-down youth' experienced divorce (Chang, 1996b), and others experienced being laid off during the SOE reform in the 1990s (Ci, 2002). The Cultural Revolution was a profound influence on their own life courses and life chances; however, would these disadvantages in turn affect their families and their children? If so, how would it work, and thus how would this influence the family support provided by their children when the 1950s cohort became older?

2.1.2.3 *Timings in people's lives*

The timing of an individual's life events, or life transitions, reflects the entry and exit into different social and family roles over their life course. It addresses the following questions: how do individuals make decisions and arrange different roles in their life stages? How do

they respond to the timing of external events, and take actions to adapt to these events and utilise the resources available to them? The timings of events in an individual's life hinge upon the social and cultural context, and they vary across different time periods and societies (Hareven, 1994). The timings of, and space between, life events constitute people's life trajectories. If the timings of one's life events follow the 'normal' path from childhood to old age and include most of the important life transitions (such as school education, entry into the labour market, marriage, parenthood, retirement, etc), then they form a normative life trajectory. Otherwise, if the timings of life transitions are disordered and abnormally sequenced, the individual is considered to experience a non-normative life trajectory. For example, the 'Lao San Jie' cohort³ during China's Cultural Revolution experienced atypical non-normative life trajectories. Because of their experience of being 'sent-down', the timing of their higher education, marriage, and childbearing was postponed. They are among the late 1940s and early 1950s cohorts in this research. When studying their later life circumstances, it is crucial to take the timing of their life events into consideration. In contemporary society, people's lives are more changeable and unpredictable, and their life courses tend to have more twists and turns, and ups and downs. As Shanahan stated, 'modernity has a large negative effect on the prevalence of the normative pattern, but a larger positive effect on the prevalence of extreme non-normative pattern' (Shanahan, 2000). Therefore, research on people's life transitions is considered to be quite important. In this research, the timing of life events for each birth cohort will be considered to help explain their differences in later life.

2.1.2.4 *Linked lives and the synchronisation of individual life courses with family life cycles*

The research focus on intergenerational relations and family support directly touches on one of the central themes of the life course perspective - 'linked lives'. An individual's life necessarily interacts with their family members, kinships, friends, and people associated with them; therefore it is helpful to consider people's social networks when researching their own lives. The core social networks for individuals are constituted by their family, friends, and co-workers. The principle of the theme of 'linked lives' refers to the interaction between

³ 'Lao San Jie' mean the high school graduates in the years of 1966, 1967 and 1968. During the 1966-1968, China was in the Cultural Revolution and the universities stops recruiting students. The junior and senior graduates during that period were mostly sent down to China's rural areas to be 're-educated'. Most of them are between the age 15-21 years old. At the year 1979, the resumption of university entrance examination, they were allowed to participant the examination, are were called 'Lao San Jie', meaning that the 'old high school graduates during the three years of 1966-1968'.

individuals in such a network, and how they experience social change through such a world (Elder, 1994).

Life transitions in one's life course connect with one's role transitions in work and life. The role transitions of family members also indicate the different stages of a family in its life cycle – for example, from family formation by marriage, to family dissolution by the death of its head (Hill, 1964). In addition, the life transitions of one generation closely intertwine with the life transitions of other generations within the family. For example, adult children leaving home affects their parents, who may experience an 'empty nest'; the adult children's transition to the role of parent also results in their parents becoming grandparents. Family resources flows along with transitions in both individuals' life courses and their families' life cycles. This calls for a researcher's consideration when investigating intergenerational support between family members.

2.1.2.5 *Human agency and resilience*

The debate around agency and structure has long been one of the core debates within sociology (Giddens, 1984). The original meaning of 'agency' is, 'the capacity of an agent (a person or other entity, human or any living being in general, or soul-consciousness in religion) to act in any given environment'.⁴ In the area of social science, human agency mainly refers to people's capacity to break constraints or cope with difficulties using wisdom and strategies. From the life course perspective, social constraints for people are mainly age-related opportunities and cultural norms; social status by gender, class, and ethnicity; historical conditions; and social change (Crockett, 2002). Although constrained by resources and opportunities, individuals still have the power to make their own decisions to cope with difficulties occurring in different stages of life. They are able to negotiate, and otherwise get through adverse life events by adapting their behaviour to the changing environment, making wise decisions, organising their behaviour around goals, seeking satisfaction, and avoiding pain (Giele and Elder, 1998).

In the research of intergenerational relationships and family support, human agency is reflected in the negotiation and coping strategies of both generations involved in the receipt and provision of care, especially when they are faced with social change, family transitions, constraints on their time and resources, and role conflicts. This research also addresses this

⁴ Definition from Wikipedia 'Agency (philosophy)', [online], [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agency_\(philosophy\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agency_(philosophy)), [accessed 01/06/2016].

theme by examining the changing levels of dependency of older people on their adult children in later life. Agency among older people relates to their coping behaviours as well as their outlooks towards old age, while agency among the adult children mainly refers to balancing their roles in fulfilling ‘filial piety’ and providing family support to their ageing parents, especially in the context of China’s dramatic social and demographic changes. Agency is one of the important factors that could indicate older people’s demands of support to inform relevant social policy.

2.2 Types of intergenerational family support

The core of intergenerational ties is the parent–child relationship (Swartz, 2009). Therefore, intergenerational family support is the support between parents and their adult children’s generation, and it includes upward support from adult children to their parents, as well as downward support from the parents to the adult children (Ofstedal, Knodel and Chayovan, 1999). This research mainly focuses on the support from the adult children to the parents. Some consideration will be paid to the downward support from parents to adult children, but only in its capacity as a factor to explain the children’s transfer to the parents. In addition, this study involves the discussion of other support resources, such as spousal support, sibling support, and peer support among older people, as they always act as a supplement for intergenerational support.

Intergenerational family support from adult children to their ageing parents has mainly involved three aspects, according to previous literature: material support, emotional support, and daily instrumental support (Ha *et al.*, 2006; Silverstein, Cong and Li, 2006 ; Guo, Chi and Silverstein, 2009; Cong and Silverstein, 2011; Lin and Yi, 2011).

Material support, including financial and other resources (Swartz, 2009), mainly consists of monetary support, as well as in-kind and food-based support, in the context of China (Zhang and Wang, 2010). These material transfers from adult children could be regular or irregular, and in the context of China, irregular material support is always given at Spring Festival, and/or Mid-Autumn Festival, birthdays, weddings, funerals, or other special times (LaFave, 2017).

Emotional support, or moral or psychological support, mainly refers to respect, love, and efforts towards improving people’s happiness and emotional wellbeing. It is the foundation of most family relations and can be delivered or exchanged across distance (Baldassar, 2007).

In previous research, it is always measured by the frequency of visiting (Ofstedal, Knodel and Chayovan, 1999) and contact with adult children (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997).

Instrumental support often refers to help with parents' daily activities, especially for parents who have functional disabilities or weak health (Spitze and Logan, 1990).

Adult children tend to be the main source of support (in addition to the spouse) when older people are in need, in most cultures through recorded history (Lowenstein and Daatland, 2006; Silverstein, Gans and Yang, 2006; Kalmijn and Saraceno, 2008). This is especially true when the support provided by the partner is insufficient or the partner is no longer available (Stoller, 1994). The family support provided by adult children can be in diverse patterns, driven by intergenerational relationships. Therefore, it is crucial to review the theoretical perspectives on intergenerational relationships between parents' and children's generations.

2.3 Theories for Explaining Intergenerational Relations and Family Support

Intergenerational relationships have been a key theme in the area of family studies, and a series of theories and concepts has been developed over the past few decades. Such theories can be categorised into four perspectives: the socioeconomic perspective, the cultural perspective, the relationship perspective, and the motivational perspective.

2.3.1 The socioeconomic perspective

The socioeconomic perspective emphasises the influence of socioeconomic development, especially the development of social industrialisation and modernisation, on the role of older people in society (Burgess, 1960; Goode, 1963). The modernisation and ageing theory is representative of this perspective. Deriving from a structural–functionalist tradition, the modernisation and ageing theory claims that in modern society, the role of older people within the family and society, as well as the family support they get, is weakening as a result of industrialisation, urbanisation, formal education, and secularisation (Aboderin, 2004).

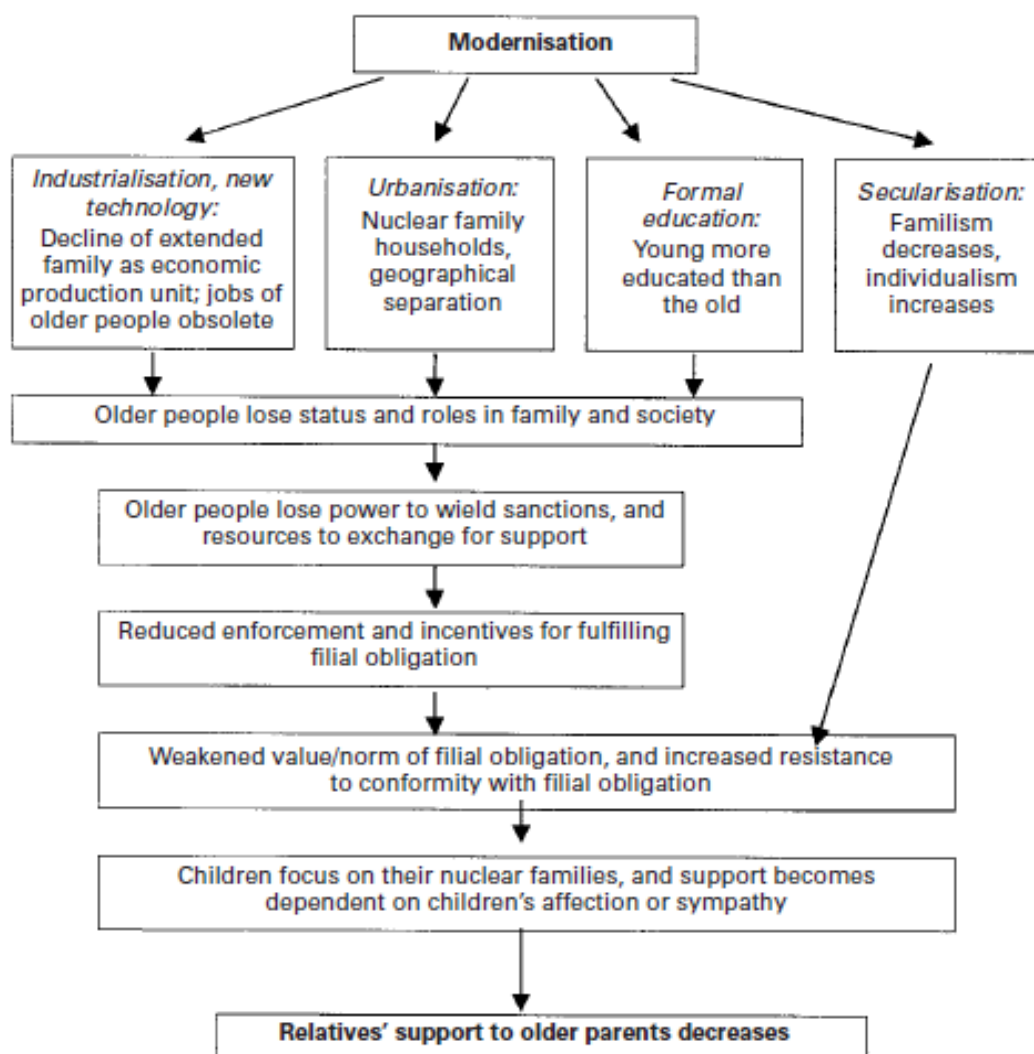


Figure 1: Modernisation and ageing theory

Source: Aboderin, 2014, p.39.

Aboderin (2014) proposed a twofold mechanism by which the family support afforded to older people decreases in modern societies (see Figure 1). On one hand, filial obligations and norms themselves were weakened as a result of individualism and secularisation; on the other hand, incentives for, enforcement of, and conformity with filial obligations were also reduced as a result of these processes (Aboderin, 2004). Consequently, children focus more on their nuclear families, and the support of their ageing parents is more dependent on their children's affection towards them (ibid).

The modernisation and ageing theory has several criticisms. For example, it lacks the empirical research of historical evidence (ibid), and it simply regards older people as dependents, and neglects the heterogeneity of older people in terms of their ability and

agency and in terms of providing support to the younger generation (Shanas, 1979; Eggebeen, 1992).

China has undergone significant social modernisation during the past few decades, and this process has substantially influenced demographic and family patterns as well as people's minds. Therefore the modernisation and ageing theory is adopted in this study in order to help understand changing social norms and intergenerational transfers between generations under social modernisation. However, this perspective may overemphasise the adverse impact of social modernisation on older adults in society, and overlook the influence of modernisation on the older people themselves, for example on their agency and outlooks, and their changing lifestyles driven by rapid technological innovation. This influence will be investigated in this study. An endeavour towards refining the modernisation and ageing theory will be made at the end of this study.

2.3.2 The relationship perspective

The relationship perspective seeks an explanation of intergenerational family support from the direction of intergenerational relations and solidarity. One of the most influential frameworks in this area is the intergenerational solidarity paradigm, proposed by Bengtson and Schrader (Bengtson and Schrader, 1982). It is also one of the main paradigms most frequently used and cited by the literature over the past four decades among all the family support theoretical frameworks (Katz and Lowenstein, 2010).

The intergenerational solidarity theory was first proposed in the 1970s, and it mainly reflects three theoretical traditions in social science: classical social organisation theories, group dynamics in the area of social psychology, and the developmental perspective in family theory (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991; Izuhara, 2010). Bengtson and Schrader (Bengtson and Schrader, 1982) identified six main elements of intergenerational solidarity with particular empirical indicators (see Table 2).

Table 2: Six main elements in intergenerational solidarity and their indicators

	Elements in intergenerational solidarity	Indicators
1	Associational Solidarity	Frequent intergenerational interaction

2	Affectual Solidarity	Positive sentiments towards family members and the reciprocity of sentiments between family members
3	Consensual Solidarity	Similar values among family members
4	Functional Solidarity	Financial, physical, and emotional intergenerational exchange
5	Normative Solidarity	Obligations to familism norms or filial piety
6	Structural Solidarity	Number of family members, family types, and proximity between family members

Source: Bengtson and Schrader, 1982.

It has been suggested that some of the six elements of intergenerational solidarity (see Table 2) are associated with each other. Higher levels of normative solidarity contribute to levels of affectual solidarity and in turn improve the levels of associational solidarity. In addition, structural solidarity, for example residential proximity and good parental health, is positively correlated with intergenerational association (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991).

Based on intergenerational solidarity, five types of relationships between parents and adult children were identified by Silverstein and Bengtson: tight-knit, sociable, intimate but distant, obligatory, and detached relationships (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997). In tight-knit relationships, the adult children fulfilled all six elements of the intergenerational solidarity with their parents, while in detached relationships, the adult children met none of them. The type of sociable relationship was based on geographic proximity between adult children and their parents, as well as frequent emotional transfers, but not physical assistance. The obligatory type refers to the close proximity, frequent contact but no emotional closeness and similarity of opinions. The intimate but distant relationship, on the other hand, had emotional closeness but a large geographic distance between the two generations.

While the concept of intergenerational solidarity has been widely used in interpreting intergenerational relationships amongst various ethnic groups and multicultural societies, as well as cross-national contexts (Izuhara, 2010), it has mainly been developed based on the Western experience and empirical studies within Western societies. However, in

contemporary Chinese society, against the background of social and demographic change as well as changing social norms and intergenerational geographical proximity, intergenerational relationships have become more diverse and complex among different social groups and age cohorts. In this sense, the intergenerational solidarity theory and the types of intergenerational relations derived from this theory are useful in analysing the intergenerational relations amongst the three cohorts of older people in this study.

2.3.3 The cultural perspective

For thousands of years, the family was regarded as a safeguard for old age support, and adult children were expected to care for their parents in old age. Filial piety, which is driven by traditional Confucian beliefs and reinforced by laws that favoured seniority (Xu, 2001), has been a fundamental tenet that ensured that family obligations were fulfilled by children (Chou, 2011). Filial piety in its traditional sense entails respecting, obeying, pleasing, and providing various types of support to parents (Ng, 2002), but its connotations have been enriched and have evolved over the years.

In recent years, there has been a long debate over whether the filial piety is declining or not in contemporary Chinese society. Although some researchers who take the individualistic approach believe that the filial piety had been weakened in modern China (Yan, 2003), others argue that it is still highly valued and continues to form the foundation of family care systems for older people (Qi, 2015). Although the results of relevant studies differ according to different research settings, methods, and samples as well as contexts, we can still find evidence to believe that at least the meaning and manifestation of filial piety is under modification (Ikels, 2004, p2; Chen, 2011).

According to Yeh and Bedford, filial piety has two levels of meanings: authoritarian filial piety and reciprocity filial piety. They argued that while the former type of filial piety might decrease, the latter has self-reinforcing elements and contributes to good family relations between generations in modern Chinese society (Yeh and Bedford, 2003). Other researchers consider filial piety as a combination of children's attitudes and behaviours (Fu *et al.*, 2016), and they argue that, on the level of attitude, aspects such as absolute obedience to the parents have been weakened but aspects like respecting parents, and supporting and bringing honour to parents have continued. On the level of behaviour, intergenerational co-residence and the amount of support from adult children have decreased, but daughters' roles in performing filial piety have significantly improved (Fu *et al.*, 2016).

Many studies have confirmed that filial piety still plays an important role in actual care provision scenarios (Lee and Hong-Kin, 2005; Cheung, Kwan and Ng, 2006; Wong and Chau, 2006), but people's perceptions of filial obligations can vary between regions, which may lead to different implementations. Here is an example regarding older people's living arrangements. Research of Chinese Singaporeans suggested that co-residing with adult children was still viewed as the epitome of demonstrating filial piety (Phua and Loh, 2008), while another study in urban China found that placing vulnerable parents in high-quality care institutions and paying for good quality medical and immediate care for them was perceived as filial by some adult children and older people themselves (Zhan, Feng and Luo, 2008). The latter research suggests that in urban China, with the increasing unavailability of adult children and the various benefits of institutional care, people's understanding of institutional care has changed from stigma to privilege, which in turn has affected their perceptions and implementation of filial obligations (Zhan, Feng and Luo, 2008). This case shows us that, when researching different social groups of older people, it is important to take their subjective opinions into account. In the context of the significant social stratification in modern Chinese society, people who have different life experiences, social backgrounds, and socioeconomic resources may have different perceptions of filial piety and different expectations of receiving family support. Relevant research is still scarce, and this subject requires further exploration.

2.3.4 The motivational perspective

Some empirical studies in Asian society have proposed different models to explain the motivations behind family support between generations. Lee and Xiao (Lee and Xiao, 1998) reviewed four theoretical models that explain intergenerational monetary family support in Asian societies: the corporate group model, the mutual aid model, the need-based transfer model, and the self-interest model. The corporate group model was a family's strategy to maximize its long-term wealth and wellbeing, with the elder generation investing in their children and getting high returns. This model applied to Taiwan and Malaysia's societies. The mutual aid model referred to short-term mutual aid among generations: parents provided help for their adult children with housing, housework, and childcare, and received money in return. Empirical research in Japan, Taiwan, and Malaysia suggested this pattern. Need-based transfers were based on adult children's altruistic motives to support their poorer and more vulnerable parents, and it was driven by filial piety in most Asian countries. The self-interest model, on the contrary, assumed a self-interested motive for adult children to provide support to their wealthier parents in order to get a better reward in the future. Lee and Xiao's

study confirmed that in Chinese society, parents' needs significantly influenced their adult children's material support to them.

Comparatively, Zimmer and Kwong (Zimmer and Kwong, 2003) reviewed three other models to explain intergenerational support in Chinese society: the power model, the exchange model, and the altruistic model. The power model claimed that the older generations within a family controlled important resources such as land, money, and knowledge, and thus they received support from their children. In modern China, the power of the older generation might be compromised as the independence of the younger generation has improved. The exchange model, to some extent, was a mixture of the mutual aid model and the self-interest model mentioned above. It was generally based on the idea of 'pro quo trades' between the parents' and the children's generations. The exchange model assumed that children with higher incomes received more time spent on housework or childcare from their parents than low-income children, and better-off parents got more support from their children than their worse-off counterparts. In comparison, the altruistic model contained some elements from the corporate group model, regarding the family as a long-term corporate group where the behaviours of the family members were based on maximising the benefits of the whole family. In addition, the altruistic model also conformed with the need-based transfer model above, and suggested that older people who were most needy received the greatest support from their families. Zimmer and Kwong concluded that the altruistic model was the best one for explaining intergenerational relationships in China based on historical and empirical experience (Zimmer and Kwong, 2003).

More recently, a more specific 'time for money' exchange model between parents and adult children generations has emerged in Chinese families. While parents gave time and effort to help their adult children's families with household chores and childcare, adult children returned the favour to their parents with monetary transfers (Wu and Li, 2014). Research in rural China found that this 'time for money' exchange model not only ensures economic prosperity in rural migrant families, but also helps promote the psychological wellbeing of the older people left behind (Cong and Silverstein, 2008).

In this context of deepening social stratification in modern Chinese society, future research should consider the changing dynamics of the motivations and mechanisms of intergenerational support among different social groups and age cohorts.

2.4 Factors that Influence People's Intergenerational Family Support in Later Life

Many factors could potentially influence the intergenerational family support from adult children to their parents, and the degrees of influence from each factor might change over time and cultural context. The family ecological perspective suggests that four factors should be taken into consideration when studying intergenerational support, that is, characteristics of families, parents, children, and parent-child dyads (Davey, Janke and Savla, 2004). The following sections mainly review the factors relating to adult children, the older people themselves, as well as some other social and cultural factors. Research findings from both international contexts and specific Chinese contexts will be reviewed, but with the main focus being on the Chinese context.

Parents and children are interrelated throughout the courses of their lives. The characteristics of one generation can influence the other, and may change the patterns of their interactions and relationships. Below we will review the characteristics which might influence intergenerational family support circumstances that are found in previous studies.

2.4.1 Factors from adult children

The characteristics of adult children directly influence their ability and availability to provide family support to their ageing parents. The following part is a brief review of the key factors from the perspectives of adult children that relate to intergenerational support of their ageing parents.

2.4.1.1 Gender

In Western literature, adult sons and daughters have different family experiences, and different family obligations according to their gender roles (Swartz, 2009). Women play an active role to build emotional ties and hold the family together, maintain the intergenerational relationships, and provide care (Rosenthal, 1985). Consistent with this, Western literature also suggests that daughters have closer emotional ties with parents than sons, and are more involved in support exchanges with them (Spitze and Logan, 1990; Lee, Spitze and Logan, 2003). Daughters are more likely than sons to provide daily instrumental care for their parents (Spitze and Logan, 1990; Raley and Bianchi, 2006), especially when the parents are sick (Spitze and Logan, 1990) or getting older (Laditka and Laditka, 2000). The family ties of parents seemed to be closer and stronger with daughters than with sons,

as research in Western countries indicates that the relationship between a wife's natal family is always closer than between a husband's kin (Charles, Davies and Harris, 2008 ,p74-76).

By contrast, in traditional Chinese society, intergenerational relationships were heavily influenced by patriarchal culture. It was believed that sons carried on family names, and they were expected to be the predominant support providers for the older parents (Xie and Zhu, 2009; Cong and Silverstein, 2012b). The role of Chinese daughters, on the other hand, was greatly neglected because they were generally regarded as temporal members of the family, and 'spilt water' after they got married (Zhang, 2009). Married daughters would become affiliated to their husbands' families and fulfil the filial obligations to their husbands' parents (Bian, Logan and Bian, 1998b; Fei, 1998), and had very weak ties with their natal families. Even though the relationship between married daughters and their natal families improved after the post-Mao reform, it is still not as close as the wife's ties to the husband's family. Research suggests that the support given to the husband's parents was unconditional, and was more based on their needs, serial reciprocity, and filial piety; while monetary support to the wife's parents was more conditional on their help with housework and childcare. Therefore, it was concluded that the patriarchal family structure still had great influence in mainland China (Yang, 1996).

In the early reform era, patriarchal culture continued to influence mainland China and many Asian regions and countries, especially Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Chinese Singaporeans. A comparative study in four Asian countries/regions implied that older parents in general were more likely to live with a son than a daughter in Taiwan, and among Chinese and Indians in Singapore; but the trend was significant only when the adult son or daughter got married (Ofstedal, Knodel and Chayovan, 1999). However, in highly developed Asian countries like Japan, the intergenerational support pattern was quite like the western countries. Research suggested that older Japanese people always obtained support and care from their adult daughters rather than their adult sons (Xue, 2013).

In contemporary Chinese society, the relationships between daughters and their natal families has started to change, especially in the context of market reforms and the One Child Policy, as women's autonomy and socioeconomic status has improved and their ties to the natal families has strengthened (Zhang, 2009). Adult sons and daughters both take some part in care responsibilities, but it is suggested that they take different support roles to help their parents. Adult daughters are more involved in providing emotional support and daily caretaking, while adult sons are more involved in providing financial support (Treas and Spence, 1989; Brody, 1990; Sun, 2002; Guo, Chi and Silverstein, 2009; Chen and Jordan,

2017). In addition, in terms of the amount of the support, daughters provide more care to dependent parents than sons do (Lang and Brody, 1983; Houser, Berkman and Bardsley, 1985; Roff and Klemmack, 1986).

Research suggests that the driving force behind adult sons and daughters' support to their parents is different. Research in rural Zhejiang Province in China has found that adult sons' support of their parents is obligational, basic, and with the purpose of exchange. It is also affected by the fact that they have the right to receive an inheritance after their parents' deaths. On the other hand, adult daughters' support of their parents is affective, enhanced, and altruistic. In addition, daughters do not have the same right to receive an inheritance (Tang, Ma and Shi, 2009). The research findings are consistent with Silverstein's research findings in 1995, which indicated that adult daughters' support of their parents was motivated by intergenerational affection, while sons' support of their parents was motivated by filial obligation, the legitimation of their inheritance, and frequency of contact (Silverstein, Parrott and Bengtson, 1995). Especially in rural China, where older people have very little social insurance, sons' support was like their 'pensions', while the support from daughters was more like an extra bonus and additional blessing in their age (Xu, 2001).

Nowadays, the traditional gendered intergenerational support patterns continue to function in some aspects. For example, over time, the value of daughters for emotional support to their older parents never fades. Research suggests that having a daughter positively relates to having contact, visits, and help, and that it is the presence of one daughter, rather than the number of daughters, that contributes to visiting and helping (Spitze and Logan, 1990). Adult daughters' significance in providing emotional support to their older parents has been found in Western countries (Chesley and Poppie, 2009), and in Hong Kong (Ng, Phillips and Lee, 2002), as well as in mainland China (Cong and Silverstein, 2012a). However, as some aspects of patriarchal culture still exist, daughters' disadvantages in terms of receiving transfers from their parents has not changed very much. In recent literature, adult daughters were found provided more support to their older parents but also to receive less, as they were less likely than adult sons to receive instrumental and financial transfers from their parents (Chen and Jordan, 2017; Hu, 2017). This indicates that the enduring inequality between adult sons and daughters in the exchange of support still exists in contemporary Chinese families (Chen and Jordan, 2017).

However, there are also some changes regarding gendered intergenerational support patterns. In addition to emotional and practical support, daughters are also more and more involved in providing financial support to their natal parents (Xu, 2001), and their financial support

of their parents is even larger than that of adult sons (Tang, Ma and Shi, 2009; Hu, 2017). This trend was significantly found among urban married daughters (Xie and Zhu, 2009). Daughters' value in promoting their older parents' wellbeing even surpasses that of sons. A recent study in mainland China suggested that having daughters is more beneficial than having sons, as daughters have the advantage of providing emotional support to their older parents. This was especially profound among the oldest group, and in rural China (Zeng *et al.*, 2016).

The above literature suggests that in Western countries, as older parents are better protected by social insurance, daughters mainly provide instrumental and emotional care to their parents. In China, especially in rural areas, social protection is still weak, and many older peasants are still in need of material support when they cannot work. The traditional gendered pattern of family support is that sons are mainly responsible for financially supporting their parents, while daughters are supposed to provide emotional support and instrumental care. However, with the improvement of women's authority and socioeconomic status, and the emergence of one-child families, daughters are more involved in providing all types of support to parents, including financial support.

The issue is that parents' perceptions and expectations for the gendered roles of adult children usually lag behind actual social change, which might prevent them from realising the prominence of their daughters in providing care (Cong and Silverstein, 2011). Traditional social culture, especially patriarchal culture and the filial regime in rural China, still lag behind social change, regarding daughters' support of their parents as informal and sons' support as formal, and preventing daughters from inheriting any resources from their parents. The imbalanced, gendered pattern of intergenerational transfers in contemporary Chinese society, especially in rural China, remains a significant issue which calls for future attention in research.

Moreover, in the context of large-scale out migration and increasing numbers of one-child families in China, research about the gendered pattern of intergenerational family support and its manifestation in one-child families remains sparse. Nevertheless, recent research suggests that the gender gap in intergenerational support exchange is becoming smaller in one-child families than in multi-child families (Chen and Jordan, 2017). How it will evolve in the future, and how the 'one-child' parents – the 1960s cohort – changes its value of gender, still need further investigation. Future research needs to consider how gendered patterns of intergenerational support changes over time and among different birth cohorts.

Considering the rural–urban gap in China, the trends and practice of gendered intergenerational support in rural and urban China request attention in future research.

2.4.1.2 *Socioeconomic status*

Adult children's socioeconomic status to some extent represents their ability and capability to provide family support to their parents. Two important indicators could be education and income.

Western research suggests that parents tend to receive more support from children who have high achievements, for instance the children who were more successful in their educational achievements or family life (Fingerman *et al.*, 2009). Research in China indicates that adult children with higher educational attainments tend to live farther away from their parents than lower educated children (Bian, Logan and Bian, 1998a), but are more likely to provide financial support (Chen and Jordan, 2017). In addition, educational attainment has positive effects on contact between adult children and their older parents (Gruijters, 2017c). Also, when mothers were asked to name a child for future care provision, they always chose the children who were more successful (Pillemer and Suitor, 2006).

Education could act as a mediating factor on gendered intergenerational support patterns. Research implies that the gendered pattern of adult children's visits to their parents could be moderated by adult children's education. Although among adult children with little education, adult sons pay more visits to their parents than daughters, this gap is eliminated among college educated adult children (Gruijters, 2017c).

In addition to education, adult children's economic resources positively relate to giving financial support to their parents (Lee, Parish and Willis, 1994; Xie and Zhu, 2009). This is significant for adult daughters as they become more involved in the labour market and have more authority with the family domain. One Chinese study suggested that the daughters who control more family resources and who have more social and economic resources are more likely to provide financial support to their natal parents (Yang and Wang, 2017). The changing education and socioeconomic status of women in transitional Chinese society are increasingly shifting the traditional gendered pattern of adult children's support of their parents.

2.4.1.3 *Marital and parental status*

Being embedded in different cultural contexts, the marriage of an adult child in Western and Eastern culture has different symbolic meanings to the parents. In Western countries, it

signals a transition to adult autonomy and indicates an economic uncoupling of the generations (Treas and Chen, 2000); while in Chinese culture, it has significant gendered meanings. For sons, it normally means a transition from receiving support to giving support, while for daughters, it indicates the ending of daughters' co-residence and obligations to their natal parents (Ikels, 1993). Therefore, Western research suggests that the ties between married adult children and their parents are not that close. Married adult children are less likely to live with their parents than divorced or never-married children (White and Rogers, 1997). In addition, they have lower levels of emotional exchange with their parents than unmarried children (White and Rogers, 1997), and are less likely to give practical help (Laditka and Laditka, 2001) and financial assistance (Lee and Aytac, 1998) to their parents.

In comparison, research in Eastern cultures suggests that marriage as a union could promote support of the parents because it is a symbol of adult children's adulthood (Treas and Chen, 2000). Research in urban China and Taiwan suggests that most married children give service and financial gifts to their parents while few receive gifts in return (Lee, Parish and Willis, 1994; Sun, 2002). Other research in rural China also suggests that the marital status of adult sons significantly influences their financial support of parents. Unmarried forced bachelors in rural China tend to provide less financial support to their older parents than married sons (Jin, Guo and Feldman, 2015).

The quality of adult children's marriages, on the other hand, could also influence the quality of their relationships with their parents. Western research suggests that problems in adult children's marriages might strain the adult child-parent relationships, and that adult children in happy marriages tend to have better relationships with their parents than unmarried adult children (Kaufman and Uhlenberg, 1998).

Adult children's parental status might have an impact on the financial support they provide to older people. In modern society, with declining fertility, the value of children has shifted from being objects of utility to objects of sentiment (Aries, 1962). More attention is paid to the nuclear family and the children, rather than grandparents, in the context of changing family structures. As a result, adults are less likely to provide care for their older parents if they have three or more children (Grundy and Henretta, 2006). Research in a township in China also suggests that an increase in the number of children is significantly negatively associated with monetary support to the husband's parents (Yang, 1996).

2.4.1.4 *Living arrangements and proximity*

Adult children's living arrangements and their proximity to their parents directly influence their visits and daily interaction with their parents. Obviously, living together with their parents increases the chance of intergenerational interactions. Research in China has found that adult children's co-residence with parents is positively associated with the practical support provided to the parents (Zimmer and Kwong, 2003; Chen and Jordan, 2017). At the same time, co-residence may decrease the chances of financial support from adult children, as research in Taiwan suggests that sons who co-reside with their parents give less than other adult children, and poorer sons tend to co-reside with their parents without giving significant financial support (Lee, Parish and Willis, 1994). That said, other research indicates that co-residence does not alter the odds of giving support, but reduces the amount of financial exchange (Logan and Bian, 2003). Recent research in urban China and from a national sample of mainland China also suggests that adult children who live with their parents are less likely to provide financial support to parents than non-co-resident adult children (Xie and Zhu, 2009; LaFave, 2017). The timing of adult children's separate living also makes a difference. Research indicates that, compared to the siblings who moved out of the parental home on time, children who left their parents' home later tend to live closer, keep more frequent contact, and maintain more frequent reciprocity of intergenerational support with their parents (Leopold, 2012).

For adult children who do not co-reside with their parents, their distance from their parents may affect their support patterns. Research in the United States suggests that adult children's physical distance does not inhibit financial support to their parents, but closer proximity does enhance the practical support between generations (Swartz, 2009). Research in Taiwan, the Philippines, and Thailand also confirms that with the increase of distance from the parent, the visits from children decline (Ofstedal, Knodel and Chayovan, 1999), revealing a decreasing trend of face-to-face intergenerational interaction as the distance between the two generations enlarges.

In recent years, large-scale outward migration in rural China and increasing geographic distance between left-behind parents and their migrant children has reshaped intergenerational support patterns in rural China (He and Ye, 2014). Although a few pieces of research argue that rural children's migration has not impacted the family support received by the older parents (Guo, Chi and Silverstein, 2009), other studies suggest that adult children's migration has had a significant positive impact on the financial support of rural parents (Song, Li and Feldman, 2012; LaFave, 2017), but has negatively influenced their

daily instrumental support (Zimmer and Kwong, 2003). Research on the relationship between adult children's migration and their emotional support of their older parents remains controversial. Several studies indicate that geographic distance is negatively associated with emotional closeness between generations (He and Ye, 2014), while others argue that increasing and continuous remittances from migrant children have significantly improved the psychological wellbeing of left-behind parents in rural China (Silverstein, Cong and Li, 2006 ; Cong and Silverstein, 2008).

Future research in this area needs to further investigate geographic distance and the emotional support provided from adult children to their parents, as long-distance intergenerational relations become a more universal phenomenon alongside the increasing internal and international migration happening in Chinese society. In addition, rapidly developing communication and transportation technology and its impact on intergeneration relations remains to be investigated.

2.4.2 Factors from Parents

The characteristics of parents themselves, such as their demographic characteristics, health status, and their social and economic circumstances, will influence the intergenerational support they receive from adult children. The following part is a review of key factors from the perspective of parents that relate to the intergenerational support they receive from their adult children.

2.4.2.1 Gender

Research in the United States suggests that women perceive closer ties to their adult children, and adult children are more likely to have a closer relationship with their mothers than their fathers (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997). Following this point, research suggests that mothers have better contact with adult children than fathers (Lawton, Silverstein and Bengtson, 1994), and that mothers usually receive more support from children than fathers do (Ikkink, van Tilburg and Knipscheer, 1999).

In Asian countries, there are inconsistent findings from previous research concerning the relationship between parents' gender and intergenerational support from children. Similar to the Western research findings, some research indicates that women usually live longer than men and are more likely to report bad health and functional limitations (Yi, Liu and George, 2003; Murtagh and Hubert, 2004). Therefore widowed mothers are more likely to receive financial support than married couples and widowed fathers (Logan and Bian, 2003).

Research in rural China also suggests that older females are more likely to receive instrumental support than their male counterparts (Shi, 1993). In contrast, however, some research in Asian countries argues that as an impact of the patriarchal culture, the father-son relationship is highlighted, and older fathers are more likely to receive support and care from their children than older mothers (Mason, 1992; Ofstedal, Reidy and Knodel, 2004). One piece of research in rural China also found that the older fathers are more likely to receive increased financial support from migrant children (Song, Li and Feldman, 2012).

The gender of parents sometimes does not work independently, but interacts with marital status to influence intergenerational support. A Dutch study suggested that, although fathers receive less family support from adult children than mothers when they are married, the gap becomes larger when the fathers are not married. In addition, remarriage and birth of new children further deteriorates the intergenerational relationships, and the negative effect is stronger for fathers than for mothers (Kalmijn, 2007). Further details can be found in section 2.4.2.3 of this chapter.

The different findings that exist in previous research could be a result of interaction between parents' gender and other factors, or the impact of cultural norms. When investigating the influence of parental gender on intergenerational relationships, it is important to consider other factors such as age, marital status, education, and health status that could work together with gender and influence intergenerational support patterns.

2.4.2.2 *Age*

As their age goes up, individuals are likely to be less healthy and have chronic diseases. Thus they may have more needs for support than their younger counterparts. Studies in southeast Asia and the United States found that older parents were more likely to receive financial support (Eggebeen, 1992; Lillard and Willis, 1997) and instrumental care (Ikkink, van Tilburg and Knipscheer, 1999) from adult children than younger parents.

Research in urban and rural China had different findings concerning parents' age and their receipt of family support. Research in urban China suggested that parents' age does not affect proximity, contact, or help from adult children (Bian, Logan and Bian, 1998a), nor does it have an effect on the financial support they receive (Logan and Bian, 2003). However, other studies in rural China indicated that the probability of receiving financial and instrumental support (Guo, Chi and Silverstein, 2009) among rural older adults increases with age (Shi,

1993a). These contrasting findings may be a result of the significant gap in social, economic, and pension status between rural and urban older adults.

2.4.2.3 *Marital status*

Western research has indicated that the marital status of the parents has a significant impact on people's relationships with their adult children and the support they might get from their children when they get older. However, once again, there are contested findings among the previous literature.

A significant body of Western literature has suggested that conflict in the parental marriage or parental divorce has uniformly negative effects on the quality of the parent–child relationship (Furstenberg, Hoffman and Shrestha, 1995; Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997; Kaufman and Uhlenberg, 1998; Riggio, 2004; Hillcoat-Nalletamby, Dharmalingam and Baxendine, 2006; Daatland, 2007; Shapiro, 2012). In addition, later re-partnership or remarriage further weaken intergenerational ties (Cooney and Uhlenberg, 1990; Gierveld and Peeters, 2003; Kalmijn, 2007).

However, the exact effects of parental marital status on the parent–child relationship vary significantly by gender, and there exist both intra-gender and inter-gender differences. Research in the United States suggested that divorced and widowed mothers receive similar support from their adult children, while divorced fathers are less likely than widowed fathers to obtain their adult children's care and support. They concluded that divorced fathers are prone to be the group most in need of formal support in older age (Lin, 2008). Other research suggested that the divorce of older men tends to have a pronounced negative effect on the frequency of intergenerational contact, the chance of co-residence with an adult child, and the probability of a child being considered a potential source of support in times of need, compared with married older men (Cooney and Uhlenberg, 1990). We could identify that, among older men, intergenerational relationships seem to be worst among divorced men, compared with those widowed and married.

There were some inter-gender differences on top of the effects of parents' divorces. Research suggests that the divorce of the parents causes the father–child relationship to deteriorate, but not the mother–child relationship, because fathers are less likely to be the custodial parent after divorce (Amato and Booth, 1991; Marks, 1995; Amato and Booth, 1996; Shapiro, 2003; Riggio, 2004).

Contrary to the negative effects of parental divorce and unmarried status, other Western research indicated an opposite trend. By focusing on the association between parental divorce and children's values and attitudes towards their family obligations, Wijckmans and van Bavel (Wijckmans and Van Bavel, 2013) found that divorce either of the parents or the children is positively associated with children's attitudes towards their filial obligations. Other studies also suggested that parents who are divorced, widowed, or have no partners benefit more from filial support than parents with a partner (Merz, Schulze and Schuengel, 2010), and receive more support from their adult children than parents with spouses (Ikkink, van Tilburg and Knipscheer, 1999).

Most Chinese studies on the marital status of parents and intergenerational support have focused on older people's widowhood and its impact on the family support they get from their adult children. Because the divorce rate stayed very low before the post-Mao reform in China, few currently older Chinese people have experienced divorce in their lives.

Research in Western countries suggested that widowhood significantly increases older mothers' financial dependence on their adult children (Ha *et al.*, 2006) and that older widowed adults are more likely to live with a daughter than a son (Hess and Waring, 1978). Similarly, a study of urban Chinese families also found that widowed mothers are more dependent on their children and receive more monetary support (Logan and Bian, 2003). Research in rural China, on the other hand, found that older parents who experienced widowhood are more likely to receive instrumental support from their adult children (Guo, Chi and Silverstein, 2009). Overall, most Chinese studies suggested a positive relationship between the widowhood of a parent and the intergenerational support they get from their children, though a few pieces of research in urban China still indicated that parents' marital status does not affect adult children's proximity (Bian, Logan and Bian, 1998a).

However, this previous Chinese research largely overlooked parental divorce and its impact on intergenerational relationships. Research indicates that the divorce rate in China increased from 0.85 in 1979 to 2.62 in 2007 (Wang and Zhou, 2010), which suggests a changing trend in marital status among future older people. As divorce may become more common among future older cohorts, future research in China needs to pay attention to older parents' divorces and their influence on the family support they could get from adult children.

Furthermore, previous research both in Western literature and in Chinese literature greatly focused on the interaction between parents' marital status and parents' gender, yet few of them considered the adult children's gender when discussing intergenerational support. One

Western study suggested that after a father's death, daughters increased their support of their widowed mothers while sons decreased it (Hess and Waring, 1978). How about adult sons' and daughters' relationships with divorced or widowed fathers and mothers in Chinese society? This needs further investigation as well.

2.4.2.4 *Parental status*

Western literature has highlighted that adult children act as one of the most important source of intergenerational family support for older people (Eggebeen, 1992). They provide emotional and instrumental support and maintain social connectedness (Bengtson and Harootyan, 1994). The number of children is also the key factor that influences older parents' co-residence status (Spitze and Logan, 1990). In this sense, previous research suggested that experiencing parenthood tended to bring advantages in one's life course, and people usually expected to become parents (Toulemon, 1996; Thornton and Young-DeMarco, 2001). However, in modern society, childlessness has become a common phenomenon in some people's life courses, either voluntarily or involuntarily. Western research found that childless older adults, compared with people who had children, tended to get less support in their old age and suffer from lower social recognition. Among the childless, involuntary childlessness tended to be associated with a sense of failure and disappointment (Hansen, Slagsvold and Moum, 2009).

Similarly, research in China suggested that parental status could affect people's wellbeing in older age by influencing their support from adult children. Parents with more children are likely to receive more support (Zimmer and Kwong, 2003; Guo, Chi and Silverstein, 2009; LaFave, 2017) and live closer to at least one of them (Bian, Logan and Bian, 1998a). In addition, parents with more non-co-resident children are more likely to receive financial support than to give it (Logan and Bian, 2003). Research in rural China also found that, controlling personal income, older people with multiple children have higher levels of life satisfaction, independence, and potential monetary support from their children, while childless older people in rural China have lower levels of life satisfaction and higher levels of depression (Guo, 2014).

However, other research suggested that the number of children and geographic proximity of one's children only has a very weak relationship to older adults' family support. They argued that the conclusion of other research which indicated that Baby Boomers who had fewer children and lived further away might have limited resources of social support might not ring true (Ha *et al.*, 2006). A recent later study supported this argument, which pointed out that

comparing one-child families and multi-child families, there was no significant difference between singleton children and children in the multi-child families in terms of providing support to their parents (Chen and Jordan, 2017).

As the 1960s cohort, who were most influenced by the One Child Policy, move towards older age, the availability of their adult children rather than the number of adult children should be given more attention in future research on intergenerational support.

2.4.2.5 *Health status*

Previous research on declining parental health status and intergenerational support can be sorted into three categories: positive relationship, no significant relationship, and negative relationship.

Some research in Western countries and in China has suggested that older adults' poor health increases their dependence on their children (Ha *et al.*, 2006), and that children tend to provide more support to parents with poor health (Ikkink, van Tilburg and Knipscheer, 1999). The declining health of either parent will increase their children's filial obligations to provide support (Silverstein, Gans and Yang, 2006). Similarly, research in China also found that older people with poor health and more difficulties in daily life are more likely to receive support than those have better health (Shi, 1993a; Lee and Xiao, 1998; Guo, Chi and Silverstein, 2009; LaFave, 2017). Parents' health status can influence adult children's life decisions as well. For example, a study in rural China found that adult children are less likely to be migrant workers when their parent are ill (Giles and Mu, 2007).

Alternatively, some other research in China has argued that parents' health status did not affect proximity, contact, or help from adult children (Bian, Logan and Bian, 1998a) and that parents' health status is not related to their children's provision of instrumental support (Chen and Jordan, 2017).

Other research in Western and Chinese literature, however, has suggested that declining parents' health leads to deteriorating intergenerational relationships (Kaufman and Uhlenberg, 1998). Parents who are in poor health receive less monetary support (Logan and Bian, 2003); parents' declining mental health may also negatively affect their receipt of intergenerational support. For example, research in rural China found that older people who had higher symptoms of depression experience declining family support from their adult sons, but not from their daughters (Cong and Silverstein, 2011). Research from a nationally

representative dataset also suggested that older people who are more depressed are less likely to receive financial support from their adult children (LaFave, 2017).

Future research concerning parental health status should further differentiate functional health, mental health, and chronic diseases in influencing intergenerational relationships and family support. In addition, parents' other characteristics such as education and marital status should be controlled in the meantime.

2.4.2.6 *Socioeconomic status*

The socioeconomic status of older people mainly includes their education, their occupation before retirement, and their income. In China, the urban Hukou registration of older people to some extent indicates their higher socioeconomic status compared to those with rural Hukou, because older people with urban Hukou are generally entitled to higher social insurance and social pension as well as better public services. Overall, the socioeconomic status of older people is an indicator of their independence and resilience in later life. Previous literature has debated the relationship between parents' socioeconomic status and the intergenerational support they receive.

Some Western literature has suggested that older people with higher education are relatively more independent, and less likely to co-reside with an adult child in their old age, while people with less education had higher odds of co-residing with their adult children (White and Rogers, 1997). However, older people with higher incomes seemed more likely to co-reside, which might reflect their potential assistance of children who experienced life crises (Spitze and Logan, 1990).

Likewise, some Asian research has confirmed that parents' higher socioeconomic status indicated fewer needs on their part and thus less intergenerational support. Research in China suggested that support from adult children to their parents is mainly needs based (Lee and Xiao, 1998). Older people with poor or declining income are more likely to get monetary support from adult children (Guo, Chi and Silverstein, 2009; LaFave, 2017). Research in Taiwan also found that parents with low socioeconomic resources are more likely to get financial support from their sons; if they have no sons, then they are more likely to get financial support from a daughter (Lee et al., 1994). Similarly, research in urban China implied that higher socioeconomic status has a negative effect on fathers' chances of receiving financial support, as it indicates fewer needs (Xie and Zhu, 2009). Also, parents with higher education live further away from their adult children (Bian, Logan and Bian, 1998a) and are less likely to receive financial support from them (Chen and Jordan, 2017).

Other Chinese research has revealed the opposite trend. For example, research in urban China found that parents with higher education receive more financial support from their adult children (Logan and Bian, 2003). Some research, on the other hand, indicated that parents' socioeconomic status has different impacts on different kinds of intergenerational support. For example, adult children are less likely to provide financial support, but they tend to provide instrumental support to elderly parents living in urban areas (Chen and Jordan, 2017).

Aspects of parents' socioeconomic status, such as education, could act as a moderator of the effects of parental gender and marital status. In the previous section, some research suggested that gender and marital status affect older parents' intergenerational support; however, these differences could be significantly moderated by one's educational attainment. One study found that increased education could help older adults overcome traditional gender roles, for example making females less dependent and males more considerate; it also improves the resilience and helps people to adjust to the challenges of widowhood (Ha *et al.*, 2006).

In the context of social modernisation and internal migration, the 1960s cohort generally have better education attainment and have become more economically independent. Future research need to pay attention to this cohort of future older adults, and investigate how their improving socioeconomic statuses influence their future older age circumstances.

2.4.3 Other factors

2.4.3.1 *Social norms, obligations, and affection*

Individuals' behaviours are embedded in social settings, and they are systematically and powerfully influenced by the social norms of society (Cialdini, Kallgren and Reno, 1991). Previous research implies that individuals with strong social norms of family obligation provide family support to older parents who are in need, even though they had strained or estranged relationships in their early lives (Silverstein *et al.*, 2002). Social norms such as culture and religion could affect intergenerational relations and family support. An American study suggested that adult children who frequently attend religious services tend to have higher quality relationships with their parents and are more likely to provide family support to their older parents (King, Ledwell and Pearce-Morris, 2013). However, other research argues that the exchange and support between adult children and older parents is more motivated by affection than familial duty (Lye, 1996).

Debate exists among the previous literature regarding the influence of modernisation and urbanisation on older people's receipt of intergenerational support. Some held the idea that the core values of modern nuclear families emphasise independence and self-reliance, thereby weakening the interdependence between generations (Swartz, 2009). The assumption of vulnerability proposed in the modernisation and ageing theory (Aboderin, 2004) also indicates that family support would decline with adult children's outward migration and their increased education and individualisation. By contrast, the economics of labour migration theory (Stark and Bloom, 1985) and the modified extended family model (Litwak, 1960a;b) argue that children's migration in modern society would benefit their financial support of their parents, and the geographic distance between the two generations could be moderated by advances in transportation and communication. They further argue that although daily immediate help might be negatively influenced, social exchange and emotional ties could be maintained (Guo, Chi and Silverstein, 2009).

Gendered norms have undergone significant changes, which have impacted upon patterns of intergenerational support in urban and rural China. Research in urban China found that the traditional family model is not long applicable to contemporary Chinese society. Urban parents could co-reside with their married daughters' families and receive more financial support from them than from adult sons (Xie and Zhu, 2009). In rural China, there seems to be a structural lag of traditional gendered norms versus the changes in real life. Although many older parents in rural China still have the traditional belief that the son should take responsibility to care for the parents, it is likely to be modified by practical situations (Gans and Silverstein, 2006; Cong and Silverstein, 2012c), as daughters are more involved not only in practical support, but also in financial assistance to their natal parents (Zhang, 2007; Hu, 2017).

Future research needs to take such 'structural lags' into consideration, and make prospective policy implications to minimise the asynchronism of the 'dynamism of changing lives' and the 'dynamism of structural change', as social policy tends to be a critical component of 'structural lag' (Wilmoth and Hudson, 2010).

2.4.3.2 *Reciprocity*

Reciprocity, especially in the Western context, has been argued to be a central component in sustaining intergenerational support networks (Nelson, 2000). However, whether parents' early investments are positively related to their later life family support is not clear cut from previous literature (Evandrou *et al.*, 2016).

Research in Taiwan suggested that parents' early investment in their children, such as education and giving them property, is positively associated with their receipt of financial support in later life (Lee, Parish and Willis, 1994). Conversely, other studies from both Western cultures and Asian contexts argue that the older parents who provide financial support to their adult children are not more likely to receive financial support from them (Shi, 1993a; Silverstein *et al.*, 2002; Li, Feldman and Jin, 2004; Lin and Pei, 2016).

A study in rural China found that older people's care for grandchildren increases their receipt of financial support from adult children (Cong and Silverstein, 2012a), and that they are more likely to get end of life care from the children to whom they provided instrumental support in their earlier lives (Zuo *et al.*, 2014). But a recent study observed that reciprocity is related to parents' receipt of financial support, but not instrumental support (Chen and Jordan, 2017).

Future research needs to further clarify how many patterns of intergenerational reciprocity exist under certain circumstances, and how they function among people from different birth cohorts and from urban and rural regions.

This section reviews the key factors that influence intergenerational relationships, from the perspective of parents as well as adult children. The literature sources cover studies from Western and Asian regions, especially in China, and range from the 1960s to 2017. Controversial findings and debates exist in previous research, which may result from different cultural contexts, social periods, regions, and research designs. Concerning the dramatic social and demographic changes which happened in China in past decades, the factors reviewed in this section need to be re-studied because the characteristics of the future older cohort of the 1960s and their adult children have changed dramatically. Being children under the economic transition in China, many people from the 1960s cohort have significantly improved educational and socioeconomic status. Influenced by social modernisation and social policy, their marital status and parental status are also significantly different from those of older birth cohorts. Their children are less likely to have siblings and more likely to live further away. All these transitions in the life courses of the 1960s cohort might alter the traditional gendered pattern of intergenerational support and challenge traditional filial norms. This research therefore intends to investigate these factors under the new social context in China, and provide the latest evidence to respond the debates in previous literature.

2.5 Chapter Summary

In summary, this chapter has discussed the life course perspective and its application to the research of ageing and intergenerational support. It reviews the main types of intergenerational family support and four theoretical perspectives for understanding intergenerational relationships. Furthermore, it discusses the factors that impact the intergenerational support by adult children of older parents.

The life course perspective is used as the universal theoretical perspective that directs this research. The four theoretical perspectives on intergenerational relationships aim to enhance our comprehensive understanding and explanation of the research results in later chapters. The review of factors that influence intergenerational relations links to the variables selection in the quantitative phase of this research (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6).

Before the methodology and data chapter, it is critical to review the Chinese context in order to gain a better understanding of the results in the empirical data chapters. This is discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3 Ageing in China: Research Context through a Cohort Lens

This chapter introduces the context of ageing in China, with a particular focus on social and demographic transitions during the past decades, and the potential influences on older people from different birth cohorts. It adopts a cohort lens in reviewing the social changes, that is, to locate the life courses of three birth cohorts through China's recent historical periods and social transitions. This chapter includes five sections. To start, we briefly introduce the trends and prospects of population ageing in China, from the perspectives of different cohorts. Then the main social events that happened during four historical periods are reviewed, with discussion of their potential influences on the life courses of each birth cohort. Following this, we continue exploring the changes in family patterns and living arrangements of older people during China's social transitions. Considering the distinct urban-rural dual structure in the Chinese context, the disparities in older age care resources in urban and rural China are then discussed. Finally, this chapter ends with a brief summary of the gaps in research, and its relation to other chapters.

3.1 Population Ageing in China: an Overview

3.1.1 Trends and prospects

Population ageing is taking place in almost every country in the world. Globally, the proportion of people aged 60 and over increased from 8% to 12% between 1950 and 2013, and it is continuing to grow. It is estimated that the percentage of the world's population aged 60 and over will reach 21% by 2050 (United Nations, 2013). China is unique not only in terms of its total number of older people, but also in terms of the speed and significant impact of population ageing on society. In 2015, the population aged 60 and over in China was more than 214 million, and by 2050, it is predicted to reach 478 million, constituting around 35% of the total population of China (United Nations, 2017). As a result, the age structure of the Chinese population will change significantly, with a significant increase in the older population and a sharp drop in the young respectively (see Figure 2).

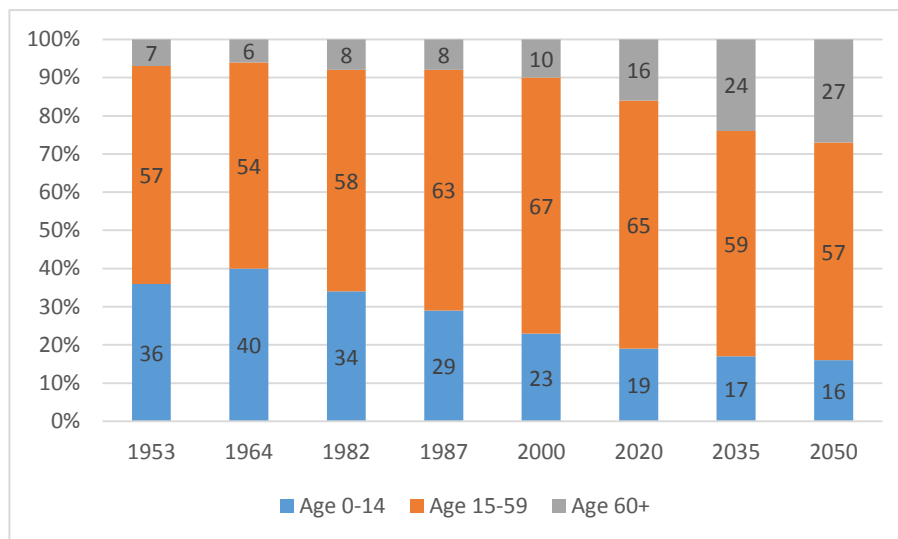


Figure 2: Share of the Chinese population by age group (%), selected years, 1953-2000 and projections to 2050

Source: (Riley, 2004), p. 22.

Many factors have contributed to speedy population ageing in China. Firstly, the rapid growth of China's economy over the past few decades has improved people's living standards and improved the longevity of Chinese people. In the meantime, the Family Planning Policy which was tightened in the 1980s has led to a significant drop in the total fertility rate (TFR) (see Figure 3), which has further contributed to China's proportion of older people as there are fewer children entering the base of the population pyramid. In addition, the 'baby boomer' cohort in China (those born in the 1950s and 1960s) are moving towards younger-old age, which is another factor that boosts the proportion of old people in the whole population (Huang, 2013).

Decreased fertility

China's fertility rate was high before the reform period (except for the Great Famine in 1958–1961), and the total fertility rate (TFR)⁵ was averaged around six before the 1970s, which is reflected in the large birth cohorts of the 1950s and 1960s. However, after the mid-1970s, China witnessed a gradual decrease in the fertility rate due to the implementation of the One Child Policy and economic reforms (Cai *et al.*, 2012). Since 2000, China's fertility has stood at a relatively stable rate (see Figure 3). According to the United Nations, the TFR in China has been below 2 children per woman since 1995, and around 1.5 afterwards (see

⁵ The TFR is calculated as the average number of children a woman could expect to have over her lifetime given prevailing age-specific fertility rates.

Figure 3). Although there was great uncertainty on the estimation of TFR in 2000 in China, where the published estimates ranged from 1.22 to 2.3 (Lutz *et al.*, 2007), the researchers have reached a consensus that TFR in China has already been below the replacement rate in 2000 (Ren, 2005). All three birth cohorts will be affected in part by the tightening of the FPP over time. However, it is likely that the 1960s cohort will be most affected, with smaller family sizes than previous cohorts.

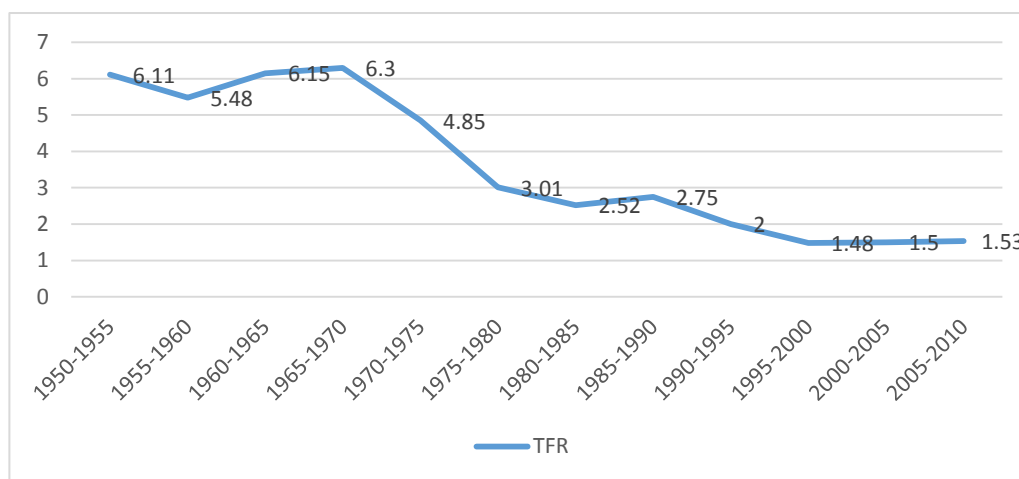


Figure 3: Total Fertility Rate (TFR) (children per women) in China: 1955–2010

Data source: Population Division, World Population Prospects, 2015 Revision
<http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Download/Standard/Fertility/>.

Figure 3 is striking regarding the potential numbers of children for each birth cohort, which will further differentiate between their future older age intergenerational support. This will be further investigated in Chapter 5.

Decreased mortality

Mortality in China has dropped dramatically over the past 50 years. The crude death rate was on average about 25–33 per 1,000 before 1949, and in the highest year even reached 40. After 1949, it followed a rapid decline except for during the three-year Great Famine. Since then, it has been stably under 10 per 1,000, and was 6.58 per 1,000 in 1988 (Fang, 1993). Since the end of the twentieth century, China's crude death rate has been below 7 per 1,000 and has stabilised (see Figure 4).

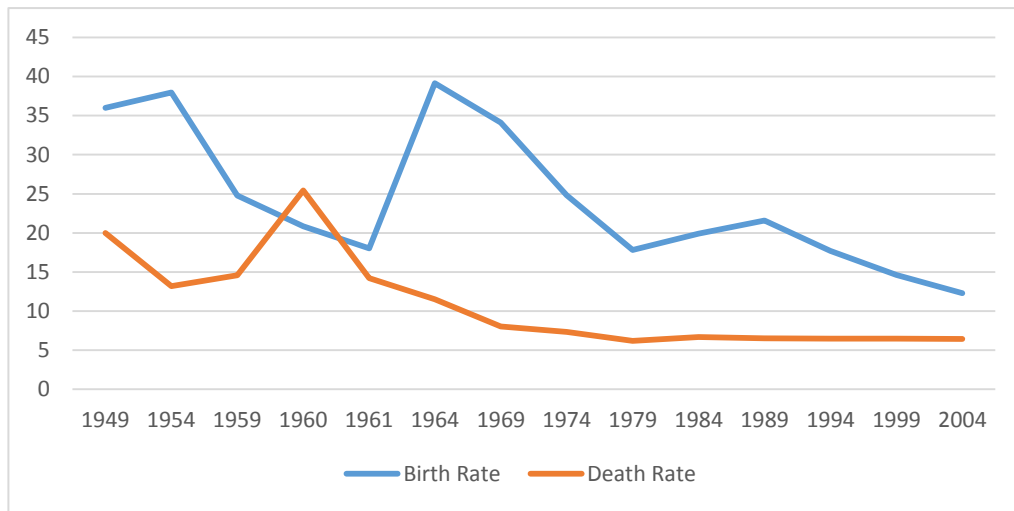


Figure 4: Birth rate and death rate in China: 1949–2004 (births/deaths per 1,000 people)

Data source: China Statistical Yearbook 1988, China Statistical Yearbook 2003, and China Today <http://www.chinatoday.com/data/china.population.htm>.

Increased life expectancy

People's life expectancy in China has improved dramatically as a result of rapid economic growth and improved health care. It was suggested that life expectancy at birth was about 35 years before the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC), 43.9 years in 1953–1964, 62.4 years in 1964–1982, and 67.5 years in 1982 (Coale, 1984). It is likely to reach 85 years by 2050 (ChinaDaily, 2007). From a cohort perspective, this means that the 1960s cohort will have a longer life expectancy than the older birth cohorts. The increased longevity in China may also add to the challenges of population ageing in the future.

Healthy life expectancy and life with chronic diseases

Although life expectancy at birth for the Chinese population has increased significantly, the Healthy Life Expectancy (HALE) – which represents the number of years that a person at a given age can expect to live in good health, in the absence of mortality, morbidity, and functional incapacity (WHO, 2012) – is an important indicator for investigating healthy ageing in China. Research suggests that although life expectancy and HALE at birth both increased significantly for men and women between 2000 and 2012, the gap between HALE and average life expectancy increased with age, with a greater difference for women than for men in China (Salomon *et al.*, 2012). This means that the longer a person lives, the more likely it is that he or she will experience living with some health problems.

In addition, the morbidity of chronic non-communicable diseases (NCD) is increasing in China. According to a recent projection, population ageing in China is estimated to increase the NCD by at least 40% by 2030 (Wang *et al.*, 2011) (see Figure 5). From a cohort perspective, the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s birth cohorts will enter their 70s in the years of 2010, 2020, and 2030. Figure 5 shows that the NCD at the age of 70 increases by several times between 2010 and 2020, and between 2020 and 2030, which means that when the 1960s cohort arrives in their 70s, China will have a heavier burden of NCD among older citizens (see Figure 5).



Figure 5: The effect of ageing on the future number of people with at least one NCD, by gender

Source: (Wang *et al.*, 2011)

The statistics of population ageing are striking; however, they are just the tip of the iceberg, as the life course perspective acknowledges the lifelong process of shaping individuals' circumstances. Considering that great social transitions have occurred and continue to occur in China, the context of ageing and the challenges that face different age cohorts are no longer the same. The circumstances of their ageing might be different because of changing demographics and social contexts as well as because of their own different life course trajectories. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate social transitions in China and their influences on birth cohorts' life trajectories.

3.1.2 Locating the three birth cohorts in China's social and historical change

Table 3 outlines the respective life trajectories of three birth cohorts from their birth to the life stages in the recent year of 2017. The ten-year cut of the time periods makes it easier to compare one particular life stage of each cohort and the corresponding historical background during that life stage.

Table 3: The life table of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s birth cohorts in China

Time sequence	Age and possible individual life events			Historical background
	1940s cohort	1950s cohort	1960s cohort	
1947–1956	0–16	0–6	-	Founding of PRC
	Primary and secondary education			
1957–1966	17–26	7–16	0–6	Great Chinese Famine; urban-rural household register system
	Marriage; initial employment	Primary and secondary education		
1967–1976	27–36	17–26	7–16	Cultural Revolution; sent-down policy
	Marriage; have children	Marriage; initial employment; ‘sent-down’ experience (potential)	Primary and secondary education	
1977–1986	37–46	27–36	17–26	Reform and opening up; Family Planning Policy (One Child Policy)
	Children leave home	Come back to city (potential); marriage; have children	Marriage; initial employment	
1987–1996	47–56	37–46	27–36	Reform of state-owned enterprises (SOE); migration
	Retirement (early); urban unemployment (potential); empty nest; becoming grandparents	Children leave home; urban unemployment (potential)	Marriage; have children; urban unemployment (potential); Rural-urban migration (potential)	
1997–2006	57–66	47–56	37–46	Entering World Trade Organisation (WTO); reform of social security system; migration;
	Retirement; empty nest; being grandparents	Retirement (early); empty nest; becoming grandparents	Children leave home; Rural-urban migration (potential)	

2007–2016	67–76	57–66	47–56	modernisation and urbanisation; artificial intelligence
	Empty nest; being grandparents	Retirement; empty nest; being grandparents	Retirement (early); empty nest; becoming grandparents	
2017-	77-	67-	57-	Migration ; modernisation and urbanisation ; artificial intelligence...
	Middle-old; being grandparents	Younger-old; being grandparents	Retirement; empty nest; entering older age; being grandparents	

Source: The author's work.

The life trajectories of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s birth cohorts are embedded in China's social and historical background, which is listed in the last column in Table 3. These social events are influenced by the political orientations of each historical period in China, and had tremendous influence on people's life in China. 3.2 classifies these social events into four historical periods of contemporary China (from 1949 onwards), and discusses their potential influence on the lives of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s cohorts living in urban and rural China.

3.2 Social Context: China's Social and Political Change in Four Historical Periods

Noting the socioeconomic development and policy orientations of the Chinese government, and referring to other scholars' work (Zhou, 2004), the history of contemporary China following the founding of the PRC in 1949 is divided into four significant periods in this study. These are: the national building period (1949-65), the Cultural Revolution period (1966-77), the early Market-Reform period (1978-91) and the Post-Reform period (1992-). The societal, economic, and political events that have taken place in each period had impacted upon each cohort differently in their different life stages.

In the following sections, we mainly review the key social events which happened during each historical period, and discuss how they might have influenced each birth cohort specifically and differently.

3.2.1 The national building period (1949-65)

This period was a time of nation building and central government enhancement, with many twists and turns in the exploration of the state socialist society. The main political and social events in this period are the Great Famine, the anti-rightist campaign, and the establishment of the Hukou system, which impacted upon people's lives dramatically.

The Great Famine

During the 1950s, more than 80% of China's total population were rural, and they lived under a collective economy system (Ash, 2006). In 1958, the government launched the 'rushed growth' strategy which further developed into the 'Great Leap Forward' campaign. During this campaign, the government's grain procurement ratio was raised to unrealistic heights, while total grain output decreased dramatically (Ash, 2006). Chinese rural people generally experienced a 'Great Famine' during the years of 1958–1961,⁶ which was a combination of natural disaster and political mismanagement. This had a devastating demographic impact on both fertility and mortality in China during that period (Yang, 2010). In 1960, the death rate per thousand people in China was 28.58 (Bernstein, 2006). Over four years, about 36 million people died, and consequently China experienced negative population growth (-4.57 per thousand) from 1958 to 1961. It led to a significant number of premature deaths and intrauterine deaths (Kane, 1988), especially in rural areas, where people were less protected than urban citizens (Cai and Feng, 2005).

Among the three cohorts, the 1940s and 1950s cohort – especially those who lived in rural China – were most likely to be affected by this event. As people born in the 1940s and 1950s were likely to be in their adolescence and childhood respectively during the Great Famine, their nutrition status was likely to be impacted, which may have influenced their health in later life (Cai and Feng, 2005; Yang, 2010). The tough experience in the early stages of their lives may also have influenced and shaped their lifestyles in later life. This will be explored in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8.

⁶ During the 'Great Leap Forward' campaign, people in rural China generally lived collective lives. The People's Commune became the main political and economic organisation throughout rural China. Under the big commune, there are several production brigades and production teams. Rural citizens farmed together and ate together in their production teams. Private cooking was banned, and private property was also forced to contribute to the People's Commune. The People's Commune controlled all resources in rural villages and sent most grain to support urban areas during the Great Leap Forward campaign, which, in conjunction with natural disasters, contributed to the Great Famine during 1958–1961 in China. Comparatively, urban citizens were less impacted because their needs were prioritised and their daily rations were guaranteed by the government.

The anti-rightist campaign

This nation-building period also witnessed frequent political campaigns which altered the life chances of a large number of people (Zhou, 2004). For example, there was an ‘anti-rightist’ campaign among intellectuals and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) members between 1957 and 1958. This campaign removed around 300,000 to 700,000 skilled intellectuals from their jobs, and instead brought a new crowd from the worker and peasant ranks who were not well-educated into power (Fairbank and Goldman, 2006). This process affected the life chances of 15% of the total number of the governmental cadre at that time in China (Zhao, 1987). This not only impacted the development of the whole nation, but also altered the fates of many urban cadre families and the lives of their offspring.

During this campaign, the 1940s and 1950s cohorts were in their adolescence and childhood, and although they were less likely to be influenced directly, their lives might have been negatively or positively influenced indirectly by the potential life transitions of their parents. For example, if their parents were removed from their positions and experienced downward social mobility, it is likely that the children’s living standards, education, and other aspects of their lives were also affected adversely, according to the principle of ‘linked lives’ in the life course perspective.

The Hukou system

China’s Hukou⁷ system was built in the 1950s, and differentiated the life opportunities of urban and rural residents. The Hukou entitled urban citizens to certain grain rations⁸, clothing, housing, and employment, as well as social services and welfare, but denied these resources to rural citizens. It prevented the population’s mobility, and strictly controlled people who were migrating from rural areas to cities (Cheng and Selden, 1994). A great divide between rural and urban sectors was created under China’s Hukou system, and it further resulted in the long-lasting rural-urban dual social structure in Chinese society.

The 1940s cohort were likely to be in their adolescence when the Hukou system launched. Therefore, geographic mobility among this cohort was comparatively rare during their early

⁷ ‘Hukou’ means household registration in Chinese. The Hukou system is a household registration system that separated urban and rural residents, controlled their geographic mobility, and assigned them different social resources.

⁸ The rationing system was established in 1955, and urban residents were graded to seven categories and issued grain-supply cards to be eligible to get their rations. This rationing system further increased the difficulties of illegal migrants from the countryside to the cities, and therefore helped control rural-urban migration in this period.

life. Those who came from the rural 1940s cohort were likely to be bound to farmland for most of their adulthood, and their career trajectories may relate to their later life economic circumstances. For example, those who only worked on farms may face more poverty in later life compared with those who had multiple income resources in rural China. In addition, their limited experience of migration may also limit the modernity of their outlooks. This will be further explored in Chapters 7–9.

Population policy

In terms of population policy in this period, there was no consistent and mandatory birth control policy,⁹ and the number of births increased significantly from the late 1950s to the late 1960s (except for the three-year Great Famine). This, in turn, threatened an echo boom in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Greenhalgh and Winckler, 2005). Of the three birth cohorts, only the 1940s cohort were at their reproductive age during this period, and their fertility choices were unlikely to be constrained by state policy. The other two cohorts were generally below fertility age during this period.

3.2.2 The Cultural Revolution period (1966-1977)

The second period was dominated by the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). This was ‘ten lost years’ in Chinese history, with a series of political upheavals and social chaos. The political chaos, the suspension of school education, the job assignment policy, and the ‘sent-down’ policy all had a dramatic influence on people’s life trajectories in that period.

In the political arena, it is estimated that about a hundred million people suffered from political persecution in the Cultural Revolution, if we consider the family members of the cadre who also suffered from the downward mobility of this political interruption (Chen and Liu, 1991).

In social terms, the education system was interrupted. Although most primary schools continued to open, nearly all secondary and tertiary level institutions ceased regular operation completely during 1966–68 (Deng and Treiman, 1997), and universities stopped normal recruitment. This negatively affected the education of a whole generation (Meng and

⁹ To be more specific, there were two stages of policy. In the early 1950s, the government took a pro-natalist policy and encouraged birth; in the late 1950s through the 1960s, efforts were made to disseminate the idea of smaller family size and ensure contraceptive supplies, especially in urban areas (Qin, et al, 2018).

Gregory, 2002), especially those who were in middle and high school education during this period.

During the Cultural Revolution, urban employment was largely a continuum of the 1950s' 'central control' system, and graduates were not allowed to choose jobs freely, but were assigned them by the government (Bian, 1994; Jin, Manning and Chu, 2006). It was suggested that 95% of urban jobs were assigned by the state in this period (Bian, 1994). The policy brought many ups and downs to university graduates in this period, with some from peasant backgrounds becoming cadres, while some urban graduates were assigned to China's border areas and backward regions (Xiang and Liu, 2011). Because of the interrupted urban economy, many middle and high school graduates could not be assigned jobs by the government, but were forced to work in rural areas (Zhou, 2004). This resulted in the so-called 'Sending-Down' Campaign.

The 'Sending-Down' Campaign was a striking social event in Chinese history. It is estimated that 17 million Chinese urban youths were forced to live and work in rural areas, and their lives were shaped and altered by the state policy (Zhou and Hou, 1999; Xie, Jiang and Greenman, 2008; Song and Zheng, 2016). Among them, most were junior and senior high school graduates. The 'sent-down' youths were a distinct cohort in Chinese history. They were named the 'sent-down cohort' (Yang and Li, 2011), the 'Children of the Cultural Revolution' (Zhou and Hou, 1999), 'Lao-san-jie' (Chang, 1996b), and the 'lost generation' (Bonnin, 2006) by scholars in published literature, and previous literature suggested that their marriages, childbearing, and other life opportunities were very adversely influenced by state policy (Song and Zheng, 2016).

In this period, many members of the 1940s cohort had started forming families and had stepped into their midlives. Some cadres from this cohort might have been affected by the political purge, and have experienced great personal life transitions. For some members of the urban 1940s cohort who graduated from university during the Cultural Revolution, their job assignments could be influenced by state policy, and they might have experienced downward social mobility if they were assigned to remote regions of China. The 1950s cohort, however, were in young adulthood during the Cultural Revolution, and their education and family lives were most likely to be interrupted. For those sent-down youths, the time they spent farming in rural areas interrupted their school education, delayed family life events such as marriage and childbearing, and affected their economic lives in terms of entering into the urban labour force and acquiring more skills and experiences at work. The sent-down youths were also likely to be deprived of other opportunities available to urban

citizens, such as job assignments in favourable occupations and work organisations, due to their experiences being sent down (Zhou and Hou, 1999). The 1960s cohort were mostly in their adolescence and, compared with the effects on their 1950s counterparts, the negative impacts of the Cultural Revolution on them were not that dramatic, although some of them experienced disruption during their early education.

3.2.3 The early Market-Reform period (1978-1991)

The period from 1979 to 1991 was the early market-reform era, when China went through a series of reforms in its societal, economic, and cultural policies. The most significant change during this historical period was the decentralisation of the central authority, especially in the economic sector. For example, in rural China, the ‘Household Responsibility System’ replaced the People’s Commune, which largely improved peasants’ creativity and efficiency (Lin, 1992). In the cities, the market economy and foreign investment were introduced in the context of the ‘Reform and Opening-Up Policy’, which contributed to significant economic growth in China.

The Family Planning Policy (One Child Policy)

In the area of population policy, in order to control rapid population growth, the Chinese government launched the ‘Later, Longer, Fewer’ policy – known as the ‘Wan, Xi, Shao’ policy – between 1970 and 1979 (Qin, Falkingham and Padmadas, 2018). ‘Wan’ refers to later marriage, ‘Xi’ is for longer intervals between births, and ‘Shao’ means fewer births for each women. This campaign had a greater impact than previous ones as it was the first birth control policy to establish national and provincial-level targets, and it had a far-reaching effect on the reduction of the birth rate nationally (Riley, 2004). Between 1970 and 1979, the ‘Later, Longer, Fewer’ policy resulted in a dramatic drop of TFR, from 5.9 to 2.9 (Hesketh and Zhu, 1997).

The well-known One Child Policy was introduced in 1979, with the slogan of ‘One couple, one child’ across the country, and this received dissent especially in rural areas (Qin, Falkingham and Padmadas, 2018). From the mid-1980s onwards, the central government readjusted the policy, and allowed differentiated implementation among different sub-populations and provinces (Hesketh and Zhu, 1997; Qin, Falkingham and Padmadas, 2018). In general, the One Child Policy was stricter for urban couples than rural ones. They were

strictly restricted to having only one child, except for a few exemptions¹⁰ (Somera, 2008). Rural citizens were allowed to have a second birth five years after the first child was born, if the first child was a girl (Mamdani and Mamdani, 2006). The One Child Policy led to a further gradual fall in TFR until 1995, after which it stabilized at approximately 1.7 children per woman (Ding and Hesketh, 2006b).

The One Child Policy has had a profound influence upon Chinese families. For example, it resulted in smaller family sizes and fewer children in families; it also led to the phenomenon of ‘missing girls’¹¹ (Coale and Banister, 1994). Research suggested that the cohorts born between 1980 and 2000 (which is likely to be the children of the 1960s birth cohort) included 22 million more men than women, and approximately 10.4% of these additional men may fail to marry (Ebenstein and Sharygin, 2009). In addition, it has also resulted in a high old-age dependency rate and ‘4-2-1’ family pattern, meaning that the only child has to care not only for their parents, but also for four grandparents (Ding and Hesketh, 2006b). This may alter the care arrangements for parents with only one child when they get to old age (Mamdani and Mamdani, 2006). Furthermore, the One Child Policy could have a long-lasting influence on the fertility views of successive cohorts. Research suggests that many Chinese people, especially urban citizens, believe that having one child is the best choice for the family, even after the policy was relaxed in 2013 (Denyer, 2015). More recently, the One Child Policy was relaxed to a Two Child Policy in October 2015, and this was fully implemented across the nation in January 2016. However, many eligible parents are likely to be deterred from having a second child despite the relaxation of the policy, due to the high cost of childrearing in China (Buckley, 2015).

During this period, most of the 1940s cohort and some of the 1950s cohort entered their midlives and finished childbearing. The 1960s cohort, however, were most likely to be seriously influenced by the One Child Policy because they had just entered reproductive age when the One Child Policy was introduced and widely implemented in China. The One Child Policy changes the family patterns as well as the support circumstances for this cohort and leads them to a ‘4-2-1’ dilemma, with fewer children available than their parents’ generation

¹⁰ For example, where there was least five years’ spacing after the first child before having a second one; where the first child had mental or physical disabilities; where couples were divorcees; or when they both came from one-child families.

¹¹ Chinese people had a traditional preference for sons rather than daughters, because they thought only the sons could carry on the family lines. The One Child Policy to some extent prompted sex-selective abortion, and this further resulted in a large decline in female births.

have to provide them with family care when they get older.¹² In addition, with the increasingly severe gender imbalance in China, the number of daughters and daughters-in-law will decrease, which may reduce the number of traditional family caregivers available for the 1960s cohort when they reach old age. The phenomenon of ‘missing girls’ also creates a severe ‘marriage squeeze’ among the 1980s cohort (the children of the 1960s cohort), especially for those living in rural areas, and this may further influence the family resources of the rural 1960s cohort when they become older. This will be explored in Chapter 9.

3.2.4 The Post-Reform period (1992-)

From the late 1990s, China accelerated its pace on moderation and urbanisation, especially after Deng Xiaoping’s southern tour (Nanxun) in 1992. Deng proposed that the coastal provinces should become wealthy first, and they would eventually lead the inland provinces to achieve common prosperity. In this period, China’s regional disparity of economic development was fast and steady, but the gap between the coast and the interior was greatly enlarged (more than ten times the size of the gap in 1984) (Fujita and Hu, 2001).

The SOE reform

In this period, a series of economic reform took place in the society. Among which, the reform of SOEs had a deep influence on Chinese urban society. The SOE reform was initiated in the 1990s by dismantling the lifetime employment system through massive layoffs (Feng, 2007). In the name of state sector restructuring, tens of millions of labourers working in the military, textile, mining, and machinery sectors were dismissed and put into difficult situations. With the loss of Danwei (socialist work unit) based entitlement to welfare, they were faced with low income, a high burden of living, and mental stress (Cheng, 2014), and consequently became the new urban poor (Wu and Huang, 2007). In 1999, the total actual unemployment rate in China was 8%–9%. But in districts where large numbers of Xiangang (‘stepped down from the post’) workers were concentrated, the unemployment rate might exceed 15% (Lee, 2000).

The laid-off workers were mostly in their 40s or 50s at that time (i.e. likely to be members of the 1940s and 1950s cohorts), and were known as the ‘40–50 laid-off group’. They were

¹² In 2014 in China, for 80-year-olds, the number of children was 3–4 on average, while it was only two for people aged 60 (CLASS Team, 2014). However, for most of the 1960s cohort, when they get to their 60s, there might be only one adult child available as the caregiver, and this is without considering the child’s gender, proximity, and availability.

not competitive in the job market and many of them were not able to get new jobs. Many laid-off workers experienced downward mobility and descended into poverty, while some others achieved upward social mobility through their social networks or taking advantage of market opportunities (Gomersall and Wang, 2013). During this process, Guanxi (social capital) played an important role in finding new jobs and getting out of poverty (Bian, 1994). Being laid off during the SOE reform was a major midlife transition for some urban citizens, and their subsequent coping strategies may have led to having different later-life socioeconomic resources. This will be examined in Chapters 7–9.

Internal rural to urban labour migration

Since the 1980s, China accelerated its pace of market reform and urbanization. The rapid growth of the service sector and export manufactories in coastal areas created many job opportunities (Zhang, 2007). The increasing demand for a labour force triggered large-scale rural to urban internal migration in China from the 1990s onwards (Liu, 2014).

Internal migration has become a universal phenomenon in Chinese society nowadays, and its patterns have evolved over time. Migration at the early stage followed a ‘circular’ pattern – that is, migrants moved back and forth between the areas they moved from and those they moved to (Riley, 2004). They sent back remittances while working in the city, and tended to choose to go back permanently when they reached a particular age. Things have changed since 2000, when the central government and many local authorities passed regulations to improve the rights of migrant workers (Vermeer, 2006). Nowadays, family migration has become the main trend of migration in China. Published research in 2014 suggested that the migration of families accounted for 70% of migrants, and 27.85% of the families migrating included all family members (Sheng, 2014). As the second generation of migrants (the 1980–1990 birth cohorts) generally had fewer siblings, their future decisions to leave or stay in the city were largely associated with the support situations of their parents in rural areas.

Internal migration has had profound social impacts. First and foremost, the outward migration of young adults from rural China changed the living arrangements, family patterns, and care situations of many rural older people (He and Ye, 2014). For example, because of migration, empty-nest families became a common phenomenon in rural China. According to the China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey (CLASS) Report in 2014, 45.1% of older people in China were in empty nests (CLASSTeam, 2014). Children’s outward migration also had a deep impact on older people’s receipt of financial support, instrumental support, and psychological support (Guo, Aranda and Silverstein, 2009). In addition, for the

migrants themselves, the experience of outward migration improved their incomes and changed their outlooks through life experiences outside the farmland.

During this period, the 1940s cohort started to enter their old age and the 1950s cohort entered their midlife. The 1960s cohort generally started their family formation. The large-scale internal migration had affected the three cohorts differently. For the current older cohort of the 1940s, many of them living in rural areas faced the situation of an empty nest due to the migration of their adult children. However, for people from the rural 1960s cohort, many were the first generation of migrant workers themselves. They were better off than their parents' generations and had relatively more savings. However, they may have fewer children available when they get older than their parents' generation. Furthermore, the second-generation migrants born in the 1980s and the 1990s were generally better educated than their 1960s-born parents, and their outlooks and decisions may be different from those of first-generation migrants. Therefore, the 1960s cohort may experience great transition in their future old age support, considering their own changing circumstances as well as the availability of their children.

3.3 Family Context: Family Structures and Living Arrangements of Older People

3.3.1 Household size and family structure

Along with the demographic transitions, household size and family patterns have changed over time in China. In general, there is a tendency towards a smaller household size over recent years. The average household size was 4.8 people in the 1970s, and was reduced to 3.4 in 2004 (3.6 in rural areas and 3.1 in urban areas) (Vermeer, 2006). In China's population census in 2010, the average household size was down to 3.1 (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017)

Similarly, household composition has changed dramatically during the past decades. According to UN data, in 1982, 28% of Chinese households had six members while only 16% of households had three members. However, in 2000, China saw the reverse trend: only 7% of households had six members while 31% of households had three members (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017) (see Figure 6). This reveals that the Chinese households are becoming smaller.

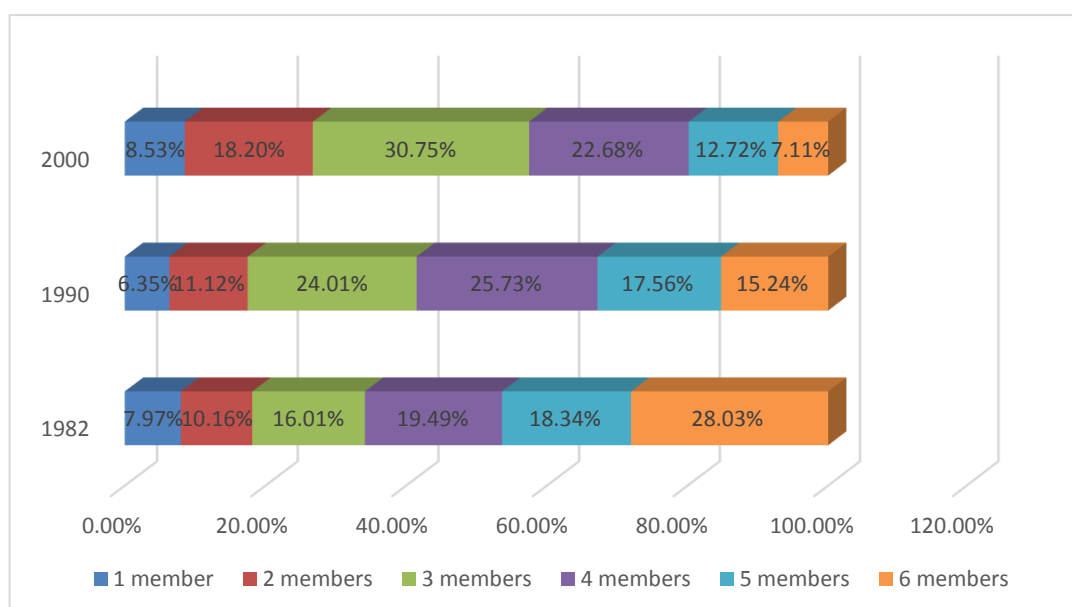


Figure 6: Distribution of households by number of members (1982–2000)

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017

3.3.2 The living arrangements of older people

Although household size is becoming smaller, the indicator itself has some limitations in revealing real family patterns in China. Some researchers argued that actual households might not be as small or nuclear as they appeared in census records. On one hand, census data was collected according to Hukou registration, which could have discrepancies with actual living arrangements; on the other hand, one family may own multiple apartments that contribute to the higher percentage of smaller household sizes (Xu and Xia, 2014). Household size could also be underestimated due to unreported births and large scale internal migration (Zeng and Wang, 2003). Therefore, when studying older people's family support circumstances, it is more important to investigate their actual living arrangements, rather than general household sizes.

Previous research suggest that older people's living arrangements are an important factor that influences their health and mobility (Zimmer, 2005; Li, Zhang and Liang, 2009; Wang *et al.*, 2013; Feng *et al.*, 2017), emotional wellbeing (Ye and Chen, 2014; Ren and Treiman, 2015), and quality of life (Sun *et al.*, 2011) in older age. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate the living arrangements of the three cohorts of older people in this study. This will be examined in both a quantitative phase (Chapters 5–6) and a qualitative phase (Chapters 7–9) of this study.

In the early reform years, there was still a high proportion of older people living with their adult children. In the 1990 census, 72.5% of people aged 65 and over lived with two, three, or more generations of their families (Chen, 2005) and another study of two of China's large cities published in 1998 found that around 67% of parents lived with at least one of their adult children (Logan, Bian and Bian, 1998). Although co-residence with one's adult child dropped from 70% to only 40% between 1991 and 2006, the share of rural older people with adult children living nearby was actually higher (Cai *et al.*, 2012). Research found that more than half of the older people who lived alone or only with their spouse had at least one adult child living in the same village (Cai *et al.*, 2012). This suggests that many of the empty-nest older people in rural areas still had their adult children available for support if needed. For urban older people, their non-co-resident children tended to live close to their parents, maintain frequent face-to face interaction with their parents, and provide regular help (Bian, Logan and Bian, 1998a). Therefore, research on parents' proximity to their adult children, rather than just co-residence, could capture broader situations of family support for older people. The proximity between parents and adult children will be investigated in Chapter 5 of this study. In addition, the gendered norms of intergenerational support provided by the nearby children to their parents need further investigation, and these will be explored in Chapters 7–9 of this study.

Previous research suggests that many factors could influence older people's living arrangements. In general, age, gender, race, urban living, health, and wealth were commonly confirmed to be the factors with the greatest impact (Sereny, 2011; Ye, Chen and Peng, 2017). It is also shaped by social culture (Zhao, 2000), economic constraints (Sereny, 2011), the availability of housing (Meng and Luo, 2008), and the needs and negotiations between parents and children (Chen, 2005). Decisions on older people's living arrangements were always adapted to the family's needs, responsive to particular socioeconomic conditions, and adjustable as family needs changed over time and over both generations' life courses (Chen, 2005). Therefore, the living arrangements of older people were sometimes not a result of their subjective preferences, but to meet the needs of their families, or as a result of economic and environment constraints. It is important to investigate the concordance of the older people's preferences and the realities of their living arrangements, as previous research suggests that concordance in their living arrangements could impact older people's health status (Sereny, 2011) and subjective wellbeing (Chen, 2018).

A lot of previous research has used quantitative methods to investigate the actual living arrangements of older people and its impact on their health and wellbeing. Studies on their

subjective preferences about their living arrangements in older age are much more scarce (Chen, 2018). This study, therefore, aims to fill this gap in its qualitative phase in Chapters 7–9.

Another key finding of previous research was that older people living alone, especially those who were involuntarily doing so, were the most vulnerable group (Chen, While and Hicks, 2015; Lu and Zhang, 2017; Ye, Chen and Peng, 2017). However, few studies have identified the pathways leading to living alone or considered its diversities, as well as its causes and effects (Snell, 2017). To fill this gap, the qualitative phase of this research will examine those who are living alone as a result of different pathways (widowhood, divorce, or long-distance marriage) and their different situations in terms of potential family support.

With the cohorts influenced by China's One Child Policy stepping into their old age, their living arrangements in older age have begun to attract more scholarly attention (Wang, 2016; Chen and Jordan, 2017). This research will update relevant research findings with both statistical and qualitative evidence.

3.4 Geographic Context: Urban Rural Differences in Older Age Support in China

Like many developing countries, China has a long history of a dual structure between urban and rural areas, which creates great divides in its social, economic, and family structures (Hu and Ma, 2018). Although fertility is generally higher in rural China, the proportion of old people and the speed of population ageing has actually been higher and faster in rural areas, with the gap between rural and urban areas becoming wider (Cai *et al.*, 2012). The ageing trend in rural China is suggested to be becoming more serious, with an estimation that after 2030, the percentage of oldest-old may be twice as high as in urban areas (Zeng, 2010).

However, although population ageing is more severe in rural China, social support resources like old age pensions for rural older people are much less sufficient than those for urban ones. Before 2005 (when the New Rural Cooperative Medical Insurance (NRCMI) was introduced to rural China), there was nearly no public social insurance for rural citizens, except for the Five Guarantee Scheme (FGS), which was initiated in the 1950s and only targeted people with no children, income, or property. Only 1% of rural residents are included in this scheme (Wu, 2013). Research suggests that nearly 80% of rural residents lacked health insurance in 2003, and 90% of rural older people did not have any pension in 2007 (Wagstaff *et al.*, 2009; Shen and Williamson, 2010; Shen, Feng and Cai, 2018). Even though the New Rural Pension

Scheme (NRPS) was established in 2009, its amount was far from adequate, as the minimum basic pension for each participant subsidised by the government was only 55 CNY (Chinese Yuan) per month (equal to 6 pounds or so)¹³ (Wu, 2013).

Moreover, the income inequality between Chinese urban and rural residents is striking. Research suggests that the mean income gap between urban and rural residents was 3,825 CNY in 1995, and increased to 6,859 CNY in 2002. Of this, the mean pension income gap was 653 CNY and 1,252 CNY in 1995 and 2002 respectively (Sicular *et al.*, 2007). Table 4 illustrates the primary sources of support for Chinese older citizens based on statistics in 2005, which reflects a huge urban-rural disparity. Although nearly half of urban citizens rely on pension for old age support, only around 4.6% of rural residents have pensions. Instead, rural older people mainly rely on income from labour, and family support for a living. Among them, men are more reliant on income from farm work (48.5%) while women are more dependent on their families (68.5%).

Table 4: Primary source of support for Chinese older people, 2005 – most significant share of support reported

Source of support	Urban			Rural		
	Average	Male	Female	Average	Male	Female
Labour income	13.0	18.4	7.9	37.9	48.5	27.5
Pensions	45.4	56.9	34.6	4.6	8.1	1.3
Dibao¹⁴	2.4	1.8	2.9	1.3	1.8	0.9
Insurance and subsidy	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0
Property income	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.1
Family support	37.0	20.7	52.3	54.1	39.3	68.5
Other	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.8	2.0	1.7

Source: NBS, 2006, citing from Cai *et al.*, 2012, p. 47.

¹³ This amount is half of China's poverty threshold set in 2010, and about 15% of the per-capita consumption level for the rural population. The basic pension is funded by the central government, and in some provinces, the monthly basic pension could be higher than 55 CNY if the local government provided higher subsidies (Shen *et al.*, 2018).

¹⁴ Dibao is a minimum income that is guaranteed by the Chinese government, which targets households in poverty. See more information at http://www.ilo.org/dyn/ilossi/ssimain.viewScheme?p_lang=en&p_scheme_id=919&p_geoaid=156.

In addition to income sources, family values are different in urban and rural settings. Research has found that the value of family obligations is more traditional in rural and western China than in eastern China and big cities (Hu and Scott, 2014). This is because in eastern China and urban areas, the social security system has wider coverage among old people, and pensions become the primary source of old-age support. Therefore, urban seniors tend to be more economically independent in their older age. Rural areas, however, lack such complete social security systems and the payment rate is inadequate, therefore rural older residents still largely rely on their family members for old age support.

In the near future, population ageing in rural China will face more severe challenges because a) the ‘baby boomer’ cohorts (the 1950s–1960s birth cohort) are entering their older age, thus there will be more older people, and potentially more older people in need of support; b) constrained by the Family Planning Policy, the baby boomer cohorts have fewer children on average, thus the number of young adults as potential family caregivers will be largely reduced; c) the overwhelming rural-to-urban trend of internal migration among rural young adults will further reduce the availability of adult children of future older people in rural China; and d) healthcare and public pensions are still largely underdeveloped in most rural areas of China, and great inequality still exists between Chinese urban and rural areas (Shen, Feng and Cai, 2018). These problems have been addressed by numerous previous studies. However, most previous research failed to consider the changes of successive cohorts of older people themselves, for example, the changes of their own life courses, initiatives, outlooks, and expectations, which will be comprehensively investigated in this study using a cohort-comparative perspective.

In addition to the urban-rural divide, there is an in-between region-the small-town (county), which serves as the link between the city and the countryside (Tan, 2016), is generally neglected in previous research regarding the investigation of regional differences. The small-town is the lower tier of the urban hierarchy. Although the small-town residents generally hold urban Hukou, many of them have the rural origin and have their parents living in rural villages. Their life trajectories are different from those peers who were born in the cities. In addition, the social welfare and social benefits to which the small-town residents are entitled are different from those in the big cities, due to local economic development and local government budgets. Previous research generally used Hukou as an indicator for urban-rural difference, and overlooked the distinctiveness of the small town as a specific region. This study, aims to compare the living experience of three birth cohorts in the city, the small-town and the rural villages, aiming to fill this gap in previous research.

3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined the Chinese context of population ageing through a cohort lens. Following the introduction of the general trend of population ageing in China, the social context, family context, and geographic context were reviewed specifically, and research gaps were identified where they exist. To conclude, the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s birth cohorts have had different life trajectories, being influenced by China's social events and social transitions differently, and will face different challenges when they become older. Among these, the 1960s cohort are the transitional birth cohort in China, as they experienced dramatic social transition during China's market reform, and at the same time, their family formation changed dramatically due to the One Child Policy. Although this fact was generally acknowledged in existing literature, little of the previous research has addressed this change adequately from a cohort perspective, with comprehensive investigation from both the changing objective 'facts' and the subjective 'views' of the birth cohort themselves. This study aims to fill the research gaps using mixed methods, and research findings will be presented in Chapters 5–9.

Chapter 4 Methodology

This chapter presents a detailed discussion of the research methodology used in this study. A mixed-method approach was adopted to address the research questions. Although widely used in social and health sciences, the mixed methods approach faces some critiques from methodological purists. This chapter therefore begins by reviewing and addressing the debates and introducing the justifications for using mixed methods in this research. Under the mixed methods approach, the research questions will be reiterated and a conceptual diagram will be presented to illustrate the whole research design. Next, the data and methods in both the quantitative and qualitative research phase will be described. A discussion of the potential ethical issues will be put forward at the end of this chapter.

4.1 Mixed Methods: Research Design

Mixed methods, also known as multi-methods (Brannen, 1992), multi-strategy (Bryman, 2015), or mixed methodology (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998), are methods that involve the integration of both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Bryman, 2006), although they are often dominated by one paradigm (Morse, 2003). Initially formulated in the 1950s, there may be thought of as being five stages in their formation and development, as suggested by Creswell and Plano Clark (Creswell and PlanoClark, 2007): the ‘debate’ and ‘development’ stages during the 1970s and 1980s, the ‘advocacy’ and ‘expansion’ stages early in this century, and the ‘reflection and new critiques’ stage just recently (Creswell and PlanoClark, 2007). Although the mixed methods approach has been prevalent since the 1950s and has been widely used in social sciences (Bryman, 2006) as well as health research and gerontological research (Happ, 2009), it was once considered a methodological ‘minefield’ due to complex ontology and epistemological issues (McEvoy and Richards, 2006). Therefore, before adopting mixed methods in this study, it is important to review the debates over this methodology and discuss the rationales that are employed in this study.

4.1.1 The implementation of mixed methods: debates and rational

The main debate in mixed methods research is whether quantitative and qualitative methods can be combined, as they are based on distinct epistemology, ontology and paradigms. Simply put, the quantitative method may be thought to be based on positivism, while qualitative research is primarily based on interpretivism (Altheide and Johnson, 1994) and

constructivism (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Because the method that is adopted in a piece of research is not simply about data collection but a commitment to an epistemological position (Bryman, 2015, p636), the methodological purists believed that mixed methods are not feasible or desirable because of the epistemological assumption that the values and methods in both paradigms are incompatible (Morgan, 1998). It has been argued that, even when combining observations with a questionnaire, the integration is only on a superficial level and within a single paradigm (Bryman, 2015, p636).

In addition to the methodological debate, there are challenges in the implementation of mixed methods. One significant difficulty is the merging of quantitative and qualitative data analysis to provide an integrated analysis (Bryman, 2007). Another challenge is the integration of the quantitative and qualitative findings, and making them mutually informative while writing up the results. Current practices still have insufficient templates and rules for doing this (Bryman, 2007). In addition, there are other challenges such as inconsistency in language use (Bryman, 2008; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2010), and incompetence in methodological practice, as pedagogy and training for researchers and research students are not sufficient (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2012). Mixed methods researchers also should be careful to make their rationale statement consistent with practice when implementing mixed methods research (Bryman, 2006).

However, from a practical perspective, methodological pragmatists argue that researchers should adopt whatever methods can get optimal results, and neither quantitative or qualitative method alone is sufficient to develop complete research – they need to be combined to offset each other's weaknesses (Creswell *et al.*, 2003). From a technical perspective, some researchers have argued that a research method using one strategy was capable of being pressed into the service of another (Bryman, 2015), or for a complementary purpose (Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil, 2002). In this way, mixed methods become both feasible and desirable. Greene, Caracelli and Graham (Greene, Caracelli and Graham, 1989) proposed five justifications for the rationale to combine quantitative and qualitative approaches: triangulation, complementarity, development, initiation, and expansion. However, this scheme of five justifications has been regarded by some as too parsimonious, and besides which the justification of 'initiation' was uncommon. Accordingly, a more detailed scheme with 18 extended justifications¹⁵ was devised by Bryman (Bryman, 2006).

¹⁵ The 18 extended justifications are: a) Triangulation or greater validity, b) Offset, c) Completeness, d) Process, e) Different research questions, f) Explanation, g) Unexpected results, h) Instrument development,

Although Bryman's 18-scheme contains more categories, it clearly corresponds to Greene's original 5-scheme, with the 18-scheme containing further subdivision of the 5-scheme (Bryman, 2006).¹⁶ Therefore, to make it simple when discussing the rationales for adopting mixed methods in this research, we will use Greene's five justifications (see Table 5). Here, the rationales that were initially intended to apply to this study are triangulation, complementarity, development, and expansion. A further discussion of how the two approaches connect and can be integrated under the four rationales will be presented in the discussion chapter (see 10.3).

Table 5: Five justifications of integrating quantitative and qualitative methods

Justifications	Explanations
Triangulation	– Convergence, corroboration, correspondence, or results from different methods. In coding triangulation, the emphasis was placed on seeking corroboration between quantitative and qualitative data.
Complementarity	– ‘Seeks elaboration, enhancement, illustration, clarification of the results from one method with the results from another.’ (Greene <i>et al.</i> , 1989: 259)
Development	– ‘Seeks to use the results from one method to help develop or inform the other method, where development is broadly construed to include sampling and implementation, as well as measurement decisions.’ (Greene <i>et al.</i> , 1989: 259).
Initiation	– ‘Seeks the discovery of paradox and contradiction, new perspectives of [sic] frameworks, the recasting of questions or results from one method with questions or results from the other method.’ (Greene <i>et al.</i> , 1989: 259).
Expansion	– ‘Seeks to extend the breadth and range of enquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components’ (Greene <i>et al.</i> , 1989:259).

Source: Greene *et al.* (1989)

i)Sampling, j)Credibility, k)Context, l)Illustration, m)Utility or improving the usefulness of findings, n)Confirm and discover, o)Diversity of views, p)Enhancement or building upon quantitative/qualitative findings, q)Other/unclear, r)Not stated.

¹⁶ For example, ‘development of a research instrument’ and ‘for sampling/case study selection reasons’ in Bryman's 18-scheme correspond to ‘development’ in Greene's 5-scheme, while ‘to enhance or build upon quantitative/qualitative findings’ in the 18-scheme corresponds to ‘complementarity’ in the 5-scheme. (Bryman, 2006)

This research employs a sequential ‘explanatory design’ of mixed-methods approach. The ‘explanatory sequential design’, as suggested in previous literature, is highly popular among mixed methods researchers (Creswell *et al.*, 2003) and has been adopted in both social and behavioural research (Kinnick and Kempner, 1988; Ceci, 1991; Klassen and Burnaby, 1993; Ivankova, Creswell and Stick, 2006). The ‘explanatory sequential design’ occurs in two distinct interactive phases: an initial quantitative data analysis to address the research questions, and a subsequent qualitative phase to explain the quantitative results (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). The explanatory design of mixed methods is adopted in this research for the following reasons.

Firstly, no single quantitative data source is sufficient to answer the research questions of this study at the time of starting this PhD research. On one hand, there is no nationally representative dataset in China in 2014 that fully suits all the research aims of this study (that contains participants who were born during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, and includes information about their life histories and social changes that occurred during their lives, and information on their intergenerational relationships with their adult children). On the other hand, participants may frequently provide additional information to closed questions in structured questionnaires, which cannot be captured and reflected in the survey data.

Secondly, because when this study started, only one wave of the CHARLS (China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study) data was available, this study had to use a cross-sectional dataset in its quantitative analysis. Previous research suggests that cross-sectional differences are often assumed to be solely the result of ageing processes, but in fact they may be partly or entirely the result of cohort differences (Palmore, 1978). In this sense, comparison between three birth cohorts using cross-sectional data may imply two combined effects: age effects and cohort effects – that is, the effects of individuals from different age groups, and the effects of individuals born during different social periods and affected by different social and historical events. Therefore, the quantitative results of this research demonstrate the combined effects of age and cohort, which it is not possible to disentangle using only cross-sectional data (Palmore, 1978). To offset this limitation, the qualitative phase is purposively designed from a cohort-comparative perspective, and investigates how social and historical events in different periods have affected each birth cohort differently. These first two reasons meet the justification of ‘complementarity’.

Thirdly, the initial results of the quantitative data analysis draw a general picture of intergenerational support circumstances amongst three birth cohorts, which provides breadth but lacks a rich depth of information, such as the processes behind individual characteristics

and the subjective preferences of individuals. These need to be explored in particular contexts and explained by in-depth investigation from the individual's perspective. In addition, the quantitative analysis can only provide association, rather than causation between variables, and the whole story of decision-making process can only be fully understood by linking particular life stages with individuals' previous life trajectories. All these can be built upon through qualitative exploration. This meets the justification of expansion listed in Table 5.

To conclude, both quantitative and qualitative types of research have their own weaknesses, but each can be complemented by the other. In this research, the quantitative data lacks the context for each cohort, and the voices of the participants from different cohorts cannot be heard. The qualitative in-depth interview, on the other hand, could address the limitation of the issues above, but it can be criticised on the basis of having limited samples and not generalizing results. Combined use of the two approaches will make up for the weaknesses and improve the validity of the study. In addition, the validity of the research will be improved by corroboration between the quantitative and qualitative data, which meets the justification of triangulation.

To overcome the challenges of mixed-method research, this research endeavours to integrate the quantitative and qualitative results in both the research design as well as the discussion stage. Firstly, the quantitative and qualitative phases in the sequential explanatory design will be connected with each other. The quantitative results in the first phase will inform the sampling and participant selection in the second phase of qualitative research. Secondly, the qualitative data collection protocols and interview schedule will be grounded by the quantitative results in the first phase. The two stages meet the justification of development listed in Table 5. Finally, the quantitative and qualitative results will be integrated in the discussion of the outcome of the entire study.

4.1.2 Research aims and research design

This research aims to investigate the impact of social change on individuals' intergenerational family support in later life by studying a sample of China's three birth cohorts – the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts. By comparing the three cohorts' respective life experiences and the social contexts at their different life stages, it also sheds light on the likely future of family support for the youngest cohort, the 1960s cohort (now in their 50s and who will form the future generation of elders), as they get older.

To be more specific, this research will answer the following research questions:

RQ1: How do sociodemographic characteristics, family formation, and current intergenerational support resources differ between the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s birth cohorts in China?

RQ2: What are the key factors that influence different types of intergenerational family support among currently middle-aged and older people in China?

RQ3: a) For China's 1940s, 1950s and 1960s birth cohorts, how are their family support circumstances in later life shaped by China's recent periods of social change and their own personal life events? b) How do their views and expectations differ in terms of future long-term care?

RQ4: Who are the vulnerable groups and what are the trends amongst the three cohorts of older people and how can social policy address these?

This research employs an 'explanatory design' using a mixed method approach, which is driven by a quantitative secondary data analysis and followed by a qualitative in-depth interview component (see Figure 7). The project starts from the analysis of a nationally representative dataset, the CHARLS 2011–2012 baseline dataset, which aims to capture a general picture of the differences and changes in the intergenerational relationships and family support for three cohorts (comprising those born in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s) in China. Semi-structured in-depth interviews will then be conducted to obtain insights into those quantitative results.

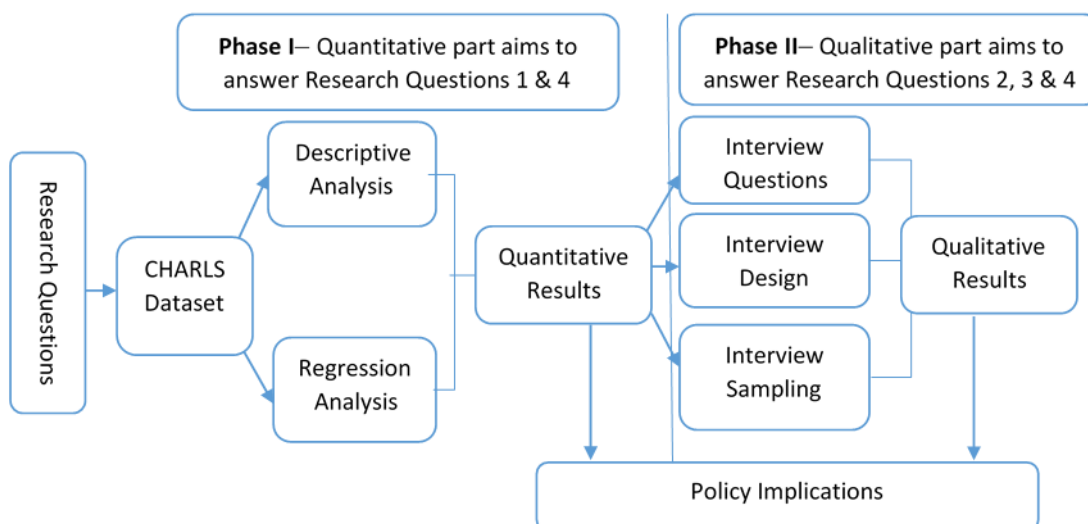


Figure 7: Prototypes of research design

Source: The author's work

4.2 Phase I: Quantitative Analysis of Secondary data

4.2.1 Data

Dataset selection

Data for the quantitative analysis came from a nationally representative dataset, the CHARLS 2011 baseline dataset, which is a national representative dataset with samples aged 45 and over collected from 28 provinces and 150 counties in mainland China. Compared with some demographic data from the Chinese population census 2010, the data of CHARLS 2011 has a relatively similar character to the national population (Zhao *et al.*, 2014) and is widely representative of the Chinese mainland population.

CHARLS, as opposed to other national representative datasets, was chosen for the following reasons: firstly, compared with the Chinese Longitudinal Healthy Longevity Survey (CLHLS), it covers a wider sample that includes middle-aged as well as older people, which makes it possible to make comparisons between the 1940s–1960s birth cohorts in terms of their ageing and intergenerational support circumstances. Secondly, compared with the China General Social Survey (CGSS) and the China Family Panel Study (CFPS), CHARLS particularly focuses on people of middle and old age and is designed mainly for ageing and health research. Thirdly, in its questionnaire, there is a module on family information, which includes the children's information and a module on family transfer, which provides information on intergenerational time and economic transfers. These kinds of data are crucial in researching people's intergenerational relationships. Therefore, the CHARLS dataset, particularly in terms of its sample characteristics and questionnaire modules, fits with this research aim and can support the research with substantial data evidence.

Sampling methods of CHARLS dataset

CHARLS 2011–2012 uses a multistage probability sampling method. The sampling frame for CHARLS selects by three stages: in the first stage, 150 counties are randomly selected using probability-proportional-to-size (PPS) sampling from all the county-level samples in China except for Tibet. The 150 samples fall within 28 provinces. In the second stage, villages in rural areas and neighbourhoods in cities are randomly selected as primary sampling units (PSUs), and three PSUs are selected from each county-level sample using PPS sampling. In the last stage, dwellings within each PSU are identified by mapping and listing operations, and 23,422 are assigned to interviewers, of which, 12,740 are age-eligible.

Finally CAPI interviews are conducted with 10,257 households, and 17,708 individuals (Zhao *et al.*, 2013; Zhao *et al.*, 2014). (see Figure 8)

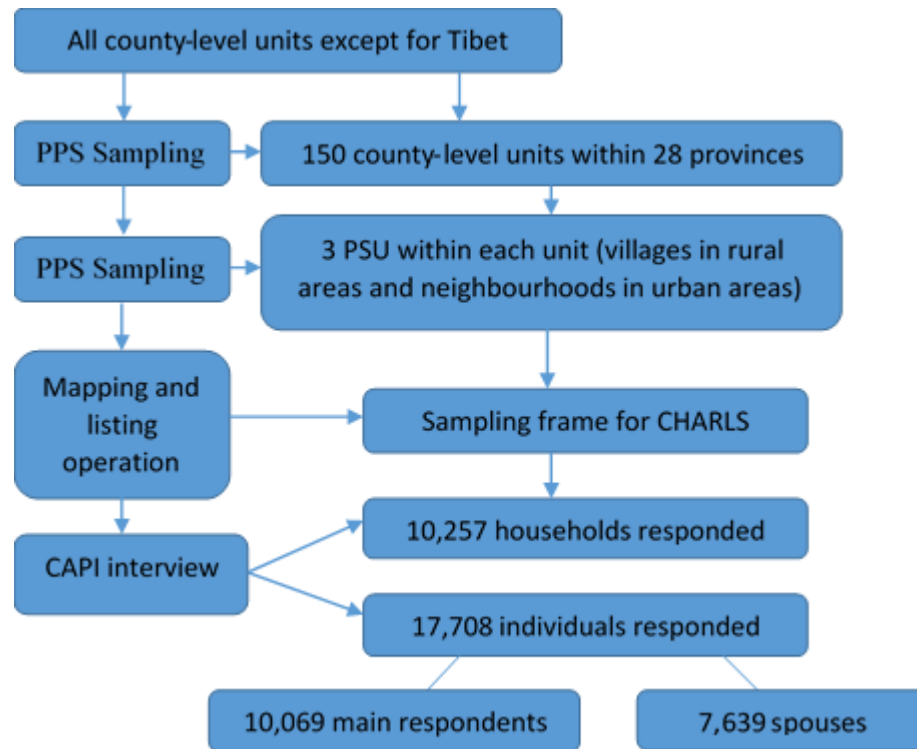


Figure 8: Sampling method of CHARLS 2011–12 baseline data

Source: The author

Dataset structure

The CHARLS 2011 data includes ten modules (see Appendix B). They are the household roster, demographics, family information, health status and functioning, health care and insurance, work retirement and pension, income and expenditures, household and individual assets, housing characteristics, and interviewer observation. In each module, a vast amount of information is collected to cover various aspects of the individuals and their family members.

Module data is collected into sub-datasets, and each dataset has a different sample size (see Appendix C).

Sample selection process of the analytical data in this research

The CHARLS 2011 data contains ten modules, and is divided into different subsets. Before analysing, relevant subsets are merged and important variables are selected (for the flow diagram of subsets merging, see Appendix D).

Sub-datasets merging uses the software StataSE 13. The subset 'demographic background' is taken as the master dataset and, in the first stage, the subset 'family information' is used to merge with the master subset. Household ID is sorted in both datasets before merging to uniquely identify each respondent in the using subset. After merging, a new variable '_merge' is generated in the newly merged dataset, and it has three values: _merge==1 is number of variables not matched from the maser subset, _merge==2 is the number of variables not matched from the using subset, and _merge==3 is the number of variables that matched with each other in both subsets. In this case, there are 52 observation in the category _merge==1, 0 observations in _merge==2 and 17,653 observations in the category _merge==3. Observations that are not matched in both datasets (_merge!=3) are dropped out, and finally the merged dataset in the first stage has been achieved with 17,653 matched observations. Using this method, this dataset is then merged with the subsets of family transfer, health status and functioning, household roster, individual income, medical insurance in the subset 'health care and insurance', and work, retirement and pension. 17,412 observations are matched in the process of merging, and 15,032 observations are kept in the final analytical dataset after dropping the respondents born before 1940 and after 1969.

Before conducting the data analysis, a small number of cases were discarded (see Appendix E) from the analytical dataset and they were discarded when: 1) the case has missing data on any of the variables used in the statistical analysis; 2) the case is a childless case 3) the case has unified Hukou status or do not have Hukou.

The cases with missing data on any of the variables used in data analysis were deleted according to the method of Complete Case Analysis, which only involves the cases with complete observations on variables that involve in the data analysis (Little and Rubin, 2014). This method was chosen because the number of cases with missing values was relatively small, which was less than 5% of the whole sample, and is less likely to cause bias and loss of power (Graham, 2009).

There are 310 childless (66.13% men and 33.87% women) cases in the dataset before getting the final analytical dataset. They were discarded because the childless samples are not relevant to this research theme. This research mainly investigates intergenerational family support from the adult children to older parents. The childless respondents have no adult children to obtain the intergenerational support, thus they were deleted from the analytical dataset.

The variable of Hukou registration status is mainly used to compare the rural and urban difference in China. However, in some places of China, there is a pilot scheme called Unified Hukou, aiming to unifying urban and rural Hukou status. In the merged dataset, there are 92 respondents who have unified Hukou and 8 respondents who do not have a Hukou, which accounts for less than 1% of the whole sample in total. In order to make the analysis clearly aimed to compare urban and rural differences, the 100 cases with unified Hukou and do not have Hukou (45% men and 55% women) were discarded from the analytical sample on condition that they may not cause significant bias on the estimated parameters (less than 1% of the total sample).

After dropping the cases with missing data on the variables which are used in the statistical analysis, the childless cases and the cases with unified Hukou or do not have Hukou, there are 14315 cases in the final analytical dataset: 3888 for the 1940s cohort, 6083 for the 1950s cohort and 4344 for the 1960s cohort. The characteristics of the missing data and other types of cases which had been dropped from the analytical dataset can be found in Appendix E.

Potential attrition bias in the analytical sample

It is noteworthy that the analytical sample may have some potential bias due to attrition. On the one hand, the final analysis discarded the cases with missing values, which therefore may destroy the balance between subgroups achieved by randomisation. On the other hand, the final analysis excluded those childless samples, which did not meet the ‘intent to treat’ principle, stipulating that all randomised participants be included in the final analysis (Boone, Eble and Elbourne, 2013), and this may lead to bias. For example, in our analytical dataset, we have discarded 310 childless cases (205 men and 105 women), whose gender distribution (66.13% men and 33.87% women) is different from the total sample (47.95% men and 52.05% women). However, the childless participants are not relevant to the aim of this study and therefore were discarded. In addition, the 301 childless cases are less than 5% of the total sample which is generally regarded as of little concern (Fergusson *et al.*, 2002).

Potential gender bias in the analytical sample

In the analytical dataset the proportions of females are 48.9% of the 1940s cohort, 51.7% of the 1950s cohort and 56.5% of the 1960s cohort, which is opposite of what we might expect from common sense. In China, the sex ratio is imbalanced in different age groups. In the younger group, there are more males than females, but among the older people, the share of females will increase as females typically enjoy longer life expectancy than males.

According to the 2010 China Population Census,¹⁷ in the age group 40–49, the proportion of females is around 49%. In comparison, the percentage of females in the age groups 50–59 and 60–69 are 49.1% and 49.3% respectively. Here in the analytical sample, the proportion of females born in 1960–69 and aged 42–51 is higher than the real population composition. This may be a result of attrition that has been discussed above. In the analysis, we aim to minimise the impact of potential gender bias by conducting the analysis stratified by gender whenever possible or appropriate.

In the sample, the proportion of people with the rural Hukou¹⁸ is much higher than the share of those with urban Hukou. There are around 20% of individuals with urban Hukou in each cohort, which is slightly lower but still reasonable compared with other studies on the rural-urban population composition.¹⁹

Although there may exist some gender bias in the analytical dataset, it is still acceptable, and will not have a significant impact on the following data analysis as the majority of results are presented separately by gender and urban/rural.

4.2.2 Outcome variables

As discussed in 2.2, intergenerational family support includes three aspects: material support, emotional support and daily instrumental support. Material support generally includes money and other resources (Swartz, 2009), and in Chinese context, it mainly consists of monetary support, in-kind support, and food-based support (Zhang and Wang, 2010). Emotional support is generally measured by frequency of visiting (Ofstedal, Knodel and Chayovan, 1999) and contact with adult children (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997). Daily instrumental support often refers to help with parents' daily activities, especially for parents who have functional disabilities or weak health (Spitze and Logan, 1990).

Apart from these three aspects, older people's living arrangements (as discussed in 3.3.2) are an important factor that influences health and wellbeing in later life. Multigenerational

¹⁷Data come from the 2010 Population Census,
<http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/pcsj/rkpc/6rp/indexch.htm> .

¹⁸ A Hukou is a record in the system of household registration in China, it entrenches the urban and rural residency status, and serves as the basis for resource allocation for different groups of population. Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hukou_system. Accessed on 24th, July, 2016.

¹⁹ Other studies confirmed that the urban registration (Hukou) rate is only 27.6% in China. See <http://politics.people.com.cn/n/2013/1028/c70731-23346759.html> and <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2013-11-05/043028620661.shtml>.

co-residence has traditionally been regarded as a fulfilment of filial piety in Asian societies (Sung, 1998) and proximity to adult children will affect the accessibility and capacity of intergenerational support from a structural perspective (Chao, 2011). Due to the social modernisation and large-scale internal migration taking place in China, multigenerational co-residence has significantly declined in recent years. However, research suggests that this decline has been partially offset by a corresponding increase in older people living independently but with their children living close by (Lei *et al.*, 2011; Cai *et al.*, 2012). This is known as networked families, intimacy at a distance (Thang, 2010; Gruijters, 2017b), or modified extended families (Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997). Older people living in networked families can often maintain high levels of contact and obtain support from daughters and sons who are not living in the same household but close by (Bian, Logan and Bian, 1998a; Logan, Bian and Bian, 1998). Therefore, one scholar argues that proximity, rather than co-residence, is a better measure of parental support as it captures a broader family context than mere co-residence (Chen, 2005).

Following this point, this study regards having an adult child within reachable distance (e.g., living in the same city) as a kind of family support resource for parents, which may indicate the potential support they could get if they need it. Therefore the binary variable of proximity of adult children (having an adult child living in the same city or not) will also be used as a dependent variable. On the other hand, as the living arrangements of older people often influence the family support they get from adult children, it will also be used as an independent variable in the models of other types of family support (see 4.2.4).

From the questionnaire of CHARLS 2011, five variables were recoded as dependent variables to represent the four types of family support resources in each regression model.

Adult children proximity: In the CHARLS 2011 questionnaire, the respondents were asked where each of their children usually live at the time of interview. The answers were in seven categories, ranging from living in the same household to living abroad. To summarise the proximity of adult children, a binary variable was created for having an adult child living in the same city, with the value 0 = no, including having no adult child living in the household, the same village/community and the same city, and 1 = yes, having at least one adult child living in the same household, same village/community or in the same city. An adult child was defined as a child 25 years old and over,²⁰ who has completed their education, as in the

²⁰ The definition of adult children as aged 25 years and over was also adopted by Lei, et al, (2011), who use the CHARLS pilot data in their study.

Chinese context, these children are able to make an independent living and provide support for their parents. This variable is created to represent adult children's availability in case that the parents are in need. If living in the same city, the child should be able to appear in time when their parents are in need.

Material support from non-co-resident children: Four variables in the CHARLS 2011 dataset could reflect the circumstances of material support from children living apart: regular monetary support, non-regular monetary support, regular in-kind support, and non-regular in-kind support. To summarise, a variable was created to represent if any kind of material support received from non-co-resident children, with the answer 1 = yes and 0 = no.

Frequent meeting with non-co-resident children: The respondents were asked how often they could meet each of their non-co-resident children, and the answer could be from 'almost every day' to 'almost never'. To capture the frequency of the meeting, 'once a week' is selected as a significant point. A new variable – meeting at least one non-co-resident adult child once a week – was created to represent frequent meeting with adult children, with the response 0 = no, cannot meet at least one non-co-resident adult child once a week, and 1 = yes.

Frequent contact with non-co-resident children: The question, 'How often do you contact with the non-co-resident child?' was asked, if the respondent could not meet their non-co-resident child weekly. The response also ranged from 'almost every day' to 'almost never'. A summary variable 'contact with at least one non-co-resident adult child weekly' was created to suggest the contact frequency between the parents and the adult child.

Children as hypothetical carers in the future: In the questionnaire, all respondents were asked, 'Suppose that in the future, you needed help with basic daily activities like eating or dressing. Do you have relatives or friends (besides you spouse/partner) who would be willing and able to help you over a long period of time?' They were asked to choose all that apply from parents (or in-law), children (or in-law), siblings (or spouse's siblings, or siblings in-law), grandchildren, other relatives, paid helpers, volunteers or employee of facilities, or others. To capture hypothetical children's involvement in respondents' daily support when needed, a new variable – children may be available as a future daily helper (hypothetical) – was recoded, with the answer 0 = no child may be available for future daily help and 1 = at least one child may be available for future daily help, as supposed by the parents themselves.

4.2.3 Primary independent variable

The primary independent variable in this study is cohort, which includes three categories: the 1940s cohort, the 1950s cohort, and the 1960s cohort. Each birth cohort is defined by ten-year increment: for example, the 1940s cohort is defined as respondents who were born between 1940 and 1949.

The ten-year increment is used because Chinese people born in each decade share significant common traits and could be distinct from each other, in the context of great social transformation undergone in contemporary China.²¹ For example, in mass media, Chinese people are always specified by a decade, and are labelled “post-’70” (or 70 后, pronounced “qi ling hou”) if they were born in the 1970s, or “post-’80” (or 80 后, pronounced “ba ling hou”) if they were born in the 1980s. The ten-year increment also relates to China’s recent history and its ever-changing modern culture in recent decades (Wong, 2015). It is also commonly adopted in academic journal articles to define birth cohorts in China (Egri and Ralston, 2004; Liang and Xu, 2018).

4.2.4 Covariates

Control variables include age (in years), gender (ref = male), Hukou status (ref = rural Hukou), cohort (ref=cohort 3²²), marital status (ref = married), parental status (number of adult sons and number of adult daughters), self-reported health (ref = self-reported health bad), functional ability, grandparental status, living regions and living arrangements.

The functional ability of individuals was captured by their self-reported difficulties with Activities of Daily Living (ADLs) and Instrumental Activities of Daily Living (IADLs), which are the standard measures of functional abilities and widely adopted in most health-related research (Vlachantoni *et al.*, 2015). In the CHARLS 2011 questionnaire, respondents were asked if they had any difficulties in dressing, bathing, eating, getting out of bed, using the toilet, controlling urination and defecation, which are the ADLs, and doing household chores, preparing hot meals, shopping, managing money and taking medications, which are the IADLs. The ability with each of these activities is measured on a four-point scale, with

²¹ However, this generalisation should be taken with a huge grain of salt, as it is hard to argue that those who were born in 1949 had more in common with those born in 1940 than 1950. The classification of cohorts with a ten-year increments in this study is used to capture the average characteristics of a birth cohort as a whole, rather than indicating one particular birth year.

²² In the analysis, the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts are labelled as cohort 1, cohort 2 and cohort 3 respectively.

1 = I do not have any difficulty, 2 = I have difficulty but can still do it, 3 = I have difficulty and need help, and 4 = I cannot do it. The respondents are regarded as functionally impaired if they responded 3 or 4 to at least one ADL or IADL, and will be eligible to answer the follow-up question ‘who most often helps you with these activities’. A categorical variable of ‘health status’ was created according to the instructions and the filter questions in the questionnaire, and it includes three categories: healthy, having difficulties with ADLs, or having difficulties with IADLs, with the ‘healthy’ category as the reference group.

Grandparental status was the interaction between cohort and having at least one grandchild under 16 years old. The reference group was people having no young grandchildren (under 16 years old).

Living regions were defined according to the province where the respondents lived. The provinces (or municipality directly under the central government) of Hebei, Beijing, Tianjin, Shandong, Jiangsu, Shanghai, Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong, Liaoning were categorized into the ‘eastern’ area, representing the developed areas in mainland China. Heilongjiang, Jilin, Shanxi, Anhui, Jiangxi, Henan, Hubei and Hunan were categorized into the ‘middle’ area, and Inner-Mongolia, Guangxi, Chongqing, Sichuan, Guizhou, Yunnan, Shaanxi, Gansu, Qinghai and Xinjiang were recoded into the ‘western’ area. The middle and western areas are less developed areas in China, with high rates of labour migration to eastern areas or metropolis.

Living arrangements of the respondents were summarised into three categories, that is, living with adult child, nearest adult child in the same city, and nearest adult child not in the same city. This indicator will not be added into the model of adult child proximity.

Parents’ socioeconomic status

According to the literature about parental socioeconomic status (SES) (see 2.4.2.6), the respondents’ SES was measured by their own educational attainments, their current working status and their main occupation (if retired, then it should be the main occupation before retirement). Educational attainments were included as a categorical predictor in the model, with having no formal education as the reference group. Current working status was operationalised into four categories: currently doing agricultural work, currently doing non-agricultural work, currently retired from non-agricultural work and currently not working, with currently doing agricultural work as the reference group. There were seven categories representing occupations: farmer, working for the government, working for another

institution/NGOs, working in a firm, working in individual firm/individual household/other, self-employed/family business, and never worked, with farmer as the reference.

Adult children's socioeconomic status

According to the literature review (see 2.4.1) and the variables available in CHARLS 2011 dataset, adult children's socioeconomic and sociodemographic characteristics were summarised as the respondent having at least one child with college or above degree, the respondent having at least one adult child with higher income, and the respondent having at least one child married. Higher income was defined as the child's (and the child's spouse's) annual income being more than 100,000 Chinese Yuan.

Reciprocity

Parents and children's reciprocity were taken into consideration when running the models by adding the respondents' previous financial support to their children and grandchildren.

4.2.5 Data Analysis

Two types of quantitative data analysis are conducted in this research. Firstly, the descriptive statistical analysis is carried out to draw a broad picture of differences regarding demographic characteristics, family information, and potential family support resources amongst the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s birth cohorts. The statistical test of Chi Square is used for the categorical variables and one-way ANOVA for continuous variables to investigate statistical significance of differences between groups. The results of the descriptive analysis are presented in Chapter 5.

Secondly, in order to explore factors which are associated with the respondents' family support resources, five multiple regression models are run in this research. The five outcome variables are chosen based on the literature discussed in 2.2 and 4.2.2. Before running the five regression models, the correlations between the outcome variables are checked to ensure that they are not highly correlated with each other (the correlation coefficient is less than 0.3²³) (see Table 6).

Table 6: The correlations between outcome variables

²³ In social statistics, there is no agreement on what correlation coefficient suggests 'high correlation', some researchers regard 0.5 as a critical value and others prefer 0.7. However, most previous research agreed that ± 0.3 are the critical values between very weak to moderate correlation.

	Proximity	Material support	Frequent meeting	Frequent contact	Hypothetical future carer
Proximity	1.00				
Material support	0.13	1.00			
Frequent meeting	0.35	0.14	1.00		
Frequent contact	0.01	0.24	-0.07	1.00	
Hypothetical future carer	0.10	0.13	0.09	0.07	1.00

Source: CHARLS 2011 data, author's calculation

The models are estimated as a sequence by fitting a series of nested models (see Table 7). In each of the regression models, the first nested model only includes the basic demographic characteristics of the respondents: age, gender, and Hukou registration status. The second and third nested models include the respondents' sociodemographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Variables that related to adult children's SES are added in the fourth nested model, and the respondents' financial support to their adult children and grandchildren are added to nested model five to represent the intergenerational reciprocity.

Table 7: Logistic regression models comparison

Model	Terms	df	Log likelihood	Change in log likelihood	LR chi ² (df)	Prob > chi ²	Pseudo R ²
1.	Model for Adult child proximity						
1-1	+Age+Gender+Hukou	3	-6603.47		4140.03	0.00	0.24
1-2	1-1+Social-demographic characteristics (cohort, marital status, health status, parental status, grandparental status, living area)	18	-5118.30	1485.17	7110.38	0.00	0.41

1-3	1-2+Social-economic characteristics (educational attainments, working status, occupation, social networks)	30	-5098.41	19.89	7147.71	0.00	0.41
1-4	1-3+Adult child's characteristics (education, marriage, income)	33	-5059.25	39.16	7226.03	0.00	0.42
1-5	1-4+Reciprocity (financial support to child, financial support to grandchild)	35	-5049.57	9.68	7245.38	0.00	0.42
2.	Model for material support from non-co-resident children						
2-1	+Age+Gender+Hukou	3	-7979.26		1707.24	0.00	0.10
2-2	2-1+Social-demographic characteristics (cohort, marital status, health status, parental status, grandparental status, living area, living arrangement)	20	-6741.84	1237.42	871.26	0.00	0.06
2-3	2-2+Social-economic characteristics (educational attainments, working status, occupation, social networks)	32	-6700.72	41.12	953.49	0.00	0.07
2-4	2-3+Adult child's characteristics (education, marriage, income)	35	-6676.65	24.22	1001.64	0.00	0.07
2-5	2-4+Reciprocity (financial support to child, financial support to grandchild)	37	-6575.22	101.43	1204.49	0.00	0.08
3.	Model for frequent meeting with non-co-resident children						
3-1	+Age+Gender+Hukou	3	-8340.16		1743.12	0.00	0.09
3-2	3-1+Social-demographic characteristics (cohort, marital status, health status, parental status, grandparental status, living area, living arrangement)	20	-6222.98	2117.18	2154.36	0.00	0.15
3-3	3-2+Social-economic characteristics (educational attainments, working status, occupation, social networks)	32	-6166.27	56.17	2267.77	0.00	0.16
3-4	3-3+Adult child's characteristics (education, marriage, income)	35	-6139.09	27.18	2322.14	0.00	0.16
3-5	3-4+Reciprocity (financial support to child, financial support to grandchild)	37	-6138.97	0.12	2322.36	0.00	0.16
4.	Model for frequent contact with non-co-resident children						
4-1	+Age+Gender+Hukou	3	-8739.29		167.64	0.00	0.01
4-2	4-1+Social-demographic characteristics (cohort, marital status, health status, parental status, grandparental status, living area)	20	-3738.37	5000.92	306.19	0.00	0.04

4-3	4-2+Social-economic characteristics (educational attainments, working status, occupation, social networks)	32	-3698.84	39.53	385.25	0.00	0.05
4-4	4-3+Adult child's characteristics (education, marriage, income)	35	-3691.73	7.11	399.48	0.00	0.05
4-5	4-4+Reciprocity (financial support to child, financial support to grandchild)	37	-3682.90	8.83	417.13	0.00	0.05
5.	Model for children available as the future carer						
5-1	+Age+Gender+Hukou	3	-9744.45		355.55	0.00	0.02
5-2	5-1+Social-demographic characteristics (cohort, marital status, health status, parental status, grandparental status, living area)	20	-9466.91	277.54	910.63	0.00	0.05
5-3	5-2+Social-economic characteristics (educational attainments, working status, occupation, social networks)	32	-9449.81	17.1	943.46	0.00	0.05
5-4	5-3+Adult child's characteristics (education, marriage, income)	35	-9434.07	15.74	974.94	0.00	0.05
5-5	5-4+Reciprocity (financial support to child, financial support to grandchild)	37	-9428.30	5.77	986.48	0.00	0.05

Source: CHARLS 2011 Baseline data. Author's calculation.

Table 7 displays some statistics for each nested model. The log-likelihood was computed by using maximum-likelihood logit model including the constant and all of the predictors in that model. The increase in the log likelihood between each nested models suggested improvement of the model. 'df' means the degree of freedom, and one degree of freedom is used for each predictor variable in the logistic regression models. The likelihood ratio chi-square is defined as $2(L1-L0)$, where L0 means the log likelihood of the constant-only model and L1 means the log likelihood for the whole model with constant and other predictors. The P-value is related to the chi-square with n degrees of freedom (the 'df' statistic), and the value lower than 0.05 suggests that the model as a whole is statistically significant. The pseudo- R^2 is defined as $(1-L1)/L0$, where L0 means the log likelihood of the constant-only model and L1 implies the log likelihood for the whole model with constant and other predictors.

All analyses are conducted using Stata SE version 13, and the method of Wald Test is used to investigate each parameter that influences each type of family support resource. The results of the regression models are presented in Chapter 6.

4.3 Phase II: Qualitative Study at Two Provinces of China

4.3.1 Study aims and rational

To be consistent with the research design and rationales stated in 4.1, the qualitative phase mainly aims to address the following research purposes:

1. Investigate the intergenerational relation patterns within various social contexts, and among subgroups of each birth cohort (e.g. urban, rural and small-town) in order to seek an in-depth understanding of the life trajectories and their impact on intergenerational support amongst these social groups.
2. Answer Research Questions 3 and 4. To be more specific, to complement the quantitative results with a retrospective life history perspective, to explore explanations from the social context and individuals' subjective perspectives, and to investigate individuals' expectations towards their old age support.
3. Use the qualitative data to triangulate some quantitative results, explain surprising findings from the quantitative analysis, enrich the research evidence, and improve the integrity and credibility of the results of the study.

4.3.2 Research settings

The quantitative analysis highlights a significant regional difference between the eastern areas of China and the middle and western areas (see 6.7). In China, the eastern coastal areas are the most affluent, with relatively higher district GDP, household income, more completed infrastructure and better social security system, especially its urban parts. The middle and western areas of China are more reliant on the agricultural economy and are much worse off than eastern China, especially for their rural parts. The rural areas of central and western China are also the main exporters of migrant workers in China. The migration of young rural labourers has already made a significant impact on the family support of their older parents.

Considering urban-rural and regional differences, we choose to conduct interviews in two different areas of China. The first study site selected is in Hangzhou, the capital city of Zhejiang province, which is one of the most highly developed provinces in China. The second study site will be in the rural area of Shangqiu, Henan province, which ranks the

highest regarding outward migration among all the provinces in China²⁴: outward migrants constituted 20.9% of the total population of the province in 2010 (Liu, Cao and Geng, 2014).

The selection of the two research settings is also for some pragmatic reasons. As this is a PhD project, which is constrained by time and budget, the choice of research site is to some extent due to the convenience and the efficiency, in the premise of meeting the general criteria. The author applied for the Worldwide Universities Network Research Mobility Programme (WUN RMP), and had the opportunity to visit Zhejiang University in Hangzhou during October and November 2016. The WUN RMP programme enabled the author to collaborate with local researchers at Zhejiang University and recruit research participants using local research networks. The choice of another research site in Shangqiu, Henan province, is due to the author's familiarity with the local area as it is the hometown of the author. It is convenient to recruit research participants using the author's personal networks.

4.3.3 Semi-structured interview: sampling, interview guide, and participant recruitment

Sampling method

The quantitative analysis identified that both parents' and adult children's SES have a significant influence on the intergenerational support resources the parents may have access to (see 6.7). Therefore in the qualitative phase, we adopted a three-category typology of intergenerational relationships according to parents' and adult children's SES – that is, high SES parents with high SES children, low SES parents with high SES children, and low SES parents with low SES children. Considering China's distinct urban-rural dual social structure, and the tremendous urban-rural economic divide resulting from this dual structure, we simplified the typology to three groups of people in China, which are, I) urban parents with urban children, II) rural parents who have at least one child settling down permanently in a city, and III) rural parents with all their adult children living in rural areas.²⁵ Although this simplification does not cover the full range of social diversity, it is sufficient to capture the key distinctive social groups and provide the variety of intergenerational relationships among older adults in China. The above groups of research participants are recruited in

²⁴ This news can be found in the Chinese news website:
<http://finance.sina.com.cn/china/20150518/104922203985.shtml> and
<http://news.163.com/09/0904/19/5ID2NDT900013MOK.html>

²⁵ We do not include the group 'high SES parents with low SES adult children', which suggests the type 'urban parents with all their children/at least one child rural' in our typology because this group is not common in China. It is not likely that the urban parents who have their adult children living in rural areas in China.

Hangzhou city, Zhejiang province and the rural areas of Shangqiu city, Henan province. Given the importance of living arrangements, three types of living arrangements are distinguished under each group: older adults who live alone; older adults who live with a spouse only, and older adults who co-reside with at least one adult child (see Figure 9).

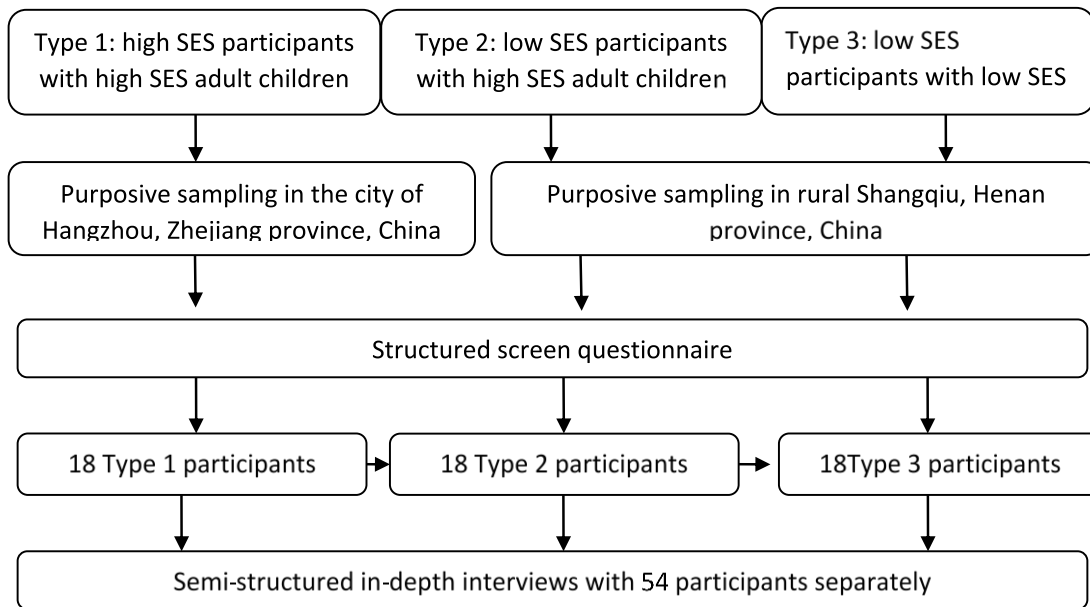


Figure 9: Sampling process

Source: The author's work

The screening questionnaire (see Appendix F) was used to recruit the interview participants. 54 research participants (18 for each type) were planned to be recruited in Hangzhou and Shangqiu. They had to meet the criteria in the following tables (see Tables 8, 9, and 10).

Table 8: Type 1 participants – urban parents with urban adult child/children (completed school education and economically active)

Type 1	Living in urban areas and with all their children urban																	
Birth year	1940–49						1950–59						1960–69					
Living arrangement	Co-resident		With spouse		Alone		Co-resident		With spouse		Alone		Co-resident		With spouse		Alone	
Gender	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

Source: The author

Table 9: Type 2 interviews – rural parents with at least one urban adult child (completed school education and are economically active)

Type 2 Living in rural areas and with at least one urban adult child																		
Birth year	1940–49						1950–59						1960–69					
Living arrangement	Co-resident		With spouse		Alone		Co-resident		With spouse		Alone		Co-resident		With spouse		Alone	
Gender	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

Source: The author

Table 10: Type 3 interviews – rural parents with all of their adult children living in rural areas (completed school education and economically active)

Type 3	Living in rural areas and with all their children rural																	
Birth year	1940–49						1950–59						1960–69					
Living arrangement	Co-resident		With spouse		Alone		Co-resident		With spouse		Alone		Co-resident		With spouse		Alone	
Gender	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

Source: The author

Interview guide

The interview guide includes two stages: stage one with a screening questionnaire, and stage two with a guide for semi-structured interviews. The design of stage one serves two purposes. On the one hand, it intends to filter those respondents who do not meet all the sampling criteria and recruit the right respondents for the research interest. On the other hand, for those who are eligible as interview samples, the stage one questionnaires help capture the demographic background, family information and socioeconomic information of the participants, their spouses and their adult child(ren).

The stage two semi-structured interview guide is designed for those who meet all the sampling criteria in this study. It intends to seek in-depth information about people's life

trajectories, their family formation, intergenerational relationships, social networks, as well as their views and expectations of future family, community, and social support. The modules are designed to answer Research Questions 3 and 4.

Pilot testing of the interview guide was performed in both research settings, and modifications were made where possible. The final interview guide used for this research can be found in Appendix G.

Participant recruitment

Participant recruitment in Zhejiang province acknowledges the support of colleagues at Zhejiang University. Local government approval was obtained through the support of colleagues in Zhejiang University, and advice was sought from local researchers.²⁶

In the recruiting process, two methods were adopted. The main method was to identify and contact the local ‘gatekeeper’, the residential committee director of the area. They helped facilitate the research and introduce the researcher to the local residents. Before each interview, the researcher handed out the participant information sheet (see Appendix H), and asked the willingness of the targeted person to take part in the research in the first place. Once consent had been obtained (see Appendix J), respondents were identified for in-depth interviews by answering the screening questionnaire (see Appendix F) with a series of controls for demographic characteristics of the participant himself/herself and his/her adult children.

Another recruiting method in Hangzhou was through ‘informal’ methods. The researcher met potential participants by approaching community public spaces such as community activity rooms and activity squares. By contacting non-official ‘gatekeepers’ such as team leaders of interest groups for older people, the researcher was able to recruit research participants. Similarly, research consent was obtained before each interview and interviews were conducted strictly following the research ethics.

Contact with relevant local government departments in Shangqiu was made via phone calls, and official approval was obtained before the researcher’s arrival. Several rural villages were selected for this research due to their demographic and economic characteristics and convenience of transport.

²⁶ Here the author appreciates the support of Associate Professor Xiaoting Liu from Zhejiang University in accessing the local communities and recruiting research participants.

As Chinese rural areas are small and relatively closed societies, it was preferable to be introduced by a local authority prior to conducting the fieldwork. The researcher made contact with two types of gatekeepers in the village (the village committee director and the ‘village informal authority’, i.e. a person with a high reputation within the village), to gain their support in recruiting participants. Through the gatekeepers’ introductions, the researcher approached potential participants either at a public agricultural workplace or at individuals’ homes, to recruit eligible participants. A similar process for research consent had been done before conducting interviews in the villages.

It is worth noting that in the field, Type 2 research participants (rural parents with at least one child settling down permanently in a city) were very challenging to find. To add flexibility, the researcher decided to change the Type 2 research site to a small-town in Shangqiu city. There are two reasons for this. One is that in small-towns, the chance of upward social mobility is higher than in rural villages, due to the transmission of poverty between generations in rural areas. Therefore, it was easier for the researcher to find eligible research participants. Another reason is that the small town is an intermediate region between rural villages and the city, which has its own characteristics and is worth investigating.

Similar to the recruiting method in Hangzhou and the rural villages, the researcher approached potential research participants with the support of two types of gatekeeper: the local residential committee director, and the team leader of some public interest groups. Research consent was obtained from the interviewees and interviews were conducted in quiet places.

4.3.4 Data analysis

The interview data were collected using a voice recorder. After each interview was completed, data were transcribed from voice recordings to Word documents. The researcher then checked through all 54 transcripts to make sure of their accuracy. The software NVIVO version 11 was used to assist data analysis.

The qualitative data analysis adopts a thematic approach, aiming to find key themes regarding the intergenerational support amongst the three cohorts. Data analysis started along with the interview process, in the taking of reflective notes. All interview transcripts and research notes were analysed using NVIVO. Two levels of themes were generated from the thematic analysis (see Table 11).

As illustrated in Table 11, three main themes were generated from the qualitative data analysis, which are, I) social and historical events, early life experiences, and potential later life care resources and care needs II) current patterns of intergenerational family support, and III) preparations and expectations for later life: an investigation from the parents' perspective. Under each main theme, several subthemes are listed. The theme structure applies for the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s cohorts, and the results are reported in Chapters 7, 8, and 9.

Table 11: Themes from qualitative data analysis

Level	Themes		
Level 1	Social and historical events, early life experiences, and potential later life care resources and care needs	Current patterns of intergenerational family support	Preparations and expectations for later life: an investigation from the parents' perspective
Level 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social and historical events before the Market Reform (1979) • Family Planning Policy • Internal migration, urbanisation and modernisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intergenerational transfers from adult children to parents • Intergenerational transfers from parents to adult children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal plans and preparations for later life • Expectations from adult children in providing future long-term care • Views on institutional and other care methods

Source: the author

There is a potential bias in the qualitative data collected in this research. The two research sites in Zhejiang province and Henan province are two extremes – Zhejiang is among the most affluent provinces in China and Henan is among the most underdevelopment

provinces.²⁷ Therefore the comparison of different social groups in the two extreme regions cannot represent the whole picture of Chinese society. It is worth noting that the qualitative analysis is mainly used to provide an in-depth understanding, rather than generalisations.

4.4 Ethical Issues

This research has submitted to the Ethics and Research Governance programme (ERGO) of the University of Southampton for approval. Since it uses a mixed research method, ethical approvals were applied separately for the quantitative data analysis (Ethics No. 15062) and the qualitative fieldwork (Ethics No. 20123).

The ethics application for secondary data analysis introduces the dataset that will mainly be used in the analysis, the characteristics of the dataset, and the process of obtaining this dataset. As this phase of the research does not involve human participation and all the data has already been collected, the main research risk might be the likely impact of health issues to the researcher herself when spending long hours analysing data. Using a computer to analyse the data for extended periods of time may affect the eyes and the back. It may cause a headache as well.

To deal with this, the researcher attended online training for Display Screen Equipment (DSE) interactively, which provides knowledge of preventing potential risks working with a computer; during work, the researcher adjusted the equipment to the body and ensured regular rest per hour.

The primary process involving human participation is the second part of the research project, the fieldwork in China. Qualitative data will be collected by doing in-depth interviews with 54 participants in two provinces of China. It involves people who were born between the years 1940–49, 1950–59 and 1960–69 respectively, including both men and women, who are living alone, living with spouse only and co-residing with their adult children.

Before conducting the fieldwork in China, the participant information sheets and consent forms were provided to the potential participants for their information and their approval.

Participant information

²⁷ According to China Statistical Yearbook 2016, the per capita disposable household income in Zhejiang province is 35,373.1 Yuan, which ranked the third in all the provinces in mainland China. While in Henan province it was 17,124.8, which was among the most less-developed provinces in China.

In the participant information sheets (see Appendix H and I), the potential participants are given the necessary information about this research project, (i.e., what the research is about, how they have been chosen, the process of their taking part, the benefits and potential risks that are involved as well as the confidentiality of the information they provide). Their right of withdrawing from the interview at any time without penalty is reiterated. At the end of the participant information sheets, contact details of the researcher and an external research governance are be provided, in case the participants would like to contact them for more details, report something wrong, or change their minds on data use.

Consent

No interviews were conducted without obtaining the consent form (see Appendix J and K) the participant himself/herself. The basic paradigm of consent here reflects the principle of autonomy of the participants, from different levels and at different stages of this research. It includes the participants' own willingness to take part or not, their right to withdraw at any time of the interview without penalty, and their rights to take back their consent of data used in the data analysis stage.

One possible difficulty in the consent process is to fully respect the participants' own willingness and to obtain their real consents, with no or little impact from the people present (e.g. the gatekeeper), the embarrassment, or the desire to please the interviewer. To deal with this, the researcher adopted the concept of 'process consent', reiterating the participants' right to withdraw at each stage of the research process. The research also encouraged the participants to ask questions to challenge the researcher before participation. Enough patience was paid to explain each issue the potential participants raise, and natural and straightforward language was used to communicate with the potential participants, in particular with those who have lower educational attainments.

Possible adverse effects and risks

There should not be any real risks involved in this research. However, considerably attention was paid to the older people's feelings during the investigation process. One issue might be related to the susceptibility of the research itself. Participants in this study are asked about their relationship with their adult children, the material support and emotional support they could obtain from their adult children, as well as their subjective choice of future support. These questions are likely to be sensitive and may cause distress when the participants do not have reasonable access to their children or cannot obtain sufficient support from their children, or if they have painful experiences of particular life events to recall during the

interview. For this issue, firstly, the researcher ensured that the interviews were conducted at the participants' own pace, and participants can avoid or refuse to answer questions that might cause discomfort or any uneasy feelings. Should a participant experience distress during the interview, the researcher would pause the conversation to have a rest, change to another topic or postpone or even stop the interview. Before and during the interview, the researcher reiterated that they have the right to stop, postpone or withdraw from the interview altogether without any penalty, whenever they feel uncomfortable or do not want to continue.

Another issue might be the health concerns of long conversations in hot summer weather conditions. Participants may feel uncomfortable or dehydrated during the interviews because of the weather conditions in July and August in China. In this case, the researcher tried to conduct the interviews in a relatively cool and comfortable setting. In the urban areas, the researcher tried to find a quiet and comfortable venue with air-conditioning, like a café, which suits both the respondents and herself; in the rural areas, the researcher tried to schedule the interview appointment in the cool morning, when it was convenient to both the respondents and the researcher. The respondents were provided with cool bottled purified water, if needed, and short rests were allowed whenever appropriate.

The safety issues of the researcher herself were also considered before conducting the research. Training on first aid and precaution against violence were taken, and standard medicine was prepared before travelling to China. A local contact was kept when conducting interviews in an unfamiliar setting. All the research documents were backed up in a password-protected hard drive in case of losing the hard copies.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality is one of the most important principles of the research process and the writing-up phase. It includes the secure storage of research data and the anonymity of the research participants and their family members that were involved in the interviews.

In practice, during and after data collection, all the research data were kept on a password-protected computer and backed up in a locked mobile hard disk to ensure confidentiality. Before analysing the data, a unique participant identifier (PID) was developed to anonymise the identity of the participants and their family members that were involved in the study. Their identities were stored in another password-protected document apart from the data. For future research output, such as a released dissertation, conference papers, journal papers and any other publications, pseudonyms will be used for all participants and people they

mentioned in the interviews so that they will not be identified. The specific addresses or districts of the research are anonymised as well.

After the study, all the research data and hard copies will be stored and destroyed according to the University of Southampton Research Data Management Policy.

Positionality

It is important to be reflexive of the researcher's positionality in the qualitative research process as the research will be shaped by both the researcher and the research participants (Bourke, 2014). The researcher's positionality includes 'personal characteristics, immigration status, personal experience, linguistic tradition, beliefs, bias, preferences, theoretical, political and ideological stances and emotional responses to the participants' (Berger, 2015). Thus I will reflect on how my stance may potentially influence the qualitative study process.

I am a Chinese female postgraduate researcher from the University of Southampton, United Kingdom, studying Gerontology. Prior to my PhD study, I spent seven years in Wuhan, one of the metropolitan cities in central China, conducting my undergraduate and postgraduate research in Sociology. I was born in a county in Henan province and lived there for 18 years prior to starting college. My personal and research background may influence this study in several aspects.

Firstly, the choice of research topic and research design were potentially affected. Being a child who lives far away from the parents inspired my interest in researching the changing dynamics of family support for older people in China. My PhD experience overseas and training as a gerontologist provided me with a broader outlook and systematic theoretical foundation for ageing research. Having been trained in both quantitative and qualitative methods and experienced such research helped me realise the strength and limitations of each approach and contributed to the decision of mixed-methods research design in this study. Having been trained in research ethics, I was very careful during the fieldwork to avoid over-involvement in order to minimise the possibility of intrusion into the autonomy of research participants.

Secondly, data collection in two different research sites was influenced. As a Chinese who was originally born and raised in China, I am an insider with all my research participants as we share the same culture and tradition. However, as people have multiple identities, the

insider and outsider roles are flexible across different research sites and different research stages.

For the research site in Hangzhou, I am a relative outsider because I had no previous lived experience in Hangzhou. This positionality of outsider is challenging to access the potential research participants, and obtain their trust. To address this issue, I sought help from a local research collaboration and built up trust by paying multiple visits to the local communities. In addition, I am not familiar with the dialect in Hangzhou and for two participants who did not speak good mandarin, it was difficult to understand some sentences within their narratives. In this case, I asked the participants to slow down during the interviews; after the interviews, I picked up the specific texts where I had difficulties with the meanings, and consulted my local collaborators after anonymising all the individual identities in those texts. Although being an outsider brought such challenges, it helped retain my critical awareness during the whole research process.

For the research site in Henan province, I am a relative insider because it is my hometown and I am familiar with local culture and dialect. The benefit of this insider role is that I was trusted and accepted by potential participants and could easily obtain their consent for participation. I also understand their dialect, which helped build up interpersonal relations and smooth the communication. However, on the other hand, I faced the challenge of neglecting the ‘ordinary, routine, everyday things which are essential to understanding the world’ (Boulton, 2000). To address this, I was very conscious of these limitations of being an insider and kept reminding myself to avoid over-identification, over-rapport and ‘going native’ (Glesne, 2015). I kept asking myself critical questions about what is usually assumed, and started to shift my thinking from an insider to an outsider (Gair, 2012) during the whole research process in Henan province.

Being an insider or outsider has its strengths and limitations. I, as the researcher, was self-reflective across the research process and carefully addressed and minimised such potential ethical issues caused by positionality.

In this chapter, the writer has discussed the research methodology as well as its concrete implementation in this investigation. The author has also illustrated the detailed research process in both the quantitative and qualitative phases. Ethical issues have been discussed, and potential risks during the research process have been addressed. This methodology chapter aims to lay a solid foundation for the research results in the following Chapters 5–9.

Chapter 5 Descriptive Statistical Results

This chapter provides a general picture of the sociodemographic background, family formation, and family support resources amongst three cohorts of older people in China using CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Descriptive statistics of the above characteristics are compared between each birth cohort, as well as between males and females and rural-urban regions. Explanations for these differences are discussed drawing upon the existing literature.

5.1 Sociodemographic Background of the Three Birth Cohorts in China

As discussed in Chapter 3, China has experienced rapid demographic and social transitions during the past few decades. These social change and transitions to some extent have shaped distinctive characteristics for each birth cohort. Table 12 presents the basic statistics of demographic characteristics amongst people born in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, using data from CHARLS 2011. Educational attainment, marital status and parental status have been presented. Group differences are compared using Chi-Square for categorical variables and one-way ANOVA for continuous variables.

It is suggested that the cross-sectional differences could be partly or entirely the result of cohort differences, although they are often assumed to be age differences (Palmore, 1978). Using cross-sectional data, the descriptive statistics in this chapter may present a combined age and cohort effects, which is not possible to be disentangled. However, the descriptive analysis is still meaningful as these group differences provide an initial picture of potential cohort differences. These cohort differences will be further explored from a historical life course perspective, by interviewing people from each birth cohort about their early life experiences and the impact on later lives. This will be discussed in chapter 7-9.

Table 12: Demographic backgrounds of three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data^{1,2,3,4}

Variables	Cohort 1: 1940–1949 N = 3,888	Cohort 2: 1950–1959 N = 6,083	Cohort 3: 1960–1969 N = 4,344	χ^2/F
Education levels (%)				584.61***
Illiterate	29.6	27.2	12.2	
Below high school education	62.6	60.4	68.1	
Have a high school or above degree	7.8	12.4	19.7	
Marital status (%)				595.09***
Currently married and living with spouse	80.9	85.5	85.9	
Currently married but not living with spouse	4.1	8.1	10.5	
Currently separated	0.6	0.3	0.3	
Currently divorced	0.5	0.8	1.1	
Currently widowed	13.8	5.2	2.1	
Never married ³	0.1	0.1	0.1	
Of those not currently married, currently cohabitating (%)	1.2 (n = 585)	2.3 (n = 393)	2.0 (n = 154)	1.80
Experienced 2+ times of marriages (%)	4.5	3.6	3.3	7.88*
Respondents' mean age at first marriage (SD)	22.5 (4.33)	23.3 (3.70)	22.5 (3.01)	79.72***
Parenting				
Respondents' mean number of alive children (SD)	3.2 (1.41)	2.4 (1.06)	2.0 (0.87)	1284.39***
Respondents' mean number of children in the household (SD)	0.5 (0.69)	0.8 (0.83)	1.3 (0.90)	957.69***

Data source: China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS) 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Notes: 1. Categorical variables were compared via Chi-square test and continuous variables via one-way ANOVA. *** $p \leq 0.001$ level, ** $p \leq 0.01$ level, and * $p \leq 0.05$ level.

2. The end numbers of each cohort are 3,888, 6,083 and 4,344 respectively. However, for the variable 'currently cohabitating', the sample is from those who are not currently married, and the end numbers for each cohort are 585, 384 and 154 respectively.

3. The analytical sample excludes those who are childless and thus might exclude most of the people who are never married. However, there are 16 samples which are never married but still have at least one alive child. The number of alive children is calculated by adding the number of children living in the household and living apart, and they are defined by the respondents' own confirmation, not necessarily biological children or children within the marriage.

4. The data present in Table 1 and also all other tables and figures in this chapter are unweighted data. The reasons for using unweighted data here are as follows: firstly, the author compared the descriptive results of weighted and unweighted data, they are very similar regarding the absolute number and the trends amongst the three birth cohorts. Secondly, this chapter aims to providing a general picture of the sociodemographic differences between different birth cohorts, and to prepare background information for the qualitative

analysis, rather than the generalisation to the whole Chinese population. Thirdly, using weighted data will increase the standard errors in the statistics and make the findings less precise and more variable. Given that the results of weighted and unweighted data are very similar, in order to keep the standard errors minimum, we made the decision of not using weights in our analysis.

5.1.1 Educational levels

Substantial gaps exist among the three birth cohorts with regard to their educational levels, especially between the 1960s cohort and the other two cohorts. There is a significant reduction in the illiteracy rate from the old to the young cohorts, alongside a dramatic increase in the proportion of people with a high school and above degree. Amongst the 1940s cohort, 29.6% have no formal education while only 7.8% of them have a high school or above degree. By contrast, amongst the 1960s cohort, around 20% have a high school and above degree, and the illiteracy rate for this cohort is only 12.2%, less than half of that of the 1940s cohort (see Table 12).

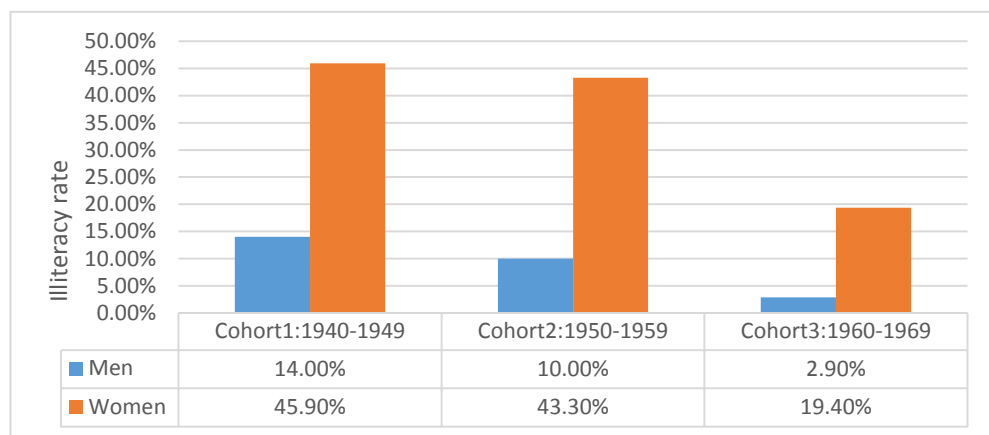


Figure 10: Illiteracy rate for men and women of the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The sample sizes for men in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts are 1,986, 2,939 and 1,892; and the sample sizes for women in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohort are 1,902, 3,144 and 2,452 respectively. The p-values are 0.000 for both male and female groups.

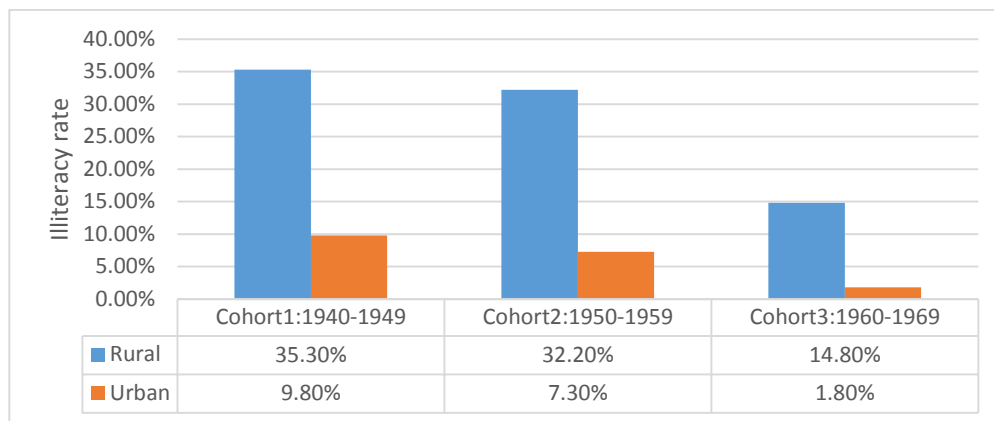


Figure 11: Illiteracy rate for people with rural and urban Hukou amongst three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The sample sizes for rural people in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts are 3,017, 4,871 and 3,490; and the sample sizes for urban people in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohort are 871, 1,212 and 854 respectively. The p-values are 0.000 among the two groups of participants with both urban and rural Hukou.

There are significant gender (see Figure 10) as well as rural-urban regional differences (see Figure 11) in educational levels amongst the three birth cohorts. While all categories witness a sharp decline in illiteracy rate across birth cohorts, on average within each cohort, men are better educated than women, and urban residents have better educational attainments than their rural counterparts. However, the gaps in illiteracy rate between men and women, as well as between rural and urban residents, have been narrowed significantly across birth cohorts.

Table 13: Percentage of educational levels for men and women with rural and urban Hukou status amongst three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

	Cohort1				Cohort2				Cohort3			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
No education	16.8	53.4	5.5	15.4	11.9	50.7	2.6	12.0	3.3	23.3	1.0	2.4
Below high school education	79.8	46.2	60.7	63.9	76.7	46.1	59.6	58.6	80.4	69.9	39.6	45.3
High school and above education	3.4	0.4	33.8	20.7	11.4	3.2	37.8	29.4	16.3	6.8	59.4	52.3
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Respondents	1,492	1,525	494	377	2,328	2,543	611	601	1,493	1,997	399	455
P-value	0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000		0.000		0.051	

Data source: CHARLS 2011 data. Author's calculation.

When looking at the interaction between Hukou status and gender, rural women and urban men stand as two extremes among all the categories (see Table 13). Rural women are within the most disadvantaged group in terms of educational attainment while urban men are within the most advantaged. In terms of illiteracy, more than half of the rural women from the 1940s and 1950s cohort have no education. But for urban men, the illiteracy rates for the three cohorts are 5.5%, 2.6% and 1.0% respectively. For those having a high school and above degree, it is the opposite pattern. Urban men in the sample have the highest proportion while rural women have the lowest share. Amongst the 1960s cohort, around 60% of urban men have a high school and above degree, which is almost ten times the proportion amongst rural women (6.8%).

China has made great progress in education during the past 60 years. In 1949, 80% of the population in China were illiterate, but in 2008, the illiteracy rate in China had been reduced to 3.58%.²⁸ Since 1978, the Chinese government has reconstructed the education system and enlarged its coverage to a larger population from various backgrounds. It is also reinforced by a series of policies, such as Deng, Xiaoping's Education Redirection Policy in 1978, the Systemic Reform of Education in 1985, the Outline of Education Reform and Development in 1993, and the Action Plan for Education Development in 1999 (Tsang, 2000). Among the three cohorts, the 1960s cohort benefited most from these social policies on educational development after 1978, and their educational levels have been dramatically improved compared with the other two cohorts.

While there is a universal increase in educational attainments for Chinese people across all age groups, rural women remain the most disadvantaged group with the lowest levels of educational attainments on average of all the groups. Since education and knowledge significantly impact upon one's values, attitudes, lifestyles and socioeconomic status, will their disadvantaged educational status adversely affect Chinese rural women's later lives? How will life be like for rural women when they are getting older in a booming technology and information era, with relatively limited education and knowledge?

²⁸ Data come from Ministry of Education, the People's Republic of China (11th September 2009) http://www.china.org.cn/government/scio-press-conferences/2009-09/11/content_18508942.htm, accessed on 24/06/2016.

5.1.2 Marital status

Marital status patterns vary only slightly among the three birth cohorts. It is very clear that people who are currently married (including ‘married with a spouse’ and ‘married but are not currently living with the spouse’) constitute the highest proportion of all categories of the marital status (see Table 12). The highest proportion of currently married people (96.4%) is in the youngest cohort, and a relatively lower proportion (85%) is in the oldest cohort. This is because people born in the 1940s are at older ages, and they have a higher risk of being widowed (13.8%) than their younger counterparts (5.2% for the 1950s cohort and 2.1% for the 1960s cohort). This reflects an age effect. However, the youngest cohort has a slightly higher divorce rate (1.1%) than the other two cohorts (0.5% for the 1940s and 0.8% for the 1950s cohort), which might be a cohort difference, reflecting the impact of modernisation on people’s family lives and the more open social atmosphere for people’s free marriage choice (see Figure 12).

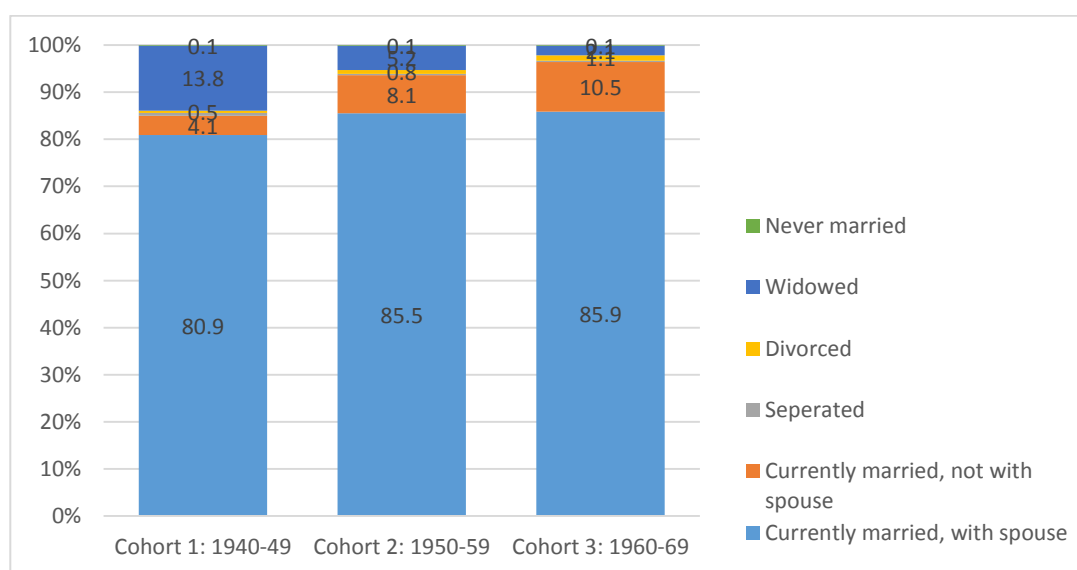


Figure 12: The proportion of different categories of marital status for three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author’s calculation.

Notes: The sample size for the 1940s cohort is 3,888, for 1950s cohort is 6,083, and for 1960s cohort is 4,344 in this bar chart. The P-value is 0.000.

Besides this, there is a steady increase in the share who are married but not currently living with their partners among the three cohorts of people. This is partly because the increasing trend of internal migration in China, especially among the rural young and middle-aged,

which may result in a pattern called ‘split household families’ (Fan, Sun and Zheng, 2011). Another influential factor is the changing patterns of people’s marriage and work. As women are more likely to be involved in the labour market in modern society, there is an increasing trend of ‘long distance relationships’, where the husband and wife work in different places on weekdays and get together at weekends. This kind of long distance relationship is not rare in developed countries, where industrialisation and modernisation are highly developed, and this phenomenon has already attracted scholarly attention (Holmes, 2006; Aybek, Huinink and Muttarak, 2015; Viry and Kaufmann, 2015). The third reason, especially for the 1950s cohort and some of the 1960s cohort, is the impact of assuming the new roles of grandparents. There are different patterns of grand-parenting in Chinese society. One type is the grandfather and grandmother living apart from each other and with different adult children to provide care for grandchildren (Goh, 2011). Sometimes grandparents (or one of them) tend to migrate to their adult children’s households for a certain period to take care of the infant grandchildren, and this phenomenon is especially common among Chinese middle-aged women. Once the grandmother migrates temporarily for care reasons, she and her husband become a ‘distant couple’.

What is noteworthy is that the average age at first marriage among the 1950s cohort is slightly older than those of the other two cohorts (see Table 12). A reason for this phenomenon might be the Cultural Revolution which happened between 1966 and 1976 in China. This great political unrest interrupted young people’s normal life courses by the well-known ‘sending-down’ policy (see 3.2.2). After the Cultural Revolution, some people returned to school education or prepared for college entrance examinations at a relatively older age. Thus, the interrupted education in one’s life course has postponed marriage and other family life events to some extent. For people who are currently separated and who have been married more than once, the oldest cohort has the highest percentage of both. According to Chinese context discussed in Chapter 3, we did not find any evidence for period or cohort effect. Therefore, we suspect this may due to an age effect, which means, as age goes up, the chance of experiencing separation and multiple instances of marriage increases.

Rural-urban differences exist in marital status for the three birth cohorts (see Table 14). A higher percentage of people from rural areas are married but not currently living with their partner. This is probably due to the ‘split household families’ caused by rural to urban

migration. The share of people who are currently divorced is higher for urban citizens than rural ones, especially among the 1950s and 1960s cohorts. The proportion of widowed older people in rural areas is higher than that of urban areas, and the share of rural never-married people is higher than that of urban never-married people among the 1940s and 1950s cohorts.

This reflects the urban-rural dual structure in China (see 3.4). As more medical and social care resources are put into urban areas in China, urban citizens have relatively better health conditions and longer life expectancy than their rural counterparts (Shi, 1993b), and this partly accounts for the lower widowing rate in urban areas of China. Urban Chinese people have better socioeconomic resources, and they are more open-minded in marriage choice, so that they may be less likely to be ‘never married’ and more likely to be divorced than their rural counterparts.

Table 14: The proportion of marital status for the three cohorts with rural and urban Hukou in CHARLS 2011 data

	Cohort 1		Cohort 2		Cohort 3	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Married and currently living with spouse	79.9	84.4	84.9	87.9	85.2	88.9
Married but not currently living with spouse	4.3	3.2	8.8	5.2	11.5	6.3
Separated	0.8	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2
Divorced	0.5	0.6	0.4	2.6	0.7	2.7
Widowed	14.4	11.6	5.4	4.1	2.2	1.8
Never married	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Respondents	3,017	871	4,871	1,212	3,490	854
P-value	0.033		0.000		0.000	

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

In addition, significant gender differences exist in marital status among the three cohorts (see Table 15). Women have a higher percentage of experiencing widowhood than men among

the three cohorts due to their relatively longer life expectancy. However, men constitute a higher share of people who divorce compared with women, in all the three cohorts. Among the 1950s and 1960s cohorts, men have a higher rate of ‘never married’ than their women counterparts. In the marriage market of recent years, men are more likely to be left behind for two reasons: one is the increasingly imbalanced sex ratio in China, and the other is the culture of marriage gradient (Hesketh and Xing, 2006). The expectation from society of men’s role, particularly in an economic sense, is more severe than that for women, and women tend to marry men with relatively better socioeconomic status than themselves. If severely economically disadvantaged, men will experience difficulties finding a wife, and may even remain alone for the whole life. But married men are relatively more likely to divorce than married women because there are few stigmas for men than women to divorce and also, once divorced, it is easier for men to get remarried than women in Chinese society.

Table 15: The proportion of marital status for men and women of the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

	Cohort 1		Cohort 2		Cohort 3	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Married and currently living with spouse	85.9	75.5	86.8	84.3	86.2	85.7
Married but not currently living with spouse	5.4	2.7	8.5	7.7	10.5	10.6
Separated	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.3
Divorced	0.7	0.3	0.9	0.7	1.5	0.7
Widowed	7.2	20.7	3.2	7.0	1.3	2.7
Never married	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Respondents	1,986	1,902	2,939	3,144	1,892	2,452
P-value	0.000		0.000		0.003	

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author’s calculation.

In conclusion, in terms of marital status, significant differences exist between people from different birth cohort, gender and urban-rural residential status. The youngest cohort has the highest proportion of married people, as well as people who are currently married but not living with their partners. Rural people have a higher proportion of experiencing widowhood and no marriage, while they have relatively lower divorce rate. Women have a higher proportion of widows, while they have relatively lower percentages of divorced people.

5.1.3 Parental status

As for parental status, there is a significant difference among the three cohorts. People's decisions to have children are affected by many factors, among which the population policy, socioeconomic status and the social culture are the most important determinants (Peng, 1989). China launched its One-Child Policy in the 1980s, which means that people born between 1960 and 1969 are greatly impacted when they get to their reproductive age. It is evidenced here that the mean number of alive children varies among the three cohorts. For the 1940s cohort, the number of average alive children is 3.2, while it is 2.3 for the 1950s cohort and 2.0 for the 1960s cohort²⁹ (see Figure 13).

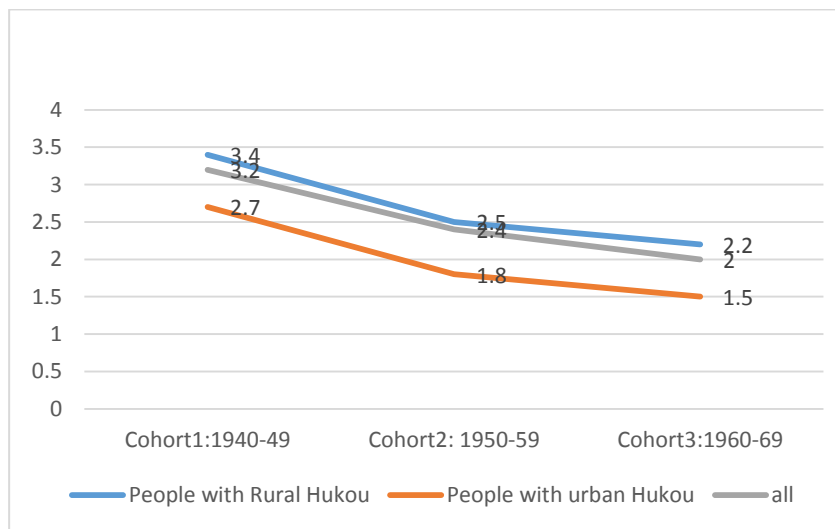


Figure 13: Mean number of alive children for three cohorts with rural and urban Hukou in CHARLS 2011 data

²⁹ The sample in the working dataset is limited to those who have at least one child alive. The calculation of the mean number of alive children is based on this premise.

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The sample sizes are 3,888 for the 1940s cohort, 6,083 for the 1950s cohort and 4,344 for the 1960s cohort. The sample sizes for the three cohorts with rural Hukou are 3,017, 4,871 and 3,490 respectively while the sample sizes for the three cohorts with urban Hukou are 871, 1,212 and 854 respectively. The P-values for all sample, sample of people with urban Hukou and sample of people with rural Hukou are all 0.000.

Besides this, a great urban-rural difference exists in the three cohorts' parenting status. From Figure 13 we can observe three nearly parallel lines for the mean number of alive children among the three cohorts, for all, and for people with rural and urban Hukou separately. Although all indicate a decreasing trend, the gaps between rural and urban samples do not seem to be narrowed. For many years, especially in pre-modernisation times, there existed great son-preference among Chinese parents (Murphy, Tao and Lu, 2011), and people – especially those in rural areas – tended to give birth to more children in order to increase their chance of having sons. As men are the main labour force for the agricultural economy, and Chinese rural areas are much less modernised than urban areas, the fertility rate in rural areas is likely to be higher than that in urban areas. Another factor for the rural-urban gap is the unbalanced One-Child Policy which allows rural citizens to have another child if the first child is a girl (Mamdani and Mamdani, 2006). As a result, among the three cohorts, rural people have 0.7 more children on average than their urban counterparts.

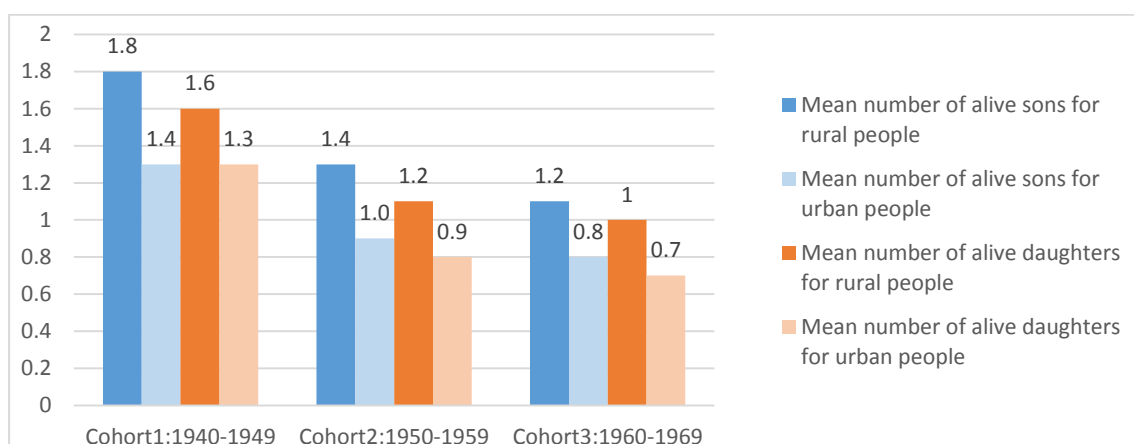


Figure 14: Mean number of alive sons and daughters for three cohorts in rural and urban areas in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The sample sizes for rural people in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts are 3,017, 4,871 and 3,490 and for urban people in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts are 871, 1,212 and 854 respectively. The P-values for mean number of alive sons among three cohorts with urban Hukou, with rural Hukou, and for mean number of alive daughters among three cohorts with urban Hukou, and with rural Hukou are all 0.000.

Figure 14 indicates the rural-urban differences in terms of average alive sons and daughters. In general, the number of people's alive children in rural areas is significantly higher than that in urban areas, no matter whether for sons or for daughters. However, when restricted to one area, the mean number of sons is higher than that of daughters, and this trend exists in both rural and urban areas.

Gender preference of child-bearing in China has been impacted by the male-dominated culture for a long time, and has been further reinforced by its legality through China's One-Child Policy (e.g. the 1.5 Child Policy in rural China) (Ding and Hesketh, 2006a; Mamdani and Mamdani, 2006). The adverse impacts of gender imbalance in China are becoming more and more serious nowadays, and have raised concerns in many aspects of Chinese society.

In conclusion, the mean number of alive children has decreased in both Chinese urban and rural areas and universally. People from the 1960s cohort have relatively fewer children available to rely on when they get older. Rural people in all three cohorts have relatively more children available than their urban counterparts, and people in all groups have more sons than daughters.

5.2 Living Arrangements of the Three Cohorts

Living arrangements are important factors that will impact older people's family support resources and wellbeing (Silverstein, Cong and Li, 2006 ; Sereny, 2011; Ren and Treiman, 2015), especially in rural areas of China, partly due to a lack of universal public pension system and care networks (Silverstein, Cong and Li, 2006). The household plays an important role in providing old-age shelter, emotional support, daily interaction, and medical and financial help. Within China, this function of the household has been strengthened by filial piety for a long time. However, due to the decline of multi-generational households and the increasing trend of rural to urban migration, living arrangements for Chinese older people have changed and become more diverse among the different cohorts, and at different life stages.

5.2.1 Co-residence

General picture of co-residence

People's living arrangements change along with different life stages and are impacted by social culture. Figure 15 suggests a difference in types of living arrangement amongst different birth cohorts. For the 1940s cohort, 45.5% of them are living alone or living only with their spouse, while it is 30.3% for the 1950s cohort and 14.0% for the 1960s cohort. The highest proportion of people living with adult children is 46.4%, which is among the 1950s cohort, and is followed by 40.9% among the 1940s cohort and 23.3% among the 1960s cohort. The pattern generally reflects an age effect. The reason for young adulthood co-residence may be partly because the young adult children lack money to buy their own houses, want to save living expenses, or because of the childcare demands. In the sample, more than half of people from the 1960s cohort are living with dependent children, but for the 1940s and 1950s cohorts, the figures are 2% and 12.6% respectively. Besides this, the proportion of people living with others is higher for the first two cohorts: 11.5% for 1940s cohort and 10.7% for 1950s cohort compared with only 5.1% for the 1960s cohort.

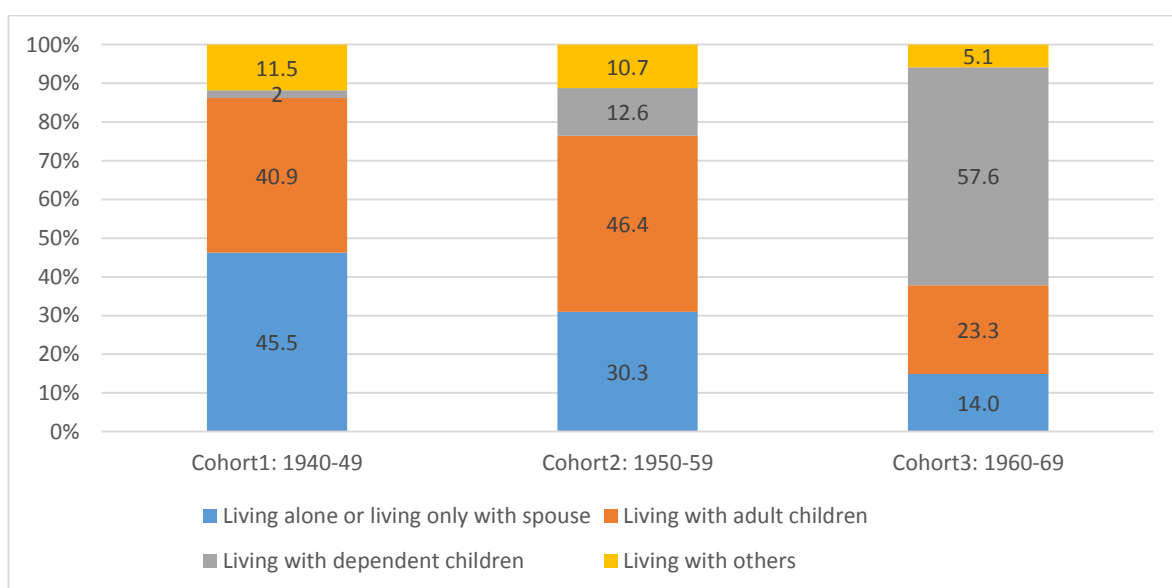


Figure 15: Living arrangements for three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The sample sizes for the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s cohorts are 3,887, 6,083 and 4,344 respectively. The P-value is 0.000.

Gender differences of co-residence

Table 16: Percentage of different types of living arrangements for men and women of three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

	Cohort 1		Cohort 2		Cohort 3	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Living alone or living only with spouse	44.3	46.8	29.2	31.3	13.3	14.6
Living with adult children	41.7	40.0	45.1	48.2	21.6	26.7
Living with dependent children	2.5	1.6	15.1	9.7	60.8	53.0
Living with others	11.5	11.6	10.6	10.8	4.3	5.7
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Respondents	1,986	1,901	2,939	3,144	1,892	2,452
P-value	0.067		0.000		0.000	

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

The patterns of living arrangements are slightly different for men and women among the three cohorts in the CHARLS 2011 dataset (see Table 16). A higher proportion of women in each of the three cohorts is living in empty nests (i.e. living alone or living only with their spouse), while a lower proportion of them is living with dependent children. Women in the 1950s and 1960s cohorts have a higher share of living with adult children, which may be partly because of the care needs of their young grandchildren, and may be partly because women usually have closer relationships with their children and are better at keeping family relationships going (see 2.4.2.1).

Rural-urban differences of co-residence

Table 17: Proportion of living arrangements for the three cohorts with rural and urban Hukou in CHARLS 2011Data

	Cohort 1		Cohort 2		Cohort 3	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Living alone or living only with spouse	43.2	53.5	29.3	34.4	14.2	13.2
Living with adult children	42.3	35.9	46.0	47.4	24.4	19.2
Living with dependent children	2.1	2.2	12.8	12	55.8	64.4
Living with others	12.4	8.4	11.9	6.2	5.6	3.2
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Respondents	3,016	871	4,871	1,212	3,490	854
P-value	0.000		0.000		0.000	

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Significant rural-urban differences exist in types of living arrangements amongst the three cohorts (see Table 17). There is a slightly higher share of people living with others in rural areas than that in urban areas among each cohort, because the multi-generational household is more popular in rural areas, and rural adult children are more likely to migrate to urban areas looking for jobs. The household size in urban areas is relatively smaller, and it is not that common for the older people to live with people other than their children. Once the children leave home, either for education or for separate living, the parents generally will live in empty nests. That is why there are more empty nests for urban people among the first two cohorts.

Co-resident with married children

When investigating co-residence, the investigation of ‘living with married children’ is quite important. In China, children are likely to live in the parents’ home before marriage, especially daughters (Ting and Stephen, 2002), and they tend to move out after marriage. Children’s co-residence with parents after their marriage is of a relatively stable status compared with co-residence with parents before marriage. From Figure 16, it can be seen that the 1950s cohort has the highest proportion of living with their married children compared with the other two cohorts. This may due to an age effect because they were at the age of 52 to 61 years old at the time of the interview, and their adult children were in their thirties and were likely to be at the life stage of early parenthood. Parents are very likely to be the helpers when their adult children give birth to grandchildren but do not have enough time to care for the babies. This is a very common phenomenon in China. In Chen’s study in 2011, she found that 45% percent of grandparents co-reside with their grandchildren aged 0–6 years old in her pooled sample from 1999 to 2004 (Chen, Liu and Mair, 2011). This might be an explanation for the 1950s cohort’s higher co-residence rate than the other two cohorts. They are most likely to be new grandparents, and their grandchildren are likely to be in the early childhood and need their co-residence to provide care.

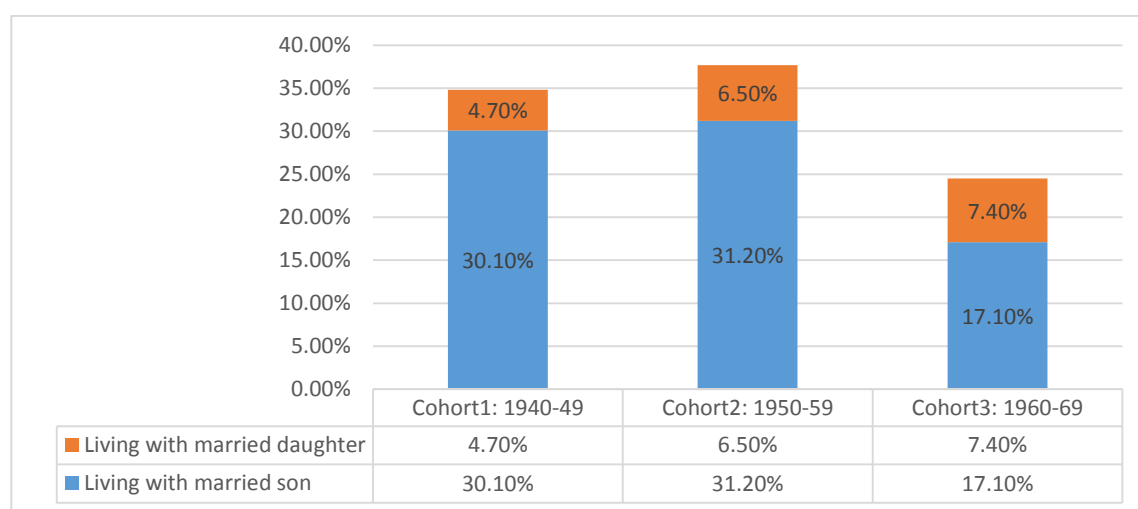


Figure 16: The rate of co-resident with married children amongst three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author’s calculation.

Note: ‘Living with married daughter’ is defined as currently co-residing with a daughter who has been married. ‘Living with married son’ is defined as currently co-residing with a son who has been married. The sample sizes for the three cohorts are 3,888, 6,083 and 4,344 respectively. The P-values for living with married son and living with married daughter amongst the three cohorts are both 0.000.

Another interesting phenomenon is that the percentage of parents co-residing with their married daughters is on a rise (see Figure 16). In traditional China, married daughters were regarded as ‘spilt water’ after they got married, and likely to severed the ties from their natal families (Hong, 1987). Usually, once a daughter gets married, she will move to live with the husband, either separately or with the husband’s parents (Zeng *et al.*, 1994). In the past, it was not common for the married daughter to continue living with her own parents. However, from Figure 16, we can see a rise of this new trend, which may be partly because the One-Child Policy increases the chance of people to be living with their only daughter and partly because of the impact of modernisation of Chinese society on living arrangements. The One-Child Policy increases the value of ‘the only daughter’ to her parents and thus increases the parents’ investment in their ‘only daughters’ (Deutsch, 2006). In return, the ‘only daughters’ are the main support resource for their parents when they get older. Another reason is that the modernisation of the Chinese society promotes gender equality and alters people’s preferences for sons rather than daughters. Daughters play an important role in providing instrumental care to their older parents, and recent studies suggest that their number of daughters is positively associated with older people’s feelings of wellbeing (Qian and Knoester, 2013).

Co-residence patterns differ between people with rural and urban Hukou, not only in the aspect of total share, but also in the proportion of them living with sons and daughters (See Figure 17). A significantly higher proportion of people in rural areas live with their married adult children than in urban areas, which indicates that the family still stands as the main care resource for Chinese rural older people, and the Confucian filial piety’s tradition of multi-generational co-residence is more common in rural areas than in urban areas. A lack of a universal and highly reliable social protection system for Chinese rural older people is another main factor that accounts for this phenomenon (see 3.4).

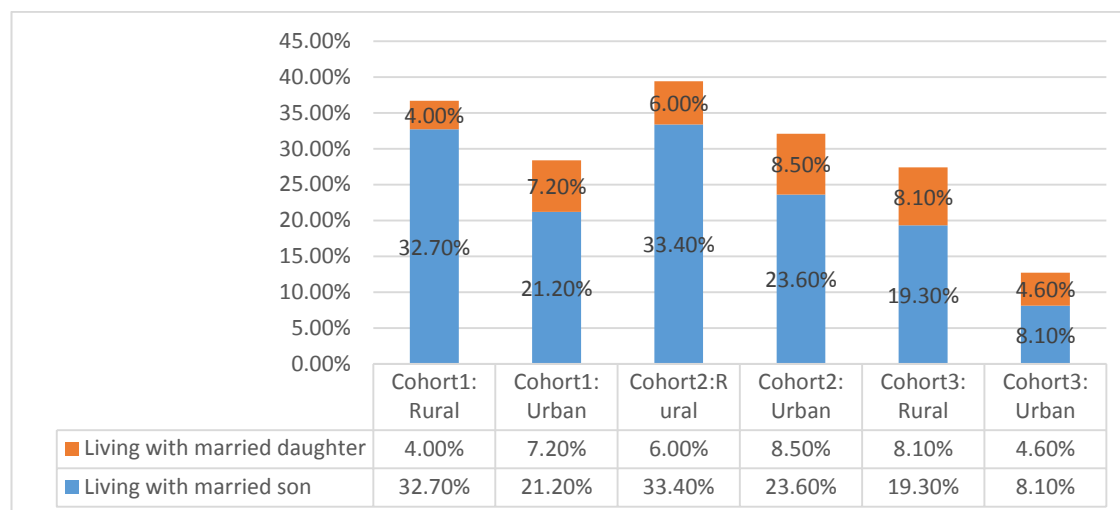


Figure 17: The proportion of co-residing with married children amongst the three cohorts with rural and urban Hukou in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The sample sizes for rural people in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts are 3,017, 4,871 and 3,490, and the sample sizes for urban people in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts are 871, 1,212 and 854 respectively. The P -value for people living with adult son among the three cohorts with urban Hukou is 0.000, the P -value for people living with adult son among the three cohorts with rural Hukou is 0.000, the P -value for people living with adult daughter among the three cohorts with rural Hukou is 0.000, and the P -value for people living with adult daughter among the three cohorts with urban Hukou is 0.002.

Patterns differ in living with sons and daughters for rural and urban samples. Figure 17 suggests that among those co-residing samples, the proportion of co-residing with married daughters is higher in urban samples than that of rural samples. Nevertheless, the gap has been narrowed across the three cohorts. For the 1960s cohort, 8.1% of the rural sample are living with their married daughters, while 19.3% of them are living with their married sons. For the urban sample of the 1960s cohort, 4.6% of them are living with their married daughters while 8.1% of them are living with their married sons. This result is consistent with Song and his colleagues' studies. They found that in rural China, nowadays, daughters reciprocate more support and take on more responsibilities to their parents under the trend of increasing large outward migration in rural areas (Song, Li and Feldman, 2012). However, further reasons for why newly married daughters are co-residing with their own parents rather than their parents-in-law still needs to be investigated in future studies.

Table 18: Percentage of men and women living with their married sons and daughters amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

	Cohort 1		Cohort 2		Cohort 3	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Living with married son (%)	30.3	30.0	29.7	33.0	15.9	18.0
P-value	0.814		0.006		0.066	
Living with married daughter (%)	5.3	4.2	6.1	6.8	7.2	7.6
P-value	0.096		0.280		0.585	
Respondents	1,986	1,902	2,939	3,144	1,892	2,452

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

In terms of gender difference (see Table 18), a higher percentage of women than men in the 1950s and 1960s cohorts live with their married sons. The gender differences are not statistically significant for living with married daughters amongst all three cohorts. The reason for this phenomenon may be that women in their middle age and early old age are likely to be the caregiver of the grandchildren on the son side.

5.2.2 Non-coresidence

For people who do not have a co-resident child, the distance to their children is quite important in determining the family support resources they have access to. People in the 1960s cohort are still in late middle age, and more than half of them still have dependent children living with them. But for the 1940s and 1950s cohorts, their patterns of distance to non-co-resident children are slightly different (see Figure 18). 35.4% of the 1940s cohort have their nearest non-co-resident child in the same neighbourhood or community, compared to only 17.3% of the 1950s cohort. In total, over 90% of the 1940s cohort have a child living

either with them or in the same city, but it is only 89% for the 1950s cohort. The distance with non-co-resident children is likely to be increased across cohorts, as there is an increasing trend of internal migration in China, especially among rural young people.

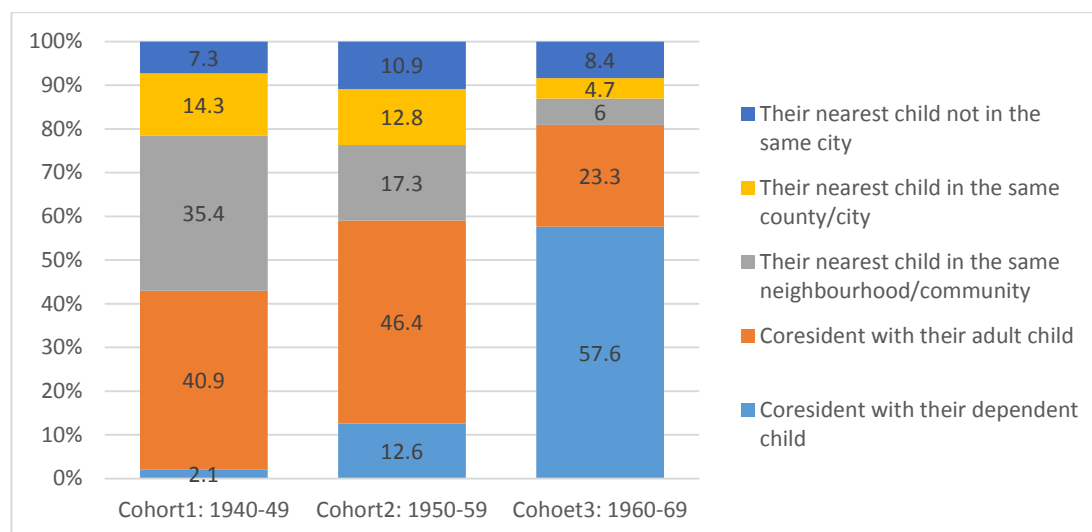


Figure 18: The distance to adult children amongst three cohort in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The sample sizes for the three cohorts are 3,888, 6,083 and 4,344 respectively. The P-value for the distance to adult children amongst the three cohorts is 0.000.

Table 19: The proportion of having a co-resident child amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

	Cohort 1	Cohort 2	Cohort 3	P-value
Have a co-resident dependent child	80 2.1%	765 12.6%	2,500 57.6%	0.000
Have a co-resident adult child	1,590 40.9%	2,822 46.4%	1,014 23.3%	0.000
Have no co-resident child	2,218 57.0%	2,496 41.0%	830 19.1%	0.000
Total	3,888 100%	6,374 100%	4,344 100%	

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

From Table 19, it can be seen that 57% of the 1940s cohort do not have a child living with them. To compare, 41% of the 1950s cohort and 19.1% of the 1960s cohort have no co-resident children. However, for the 1960s cohort, although around 80% of them have a co-resident child, 57.6% of them are living with a child under 25 years old or still in school education. Where these children decide to live after they get married or finish school education cannot be figured out from the data available.

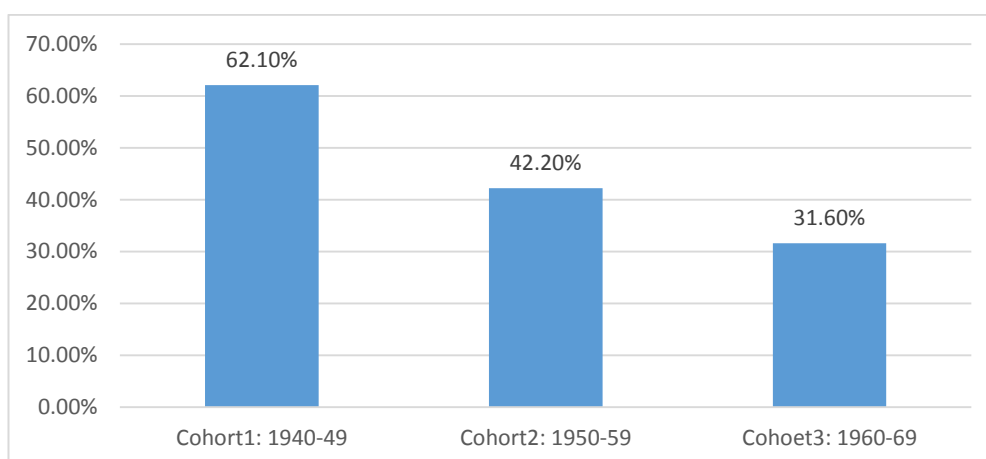


Figure 19: The proportion of having a child in the same neighbourhood/community, when having no co-resident children (sample size 5,544), amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The sample sizes of people with no co-resident children for the three cohorts are 2,218, 2,496 and 830 respectively. The p-value=0.000.

Figure 19 and Figure 21 suggest a clear trend that the availability of the non-co-resident children of members of the three cohorts is decreasing. Of those who do not have a co-resident child, almost 62.1% of the 1940s cohort (sample size 2,218, see Table 19) have children available in the same neighbourhood or communities, but it is 42.2% for the 1950s cohort (sample size 2,496) and only 31.6% for the 1960s cohort (sample size 830) respectively.

Also, of those who do not have a child within the same neighbourhood or community, 66% of the 1940s cohort (sample size 841, see Table 20) have a child available within the same city while it is only 54% for the 1950s cohort (sample size 1,443) and 35.6% for the 1960s cohort (sample size 568) (see Figure 21).

Table 20: The proportion of having a child in the same neighbourhood/community amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data:

	Cohort 1	Cohort 2	Cohort 3	P-value
Have a child in the same neighbourhood/community	3,047 78.4 %	4,640 76.3%	3,776 86.9%	0.000
Have no child in the same neighbourhood/community	841 21.6%	1,443 23.7%	568 13.1%	0.000
Total	3,888 100%	6,083 100%	4,344 100%	

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

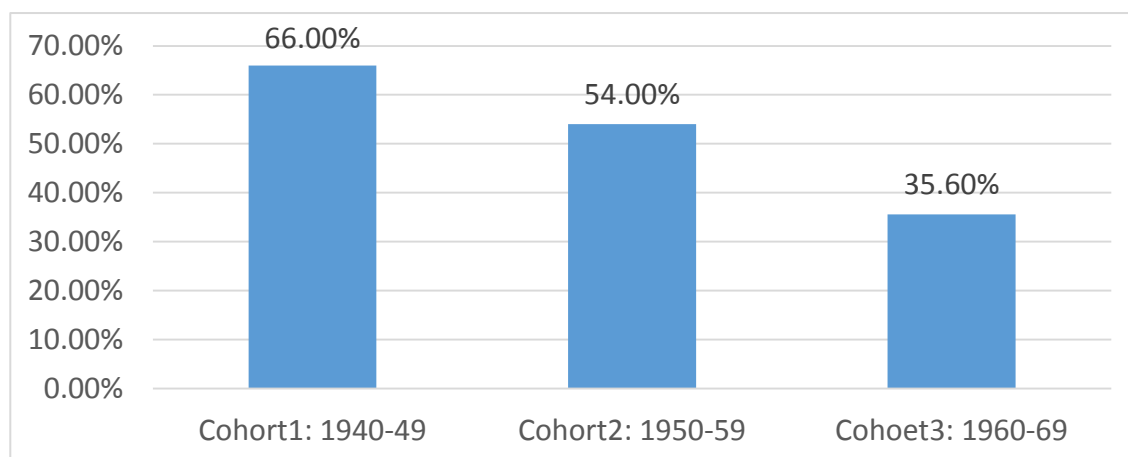


Figure 20: The proportion of having a child in the same city when having no access to a child in the same neighbourhood/community, amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The sample sizes of people having no child with the neighbour/community for the three cohorts are 841, 1,443 and 568 respectively. The p-value is 0.000.

5.3 Family Support Resources for the Three Cohorts

In Chinese society, family support has been regarded as the main support resource for older people for centuries (Leung, 2003). Although still quite important, especially for Chinese rural older people who have no or very few formal pensions, the nature of family support for old people in China has changed over time (Xu and Xia, 2014).

5.3.1 Intergenerational material transfers

Material support is one of the most important types of intergenerational support. In CHARLS 2011 dataset, research participants are asked about four types of material transfers from and to the non-co-resident children: regular monetary transfer; regular in-kind transfer; non-regular monetary transfer and non-regular in-kind transfer. Figure 21 shows the percentage of people receive the four types of material support amongst the three birth cohorts. In addition, it also shows that among each cohort, the percentage of people receive and provide any type of material support. It is clear that the percentage of people receive material support is higher than that provide material support³⁰ (see Figure 21). However, significant differences exist among different birth cohorts regarding receiving and providing material support. Around half of people in the 1940s cohort (47.6%) receive material support from their non-co-resident children, while the proportion is 32.3% and 13.6% among the 1950s and 1960s cohorts respectively. In contrast, 8.7% of people from the 1960s cohort provide material support to their non-co-resident children, while 6.4% and 7.1% of the 1940s and 1950s cohorts are doing so.

Non-regular monetary support (see Figure 21) is the most popular type of material support from non-co-resident children among each cohort. As is shown in Figure 21, 36.3% of the 1940s cohort receive non-regular monetary support from their non-co-resident children and the proportion is 25.1% and 10.7% for the 1950s and 1960s cohorts. Figure 21 also suggests a decreasing trend of receiving each type of material support from the 1940s to the 1960s

³⁰ In CHARLS 2011 questionnaire, the transfers (CE section) are investigated between households. Therefore, the adult children who live in the same household with the parents are not eligible to answer these questions in this section. The family support resources discussed in this chapter only refer to the support from non-co-resident children, not the co-resident children.

cohort, that is, people in the 1940s cohort have a higher percentage of receiving material support from their non-co-resident children than the younger cohorts.

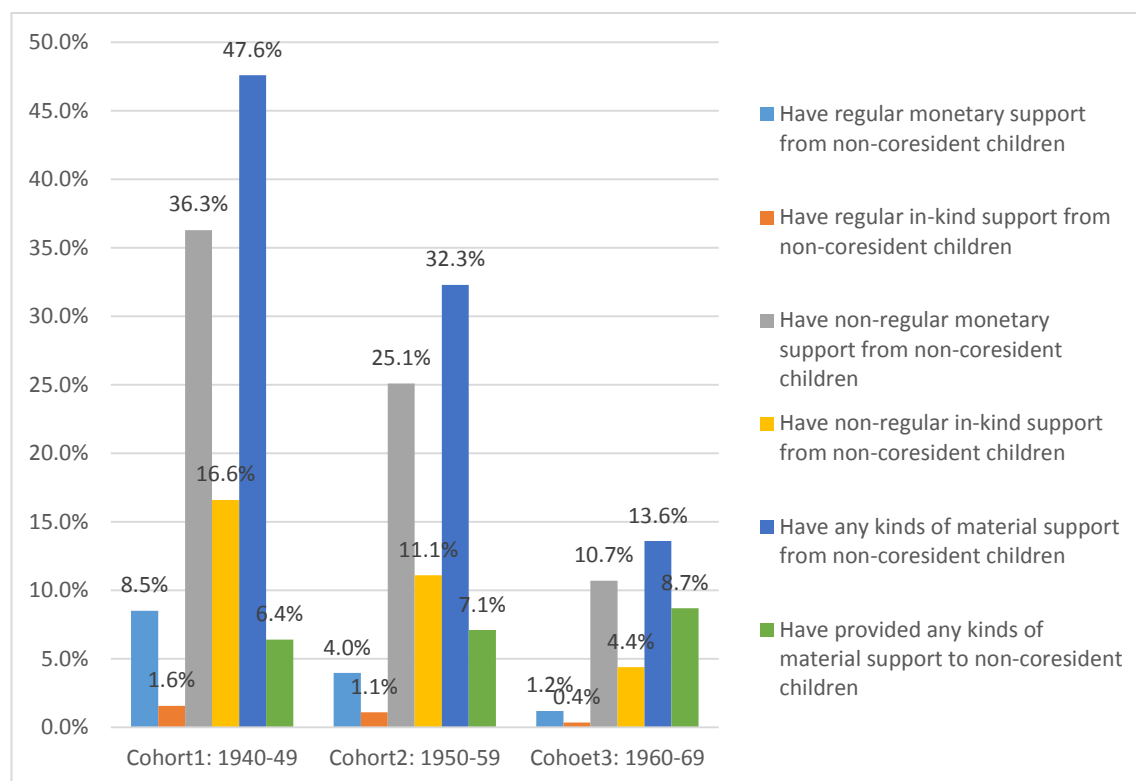


Figure 21: Different kinds of material support from and to non-co-resident children, amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The total number of respondents for Cohort 1, Cohort 2 and Cohort 3 are 3,888, 6,083 and 4,344 respectively. The P-values for all six categories amongst the three cohorts are all 0.000.

In addition, a significant rural-urban divide exists in terms of receiving and providing material support (see Table 21). Within each birth cohort, a higher proportion of rural parents tend to receive material support while a lower proportion of them tend to give, compared with their urban counterparts (although the difference of giving material support between urban and rural 1960s samples is not statistically significant). This suggests that the rural people have less disposable income and fewer resources to support their children than their urban counterparts. This might partly explain the higher fertility in rural China, as children are suggested to be an important source of material support for rural parents.

Table 21: Percentage of people who receive and give material support from and to non-co-resident children amongst three cohorts with rural and urban Hukou

	Cohort1		Cohort2		Cohort3	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Receive material support	52.0%	33.0%	37.0%	17.5%	16.5%	4.0%
P-value	0.000		0.000		0.000	
Give material support	4.6%	12.7%	6.2%	10.6%	8.5%	9.5%
	0.000		0.000		0.336	
Total respondents	3,017	871	4,871	1,212	3,490	854

Data source: CHARLS 2011 data. Author's calculation.

When taking into account gender difference on top of the rural-urban difference, it is interesting to find that rural women, among all the groups, have the highest percentage of receiving all types of material support from their non-co-resident children (see Table 22). This suggests that rural women are more vulnerable than rural men, and also than their urban counterparts, particularly regarding their socioeconomic status. For this reason they seem to have higher need of support and indeed, a higher percentage of them get material support than other groups.

Table 22: The proportion of men and women with urban and rural residence from the three birth cohorts who get different types of material support from their non-co-resident children in CHARLS 2011 data

	Cohort 1				Cohort 2				Cohort 3			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Have regular monetary support from non-co-resident children	8.1	10.2	5.3	7.2	4.2	4.9	1.8	1.8	1.1	1.6	0.3	0.9
Have regular in kind support from non-co-resident children	1.7	2.3	0	0.5	1.1	1.4	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.3	0
Have non-regular monetary support from non-co-resident children	37.9	41.4	25.1	24.4	26.7	29.5	10.8	14.5	10.9	13.9	2.0	4.2
Have non-regular in kind support from non-co-resident children	16.9	19.6	11.1	10.9	11.7	13.0	4.9	6.7	4.4	5.8	0.3	1.8
Have any kinds of material support from non-co-resident children	49.3	54.1	33.0	33.4	34.5	38.1	13.6	17.8	13.7	17.6	2.3	5.3
Have provided any kinds of material support to non-co-resident children	5.2	4.0	13.4	11.9	6.5	5.9	11.5	9.8	8.4	8.5	8.0	10.8
Number of respondents	1,492	1,525	494	377	2,328	2,543	611	601	1,493	1,997	399	455

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

5.3.2 Meeting and contact with children

In the CHARLS 2011 questionnaire, there are two questions related to the parent-children contact. The first one asks the frequency with which one can meet with each of his/her non-co-resident children, and the answers range from ‘almost every day’ to ‘almost never’. This question will be asked for each respondent with a non-co-resident child. The second question is for those who cannot see their non-co-resident children within one week, who are asked the frequency of their contact with their children by phone, text message, post and emails. These questions could reflect the frequency of parents’ and children’s emotional interaction, and this interaction to some extent could affect the parents’ wellbeing, especially their psychological wellbeing (Umberson, 1992).

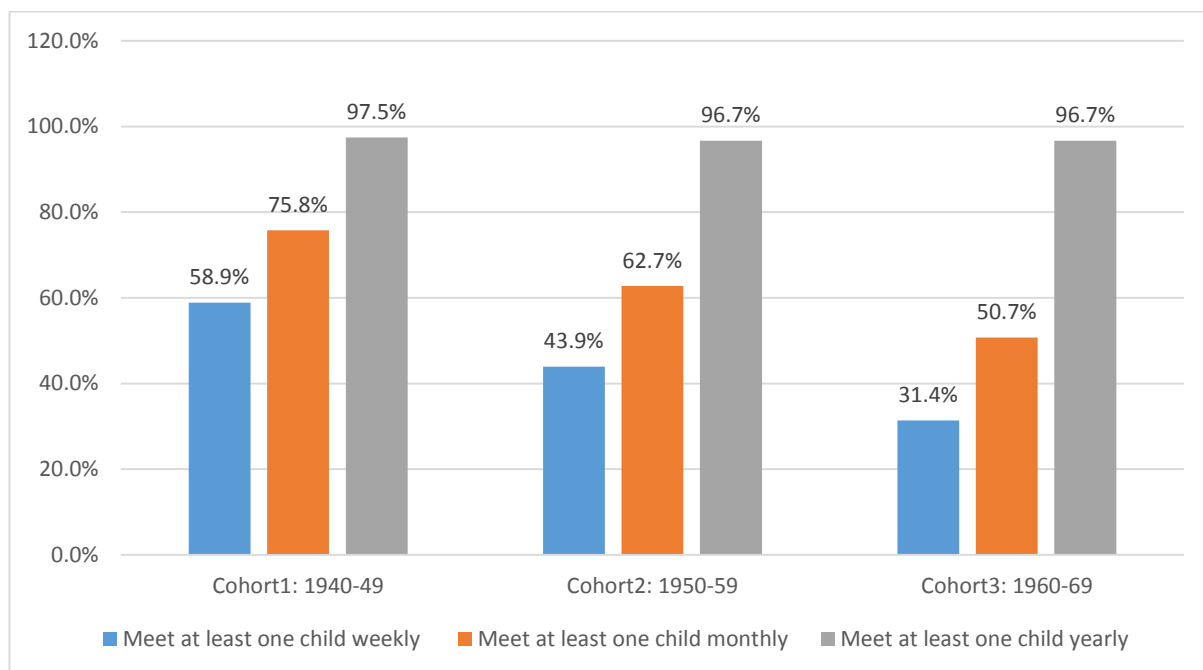


Figure 22: Frequency of meeting non-co-resident children amongst three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

Data CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The sample sizes for the three cohorts with a non-co-resident child are 3,598, 4,877 and 2,094 respectively. The p-values for weekly, monthly and yearly meeting with non-co-resident children amongst three cohorts are all 0.000.

In Figure 22, it can be seen that there is a significant decreasing trend of the frequency of meeting children among the three cohorts. For people in the 1940s cohort, more than half of them (58.9%) can meet at least one non-co-resident child weekly, and it is 43.9% for people in the 1950s cohort, but only 31.4% for those in the 1960s cohort. Similarly, 75.8% of people in the 1940s cohort can see at least one non-co-resident child monthly, while the proportion is 62.7% and 50.7% for the other two cohorts respectively. About 97% of all the three cohorts can meet their non-co-resident children yearly.

People in the 1960s cohort have a relatively lower meeting frequency with non-co-resident children, and this may partly due to their low fertility compared with the other two birth cohorts. This may also partly reflect an age effect. People in this cohort were aged 42–51 in 2011, and their non-co-resident children were very likely to be in their college education or earlier career life period, and may live elsewhere from the parents. Considering the rural-urban difference, Figure 23 shows that a higher percentage of urban parents meet their non-co-resident children weekly compared with their rural counterparts, which is partly because their distance to the non-co-resident children may be nearer than their rural counterparts, in the context of the rural to urban migration amongst the rural young adults.

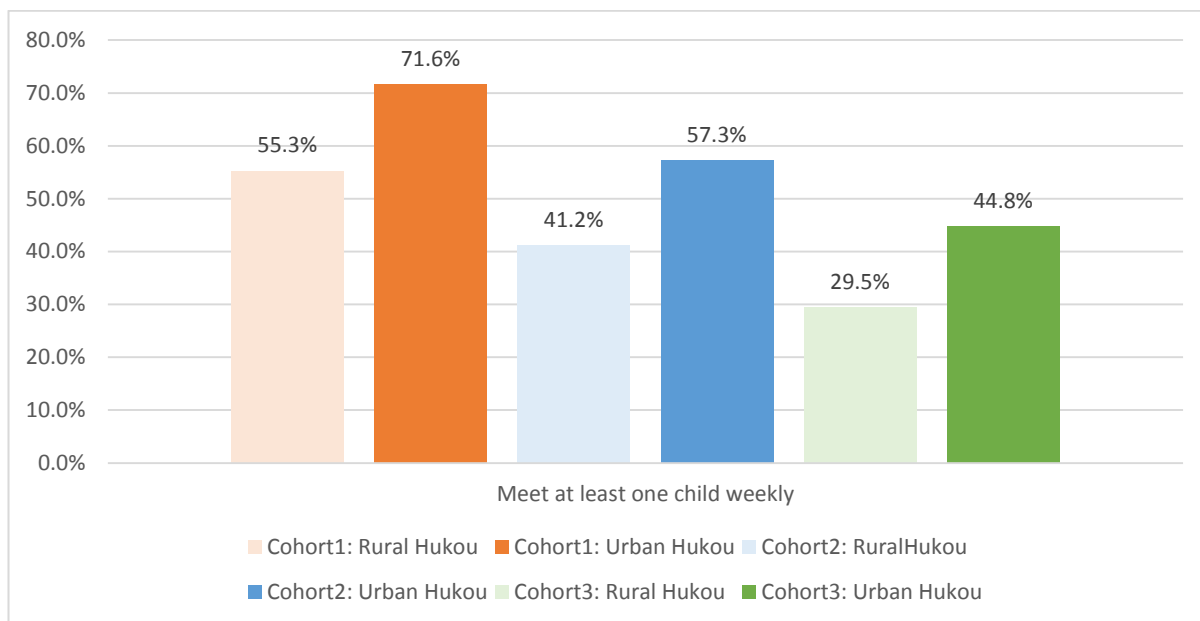


Figure 23: Weekly meeting with non-co-resident children amongst three cohorts with rural and urban Hukou in 2011 CHARLS data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The sample sizes for rural people having a non-co-resident child in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts are 2,805, 4,064 and 1,835 and the sample sizes for urban people having a non-co-resident child in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts are 793, 813 and 259 respectively. The P-values for urban-rural differences of weekly meet with non-co-resident children amongst each of the three cohorts are all 0.000.

Among the samples who cannot see their non-co-resident children weekly (total sample 5653), 45.7% of the 1940s cohort (sample size 1,480) and 55.4% of the 1950s cohort (sample size 2,736) can contact their children by phone, text messages, post or emails on a weekly basis, while it is 63.4% for those of the 1960s cohort (sample size 1,437). More than 80% of the samples in the 1940s and 1950s cohorts can contact their non-co-resident children monthly, if they cannot see them weekly. However, it is 92.1% for the 1960s cohort, even higher than the other two cohorts (see Figure 24).

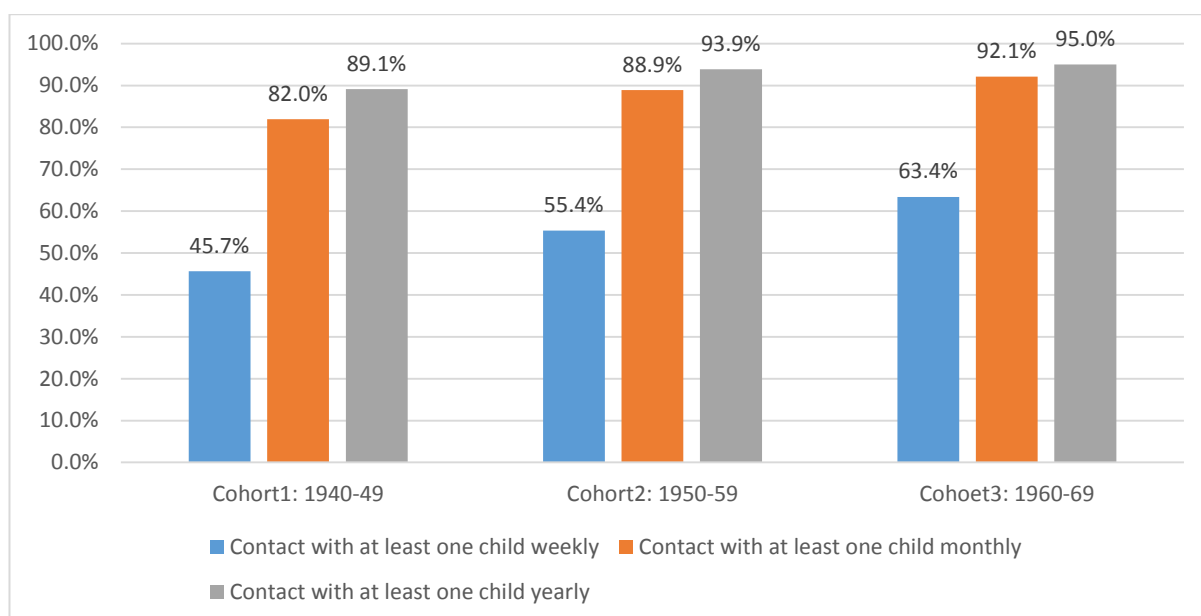


Figure 24: Frequency of contacting with non-co-resident children if cannot meet the children within one week, amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: The sample sizes for the three cohorts who cannot meet their non-co-resident children weekly are 1,480, 2,736 and 1,437 respectively. The p-values for weekly, monthly and yearly contact with non-co-resident children amongst the three cohorts are all 0.000.

In summary, a higher percentage of people in the 1940s cohort have more frequent meeting with their non-co-resident children. However, among those who cannot meet their non-co-resident children weekly, a higher percentage of people in the 1960s cohort have more frequent contact with their non-co-resident children. This suggests that people in the older birth cohort have higher chance of meeting their non-co-resident children, while their younger counterparts have higher frequency of contacting with the children.

5.3.3 Instrumental help from children

In the CHARLS 2011 dataset, individuals are asked if they have any functional difficulties (activities of daily living (ADL) or instrumental activities of daily living (IADL)) in their daily life. If they have any functional difficulties, they will be asked who helps them often with these difficulties. In the sample, there are 1,643 individuals with different degrees of functional difficulties, which account for 11.5% of the whole sample. About 18.5% of the 1940s cohort samples have daily difficulties, while it is 11.4% and 5.3% for the 1950s and 1960s cohort samples respectively (see Table 23).

Table 23: The proportion of people who have ADL/IADL difficulties in daily life amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

Have ADL/IADL difficulties	Cohort 1	Cohort 2	Cohort 3	Respondents
Yes	18.5%	11.4%	5.3%	11.5%
	718	693	232	1,643
No	81.5%	88.6%	94.7%	88.5%
	3,170	5,390	4,112	12,672
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
	3,888	6,083	4,344	14,315

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Among those samples who have any difficulties with activities of daily living (sample size 1,643), 17.1% in the 1940s cohort have a child as the main caregiver. In comparison, it is 14.6% and 15.1% in the 1950s and 1960s cohorts who have a child as the main caregiver, however the difference between the three birth cohorts is not statistically significant (see Figure 25).

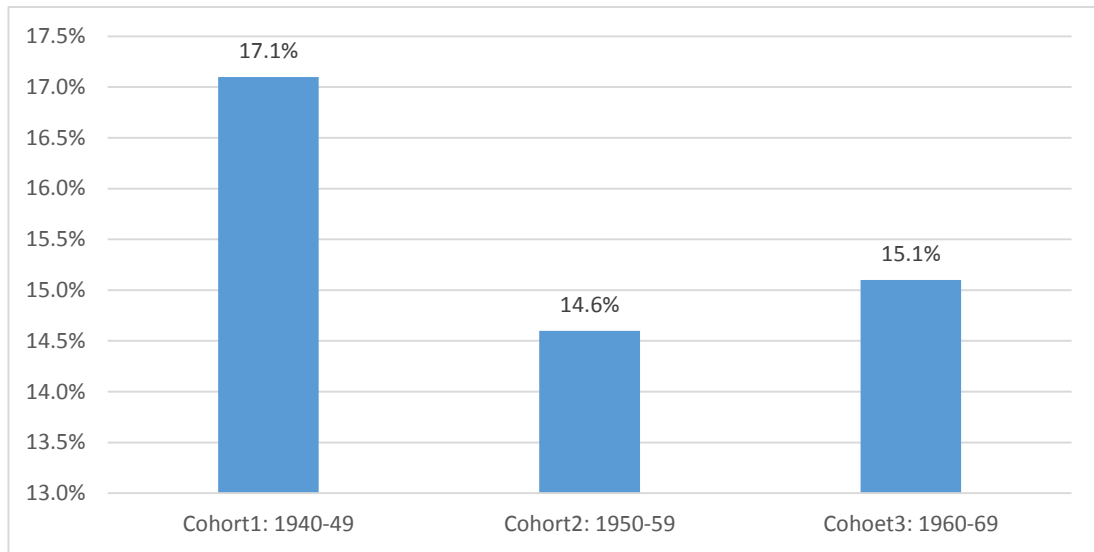


Figure 25: Children as main carers to support ADL/IADL difficulties in daily life amongst the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Notes: The sample is people who have functional difficulties. For the 1940s cohorts, the sample size is 718, and for the 1950s and the 1960s cohorts, the sample sizes are 693 and 232 respectively. The p-value is 0.401.

Among those who have functional difficulties, the spouse is the main caregiver amongst all three cohorts. Over 60% of people with functional difficulties among each birth cohort have their spouse as the main caregiver. The proportions of people with functional difficulties having their children and children's spouses, as well as grandchildren, as the main caregivers decrease across the three cohorts. (see Table 24).

Table 24: Source of help available for functional difficulties among each birth cohort (%)

Who most often help you with functional difficulties? (Up to three choices)	Cohort 1	Cohort 2	Cohort 3	P-value
	N = 718	N = 693	N = 232	
Spouse	63.8	71.4	68.5	0.009
Children and/or children's spouses help with ADL/IADL difficulties	22.3	18.6	16.4	0.079
Grandchildren help with ADL/IADL difficulties	3.1	1.3	0	0.004
Other relatives help with ADL/IADL difficulties	1.1	2.2	3	0.116
Non-relatives help with ADL/IADL difficulties	2.2	1.3	2.6	0.307
No one helped with ADL/IADL difficulties	15.9	14.9	16.0	0.849

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

There is another hypothetical question regarding the instrumental support answered by every research participant. When asked, 'suppose that in the future, you needed help with basic daily activities like eating or dressing, do you have relatives or friends (besides you spouse/partner) who would be willing and able to help you over a long period of time? (Choose up to three persons)' to all of the respondents, no matter whether they have ADL/IADL or not, more than 60% of each cohort think that their children or children's spouse will be their main source of daily help. The younger cohort seems slightly more optimistic as 27.4% of them think they have no future support, which is slightly lower than the other two cohorts. The proportion of respondents thinking grandchildren will be the main future helpers has decreased while supposing the non-relative paid helpers as main future

carers has increased gradually in popularity among the three cohorts (see Figure 26). This may suggest that multi-generational family support is decreasing as households tend to be smaller than before.

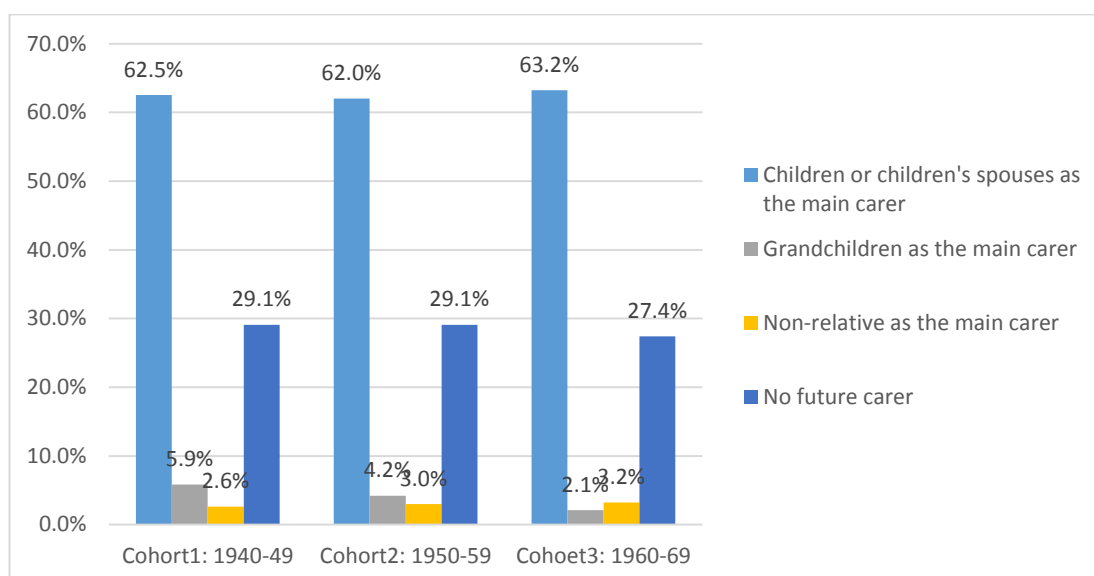


Figure 26: Hypothetical main carers in the future among the three cohorts in CHARLS 2011 data

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Notes: The sample for this bar chart is all the respondents, no matter whether they currently have ADL difficulties or not. The total number of respondents for the 1940s cohort, 1950s cohort and 1960s cohort are 3,888, 6,083 and 4,344 respectively. The *p*-values for children or children's spouses, grandchildren, and non-relative as the main carer and no future carer amongst the three cohorts are 0.466, 0.000, 0.312 and 0.120.

To conclude, a higher proportion of people from the 1940s cohort have ADL/IADL difficulties and need help and a higher proportion of their children or children's spouses provide that help, which may reflect an age difference. Children are expected to be the main caregivers for future daily support in all of the three cohorts. At the same time, regarding the non-relatives (e.g. paid carers) as the main future carer seems on the gradual rise among the three cohorts, although not statistically significant.

5.4 Key Preliminary Findings of the Descriptive Data

- Educational attainments of people in the 1960s cohort have improved significantly compared with those in the 1940s cohort. However, a huge gap in educational attainments still exists between the urban men and rural women among the 1960s cohort.
- There is a slightly higher divorce rate among the youngest cohort than the older ones, and there is a steady increase in the share of people who are married but not currently living with their partner. The average age at first marriage among the 1950s participants is slightly postponed compared with the other two cohorts, probably because of the Cultural Revolution and the consequently interrupted life events. Women tend to have a higher percentage of experiencing widowhood than men while men have a higher rate of divorce than women.
- The mean number of alive children is decreasing among the three cohorts; however, the rural-urban gap does not seem to be narrowing over time.
- The highest empty nest rate exists in the oldest cohort while highest proportion of multi-generational co-residence happens in the middle cohort, in the life period of people's late middle age, when they are most likely to co-reside to take care of the infant grandchildren.
- The trend of co-residing with married daughters is increasing, in both Chinese urban and rural areas.
- The oldest cohort has relatively closer distance from their non-co-resident children, which may suggest that they may have better access to instrumental family support than their younger counterparts.
- In all of the three cohorts, a higher percentage of older people tend to receive material support than be providing it, and the oldest cohort has a highest proportion of receiving and a lowest share of providing. In contrast, the youngest cohort has a highest rate of providing while maintaining the lowest rate of receiving. Among all three cohorts, rural parents have a higher proportion of receiving and a lower rate of providing material support compared with their urban counterparts. Rural women, among all the groups, have the highest proportion of receiving material support. This may suggest that when people get older, they may be more likely to receive material support from children, partly because of their needs and partly because of their children's capabilities. Rural older people, especially rural women, rely on their adult children more for material support in middle and older age.

- The 1940s cohort has a relatively higher frequency of meeting with their non-co-resident children. This may be because that the 1940s cohort has relatively more children available to meet than their younger counterparts. However, among those who cannot meet the non-co-resident children weekly, a higher percentage of the 1960s cohort have more frequent contact with the children living apart.
- In answer to a hypothetical question concerning support in the future, children and the spouses of children, compared with other relatives and non-relatives, are the preferred main carer in people's older age amongst all three cohorts. Meanwhile, there is a gradual increase in acceptance of non-relative (e.g. paid helpers) as future carers from the 1940s to the 1960s cohort.

Chapter 6 Regression Analysis of Family Support in China

This chapter investigates a series of factors and their associations with three types of family support resources (see 2.2). In CHARLS 2011 data, five outcome variables were recoded to indicate the three types of intergenerational support (see 4.2.2), which are: adult children's proximity, material support, frequent meeting, frequent contact, and whether an adult child is regarded by the parent as the main carer in the future. Multiple logistic models have been run for each outcome variable. Urban-rural difference, gender difference and particularly the differences between each birth cohort are studied respectively. Drawing on the results of these statistical analyses, our typologies of intergenerational family support are then proposed in the final section of this chapter.

It is noteworthy that there is potential endogeneity in the cross-sectional multivariate analysis. For some explanatory variables that help explain different types of support that older people receive, for example, the self-reported health status, whether having frequent social activities and whether giving children and grandchildren financial support are potential endogenous variables, which are the choice variables and may be determined jointly with the outcomes of interest (Bollen, Guilkey and Mroz, 1995). However, as these factors are essential to the understanding of intergenerational support patterns amongst older people in China, as confirmed by the existing literature, these variables are therefore still retained in the multivariate models. Interpretations of the parameters in the following models are carefully made based on association rather than causality (Antonakis *et al.*, 2014). The limitations of the cross-sectional analytical design are also acknowledged in 10.7.1.

6.1 Adult Children Proximity

Table 25 presents the odds ratios of having an adult child living in the same city for each predictor. Separate models are run for the rural samples, urban samples, and samples of males and females in order to shed light on the rural-urban and gender differences.

Full model

The full model suggests that as age increases, people are more likely to have an adult child living in the same city. People in the 1950s cohort, compared with those in the 1960s cohort, are more likely to have an adult child living in the same city. Having urban Hukou registration status, being widowed, reporting better health, and having ADL difficulties, are significantly positively associated with having an adult child living close by compared with those with rural Hukou status, married, reporting bad health and being healthy. One increase in the number of adult sons or adult daughters increases by four times the odds of having an adult child living in the same city. Having a grandchild decreases the odds of having an adult child living in the same city for the 1940s cohort (aged 62-71 at the time of interviews), while it increase the odds of having an adult child nearby for the 1960s cohort (aged 42-51 at the time of interviews), compared with those who do not have a grandchild. People who live in central and western China, have a child with higher income, or have given financial support to an adult child and a grandchild, have lower odds of having an adult child living in the same city as them, compared with their reference groups (see Table 25). However, doing non-agricultural work, being retired from non-agricultural work, or having one married adult child increase the odds of having an adult child nearby compared with their reference groups.

Rural-urban differences in adult children proximity

The full model for adult child proximity suggests that self-reported fair or good health increases the odds of having an adult child living in the same city compared with self-reported bad health, and this effect is significantly stronger for rural citizens. However, for urban people, although not statistically significant, reporting better health seems to be negatively associated with having an adult child living nearby compared with reporting bad health. An increase in the number of adult sons and daughters significantly increases the odds of having an adult child nearby, and this positive effect is stronger for urban people, with the an increase in one son or one daughter increases the 13.17 or 12.22 times the odds ratios of having an adult child living nearby. Having higher educational attainments is significantly positively associated with having an adult child living nearby compared with illiterate for urban people, but not significant for their rural counterparts and for all samples. Having given a grandchild financial support compared with not given decreases the odds of having a child living nearby for rural samples, but it is not significant among the urban ones.

Gender differences in adult children proximity

Being in the 1950s birth cohort compared with being in the 1960s cohort significantly increases the odds of having an adult child living nearby for the male samples, but it is not significant for the female samples. Similarly, an increase in the number of sons or daughters significantly improves the odds of having an adult child living nearby; however, it is only significant for males not females.

Table 25 : Logistic regressions for Adult children proximity

Adult children's Proximity	Full model	Rural	Urban	Males	Females
	N=14314	N=11378	N=2936	N=6816	N=7498
	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio
Age	1.06***	1.05***	1.05	1.04*	1.08***
Gender (Ref: Male)					
Female	1.11	1.13*	1.07		
Hukou status (Ref: Rural)					
Urban	1.43***			1.51***	1.37*
Cohort (Ref: Cohort3)					
Cohort1	1.36	1.60	0.84	1.78	1.05
Cohort2	1.61***	1.44*	1.78*	1.99***	1.30
Marital status (Ref: Married)					
Separated /divorced/never-married	0.78	0.79	0.73	0.61	1.23
Widowed	1.38*	1.37*	1.49	1.35	1.40*
Self-reported health (Ref: bad)					
self-report fair health	1.38***	1.45***	0.85	1.32*	1.42***
self-report good health	1.36***	1.45***	0.79	1.24	1.44***
Body functional difficulties (Ref: Healthy)					
ADL	1.72**	1.65*	1.67	1.53	1.89*
IADL	1.35	1.45*	0.56	1.43	1.33
Adult child number					
No. of adult sons	4.11***	3.63***	13.17***	4.39***	3.87
No. of adult daughters	4.03***	3.61***	12.22***	4.30***	3.80
Have grandchild (Ref: three cohorts with no grandchild)					
Cohort1having grandchild	0.54**	0.50**	0.55	0.56*	0.50*
Cohort2having grandchild	1.07	1.20	1.01	1.06	1.09
Cohort3having grandchild	2.05***	1.92***	2.29**	2.34***	1.90***
Area (Ref: eastern area)					
Central area	0.64***	0.64***	0.60***	0.64***	0.64***
Western area	0.74***	0.77***	0.58***	0.72***	0.75***
Living arrangement (Ref: Co-resident with adult child)					
Nearest adult child in the same county/city	-	-	-	-	-
No adult children in the same city	-	-	-	-	-
Educational status(ref: Illiterate)					
Below high school	1.04	0.99	2.56**	0.82	1.14

Adult children's Proximity	Full model	Rural	Urban	Males	Females
	N=14314	N=11378	N=2936	N=6816	N=7498
High school and above degree	1.04	1.15	2.35*	1.00	0.86
Current working status (Ref: currently doing agricultural work)					
Currently doing non-agricultural work	1.25*	1.29**	1.34	1.24	1.26
Currently retired from non-agricultural work	2.25***	2.35	2.13*	2.26***	2.44***
Currently not working	1.18	1.19*	1.07	1.06	1.25*
Main occupation (Ref: farmer)					
Government	0.76	0.84	0.55	0.78	0.67
Institution/NGO	0.99	0.92	0.98	0.92	1.07
Firm	0.93	1.03	0.74	1.02	0.82
Individual firm, farmer, individual household and other	1.12	1.11	0.83	1.10	1.13
Self-employed or family business	1.08	1.01	1.00	1.07	1.09
Never worked	1.34	1.33	1.11	3.06	1.13
Frequent social activities(Ref: 0)	1.07	1.14	0.97	1.02	1.12
Adult children's SES					
Have one child with college and above degree (Ref: 0)	0.88	0.92	0.68**	0.85	0.91
Have one married child (Ref: 0)	1.74***	1.71***	1.38	1.78***	1.67***
Have one child with high income (Ref: 0)	0.36***	0.36***	0.33***	0.33***	0.39***
Support to children and grandchildren					
Give child financial support (Ref: 0)	0.73***	0.76**	0.55***	0.69***	0.79
Give grandchild financial support (Ref: 0)	0.81*	0.79**	1.10	0.81	0.80
_constant	0.01***	0.01***	0.00***	0.02***	0.00***

Data source: China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS) 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$ level, ** $p \leq 0.01$ level, * $p \leq 0.05$

6.2 Material Support from Non-co-resident Children

Using the samples of those who have a non-co-resident child (sample size 10569), Table 26 presents the models for having material support from a non-co-resident child. It includes the models for the whole samples, for urban samples (sample size 1865), rural samples (sample size 8704) and for male samples (sample size 4947) and female samples (sample size 5622).

Full model

The full model suggests that an increase in the year of age and the number of adult sons or daughters significantly increase the odds of receiving material support from a non-co-

resident child. Similarly, being widowed, having ADL difficulties, and having no adult child within the same household, having a child with college or above degree or high income, and having given a grandchild financial support, compared with their reference groups, are also significantly positively associated with receiving material support. However, having urban Hukou status, having better education, currently doing or being retired from non-agricultural work, self-employed or doing family business or being never worked, compared with having rural Hukou, being illiterate, currently doing agricultural work and being a farmer, are significantly negatively associated with the chance of getting material support from their adult children.

Rural-urban differences in receiving material support from a non-co-resident child

An increase in age significantly increases the odds of receiving material support for the rural samples while it is not significant for the urban samples. Being in the 1940s or 1950s birth cohorts, and living in central or western China, compared with being in the 1960s cohort and living in eastern China, are significantly associated with higher odds of receiving material support among the urban samples, but these factors are not significant among the rural samples. Being widowed, not working, having no adult child living in the same household, having a child with high income, compared with their reference groups, are the factors that significantly increase the odds of receiving material support among the rural samples, however they are not significant among the urban samples.

Gender differences in non-co-resident children's material support

Having ADL difficulties compared with healthy significantly improves the odds of receiving material support from a non-co-resident child among males, but it is not a significant factor for females. Being widowed compared with being married significant increases the odds of obtaining material support for females but it is not significant for males. Self-reported fair health compared with reported bad health, significantly increase the odds of getting material support for females while self-reported good health compared with bad significantly decreases the odds of receiving material support for males. Currently doing non-agricultural work or currently retired from non-agricultural work compared with currently doing agricultural work significantly decrease the odds of receiving material support for females but these effects are not significant for males.

Table 26: Logistic regressions for having material support from non-co-resident children

Having material support from non-co-resident children	Full model	Rural	Urban	Males	Females
	N=10569	N=8704	N=1865	N=4947	N=5622
	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio
Age	1.02*	1.03**	0.98	1.03*	1.02
Gender (Ref: Male)					
Female	1.01	1.00	1.10	-	-
Hukou status (Ref: Rural)					
Urban	0.58***	-	-	0.49***	0.68***
Cohort (Ref: Cohort3)					
Cohort1	1.36	1.04	5.14**	1.52	1.20
Cohort2	1.31	1.25	2.71*	1.31	1.33
Marital status (Ref: Married)					
Separated /divorced/never-married	0.82	0.76	1.20	0.77	0.88
Widowed	1.51***	1.58***	1.16	1.21	1.67***
Self-reported health (Ref: bad)					
self-report fair health	1.07	1.12	0.81	0.91	1.19*
self-report good health	0.98	0.98	0.83	0.81*	1.11
Body functional difficulties (Ref: Healthy)					
ADL	1.44**	1.44*	1.50	1.87***	1.16
IADL	0.94	0.95	0.86	1.08	0.91
Adult child number					
No. of adult sons	1.30***	1.30***	1.35***	1.25***	1.34***
No. of adult daughters	1.35***	1.37***	1.24**	1.34***	1.35***
Have grandchild (Ref: three cohorts with no grandchild)					
Cohort1having grandchild	0.86	0.90	0.75	0.77	0.97
Cohort2having grandchild	0.89	0.82	0.89	0.90	0.86
Cohort3having grandchild	1.05	0.94	2.16	0.96	1.08
Area (Ref: eastern area)					
Central area	1.00	0.96	1.34*	1.00	1.00
Western area	0.95	0.90*	1.36*	0.98	0.92
Living arrangement (Ref: Co-resident with adult child)					
Nearest adult child in the same county/city	1.24***	1.27***	1.03	1.27***	1.23**
No adult children in the same city	1.98***	2.18***	1.01	2.01***	1.96***
Educational status(ref: Illiterate)					
Below high school	0.99	0.99	0.93	1.10	0.94

Having material support from non-co-resident children	Full model	Rural	Urban	Males	Females
	N=10569	N=8704	N=1865	N=4947	N=5622
High school and above degree	0.77**	0.71**	0.90	0.81	0.82
Current working status (Ref: currently doing agricultural work)					
Currently doing non-agricultural work	0.79**	0.82*	0.66	0.89	0.65**
Currently retired from non-agricultural work	0.70**	0.60	0.66	0.82	0.58**
Currently not working	1.08	1.09*	0.98	1.09	1.04
Main occupation (Ref: farmer)					
Government	1.05	1.11	0.81	1.11	0.92
Institution/NGO	1.03	1.05	0.81	0.95	1.17
Firm	0.88	1.02	0.68*	0.93	0.83
Individual firm, farmer, individual household and other	1.06	1.04	1.00	1.09	1.07
Self-employed or family business	0.76***	0.75**	0.70	0.78*	0.76*
Never worked	0.40***	0.40**	0.31***	0.25**	0.43***
Frequent social activities(Ref: 0)	1.12*	1.07	1.40***	1.14	1.10
Adult children's SES					
Have one child with college and above degree (Ref: 0)	1.30***	1.21**	1.64***	1.37**	1.24*
Have one married child (Ref: 0)	1.08	1.11	1.06	1.11	1.07
Have one child with high income (Ref: 0)	1.73***	1.94***	1.41	1.80***	1.72***
Support to children and grandchildren					
Give child financial support (Ref: 0)	0.87	0.94	0.65**	0.92	0.83*
Give grandchild financial support (Ref: 0)	2.25***	2.22***	2.36***	2.40***	2.14***
_constant	0.07***	0.05***	0.20	0.05***	0.08***

Data source: China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS) 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$ level, ** $p \leq 0.01$ level, * $p \leq 0.05$

6.3 Frequent Meeting with Non-co-resident Children

Full model

The full model in Table 27 suggests that an increase in age or number of adult sons or daughters significantly increases the odds of frequent meeting with at least a non-co-resident child, as are being female, having urban Hukou, reporting fair/good health or having IADL difficulties, compared with being male, having rural Hukou, reporting bad health and being healthy. Similarly, people who have higher educational attainments, who are doing/retire from non-agricultural work, work for a firm, who are self-employed or have family business or who are not working, as well as those who are more involved in social activities compared with their reference groups have higher odds of frequent meeting with their non-co-resident adult children. Having their nearest adult child living in the same city as them compared with co-residing, and having a married child compared with do not have one, also significantly positively associated with having frequent meeting with non-co-resident children. By contrast, being in the 1950s cohort, separated/divorced/never married, living in central or western China, or having no adult child living in the same city compared with their reference groups decrease the odds of frequent meeting with the non-co-resident children significantly. Similarly, working for individual firms, households or farmers, having a child with college or above degree or high income compared with their reference groups also significantly decrease the odds of frequent meeting.

Rural-urban differences in meeting frequently with non-co-resident children

An increase in age significantly increases the odds of frequent meeting with children for rural samples, but it is not significant for urban ones. Similarly, reporting fair/good health compared with had, having higher educational attainments compared with illiterate, working for the firms, family business or being never worked compared with being a farmer, having frequent social activities or having a married child compared with not, also increase the odds of meeting the children frequently for rural samples, but the effects are not significant for urban ones. By contrast, being separated/divorced/never married compared with married, and having a child with high income compared with not, is negatively associated with frequent meeting; however, these effects are only significant among the urban samples. Being female compared with being male, on the other hand, significantly increases the odds of frequent meeting; however, it is only significant among the urban samples as well.

Gender differences in meeting frequently with non-co-resident children

Being in the 1950s cohort and separated/divorced/never married compared with being in the 1960s cohort and being married will significantly decreased the odds of frequent meeting among males while having ADL difficulties and having a child with high income compared

with healthy and do not have a child with high income will lower the odds of frequent meeting among females significantly. Having higher educational attainments compared with illiterate, being self-employed or doing family business as appose to being a farmer, and having frequent social activities compared with not, on the other hand, are significantly positively associated with having frequent meeting with non-co-resident children among females but they are not significant for males. On the other hand, for males, currently doing/being retired from non-agricultural work compared with currently doing agricultural work, and having a married child compared with do not have one, significantly increases the odds of frequently meeting with their non-co-resident children while these factors are not significant for females.

Table 27: Logistic regressions for frequent meeting with non-co-resident children

Frequent meeting with non-co-resident children	Full model	Rural	Urban	Males	Females
	N=10569	N=8704	N=1865	N=4947	N=5622
	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio
Age	1.02*	1.03**	0.98	1.03	1.01
Gender (Ref: Male)					
Female	1.15**	1.11	1.43**	-	-
Hukou status (Ref: Rural)					
Urban	1.75***	-	-	1.61***	1.93***
Cohort (Ref: Cohort3)					
Cohort1	0.86	0.80	1.11	0.67	1.05
Cohort2	0.55***	0.57**	0.54	0.43***	0.66
Marital status (Ref: Married)					
Separated /divorced/never-married	0.56**	0.70	0.29**	0.34***	0.92
Widowed	1.02	1.02	1.05	0.85	1.09
Self-reported health (Ref: bad)					
self-report fair health	1.17*	1.16*	1.35	1.18	1.17
self-report good health	1.24***	1.23**	1.40	1.25*	1.22*
Body functional difficulties (Ref: Healthy)					
ADL	0.81	0.76	1.23	1.08	0.66*
IADL	1.24*	1.24	1.30	1.08	1.31*
Adult child number					
No. of adult sons	1.29***	1.29***	1.26**	1.30***	1.28***
No. of adult daughters	1.09***	1.07*	1.26**	1.09*	1.09*
Have grandchild (Ref: three cohorts with no grandchild)					
Cohort1having grandchild	0.83	0.81	1.00	0.74	0.93
Cohort2having grandchild	1.24	1.12	1.50	1.16	1.31
Cohort3having grandchild	0.90	0.87	1.02	0.91	0.92

Frequent meeting with non-co-resident children	Full model	Rural	Urban	Males	Females
Area (Ref: eastern area)					
Central area	0.57***	0.58***	0.52***	0.59***	0.55***
Western area	0.67***	0.66***	0.66**	0.65***	0.67***
Living arrangement (Ref: Co-resident with adult child)					
Nearest adult child in the same county/city	2.37***	2.20***	3.91***	2.37***	2.37***
No adult children in the same city	0.31***	0.34***	0.23***	0.30***	0.32***
Educational status(ref: Illiterate)					
Below high school	1.19***	1.19**	0.98	1.05	1.25***
High school and above degree	1.32**	1.44**	0.95	1.16	1.37*
Current working status (Ref: currently doing agricultural work)					
Currently doing non-agricultural work	1.51***	1.49***	1.44	1.61***	1.33
Currently retired from non-agricultural work	1.51***	1.27	1.51	1.57**	1.38
Currently not working	1.37***	1.39***	1.08	1.27*	1.40***
Main occupation (Ref: farmer)					
Government	0.95	0.73	1.36	0.93	1.06
Institution/NGO	1.02	1.50	0.88	0.88	1.27
Firm	1.30*	1.38*	1.22	1.27	1.29
Individual firm, farmer, individual household and other	0.83*	0.81*	1.05	0.81*	0.81
Self-employed or family business	1.35***	1.36***	1.28	1.22	1.50**
Never worked	1.51*	1.53*	1.31	2.45	1.37
Frequent social activities(Ref: 0)	1.10	1.13*	1.03	1.09	1.13*
Adult children's SES					
Have one child with college and above degree (Ref: 0)	0.66***	0.59	0.87	0.65***	0.68***
Have one married child (Ref: 0)	1.47**	1.57**	1.05	1.57*	1.42
Have one child with high income (Ref: 0)	0.72**	0.82	0.56**	0.76	0.69*
Support to children and grandchildren					
Give child financial support (Ref: 0)	1.02	0.97	1.17	1.03	1.02
Give grandchild financial support (Ref: 0)	0.97	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.96
_constant	0.11***	0.08***	1.84	0.11***	0.14***

Data source: China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS) 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$ level, ** $p \leq 0.01$ level, * $p \leq 0.05$

6.4 Frequent Contact with Non-co-resident Children

Full model

For those who cannot meet their non-co-resident adult children weekly (sample size 5,653, see Table 28), the questionnaire had asked if they could contact each child by phone, internet, post or emails, and the frequency of these contact. Table 28 suggests that among those who do not have frequent meeting with their non-co-resident children, being separated/divorced/never married/widowed compared with married, living in central or western China compared with eastern, and working for individual firms/household/farmers compared with being a farmer significantly decrease the odds of having frequent contact with the children. In addition, an increase in the year of age also decreases the odds as well. However, reporting good health compared with bad, having no adult children in the household compared with co-residence, having higher educational degrees compared with illiterate, currently being retired from non-agricultural work compared with doing agricultural work, and often being a participant in social activities compared not, are the factors that increase the odds of frequent contact with non-co-resident children. In the meantime, if the person has more daughters or a child with higher educational attainments, compared with has fewer daughters and or do not have a child with higher educational attainments, he or she is more likely to get frequent contact with his or her non-co-resident children. Having given financial support to adult children or grandchildren compared with not has a positive effect on getting frequent contact as well.

Rural-urban differences in having frequent contact with non-co-resident children

An increase in the year of age, being widowed compared with married, and working for individual firm/ farmer/ individual household compared with being a farmer, are the factors that significantly decrease the odds of frequent contact with non-co-resident children among the rural samples. By contrast, having no child living in the same city compared with co-residence, having higher educational attainments compared with illiterate, being retired from non-agricultural work compared with currently doing agricultural work, and having frequent social activities compared with not, are the positive factors that will significantly increase the odds of frequent contact with children among the rural samples, so do the factors of having a child with high income compared with not and having given financial support to a child or a grandchild compared with not. However, the above all factors are not significant

for the urban samples. For the urban samples, living in western China compared with eastern is a factor that significantly decreases the odds of frequent contact between their non-co-resident children and themselves, but this factor is not significant for the rural ones.

Gender differences in having frequent contact with non-co-resident children

An increase in age, and marriage breaking up or being widowed compared with married play a negative role in getting frequent contact with adult children among both males and females, but these negative factors are only significant among males. By contrast, reporting good health compared with bad, having high school and above degree compared with illiterate, and being retired from a non-agricultural work compared with doing agricultural work are positively associated with frequent contact with children for males, and these factors are only significant for females. Among females, living in western China compared with eastern, and working for individual firm/ farmer/ individual household compared with being a farmer are the negative factors, while doing non-agricultural work compared with doing agricultural work, and having given a child financial support compared with not, are the positive factors of getting frequent contact, with statistical significance. However, these factors are not significant for males.

Table 28: Logistic regressions for having frequent contact with non-co-resident children

Having frequent contact with non-co-resident children	Full model	Rural	Urban	Males	Females
	N=5653	N=4938	N=715	N=2717	N=2936
	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio
Age	0.97***	0.96**	0.98	0.96*	0.97
Gender (Ref: Male)					
Female	1.05	1.03	1.13	-	-
Hukou status (Ref: Rural)					
Urban	1.14	-	-	1.07	1.21
Cohort (Ref: Cohort3)					
Cohort1	0.82	0.85	0.45	0.75	0.88
Cohort2	1.12	1.13	0.75	1.29	0.93
Marital status (Ref: Married)					
Separated /divorced/never-married	0.29***	0.26***	0.24***	0.13***	0.97
Widowed	0.65***	0.65***	0.63	0.47***	0.76
Self-reported health (Ref: bad)					
self-report fair health	1.04	1.06	1.00	1.21	0.93
self-report good health	1.17*	1.16	1.42	1.35*	1.07

Having frequent contact with non-co-resident children	Full model	Rural	Urban	Males	Females
Body functional difficulties (Ref: Healthy)					
ADL	0.79	0.74	1.58	1.03	0.68
IADL	0.98	0.98	1.17	0.95	0.99
Adult child number					
No. of adult sons	1.03	1.02	0.97	1.02	1.02
No. of adult daughters	1.15***	1.10**	1.59***	1.15**	1.13*
Have grandchild (Ref: three cohorts with no grandchild)					
Cohort1having grandchild	1.22	1.34	0.94	1.37	1.11
Cohort2having grandchild	1.01	1.07	0.96	0.87	1.23
Cohort3having grandchild	1.25	1.26	1.92	1.30	1.23
Area (Ref: eastern area)					
Central area	0.69***	0.71**	0.49**	0.71***	0.67***
Western area	0.84*	0.88	0.48**	0.89	0.79*
Living arrangement (Ref: Co-resident with adult child)					
Nearest adult child in the same county/city	1.55***	1.53***	1.66**	1.57***	1.56***
No adult children in the same city	1.54***	1.52***	1.50	1.53***	1.59***
Educational status(ref: Illiterate)					
Below high school	1.37***	1.38***	1.27	1.44**	1.38***
High school and above degree	1.60***	1.56***	1.34	1.83***	1.33
Current working status (Ref: currently doing agricultural work)					
Currently doing non-agricultural work	1.20	1.09	1.42	1.09	1.39*
Currently retired from non-agricultural work	1.62*	3.88*	1.63	1.85*	1.58
Currently not working	1.10	1.11	1.04	1.08	1.12
Main occupation (Ref: farmer)					
Government	1.05	0.86	2.46	1.02	1.20
Institution/NGO	1.24	1.08	2.17	1.10	1.56
Firm	1.08	1.06	1.58	1.18	0.93
Individual firm, farmer, individual household and other	0.76**	0.75**	1.38	0.83	0.64**
Self-employed or family business	1.09	1.09	1.56	1.13	1.03
Never worked	0.97	0.92	1.38	1.53	0.90

Having frequent contact with non-co-resident children	Full model	Rural	Urban	Males	Females
Frequent social activities(Ref: 0)	1.29***	1.26**	1.44	1.25*	1.35**
Adult children's SES					
Have one child with college and above degree (Ref: 0)	1.31**	1.35**	1.40	1.33*	1.32*
Have one married child (Ref: 0)	1.14	1.23	0.79	1.13	1.15
Have one child with high income (Ref: 0)	1.28	1.59*	0.72	1.42	1.16
Support to children and grandchildren					
Give child financial support (Ref: 0)	1.35**	1.40**	1.10	1.30	1.38*
Give grandchild financial support (Ref: 0)	1.24**	1.23*	1.30	1.23	1.24
_constant	3.12	3.35	2.52	2.90	3.21

Data source: China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS) 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$ level, ** $p \leq 0.01$ level, * $p \leq 0.05$

6.5 Children Are Assumed to Be the Main Future Carer

Full model

Table 29 suggests that having urban Hukou compared with rural Hukou, being in the 1950s cohort compared with being in the 1960s cohort, separated/divorced/never married compared with married, having ADL difficulties compared with healthy, living in central and western China compared with eastern, significantly decrease the odds of regarding their adult children as the main carer in the future. So do the factors like increase in age, having no adult children living in the same city compared with co-residence, doing or having retired from non-agricultural work or not working compared with doing agricultural work, and having one child with college or above degree compared with not, holding all other factors constant. By comparison, factors such as reporting better health, having more sons and daughters, having one married child and having given a grandchild financial support compared with their reference group significantly decrease the odds of regarding the children as the main future carer.

Rural-urban differences in children are supposed to be the main future carer

An increase in age, having ADL difficulties compared with healthy, living in central China compared with eastern are the factors that will decrease the odds of regarding children as the main future carer among the rural samples, so do having no children living in the same city compared with co-residence, and having one child with college or above degree compared with not. But these factors are not significant among the urban samples. By contrast, being female compared with male, having frequent social activities and having given a grandchild financial support compared with not, significantly increase the odds of regarding children as the main future carer in the future among the rural samples, but they are not significant for the urban ones.

For the urban samples, being in the 1950s cohort compared with 1960s cohort, currently doing or have retired from non-agricultural work or not working compared with doing agricultural work significantly decrease the odds of regarding children as the main future carer, however they are not significant among the rural samples. Being a grandparent in the 1950s cohort compared with those not being grandparent, on the other hand, increases the odds of regarding children as the main future carer among the urban samples significantly, but it is not significant among the rural samples.

Gender differences in children are supposed to be the main future carer

An increase in age, being separated/divorced/never married compared with married, and having no children living in the same city compared with co-residence, significantly decreases the odds of regarding children as the main future carer among the male samples, but they are not significant for the females, holding all other factors constant.

In comparison, being in the 1940s or 1950s birth cohorts, having ADL difficulties, having high school and above education and having retired from non-agricultural work compared with their reference groups are the factors that significantly decrease the odds of regarding children as the main future carer among the female samples, holding all other factors constant. Being a grandparent in the 1950s cohort compared with not being a grandparent, on the other hand, significantly increases the odds of regarding children as the main future carer among the females, so does the factor of having given a grandchild financial support compared with not. However, these factors are not significant for the male samples.

Table 29: Logistic regressions for regarding children as the main future carer

children available as the future carer	Full model	Rural	Urban	Males	Females
	N=14314	N=11378	N=2936	N=6816	N=7498
	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio
Age	0.98**	0.97***	1.00	0.97***	0.99
Gender (Ref: Male)					
Female	1.06	1.10*	1.05	-	-
Hukou status (Ref: Rural)					
Urban	0.67***	-	-	0.67***	0.66***
Cohort (Ref: Cohort3)					
Cohort1	0.87	0.78	0.87	1.23	0.61*
Cohort2	0.68***	0.87	0.40***	0.82	0.54***
Marital status (Ref: Married)					
Separated /divorce/never-married	0.51***	0.57**	0.48*	0.40***	0.73
Widowed	1.03	1.00	1.13	0.98	1.05
Self-reported health (Ref: bad)					
self-report fair health	1.27***	1.22***	1.70***	1.19*	1.33***
self-report good health	1.46***	1.39***	2.04***	1.40***	1.50***
Body functional difficulties (Ref: Healthy)					
ADL	0.68***	0.65***	0.99	0.72	0.65**
IADL	0.89	0.93	0.56	0.80	0.94
Adult child number					
No. of adult sons	1.31***	1.31***	1.41***	1.31***	1.32***
No. of adult daughters	1.15***	1.14***	1.25***	1.15***	1.15***
Have grandchild (Ref: three cohorts with no grandchild)					
Cohort1having grandchild	1.09	1.23	0.87	0.98	1.22
Cohort2having grandchild	1.22*	0.97	1.96***	1.17	1.31*
Cohort3having grandchild	0.99	0.99	0.99	1.02	0.94
Area (Ref: eastern area)					
Central area	0.79***	0.77***	0.94	0.83***	0.74***
Western area	0.65***	0.64***	0.72**	0.67***	0.62***
Living arrangement (Ref: Co-resident with adult child)					
Nearest adult child in the same county/city	1.01	1.02	0.95	1.00	1.03
No adult children in the same city	0.86**	0.85**	0.93	0.82**	0.90
Educational status(ref: Illiterate)					
Below high school	0.98	0.96	1.02	0.92	1.03
High school and above degree	0.87	1.08	0.75	0.90	0.77*
Current working status (Ref: currently doing agricultural work)					
Currently doing non-agricultural work	0.80***	0.88	0.57***	0.84*	0.74**
Currently retired from non-agricultural work	0.72***	1.13	0.38***	0.76	0.71*
Currently not working	0.90*	0.94	0.54***	0.89	0.89

children available as the future carer	Full model	Rural	Urban	Males	Females
Main occupation (Ref: farmer)					
Government	1.16	0.94	1.37	1.19	1.07
Institution/NGO	1.08	1.49**	0.97	1.00	1.19
Firm	0.98	0.97	1.03	1.00	0.97
Individual firm, farmer, individual household and other	1.07	1.05	0.92	1.15	0.95
Self-employed or family business	1.07	1.07	0.88	1.09	1.06
Never worked	0.97	0.93	0.95	1.01	0.96
Frequent social activities(Ref: 0)	1.08	1.12*	0.99	1.12	1.05
Adult children's SES					
Have one child with college and above degree (Ref: 0)	0.87**	0.83**	0.92	0.84*	0.89
Have one married child (Ref: 0)	1.45***	1.27**	2.26***	1.34**	1.58***
Have one child with high income (Ref: 0)	1.09	1.24	0.79	0.99	1.20
Support to children and grandchildren					
Give child financial support (Ref: 0)	1.06	1.04	1.08	1.04	1.08
Give grandchild financial support (Ref: 0)	1.19***	1.20**	1.11	1.11	1.27**
_constant	2.32*	3.11**	0.28	4.49**	1.37

Data source: China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS) 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$ level, ** $p \leq 0.01$ level, * $p \leq 0.05$

6.6 The Difference of Influential Factors between Different Birth Cohorts

Adult children proximity

The factors in the full model impact differently for each birth cohort in terms of obtaining different types of family support resources. For the adult children's proximity (see Table 30), having urban Hukou compared with rural significantly improves the chance of having an adult child living in the same city among the 1950s cohort, but it is not significant among the 1940s and the 1960s cohort. Among the three cohorts, living in central or western China compared with eastern decreases the odds of having an adult child nearby, but it is only significant amongst the 1940s and 1950s cohorts and the odds ratios among the 1940s cohort are much lower. One increase in the number of adult sons and adult daughters increase 58 and 43 times the odds of having an adult child living nearby for the 1960s cohort, while they

do not increase that much for the two older cohorts. Having a married child compared with not, on the other hand, is a significantly positive factor for the first two cohorts regarding having an adult child nearby, but it is not significant for the 1960s cohort.

Table 30: Comparison of odds ratios regarding adult child proximity amongst three birth cohorts

	Whole model _Adult child proximity		Cohort 1		Cohort 2		Cohort 3	
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.
Hukou status (Ref: Rural)								
Urban	1.43***	0.12	1.50	0.37	1.74***	0.23	1.32	0.25
Area (Ref: eastern area)								
Central area	0.64***	0.04	0.47***	0.08	0.55***	0.05	0.80	0.11
Western area	0.74***	0.05	0.43***	0.07	0.74***	0.07	0.81	0.11
Adult child number								
No. of adult sons	4.11***	0.18	1.68***	0.12	2.72***	0.16	58.17***	8.70
No. of adult daughters	4.03***	0.19	2.05***	0.15	2.83***	0.18	43.40***	6.80
Have one married child (Ref: 0)	1.74***	0.16	2.73***	0.74	1.54***	0.22	1.17	0.20

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$ level, ** $p \leq 0.01$ level, * $p \leq 0.05$

Holding all the categorical covariates at their reference categories and all the continuous covariates at their mean values, the predicted probability of having an adult child living in the same city for the 1950s cohort is 0.76, higher than that of the 1940s and 1960s cohort (see Table 31 and Figure 27). However, when taking the gender and rural-urban residential status into consideration, this trend only exists amongst urban males and urban females. Amongst rural males and rural females, the 1940s cohort has a higher predicted probability of having an adult child living nearby, compared with the other two cohorts (see Figure 28).

Table 31: Adjusted predicted probabilities of having an adult child living in the same city
amongst three birth cohorts

Cohort	Margin	Delta-method Std. Err.	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
1	0.73	0.05	0.00	0.64	0.82
2	0.76	0.03	0.00	0.71	0.81
3	0.67	0.04	0.00	0.60	0.74

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

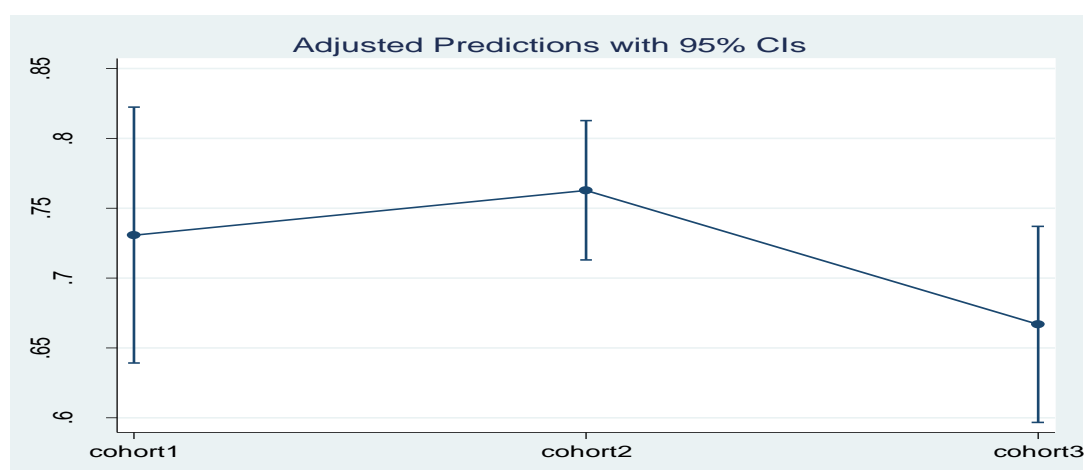


Figure 27: Adjusted predicted probabilities of having an adult child living in the same city
amongst three birth cohorts

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

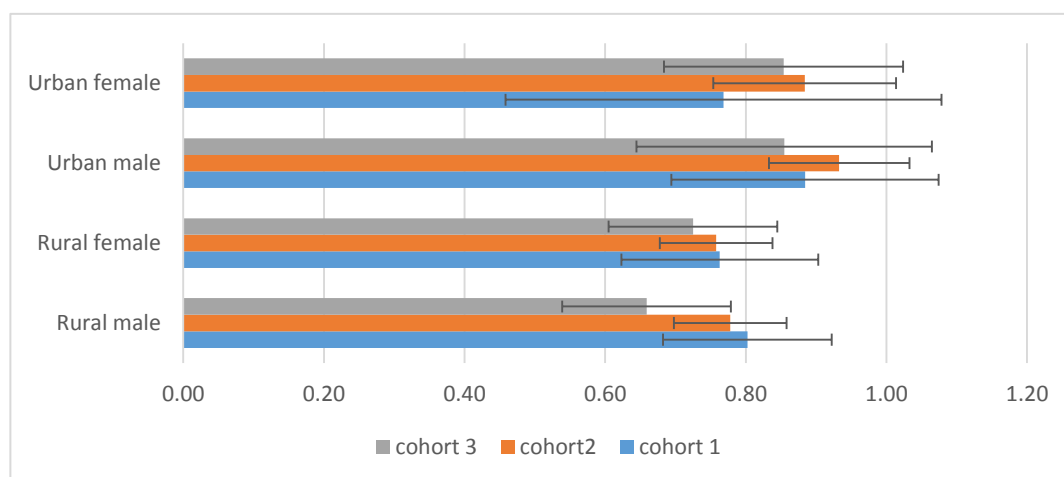


Figure 28: Adjusted predicted probabilities of having an adult child living in the same city
amongst three birth cohorts in different social groups

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Material support

Having urban Hukou compared with rural decreases the odds of getting material support from the non-co-resident children for all the three cohorts, and the odds ratio is the lowest (0.37) among the 1960s cohort than the other two cohorts. Living in central and western China compared with eastern significantly increases the odds of getting material support from a non-co-resident child among the 1960s cohort, but this factor is not significant for the other two cohorts. The number of sons and daughters are significantly positively associated with receiving material support, but the odds ratio is the highest among the 1960s cohort. Having an adult child with a higher educational degree compared with not also plays a positive role in obtaining material support, however this factor is not significant for the 1960s cohort (see Table 32).

Table 32: Comparison of odds ratios of material support from non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts

	Whole model _Financial support		Cohort 1		Cohort 2		Cohort 3	
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.
Hukou status (Ref: Rural)								
Urban	0.58***	0.05	0.62***	0.08	0.61***	0.07	0.37***	0.09
Area (Ref: eastern area)								
Central area	1.00	0.05	0.90	0.08	0.93	0.07	1.49**	0.19
Western area	0.95	0.05	0.89	0.08	0.86	0.07	1.32*	0.18
Adult child number								
No. of adult sons	1.30***	0.04	1.23***	0.05	1.38***	0.06	1.50***	0.14
No. of adult daughters	1.35***	0.03	1.24***	0.04	1.46***	0.06	1.83***	0.17
Have one child with college and above degree (Ref: 0)	1.30***	0.09	1.51***	0.19	1.22*	0.12	1.09	0.19

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$ level, ** $p \leq 0.01$ level, * $p \leq 0.05$

Holding all the categorical covariates at their reference categories and all the continuous covariates at their mean values, the 1940s cohort seems more likely to get material support

from their non-co-resident children, with a predicted probability of 0.37 (see Table 33 and Figure 29). However, among the rural samples, it seems that the 1950s cohort is more likely to get material support from non-co-resident children, and this trend is for both rural men and women. Among the urban samples, the 1940s cohort has the highest predicted probabilities of obtaining material support (see Figure 30).

Table 33: Adjusted predicted probabilities of material support from non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts

Cohort	Margin	Delta-method Std. Err.	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
1	0.37	0.05	0.00	0.28	0.46
2	0.36	0.04	0.00	0.29	0.43
3	0.30	0.03	0.00	0.23	0.37

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

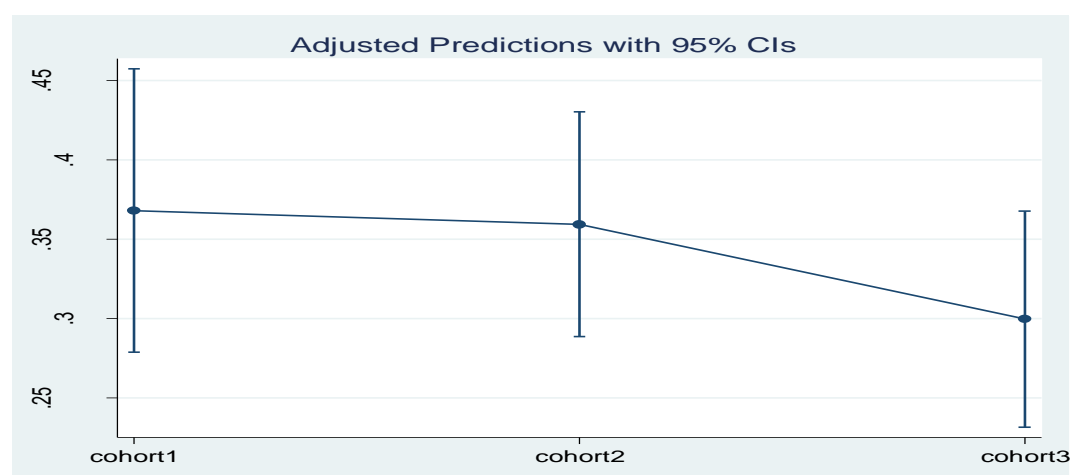


Figure 29: Adjusted predicted probabilities of material support from non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

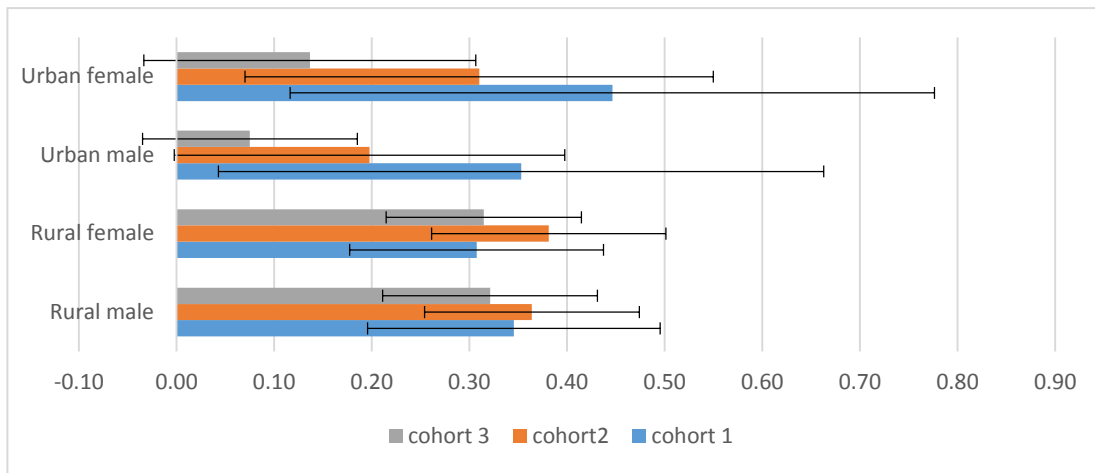


Figure 30: Adjusted predicted probabilities of material support from non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts in different social groups

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Frequent meeting

An increase in the number of adult sons significantly improves the odds of having frequent meetings with non-co-resident adult children amongst the 1940s and 1950s cohorts, but it significantly decrease the odds among the 1960s cohort. Having a child with a college and above degree compared with not decreases the odds of frequent meeting with adult children among the 1950s and 1960s cohort, but it is not significant for the 1940s cohort. Having one married child increases 2.09 times the odds of frequent meeting with children among the 1960s cohort, but this factor is not significant among the 1940s and 1950s cohorts (see Table 34).

Table 34: Comparison of odds ratios of frequent meeting with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts

	Whole model _Frequent meeting		Cohort 1		Cohort 2		Cohort 3	
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.
Adult child number								
No. of adult sons	1.29***	0.04	1.49***	0.07	1.30***	0.06	0.82*	0.08
No. of adult daughters	1.09***	0.03	1.18***	0.04	1.07	0.05	0.80*	0.08
Have one child with college and above degree (Ref: 0)	0.66***	0.05	0.95	0.13	0.65***	0.07	0.47***	0.09

Have one married child (Ref: 0)	1.47**	0.20	1.04	0.37	1.14	0.26	2.09***	0.40
--	--------	------	------	------	------	------	---------	------

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$ level, ** $p \leq 0.01$ level, * $p \leq 0.05$

The 1960s cohort has better chance of meeting with their non-co-resident children weekly, with the predicted probabilities of 0.34, compared with the 1940s and 1950s cohorts (predicted probabilities of 0.30 and 0.22 respectively), holding all the categorical covariates at their reference categories and all the continuous covariates at their mean values (see Table 35 and Figure 31). Under this trend, the urban females seem to have the highest chances of meeting their non-co-resident children weekly, especially those urban females amongst the 1960s cohort, as the predicted probability for this group is almost 0.70 (see Figure 32).

Table 35: Adjusted predicted probabilities of frequent meeting with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts

Cohort	Margin	Delta-method Std. Err.	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
1	0.30	0.05	0.00	0.22	0.39
2	0.22	0.03	0.00	0.16	0.28
3	0.34	0.04	0.00	0.26	0.42

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

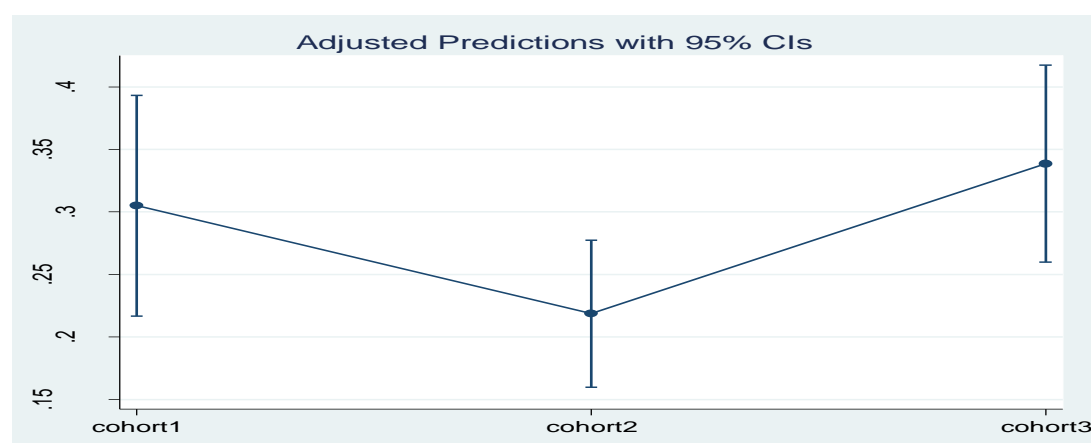


Figure 31: Adjusted predicted probabilities of frequent meeting with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

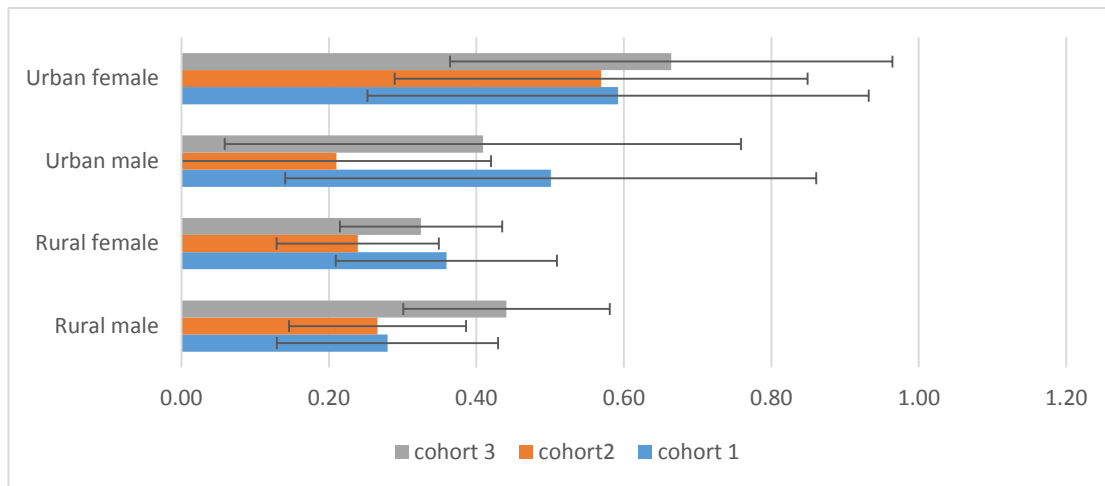


Figure 32: Adjusted predicted probabilities of frequent meeting with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts in different social groups

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Frequent contact

An increase in the number of adult daughters significantly improves the odds of having frequent contact with the non-c-resident children among the 1940s cohort, but it has no significant effect for the other two cohorts. Either having the nearest adult child living in the same city or no adult child living in the same city compared with co-residence significantly increase the odds of having frequent contact with children amongst the 1940s and 1950s cohorts, but they are not significant for the 1960s cohort. Having a child with a college and above degree compared with not is a significantly positive factor amongst the 1940s and 1950s cohort, while having frequent social activities compared with not is a significantly positive factor amongst the 1950s and 1960s cohorts, in terms of having frequent contact with non-co-resident children (see Table 36).

Table 36: Comparison of odds ratios of frequent contact with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts

	Whole model _Frequent contact		Cohort 1		Cohort 2		Cohort 3	
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.
Adult child number								
No. of adult sons	1.03	0.04	1.13	0.07	0.92	0.05	0.92	0.11
No. of adult daughters	1.15***	0.04	1.20***	0.07	1.08	0.06	1.16	0.14

Living arrangement (Ref: Co-resident with adult child)								
Nearest adult child in the same county/city	1.55***	0.11	1.69***	0.21	1.56***	0.15	1.06	0.21
No of adult children in the same city	1.54***	0.12	1.99***	0.32	1.49***	0.16	1.03	0.20
Have one child with college and above degree (Ref: 0)	1.31**	0.12	2.03***	0.41	1.41**	0.17	0.79	0.15
Frequent social activities(Ref: 0)	1.29***	0.09	0.95	0.14	1.26*	0.13	1.83***	0.28

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$ level, ** $p \leq 0.01$ level, * $p \leq 0.05$

Although the 1950s cohort has the lowest predicted probability of meeting non-co-resident children frequently, among those who cannot meet the non-co-resident children weekly, the 1950s cohort has the highest predicted probability of contacting with the children weekly, holding all the categorical covariates at their reference categories and all the continuous covariates at their mean values (see

Table 37 and Figure 33). In addition, the 1950s cohort among urban males has a highest predicted probability (nearly 0.80) of contacting with non-co-resident children (see Figure 34).

Table 37: Adjusted predicted probabilities of frequent contact with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts

Cohort	Margin	Delta-method Std. Err.	P> z 	[95% Conf. Interval]	
1	0.31	0.06	0.00	0.19	0.42
2	0.38	0.04	0.00	0.29	0.46
3	0.35	0.04	0.00	0.27	0.44

Data source: China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS) 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

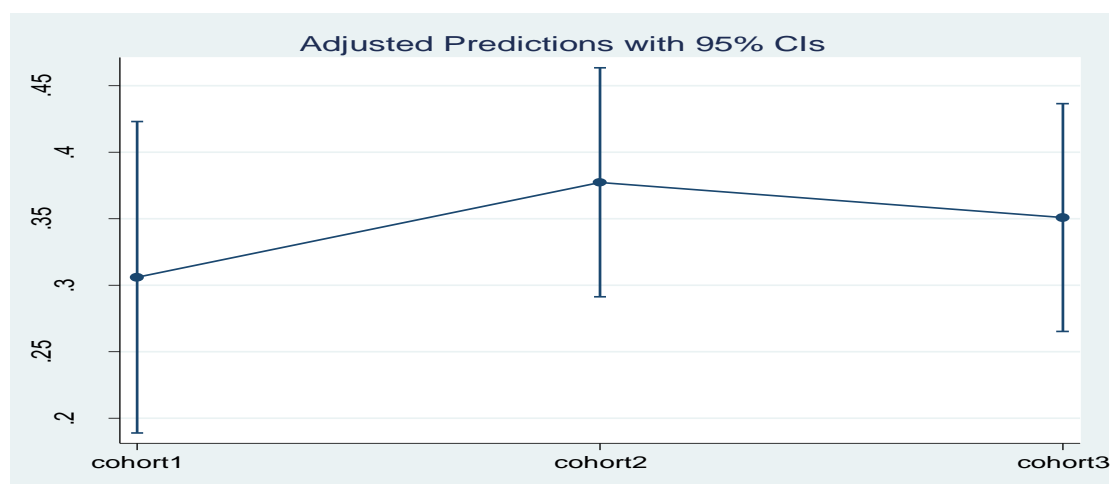


Figure 33: Adjusted predicted probabilities of frequent contact with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

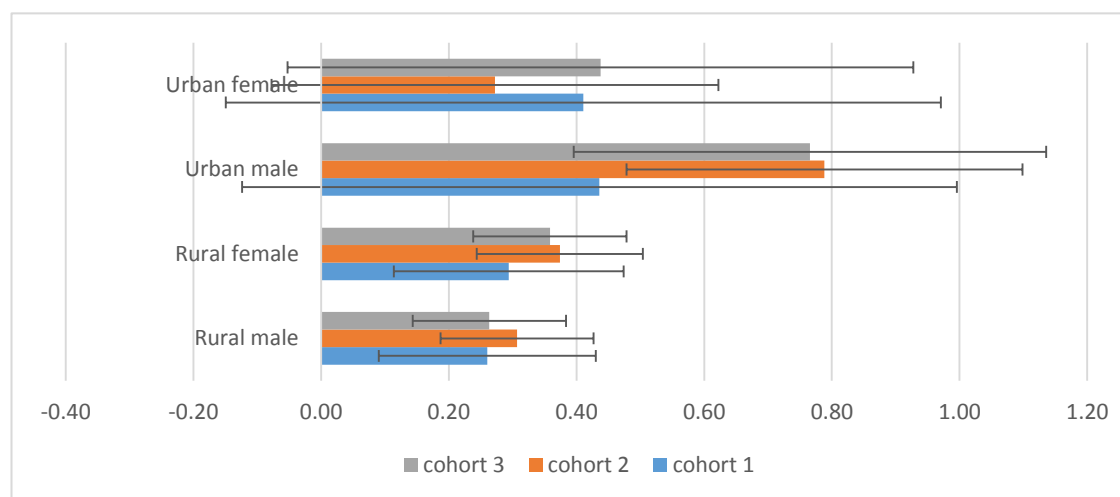


Figure 34: Adjusted predicted probabilities of frequent contact with non-co-resident children amongst three birth cohorts in different social groups

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Children are assumed to be the main future carer

Having one married child compared with not, significantly increases the odds of assuming an adult child as the main future carer, especially among the 1940s cohort. Having urban Hukou status compared with rural, on the contrary, significantly decreases the odds of regarding a child as the main future carer amongst the 1950s and 1960s cohorts (see Table 38).

Table 38: Comparison of odds ratios of assuming the children as the main future carer amongst three birth cohorts

	Whole model _children available as the future carer		Cohort 1		Cohort 2		Cohort 3	
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.
Hukou status (Ref: Rural)								
Urban	0.67***	0.04	0.90	0.11	0.70***	0.07	0.52***	0.06
Have one married child (Ref: 0)	1.45***	0.11	1.79*	0.41	1.38*	0.18	1.43***	0.16

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$ level, ** $p \leq 0.01$ level, * $p \leq 0.05$

Regarding the predicted probabilities of assuming a child available as the main future carer, the 1960s cohort has a predicted probability of 0.48, higher than 0.45 of the 1940s cohort and 0.39 of the 1950s cohort, holding all the categorical covariates at their reference categories and all the continuous covariates at their mean values (see Table 39 and Figure 35).

The predicted probabilities of regarding a child as the main future carer among different social groups are different. The 1950s cohort has the lowest probabilities amongst the urban males and urban females groups, with a lower score among urban females than the urban males group. However among rural males, the 1940s cohort has the highest predicted probability while among the rural females, the 1960s cohort has the highest predicted probability of assuming a child available as the main future carer (see Figure 36).

Table 39: Adjusted predicted probabilities of assuming the children as the main future carer amongst three birth cohorts

Cohort	Margin	Delta-method Std. Err.	$P > z $	[95% Conf. Interval]	
1	0.45	0.04	0.00	0.37	0.53
2	0.39	0.03	0.00	0.34	0.44
3	0.48	0.03	0.00	0.43	0.54

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

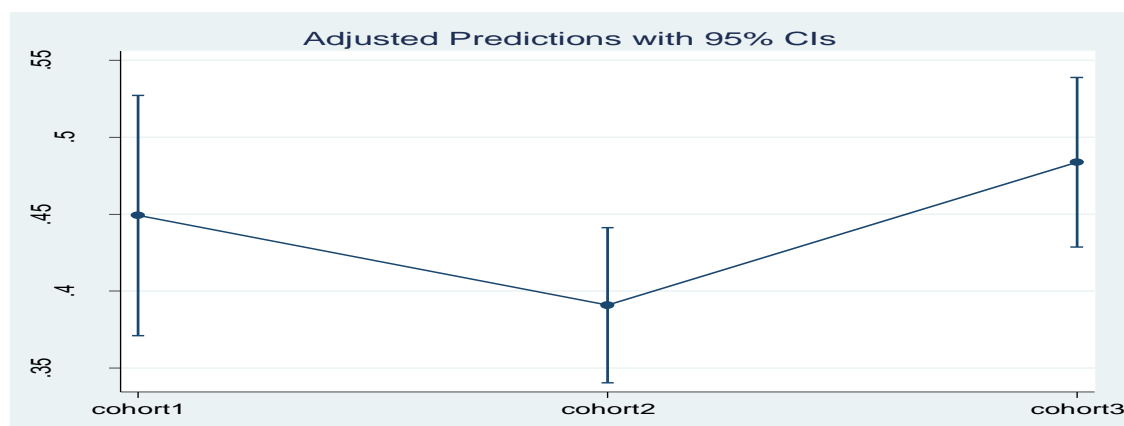


Figure 35: Adjusted predicted probabilities of assuming the children as the main future carer amongst three birth cohorts

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

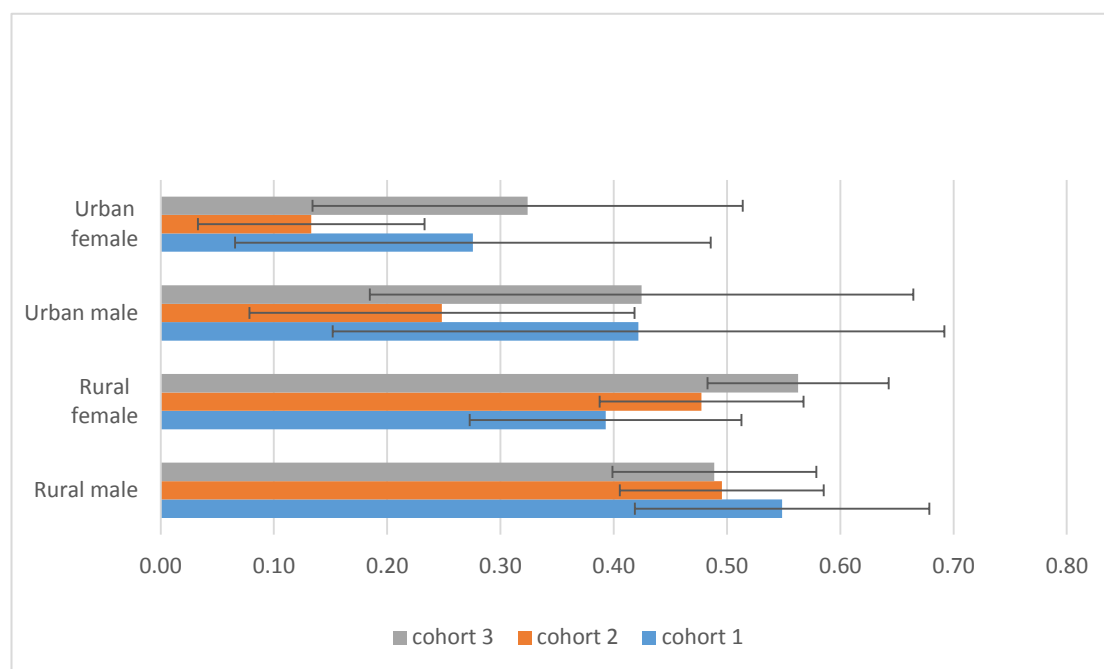


Figure 36: Adjusted predicted probabilities for three cohorts in different groups regarding having a child available as future carer

Data source: CHARLS 2011 baseline data. Author's calculation.

6.7 Towards a typology of intergenerational support among Chinese older people

In order to summarise the trends and patterns of the five types of potential intergenerational support resources discussed in this chapter, we compare the odds ratios of each independent variable of the five models and categorise those are in the same directions together. If the odds ratio is larger than 1, it means that it has a positive effect on the outcome variable while it has a negative effect on the outcome variable when the odds ratio is smaller than 1³¹. By analysing the five whole models presents in above sections (see Table 25-

Table 29), we found that four factors have a universally positive effect on all the five types of potential intergenerational family support resources, while two factors have a universally negative effect on the five outcome variables (see Table 40).

Table 40: Factors that are positive or negative for all of the five types of family support

Factors	Proximity	Material support	Frequent meeting	Frequent contact	Children are assumed as the main future carer
Female (ref: Male)	+	+	+	+	+
Number of adult son/daughter	+	+	+	+	+
Nearest adult child living in the same city (ref: co-residence)	NA	+	+	+	+
Frequent social activities(ref: no)	+	+	+	+	+
Have one married child (ref: no)	+	+	+	+	+
Separated/divorced/never married(ref: married)	-	-	-	-	-
Central/western area (ref: eastern area)	-	/-	-	-	-

Source: CHARLS 2011 Baseline data. The author's calculation.

Note: ' + ' means the odds ratio > 1; ' / ' means the odds ratio = 1; ' - ' means the odds ratio < 1, ' NA ' means not apply.

³¹ Here we neglect the statistically significance, in order to include more factors in our patterns. Although not statistically significant, these patterns still have some meaningful implications.

Being female compared with male, having more adult children, having the nearest adult child living in the same city compared with co-residing, having frequent social activities compared with not, and having a married child compared with not, are the factors that play positive roles in obtaining all five types of family support resources among the older people in the whole sample, holding other variables constant. However, being separated or divorced or never married compared with married, and living in central or western China compared with eastern are approximately negatively associated with obtaining all five types of family support from adult children (see Table 40) among the whole samples of this research, holding other factors constant.

Besides the six factors that have consistent effects on all five types of family support resources, there emerges four convergence patterns regarding the circumstances of receiving family support amongst the older people in this study.

6.7.1 Parents' 'attractive' effect

Table 41 suggests that, in the sample, having urban Hukou, better education, reporting better health, being employed in or retired from non-agricultural work, self-employed or doing family business compared with their reference groups are all positively associated with having their adult children living close by, and having frequent meeting and contact with the children. However, those kind of people are also less likely to receive material support.

In this pattern, all predictors suggest higher socioeconomic and personal resources compared with the reference group. Better education may make people more open-minded, which in turn may narrow the generational gap between them and their children's generation. Better job position implies higher income, which in turn may lower their expectations with regard to material support from their children. This pattern is in consistent with the Self-interest motive of intergenerational support proposed by Lee and Xiao (1998), which suggests that there exists a self-interested motive for adult children to provide support to their wealthier parents in order to get a better reward in the future (see 2.3.4). This pattern may also offer support to the concepts of 'Affectual Solidarity' and 'Consensual Solidarity' discussed by Bengtson and Schrader (1982) (see 2.3.2).

Table 41: Factors that are positive for adult child proximity, frequent meeting and contact but negative for material support

Factors	Proximity	Material support	Frequent meeting	Frequent contact	Children are assumed as the main future carer
Urban Hukou (ref: rural)	+	-	+	+	-
Self-reported good health (ref: bad)	+	-	+	+	+
Currently doing non-agricultural work Or currently retired from non-agricultural work (ref: currently doing agricultural work)	+	-	+	+	-
Having education (ref: illiterate)	+	-	+	+	-
Self-employed or family business	+	-	+	+	+

Source: CHARLS 2011 Baseline data. The author's calculation.

Note: ' + ' means the odds ratio > 1; ' / ' means the odds ratio = 1; ' - ' means the odds ratio < 1.

6.7.2 Parents' needs effect

An increase in age, being in the 1940s cohort, widowed and having ADL difficulties all suggest a higher need of material support and daily care. Therefore, participants who are older, widowed or have ADL difficulties compared with their reference groups are more likely to have an adult child living nearby and providing financial support. As this kind of intergenerational support is more based on parents' needs and Chinese traditional filial piety, rather than the mutual intergenerational sentiments, these predictors tend to be negatively associated with getting frequent contact from their adult children (see Table 42). This pattern is in consistent with the needs-based model proposed by Lee and Xiao (1998) and also confirms the 'Normative Solidarity' motivated by filial piety (Bengtson and Schrader, 1982).

Table 42: Factors that are positive for adult child proximity, material support, but negative for frequent contact

Factors	Proximity	Material support	Frequent meeting	Frequent contact	Children are assumed as the main future carer
Age (in years)	+	+	+	-	-
Cohort 1 (ref:Cohort3)	+	+	-	-	-
Widowed (ref: married)	+	+	+	-	+
ADL difficulties (ref: healthy)	+	+	-	-	-

Source: CHARLS 2011 Baseline data. The author's calculation.

Note: ' + ' means the odds ratio >1; ' / ' means the odds ratio=1; ' - ' means the odds ratio <1.

6.7.3 Child's high SES effect

Higher educational attainment and higher income both suggest better Socioeconomic Status (SES) of the adult children. This means they may be in a higher social class, more knowledgeable, or have a good job, but at the same time, they tend to be busier and have less time to pay frequent visit to their parents. Table 43 suggests that having an adult child with higher education or income compared with not having one increases the odds of getting material support and frequent contact from the children. However, having adult children with high SES also decreases the chance of close proximity and frequent meeting with them, as these kinds of children maybe more devoted to their career and have less time to pay their parents frequent visits (see Table 43). This pattern may partially confirms the modernisation and ageing theory discussed in 2.3.1, which suggests that in modern society, as the development of industrialisation, urbanisation, formal education and secularisation, the multigenerational co-residence has largely declined as young people are more likely to migrate further away from their hometown and are more focus on their own nuclear families.

Table 43: Adult child's social economic predictors and family support

Factors	Proximity	Material support	Frequent meeting	Frequent contact	Children are assumed as the main future carer
Have one child with college and above degree (Ref: No)	-	+	-	+	-
Have one child with high income (Ref: No)	-	+	-	+	+

Source: CHARLS 2011 Baseline data. The author's calculation.

Note: ' + ' means the odds ratio > 1; ' / ' means the odds ratio = 1; ' - ' means the odds ratio < 1.

6.7.4 Investment effect

Giving adult children and grandchildren financial support compared with not giving increases the chance of older parents having frequent contact with their adult child and also assuming an adult child will be available as the main future carer. However, it decreases the odds of the adult child's close proximity to their parent. The parents' financial investment in their children and grandchildren brings emotional closeness with their children, and builds up the reciprocity between the two generations. In this sense, the parents tend to expect the emotional or future instrumental reward when they give, while the children are likely to feel more gratitude and obligated so that they are more willing to provide emotional support and care in the future (see Table 44). The investment effect may suggest an intergenerational exchange model as proposed by Zimmer and Kwong (2003).

Table 44: Investment to adult children /grandchildren and family support

Factors	Proximity	Material support	Frequent meeting	Frequent contact	Children are assumed as the main future carer
Give child financial support (Ref: No)	-	-	+	+	+
Give grandchild financial support (Ref: No)	-	+	-	+	+

Source: CHARLS 2011 Baseline data. The author's calculation.

Note: ' + ' means the odds ratio > 1; ' / ' means the odds ratio = 1; ' - ' means the odds ratio < 1.

In conclusion, the above four patterns suggest that parents with high SES status tend to have their adult children living nearby, and get frequent meeting and contact with them but receive less material support. On the other hand, parents with higher needs tend to have their adult children living nearby and get more material support from them, but they may get less intergenerational contact. Parents who have adult children with high SES are more likely to get better material support and frequent contact, but less likely to have them living nearby and have frequent meeting with them. Parents who give financial support to children and grandchildren, however, tend to get frequent contact and regard a child available as the main future carer.

In summary, this chapter investigated the factors that influence five types of intergenerational support among the whole sample of older people in this study. It then compared the urban-rural and gender differences. Factors are compared between the whole sample and between people born in each birth cohorts. Predicted probabilities are modelled to provide a comparison of potential intergenerational support resources between different birth cohorts. By converging the results from five logistic models, universally positive and negative factors for all five types of intergenerational family support were summarised. Finally, a new four-way typology of intergeneration support amongst Chinese elders is proposed.

Chapter 7 The Children of the New PRC:

Intergenerational Support amongst the 1940s Cohort

Chapter 7 is the first qualitative results chapter, which mainly focuses on the circumstances of intergenerational support among the 1940s cohort. This chapter is organised by three main themes which emerged from the qualitative data analysis: i) social and historical events, early life experiences, and potential later life care resources and care needs; ii) current patterns of intergenerational family support; and iii) preparations and expectations for later life: an investigation from the parents' perspective (see 4.3.4). Under each main theme, subthemes are included and results have been grouped within three categories: people living in rural villages, small towns, and big cities. In order to compare inter- and intra-cohort differentials, this organising structure is also applied to the other two qualitative result chapters.

The 1940s cohort represents people born between the years 1940 and 1949. In this study, we conceptualise them as the 'children of the new PRC' because they grew up alongside the progress and setbacks of the new People's Republic of China after the Communist Revolution in 1949. Their lives were marked with particular historical events at early stages of their lives, and were affected distinctively by later market reforms which happened after 1979, when most of them had entered midlife. They entered older age around the turn of the millennium, when China saw more rapid economic growth but uneven regional development and growing urban–rural inequalities (see Table 3).

Therefore, through in-depth interviews with 18 older people living in villages, a small town, and an affluent city, this chapter shows the varied influences of social and historical events on the lives of people from the 1940s cohort living in different places, their different patterns of intergenerational transfer at their current life stage, and their distinct expectations for long-term care in the future.

7.1 Social and Historical Events, Early Life Experiences, and Potential Later Life Care Resources and Care Needs

This section mainly discusses the 1940s cohort's early life experiences within three groups (the members of the 1940s cohort living in villages, a small town, and a big city); and over

three subthemes (the impact of social and historical events before the Market Reform (1979); the impact of Family Planning Policy; and the impact of internal migration, urbanisation, and modernisation). The results reflect significant regional differences between personal experiences, because these social events had uneven influences on people who lived in Chinese cities, small towns, and rural villages.

7.1.1 The 1940s Cohort Living in Rural Villages

Social and historical events before the Market Reform (1979)

Section 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 reviewed a series of social-historical events happened during China's national building period and the period of the Cultural Revolution. Among these, the collective commune system, the rationing system and the Great Famine had more influence on rural residents while the anti-rightist campaign, the Cultural Revolution and the 'sent-down' policy had heavier impacts on urban citizens.

3.2.1 introduced the collective economic system during the 1950s, how it worked through the organisation of the People's Commune in rural China, and what the lives of rural residents were like. It then analysed the causes of the 'Great Famine', which happened during 1958–1961, and its destructive impacts on the rural population and their lives. During the Great Famine, the 1940s cohort was generally in their adolescence or young adulthood. The interviews with the 1940s cohort living in rural villages confirmed this bitter memory and found the long-lasting impacts on their later lifestyles and demands in older age.

Life was so difficult at that that time. We never had the chance to eat wheat flour, and even seldom ate corn flour or sweet potato flour³²... always nothing to eat... When my first son was young, we had to starve until his father came back from work (and brought something from the People's Commune)... Nowadays, we have white buns in our daily meals, and we feel satisfied... (CFY, female, 1949, living with spouse)

³² During the 1959-1961 'Great Famine' in China, urban citizens had been assigned a certain amount of grain to meet their basic living needs. However in Chinese rural areas, many peasants suffered starvation, especially when their local officer beat a path to lie about the wheat yield and saved them less grain to eat (for more information, please refer to Wikipedia). In China, steamed white buns made of wheat flour are the common staple food in many northern and central provinces. However, during the period of the Great Famine, wheat flour became a very precious ingredient in rural people's daily diet, and many rural families had little chance of eating it. Corn flour and flour made from dry sweet potatoes were the general replacements of wheat flour at that time. They were regarded as 'bad food' compared with wheat flour, and wheat flour was called 'good flour' (好面) among many of the rural 1940s cohort.

Many members of the rural 1940s cohort experienced starvation and suffered great poverty in their early lives, and they habitually kept a frugal lifestyle in their subsequent lives. They were more easily satisfied with their current lives and had very low expectations for their future older age, even though their living standards were just around the survival level.

We do not need much money to keep alive, as long as we are healthy and do not need medication... you see, our daily necessities, grains, vegetables and eggs are all from our own farmland. I seldom spend money; except for every two weekends, when my grandchildren are back from school, I will buy some meat³³ to reward them... (CFY, female, 1949, living with spouse)

To many people from the rural 1940s cohort, a big expense in their daily lives was the out-of-pocket payment for medication.³⁴ The hardships in their early lives made them bear lower living standards, and more pains and even illness. Sometimes, in order to save money, some tended to overlook their illness and did not treat it properly:

'I can still take care of myself... no big disease, but just some constant ailments. It is not a big deal because I know that it happens to many older people. For me, I always feel painful on my arms, legs and lower back, you see, after sitting for a while, I cannot even walk because of the serious back pain.'

'So did you see a doctor?' the researcher asked.

'How dare I see the doctor? My children are so poor... they have tens of thousands of debts in order to help their sons get married.'³⁵ I even dared not take expensive medicine when I was seriously ill. Every time, I only spend around ten to twenty

³³ The concept of food is different in traditional Chinese culture from western culture. Rural Chinese people generally regard meat as the 'good food' compared with vegetables. Meat is always more expensive than vegetables in China, especially in rural areas, where many households plant vegetables on their own farmland or in their own yards. However, many of them have to purchase meat from the market.

³⁴ Although most rural residents (98%) joined the New Rural Cooperative Medical Insurance (NRCMI) by the year 2012 (Meng and Xu, 2014), a lot of rural participants in this study reported that the NCMS had a lot of restrictions in practice, and if one is not hospitalized, it is difficult to get the out-of-pocket payments reimbursed from the scheme. For those who had chronic diseases and did not need hospitalisation but did require frequent medication, the money spent on pharmacy was a large burden.

³⁵ Because of a skewed sex ratio among the young people in the villages, the sky-high betrothal gift money from the groom's family to the bride's family is a universal phenomenon in the villages where interviews were conducted.

yuan [equal to around 2-3 pounds] on medicine, because if not, I cannot get to sleep because of a serious cough. ' (LLY, female, 1946, living alone)

Besides selling some of the grains from the farmland and the 78 yuan per month of New Rural Social Pension Scheme (NRPS),³⁶ the rural 1940s cohort in this study seldom had any other personal income. Farmland income was their main income source; therefore, many older people still kept doing agricultural work themselves, even though they were more than 70 years old and no longer strong enough.

I have 0.8 mu farmland, and I am still keep farming it now. Farm work such as reaping and cultivating is not such a big deal. My sons will help me to reap using their machines at the harvest time, and in other time, I just do very light work. (TGZ, female, 1940, living alone)

The interviews suggested that people from the 1940s cohort living in rural villages were generally tough and frugal, living with lower living standards but quite bearable ones. Their past bitter life experiences made them more tolerant to poverty and illness, lowered their demands for later life, and made them more easily satisfied. Their specific expectations for later life long-term care will be discussed in detail in 7.3.1.

The Family Planning Policy

The rural 1940s participants generally got married at around 20 years old. Many of them had already given birth to several children before the year 1979, when Family Planning Policy tightened in both urban and rural China (see 3.2.3). As a result, the rural 1940s participants on average had three to four children and the Family Planning Policy had a very tiny impact on their preference for multiple children.

My eldest son was born in 1968 and the youngest son was born in 1978. At that time, the government only advocated fewer births but there were no strict policies and penalties... It seemed that the 'One Child Policy' started to be tightened around the year 1979 and 1980. After giving birth to our third child, I had the sterilization. (LYL, male, 1948, living alone)

³⁶ The monthly pension from the NRPS is not necessarily 78 yuan (equal to around 8-9 pounds) per month in every province. The amount can differ based on local economic development. The rural research sites for this study are in Henan Province, which is among the less economically developed provinces in China, and the standard payment is relatively much lower than in more developed regions/provinces, such as Zhejiang Province. In some villages in Zhejiang, the payment rate could be around 1000 yuan (equal to around 110-120 pounds) or even higher. (All data come from the interviews.)

However, the tightened Family Planning policy which started in 1979 did constrain their desire to have more sons. Many rural 1940s participants had the idea that ‘the more sons, the better’, because they believed that sons were the symbol of the family clan force, and a family with no son would be looked down upon and bullied in the village. If there were no strict policy, most of the 1940s villagers would continue to give birth until they got at least one son. The Family Planning policy which tightened in 1979 stopped this fertility trend. Nevertheless, the idea of son preference was so strong among the rural 1940s cohort that those who had no biological sons made up for this regret by adopting boys or having live-in sons-in-law (上门女婿) in the household.³⁷

I have four daughters, but we keep one daughter in our household and have her husband as the live-in son-in-law. (CML, female, 1948, living with spouse and adult daughter’s family)

I have two daughters and one son... After giving birth to my second daughter, we were not allowed to have a third birth. Actually, the son was adopted... (WHY, male, 1948, living with spouse)

The general timing of most rural 1940s participants’ childbearing was before 1979, and most of them ended with multiple children. Therefore, the main influence of the subsequent tightened Family Planning Policy on the rural 1940s cohort was to restrict their fertility preferences after the year 1979, which reduced their chance of having a son (or more sons) in the household.

Internal migration, urbanisation and modernisation

Geographic mobility among the rural 1940s cohort was strictly restricted by the Hukou system that was launched in the 1950s (see 3.2.1), when the 1940s cohort started to enter their young adulthood (see Table 3). They were prevented from migrating and were fixed to the farmland through the rationing system which was attached to the Hukou system (see 3.2.1). In the 1990s, when the Hukou system had been relaxed and large scale internal migration started to happen in China, most of them had already arrived at their fifties and

³⁷ Traditionally, the married daughter would move into her husband’s household. Very occasionally, the daughter would stay in her own parents’ household and had her husband ‘live in’. This ‘uxorilocal marriage’ happens when the daughter’s parents have no sons, and the son-in-law has a lower social-economic background.

had become grandparents. The deprivation of the chance of migration not only resulted in lower income and savings in later life, but also limited their experience of social modernisation in the city, and restricted their views and ideas so that in general they were still very traditional and patrilineal. This directly related to their expectations for later life long-term care, which is discussed in 7.3.1.

However, their children – who were born around the 1960s and 1970s - were the main engine of China's first generation of migrant workers. The interviews suggested that many of the village-based 1940s cohort's adult children had migrant work experiences in other provinces. Some older children stopped their migrant work after they themselves became grandparents. Some younger ones, especially those who were in their forties and had unmarried sons, still migrated seasonally to make money. Since many of the 1940s cohort's adult children were born in the 1960s, their characteristics as migrant workers will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

The out-migration of the 1940s cohort's adult children has led to the social phenomena of 'left-behind older people' and 'left-behind children' in rural China. People from the rural 1940s cohort were almost the first generation of the 'left-behind older people' and they faced a completely different living situation compared with the older cohorts in the villages: less chance to have more children living together or living nearby, less everyday interaction with their adult children, and a higher care burden in their late midlife towards 'left-behind grandchildren'. In the meantime, they had no direct migration experience themselves, were less influenced by urban and modern culture, and were still more traditional in their minds and values. In other words, they were a cohort of older people who retained more traditional characteristics, but who had to face the changing circumstances of their adult children in the modernisation process.

My elder son's three children and my younger son's five children were all brought up by me. How could you refuse to give a hand? The kids' parents all migrated to make money... (TWZ, female, 1940, living alone)

The interviews also suggested that the adult sons of the rural 1940s cohort were generally more likely to migrate than the adult daughters were. This migration pattern could partly explain the current intergenerational support patterns among the rural 1940s cohort, which will be discussed in 7.2.1.

In summary, the experience of suffering in childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood during China's national building period made the rural 1940s cohort tougher and more

tolerant in poor living conditions, and lowered their expectations for later life. The Family Planning Policy to some extent limited their preference to have more sons, but did not actually restrict their numbers of children too much because the timing of childbearing for most of them was before the year 1979. The limited migration opportunities in their young adulthood decreased their later life financial independence, and hindered their chance to be modernised in the cities. Moreover, the widespread migration trend among the adult children of the 1940s cohort differentiated their later life family support circumstances from the older cohort in the villages, making them into the ‘left-behind older people’.

7.1.2 The 1940s cohort living in small towns

The small town in China is an administrative unit between the city and rural villages. It cannot be identified by its general Hukou status as small town residents also hold non-agricultural Hukou.³⁸ Being distinctive in their social and economic development as well as in their public resources, small towns may give their residents different life experiences. Therefore, in this study, participants from small towns will be discussed as a separate group when reporting the qualitative results.

People from the small-town 1940s cohort, in this study, were located in between their village and city counterparts in terms of their socioeconomic characteristics. Although more of them had retirement pensions than in the village 1940s cohort, some small-town residents were still heavily influenced by the patrilineal tradition because they were originally from the rural villages before achieving social mobility. The impact of sociohistorical changes on their life course was also distinct.

Social and historical events before the Market Reform (1979)

As most small-town residents were entitled to grain rations during the Great Famine, few of them experienced starvation during that period. However, some participants’ life courses were completely changed during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), by being caught in the social unrest during that period. The life experience of Ms Cao vividly illustrates how

³⁸ Chinese citizens’ Hukou status is generally divided into ‘agricultural Hukou’ and ‘non-agricultural Hukou’ (commonly referred to as rural and urban Hukou). However, the small towns/suburbs are the area between the city and the villages, and have some specific characteristics, although their citizens generally hold the urban Hukou.

the social-political event could disrupt one's marriage, childbearing, later-life health, and family support resources.

Ms Cao was born in 1941 and was a worker in Xinjiang Production and Construction Corp during the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. However, her life had dramatically changed since she broke a porcelain badge with Chairman Mao's image accidentally. She was wrongly convicted as the anti-revolutionary and was put in prison for 12 years. She struggled, explained and even went on a hunger strike for 7 days, but nothing worked. She had to spend her entire young adulthood in prison, with endless cold and despair. When released, she was nearly 40 years old and got a chance to continue her work at one of the regimental in Xinjiang province. Her mother in Henan province missed her so much that she insisted she must return to her hometown as soon as possible. However, the superior turned down her request for job transition and she could not fulfil her mother's desperate expectation. At that time, a man with some authority at her hometown in Henan turned up and helped her with the job transition, with an expectation of marrying her. She finally came back to Henan, and married that man, who had been widowed twice, and had ten children, most of whom were still dependent at that time.

'So, I got out of one living hell and fell into another... I thought my mother brought me up, and I did not want to upset her, otherwise, I really did not have to be the stepmother for ten children, you know, I had not even been married before...' (CCM, female, 1941, living alone)

The social-political events of the Cultural Revolution had two main impacts on her later life: the biggest and most direct influence was on marriage and childbearing. Because of twelve years' imprisonment, she lost the chance to get married at the right age; because of the controlled mobility and unreasonable job transition system at that period, she reluctantly had to marry a man in order to return to her mother. After getting married, she became the stepmother of ten children and was not allowed to have her own biological children. She was deprived of her marriage and her chance to be a mother by the time and the particular historical events.

The second influence of previous life experience was on this woman's health.

After receiving the judgment, I was so angry that I threw it away. I felt wronged and then protested by fasting for seven days without consuming a drop of water... For humanitarian reasons, they gave me an injection of 500cc glucose and brought

me to life... it was since that experience that I have been in weak health and suffered from gastropathy. Now I do not have very good health, as I always feel the pain on my leg and waist, and I suffer from arthritis and gastropathy... (CCM, female, 1941, living alone)

Another far-reaching impact of Ms Cao's earlier life events was on her situation in relation to later life family support. She was living alone (widowed) at the time of interview and did not seem to have secure family support:

'My two (step) sons were discussing dividing my property, this house. The elder son asked me to live with him and attempt to rebuild my house to a multi-floor building to rent out. I said I did not have many years left and asked them to wait until I pass away... They said this house had their 'family name' and did not belong to me... I said if they insisted on pulling down my house I would prosecute them [wept]... I was then driven out by the elder son and daughter-in-law from their house after living there for four months... (CCM, female, 1941, living alone)

Even though she brought up the stepchildren, the children, and especially the stepsons, did not seem to have any close affection to the older woman or treat her like a biological mother.

Although the life experience of Ms Cao was distinctive and cannot be generalised, it provides a vivid example of how social context and early life events may have long lasting influences on some of the 1940s cohort's later life circumstances.

The Cultural Revolution could impact one's later life family support and health in a negative way; still, it could also work in a positive way, by making one much more optimistic and tenacious and prompting resilience in later life.

Like Ms Cao, Mr Pan also experienced a stormy life during the Anti-rightist Campaign and the Cultural Revolution, and his family were all involved in the political punishment. However, this bitter early life experience seemed to help him develop the resilience in later life.

My father was a previous military officer of the Nationalist Party and he defected to the Communist Party after the War of Liberation in China. However, he was criticized as an 'Anti-Party Rightist' during the 'Anti-rightist Campaign' and our family was sent down to rural Guangxi province to do farm work. As a thirteen-

year-old teenager, I had no choice but to drop out of school [he started weeping], and did heavy farm work in the production team in rural Guangxi. Life was so hard at that period and my two younger sisters were died because of starvation... It was not until 1979 that my father was rehabilitated. After then, we could return to Henan to live a normal life, but I was already in my 30s... You see, all bad fortune is gone and I am now in good health. I play tai-chi everyday... It is because of that disaster in my early life that I am stronger. I am more optimistic and have an open mind towards life. My biggest regret is my interrupted education, but anyway I have put myself through the mill and become stronger... (PRC, male, 1949, living with spouse)

Although the man only had two years formal education, he taught himself to be a watch technician and opened a watch-repairing shop as a second career after his retirement. In addition, all his three children achieved university or masters degrees and got good jobs in big cities, and they all had close relationship with their father. He enjoyed life and his second career after retirement, kept doing exercise, and had many friends. The frustrations in his early life brought him resilience, made him more optimistic, and helped him develop a healthier, positive lifestyle towards later life.

The Family Planning Policy

Like the village 1940s cohort, the 1940s cohort living in small towns had nearly finished their childbearing before 1979, when the Family Planning Policy tightened. Many of the small-town 1940s cohort in this study had three or four children. Although many of them still preferred to have at least one son in their household, their preference for sons was not as strong as in the village 1940s cohort.

For us, the son and the daughter did not differ a lot. In the rural areas, people prefer to have a son because once their daughter gets married, she becomes a member of another family and sometimes lives far away from her own parents... For us living in the small town, the married daughters always marry someone in the same town and could come back constantly. There is no much difference... (YXF, female, 1940, living with spouse)

Since the small-town 1940s cohort did not hold that strong a preference for sons, their fertility seems not to have been restricted by the Family Planning Policy, and their number of children were mostly a result of their own intentions. As most of the interview participants

had three or four children eventually, the availability of adult children in later life seemed to be more secure than for those who had fewer children.

Internal migration, urbanisation and modernisation

The small-town 1940s cohort mostly held a job in their own town and they generally did not have migrant working experiences in their early life. Their adult children, similarly, generally got permanent jobs in the same town or a nearby city, which increased their availability to their older parents in the future. Although some of the small-town 1940s cohort's adult children lived in another province, their migration was more like permanent upward social mobility resulting from their educational achievements or business success, which meant that they might be more economically capable of providing material support to their parents. Therefore, compared with their rural counterparts, the small-town 1940s cohort were seldom influenced by internal migration, and neither were their adult children, which to some extent secured the availability of adult children for their later-life care needs. As most of the small-town 1940s cohort were entering old age during the period of urbanisation and modernisation, their minds were not influenced by modern culture very much and they generally held the traditional idea of family support. The availability of adult children and their own value would in turn influence older people's expectations, which is discussed in 7.3.2.

In summary, many of the small-town 1940s cohort were not greatly influenced by the Great Famine, but some of them did experience setbacks during the anti-rightist campaign and the Cultural Revolution, which could even interrupt their subsequent marriage, childbearing, and family support situations in later life. To some others, frustrations in early life could also act in a positive way to build their strong will and promote their resilience in later life. The Family Planning Policy and internal migration which started in the 1990s were not suggested to have obvious influences on the small-town 1940s cohort.

7.1.3 The 1940s cohort living in the city

Because of huge urban-rural gaps in China, the 1940s cohort living in big cities reflected different characteristics compared to the former two groups, as suggested by the fieldwork. They had diverse educational attainments (ranging from primary school to university), diverse income resources, and had better access to good and various public social care

resources. As suggested by previous literature, they were also more likely to be influenced by social events such as the Cultural Revolution (see 3.2.2).

The impact of social and historical events before the Market Reform (1979)

Most of the urban 1940s cohort did not have starvation experience during the Great Famine, because their household grain rations and living essentials were assigned under the controlled economy, and urban citizens had priority over rural residents in the grain rationing. However, many of them experienced ups and downs during the Cultural Revolution, experiencing downward job assignment among the college graduates, or by being ‘sent down to rural areas’ among the junior and senior high school graduates.

3.2.1 and 3.2.2 introduced the Planned Economy in the 1950s and the job assignment during the Cultural Revolution. From mid-1950s to the late 1980s, urban people’s jobs were assigned by the government (Bian, 1994), and university graduates were not allowed to choose their job freely. As suggested in the literature, some university graduates experienced downward mobility if they were assigned to China’s border areas and backward regions after their graduation (see 3.2.2).

Mr Chen was one of the graduates from Shanghai Medical College at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, who was assigned to rural Sichuan:

I was assigned to rural Sichuan province, and among my classmates, my situation was still good, because we had rice to eat. One third of my classmates were sent to Tibet and ethnic minority regions where there was no transport and the living environment was very harsh. I stayed in Sichuan for 15 years; in the first two years, I was ‘re-educated’ on the farm and doing physical work, and then my job changed a lot, nothing special but being a doctor in small towns or rural communities. (CJR, male, 1944, living alone)

This downward ‘job-assignment’ was a great regret and transition in the course of Mr Chen’s life; he said his fate was completely reversed by this event:

My youth and my career were completely damaged in the rural area. Basically, the Shanghai Medical College graduates would be assigned to urban top hospitals or medical schools, and we would now be professors and have high achievements. It would be a completely different life. However, all were ruined and my college education was in vain... To us, the Cultural Revolution was a heart-rending experience. We were abandoned by our state and the society, nobody cared where

we were. When we came back to the cities, we were scattered around, and all our knowledge and techniques were wasted. (CJR, male, 1944, living alone)

Besides the reversed life trajectory and the downward mobility, Mr Chen's fertility was also affected. He got married during his stay in rural Sichuan province, but because of the harsh living conditions, he only had one child.

There was no strict Family Planning Policy at that time, but how can we give birth to more babies in such harsh living conditions? Even we adults could not bear it, how could the child grow up there? After my son was born, I sent him to Hangzhou and asked my parents to help bring him up. (CJR, male, 1944, living alone)

This life event of downward job allocation deprived Mr Chen of his chance of a promising career, devastating his previous social networks and social capital, and in turn influencing his resource accumulation in later life. It also influenced his fertility choice to some extent.

Another common life experience to those who were born in late 1940s was the 'sent-down' experience (see 3.2.2). Although some of the 1940s cohort living in cities experienced the disruption of their education during the Cultural Revolution and experienced being 'sent down', not all of them were equally affected. For example, the youth from the cadre family background could escape from being 'sent-down' or returned to the city very quickly, as suggested in other literature (Zhou, 2004; Yang and Li, 2011) and also confirmed in this study.

I was sent down to Dongbei [north-eastern] when I was 20 years old. At that time, I had not finished my first years of high school education. However, I only stayed there for three years and returned to the city, because my father was a cadre. Then he found me a job in a factory by going through the back door [using Guanxi networks]... (ZZM, female, 1949, living with unmarried daughter)

Therefore, the experience of being 'sent-down' could have uneven influences on the various people who experienced it. To some of those from a cadre background who were sent down for a shorter time, the influence on their life course was relatively minor compared with those who were from normal family backgrounds and experienced longer times farming in rural areas. Their subsequent marriages and childbearing were generally delayed.

A coin has two sides. Setbacks in early life, no matter whether they were caused by the state policy or by personal fate, can negatively affect one's life chances; at the same time, they may also motivate one's agency and help promote resilience in later life. Some of the 'sent-down' cohort developed specific personality traits through their adverse life experiences. As one 'sent-down' participant said:

Although we Lao-san-jie³⁹ suffered from ups and downs in our life, we generally have very good mentality. We are optimistic and respectful, and we have good moral personality... The experience made us tougher towards frustrations and setbacks in our lives. You see, I was divorced when I was young, and I lost my daughter in a car accident when I became older; imagine, I lived through all these big frustrations in my life, what else couldn't I bear? (YQJ, female, 1949, living with mother)

The woman was born in 1949 and was a member of the 'Lao-san-jie' group (the 'sent-down' youth group). In addition to the social events of the Cultural Revolution, she experienced a series of personal life events such as divorce, her daughter's death in a car accident, and a car accident herself in her sixties. She was the so-called 'miserable person', but she talked about all these setbacks to me very calmly, with a smile on her face. She said, 'We should have a good mental outlook, be content and be grateful...' She owed these positive life attitudes to her previous difficult life experiences.

The interviews with the urban 1940s cohort suggested that the ups and downs during the Cultural Revolution period could have had a negative impact on their career and timing of family life, but may also have positively built their strong will and promoted resilience towards frustrations in later life.

The Family Planning Policy

One interesting phenomenon that emerged from the qualitative interviews was that before the Family Planning Policy or the well-known 'One Child Policy' were strictly established in Chinese cities, many of the respondents in the 1940s cohort from the city still had only one child. Most of their children were born before 1979, when urban citizens were still allowed to have two children. Their fertility choices, to some extent, were not a result of state policy at that time, but rather reflected their rational choice.

³⁹ 'Lao-san-jie' is an item that represents the urban junior or senior high school graduates who were 'sent down' to the countryside to be 're-educated' during the Cultural Revolution.

'My son was born in 1974 and at that time, we were allowed to have a second child. To me, one son was enough; even having just one child, we had no one to help look after him...'

'Now do you regret your choice of having only one child?' the researcher asked.

'One is enough; why have more? Our son still has one child. Rearing children brings too much of a burden. You have to raise and educate him/her well. Rural families always have three to four children... is there any good? No good at all, in my opinion.' (LHY, female, 1949, living with spouse)

This may reflect the influence of modernisation rather than the Family Planning Policy per se on the urban 1940s cohort's fertility choices, although it is important to note that messages such as 'fewer, later, longer' may have had a subliminal impact. Modernisation has changed the most important part of raising a child from bringing them up to educating them well. Secondly, wider participation in the job market may have limited urban women's time to be at home and care for the children. Finally, there might be other reasons, such as the high cost of raising a child for ordinary working-class people in urban China.

My daughter was born in 1977 but the One Child Policy was strict after 1979. If there were not that policy, it is still hard to say whether I would have a second or not. I have to ensure that I can afford it first... I guess if it was not restricted, I would still have one child... (NWF, male, 1947, living with spouse and daughter's family)

Compared with the urban 1940s participants who had only one child, those who had two children might have the following reasons for their choice, as suggested by the interviews:

- They were born in the early 1940s and their childbearing was completed before the year 1979, when the One Child Policy started to be widely implemented in Chinese cities;
- They came from ethnic minority groups, where people were allowed to have multiple children;
- They migrated to the city after they finished their childbearing in rural areas, where the Family Planning Policy was more loosely implemented than in urban areas.

Because childbearing generally occurred earlier than 1979 among the urban 1940s cohort, the Family Planning Policy did not heavily influence their fertility choice. No obvious preference for sons was expressed by most urban 1940s-cohort participants, and the fertility choice of many members of the urban 1940s cohort was a result of rational choice in the context of urbanisation and the modernisation process.

Internal migration, urbanisation and modernisation

As discussed earlier, the urban 1940s cohort who had the ‘sent-down’ experience had experienced some period of social mobility in their early life; however, most of them were not impacted by China’s internal migration trend that started from the 1990s. Their adult children were originally brought up in the city, and they were not significantly influenced by the internal migration either. However, living in Chinese big cities enabled the urban 1940s cohort to experience rapid economic and technological development in the city, which in turn influenced the way they interacted with their adult children, as well as developing their personal social networks in later life.

In summary, social and political events and social policy affected differently the 1940s cohort living in the city, small towns, and rural villages. Political events like the Great Famine affected most rural 1940s participants and made them used to living with high tolerance and lower life expectations; while the Cultural Revolution interrupted some small-town and many urban 1940s participants’ normal life events like marriage and childbearing, hindered their career development, and thus influenced their accumulated later life resources. However, it could also cause positive personality traits and resilience to help deal with frustrations in later life. The Family Planning Policy mainly constrained the rural 1940s cohort’s preference in favour of more sons, but it did not actually affect the fertility choices of the small-town and urban participants, even though many urban 1940s participants were found to have only one child. The social trend of internal migration was only found to have affected the rural 1940s cohort, by involving their adult children as migrant workers and leaving the rural 1940s cohort themselves as ‘left-behind’ older people in rural China. The trend of modernisation was found to change many of the urban 1940s cohort’s lifestyles profoundly.

7.2 Current Patterns of Intergenerational Family Support

This section mainly focuses on two aspects of current intergenerational support: the upward intergenerational transfers from adult children to parents, and the downward intergenerational transfers from parents to adult children.⁴⁰

7.2.1 The 1940s Cohort Living in Rural Villages

The participants in this group generally had three or more children, and all of their children currently held a rural Hukou. Some of them had adult children who seasonally migrated to other provinces to work, but all of the respondents in the rural 1940s cohort had at least one adult child living in the same or nearby villages. Those older people who were ‘solo living’ in this group did not seem to be isolated, as they lived within walking distance of at least one of their adult children, and reported that they always had adult children available if in need. The circumstances of their living arrangements generally confirmed Cai et al.’s 2012 study, which suggested that more than half of the older people who live alone in rural China actually have at least one adult child living nearby (Cai *et al.*, 2012).

Intergenerational transfers from adult children to parents

The interviews with the rural 1940s participants suggested that the pattern of material support from adult children involved ‘*often receiving food gifts, but seldom getting monetary transfers*’. On one hand, as indicated in 7.1.1, most of the rural 1940s cohort kept a frugal lifestyle and were self-sufficient, and they seldom spent money in their daily lives; on the other hand, their adult children could have heavy economic burdens themselves and were not able to give material support to the parents. As indicated by the interviews, the heaviest economic burden for the adult children was from the grandson’s marriage betrothal gifts.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Because most 1940s participants in the qualitative study did not have serious problems with activities of daily living (ADL), and most of them did not experience long-term care in their daily lives, this section mainly presents results on material support and emotional support from adult children. However, it will touch upon the temporary instrumental support when parents were hospitalized.

⁴¹ The adult children of the rural 1940s cohort were mostly in middle age, and faced the pressure of the next generation’s marriage if they had a son. In the interviewed villages, the current ‘betrothal gifts’ from the groom’s family to the bride’s family ranged from 180,000-300,000 Chinese Yuan. However, the average annual per-capita disposable income of China’s rural households was only 9892 Chinese Yuan in 2014, which means that it would take the groom’s family twenty to thirty years to earn the money for one son’s marriage. This led great pressure on the 1940s cohort’s adult children who had sons around marriageable age. Since many of the 1940s cohort’s adult children were born in the 1960s, this issue will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

'They [the sons] give me money? As long as they do not ask me for money, I will thank God. My first son has two sons while his brother has five children; they are desperate to make money to support their children's marriages.'

'So how about your daughter?' the researcher asked,

'Well, I do not expect any money from my daughter, because she has been married off, and my sons should take the responsibility... It is not like the urban people; here we rural elderly only rely on our sons for old age support. However, my daughter is good; she will buy some tasty food for me when she visits me on festivals...' (TWZ, female, 1940, living alone)

The older people who were no longer able to do agricultural work themselves received grain and wheat or everyday meals from the adult child who inherited the farmland. Those who still kept the farmland themselves generally got labour support from their adult children in harvest seasons. Although most participants in this group seldom received direct monetary transfers from their adult children, many of them reported receiving in-kind gifts during festivals, such as the Spring Festival (the Chinese New Year) and the Mid-Autumn Day, which represent the beginning and the middle of a year. During the two festivals, children would visit their parents and parents-in-law and bring some gifts. The gifts could be clothes, wine, and food like long-life packages of milk, meat, fish, snacks, and fruits.

As for emotional support, the spouse, rather than the adult children, was the most important principal emotional support. The members of the village-based 1940s cohort who were widowed seemed to have particular emotional support needs that were different from those who had a spouse. There is an old saying in China that the 'spouse is the best company when becoming old' (少年夫妻老来伴). Previous studies have suggested that the spouse is the main primary caregiver for old people who are married (Cooney and Di, 1999). In this sense, having a spouse for company in older age seems quite important. This study found that widowed older people in rural villages, whether living alone or living with adult children, seemed to suffer from some emotional problems, which might be neglected by their adult children.

If I feel lonely or unhappy, but I do not want to talk with my children, because they are all very busy... I'd rather be left alone for a while or go out to walk around...
(LLY, female, 1946, living alone)

As to the emotional support provided by sons and daughters, many of the rural 1940s participants felt that their daughters were more considerate than their sons, and tended to visit or contact them more frequently.

My son and his family all migrated to another province and they only come back two to three times a year. My second daughter nearly comes every day; she comes to help with housework and farm work. Her children have been married, so she has plenty time to visit frequently. (WHY, male, 1948, living with spouse)

One reason was that many rural 1940s participants had migrant sons and nearby daughters, and this geographic convenience contributed to adult daughters' additional emotional support. This was consistent with the result from 'impact of migration' presented in 7.1.1. Another reason related to women's increasing power in decision-making within the domestic domain, and their changing relationship with their natal families. Research has suggested that married daughters in rural China are never like 'spilt water' for their natal parents, but instead become closer to them (Zhang, 2009). As women's position and their power of decision-making within the household has improved, they are able to slant more care resources towards their own parents (Shi, 2009). In this study, nearly all of the participants of the 1940s village-based cohort could meet or contact their adult daughters around every ten days and get different degrees of emotional support from their daughters. This finding is consistent with recent literature on the daughter's role as caregiver to her natal parents (see 2.4.1.1).

For those who had adult children who were migrant workers, the most frequent method of contact was by phone calls. However, in this study, some of the 1940s cohort living in villages did not even have a phone at home, and they could only use the phone of their neighbours or other nearby children when they visited, to contact their migrant children.

In these circumstances, neighbours played an important role when the 1940 villagers had an emergency.

If we are in need of help, I will ask my neighbours at first instance, as they are more available. Last time, I fell down because of brain infarction... it was raining... my neighbour came as soon as they heard my shout... (WHY, male, 1948, living with spouse)

Great inequality in technology use was found among the 1940s cohort in this study. Although smart phones, tablets, PCs, and contact apps such as Wechat are very popular nowadays among many Chinese people, the 1940s villagers in this study did not benefit from the popularity and convenience of new technology. None of the 1940s cohort living in rural villages in my interviews had smart phones, nor did they use apps like Wechat to get in contact with their families.

Intergenerational transfers from parents to adult children

The village-based 1940s participants were in their seventies during the interviews, and some of them had already finished their care responsibilities towards their grandchildren. Some younger participants who had migrant adult sons and 'left-behind' grandchildren were still providing care for the grandchildren in their current lives.

Without having any non-agricultural work, most of the village-based 1940s participants did not have much savings and income; they generally only provided daily instrumental care to their grandchildren, but provided no or very little financial support for their living expenses and education. The grandchildren's daily living mainly came from their migrant parents' remittances.

My younger son's two children are living with us in this household because their parents both work in another province. However, the two grandchildren only come back on weekends, because they live in school just 'during the week'... I cook for them when they come back from school, but their parents pay for their tuition fees and living expenses... (CFY, female, 1949, living with spouse)

The main transfer from the village 1940s cohort to their adult children found in this study was childcare, with no or very little economic transfer. However, childcare was only provided for adult sons, not for adult daughters.

In summary, the intergenerational transfer pattern among the rural 1940s cohort was very traditional: the material support from adult children mainly consisted of food and was on a subsistence level, and the emotional support from adult children was largely restricted by geographic convenience. Neither the popular online shopping nor the spread of communication technology was found to benefit this group of older people. The downward transfer of support from older people to adult children was mainly childcare, but was only directed towards adult sons rather than daughters. The only new departure from tradition

was that adult daughters of the rural 1940s cohort were more involved in providing emotional support to their natal parents.

7.2.2 The 1940s cohort living in small towns

The participants from this group generally had three to four children, and all of them had at least one adult child living in the same town. Many of them, however, also had a child who had a permanent job and lived permanently in the city nearby or in another province.⁴² Most small-town 1940s participants had retirement pensions themselves, and their adult children were in a relatively better economic condition compared with their rural counterparts.

Intergenerational transfers from adult children to parents

Having their own retirement pensions, many small-town 1940s participants did not receive regular material support, but they generally got ‘gift money’ on special days or festivals. The material transfer from adult children was more expressive than supportive, and served as one way to express their affection and filial piety to their parents.

We have our retirement pensions and we have another income from our small shop, so we do not need the children's financial support... But in Chinese New Year, all of my three children will give us some gift money... (PRC, male, 1949, living with spouse)

Economically, we are independent, and our retirement pension enables us to buy what we want...the children will give us money, occasionally, 300-500 yuan [equal to around 30-50 pounds] each time, not too much, sometimes we refuse, and sometime we accept... my son lives far away, but he kept sending us some money on our birthdays... (YXF, female, 1940, living with spouse)

When the older people were in need, they reported that they would get material support from their adult children because the children were generally more capable of giving economically than their rural counterparts.

⁴² The adult children of the small-town older people were more likely to achieve social mobility and live permanently in a city than the adult children of the rural older people. This social mobility was permanent and was different from the rural people's ‘internal migration’ as temporary migrant workers.

In the past two years, I always went to hospital because of my heart disease. This year's hospitalization cost me 7000-8000 yuan [equal to around 700 pounds]. My son paid all the medical bills [those uncovered by the medical insurance]... (WZQ, male, 1949, living alone)

My son said, if my husband and I had serious disease in the future, he would try his best to help us get proper treatment, even at the price of selling his house... (YXF, female, 1940, living with spouse)

Compared with those living in rural villages, many small-town 1940s participants in this study had close relationship with their adult children (except for one woman, who did not have biological children), evidenced in two ways: the meeting/contact frequency, and the intergenerational affection.

Most participants in this group had three children, and they got frequent visits or (and) contact from these children. Daughters who lived in the same town generally came to visit their parents weekly, while children living in other cities kept weekly contact with their parents by phone call.

Significant mutual affection and understanding between parents and their adult children was found from the interviews with this group. For example, Mr Wang, who was widowed and living alone, always got weekly visits from his son from another city.

My son works on the railway, and he lives in X city [around 170km away], but he comes back to visit me once a week on weekends. He knows that his mum passed away and I have heart disease... He works on the railway and does not have to pay for transport... The other two daughters normally call me once a week... when my youngest daughter is at home, she comes constantly to give me food. (WZQ, male, 1949, living alone)

Like Mr Wang, other small-town 1940s participants (except for the one who had no biological children) also met their children weekly if they had a child living nearby, or got weekly contact from their children living in other cities. The frequent contact 'bridged the distance'. Besides this, other evidence of mutual understanding and affection between the two generations could be found from the interviews. Parents understood their adult children's living pressures and did not expect material support from their children, while the children remembered their birthdays, were concerned about their health, and cared about their emotions.

Intergenerational transfers from parents to adult children

Life in a small town did not involve much pressure, and housing prices and living expenses were relatively much lower than in cities. Generally, most participants in this group had retirement pensions⁴³ and were economically independent, and their adult children had better or similar socioeconomic circumstances. Like the upward material transfers discussed above, the downward material transfers were minor and mainly expressive in nature.

The grandchildren all grew up... I will give 500 yuan for those who go to university and get married, and 200 yuan for those who give birth to a baby... I have too many grandchildren... and my nephew's children... I gave the nephew's child 400 yuan when she went to university... my living expenses, my medical expenses and the gift money to the grandchildren are all from my retirement pension ... (CCM, female, 1941, living alone)

However, sometimes their pensions also enabled participants in this group to provide some material support to their adult children where necessary, regardless of the gender of adult children.

My second daughter was laid off and had three children. I gave her a subsidy every now and then, because her life was more difficult when raising three children... (WZQ, male, 1949, living alone)

As for childcare, most female participants in this group had provided childcare and help with daily chores for their adult children. However, unlike their rural counterparts, this downward support was found to be given to both daughters and sons, according to their needs and the availability of the parents.

7.2.3 The 1940s cohort living in the city

Although both cohorts had urban Hukou, the 1940s cohort living in big cities had some characteristics which were distinct from the small-town 1940s cohort. Most participants in

⁴³ Although the standard retirement pension in the small town was not a lot (around 2000 yuan per month, nearly 200 pounds per month), it was crucial to an independent later life and essential for some necessary downward transfer to adult children or grandchildren among the small-town 1940s cohort.

this group were Hangzhou natives. They were relatively better educated, had fewer children and better access to public services and social care resources; they were in receipt of relatively higher retirement pension and were more economically independent. The adult children of the urban 1940s cohort were generally living in the same or nearby cities, and had similar or better socioeconomic circumstances than their parents.

Intergenerational transfers from adult children to parents

Many of the participants from this group did not report receiving regular material support from their middle-aged adult children, and this reflected the impacts of modernisation that were discussed in the literature chapter (see 2.3.1). On one hand, most of the urban 1940s cohort had decent retirement pensions which enabled them to be more economically independent; on the other hand, their middle-aged adult children were generally influenced by modern culture and became more individualistic.

They [son and daughter] did not give me monetary support, because they know that I have [a retirement pension], and I can be self-sufficient... They did not give me money and I buy the groceries myself. Even so, they always say that I have not given them enough, while others' parents support the children a lot... (ZJM, female, 1943, living alone)

In this group, only one woman reported receiving regularly monetary support from her adult daughter. She was not a Hangzhou native and she moved to the city to live with her unmarried middle-aged daughter after being widowed. In her case, the mother was more in need while the adult daughter was more capable of giving because she had not established her own nuclear family.

I cook for her and she will give me the daily expenses... She always buys me gifts on my birthdays and at festivals... (ZZM, female, 1949, living with unmarried daughter)

The pattern of intergenerational emotional support was largely constructed by modern cultural as well. On one hand, the pace of life and work for young and middle-aged adults was quite rapid in big cities, and most fully employed adult children had heavy workloads and seldom had the time to care for the emotions of their parents; on the other hand, as discussed in the literature, the adult children tended to focus more on their young children rather than their parents, and spent more time with the young rather than the old. The interviews suggested that while they were living in the same city, community, or even within

the same household, many urban 1940s participants and their adult children could meet each other frequently, but they seldom had the chance to exchange feelings, ideas, and listen to each other. Emotional support to the participants in the 1940s cohort was largely provided by their spouse, siblings or friends.

We seldom have chance to chat, nearly never. She is very busy, even on weekends, she has to accompany my granddaughter to the Children's Palace. They go out very early and come back at nearly 9pm, when we have gone to bed. I do have some time when I am feeling bad, but how can I tell it to my daughter?... I want to say, but cannot speak it out... How can I tell them that I am not well? They are so busy, and they already get too much pressure... My wife and I always talk to each other, and we'd rather not bother the child... (NWF, male, 1947, living with spouse and adult daughter's family)

The interview participants in this group were functionally capable and did not need instrumental help at the time of the interview. However, when they occasionally needed daily help such as accompanying to the hospital or changing a lightbulb, they did not wish to bother their adult children.

I am always on my own... I do everything myself, even changing bulbs... I have one or two friends that can meet every one or two weeks, but I am not good at telling... I do not talk with my children because they are too busy... (ZJM, female, 1943, living alone)

In addition, siblings and relatives were found to act in a supplementary role for intergenerational family support.

I live alone but I am not good at housework. I cannot count on my only son. On one hand, he has a job and is very busy; on the other hand, he is a man and cannot deal with housework... It is even more impossible to depend on the daughter-in-law... So it was my younger sister... She is retired but she is much younger than I am, and she can deal with all the housework. Actually, she comes every two weeks to help me do the laundry and cleaning, and my brother-in-law comes together to help me change the water for my goldfish... (CJR, male, 1944, living alone)

This example showed that the younger siblings of the 1940s cohort living in the city could be more available than the adult children to provide family support. When they had

emotional demands, the 1940s participants living in the city were most likely to talk with their spouse (partner), siblings and friends, who were at a similar age and trustworthy. They might have more in common, more shared life experiences and memories, and could better understand each other. Among those peers, the spouse or partner was the most important source of emotional support. Therefore, the interviews also suggested that people who had a spouse or a partner had better emotional wellbeing than those who were widowed and living alone.

Intergenerational transfers from parents to adult children

As discussed in the previous section, the city-based 1940s participants generally had very close proximity with their adult children's families. They always lived in the same city and were within several bus stops' distance. However, the interviews suggested that their close proximity was mainly for the convenience of the parents' daily support of their adult children, rather than the other way around.

Among the six participants in this group, four provided daily instrumental support or childcare to their children or grandchildren, and the other two had provided some kind of family support to their adult children's families previously.

My wife is responsible for the cleaning and I am doing cooking every day for the family... (NWF, male, 1947, living with spouse and daughter's family)

When my granddaughter was in kindergarten, I picked her up after school every day, and it lasted for three years... (CJR, male, 1944, living alone)

Apart from helping with daily chores, many members of the urban 1940s cohort were still providing constant material support or had previously provided material support for their adult children.

My son is in Shanghai doing his PhD, and we pay for his tuition fees and help him pay mortgages for his flat in Hangzhou... (HH, male, 1947, living with spouse)

At that time, the house costed my daughter 500,000 CNY, and I gave her around 1/4 of the whole expenses. (NWF, male, 1947, living with spouse and daughter's family)

I supported my son 100,000 CNY for buying his house. But the housing price was not as high as nowadays, and the 100,000 CNY accounted for half of the whole house price at that time... (ZJM, female, 1943, living alone)

Compared with the 1940s cohort living in villages and small towns, the participants living in the big city provided more support in general to their adult children's family, whether instrumentally or financially, but currently received less than they seemed to have provided⁴⁴.

In summary, the patterns of intergenerational transfers among the 1940s cohort living in rural villages, small towns, and big cities were different. The economic independence and modern characteristics of older people increased from rural to urban areas. In terms of material support, the rural 1940s cohort seldom had the ability to give, but generally received food support from their adult children; the small-town 1940s cohort generally received 'gift money' on festivals, and had some ability to support their adult children financially when necessary; the urban 1940s cohort, however, were more economically independent, and often gave more material support to their adult children than they received. These qualitative results again confirmed the pattern found in the quantitative results (see 5.3.1 and Table 21), but also identified specific characteristics of support among the three subgroups. The findings were generally in accordance with previous research, which identified that material support from adult children to older parents was mainly 'needs based' (see 2.3.4). However, the findings expanded on previous literature by identifying older people with different socioeconomic statuses and living in different regions of China had different levels of primary needs, and their needs were also based on their adult children's abilities. In terms of emotional support, the small-town 1940s participants were found to receive relatively better emotional support from their adult children either due to geographic proximity or the children's availability. In terms of daily instrumental support, nearly every participant (or their spouse) had provided or was still providing childcare, or helping with daily chores for their adult children's families. But their support to adult sons and daughters varied. Another significant finding was about the direction of intergenerational transfer. This study found that among the urban 1940s participants, the flow of intergenerational transfers has started to shift from upward transfers to downward transfers. Although this study was unable to investigate the extent of instrumental support from adult children when the urban 1940s participants are in need in the future, there is at least some evidence to confirm a downward financial transfer pathway in this group. Their potential instrumental support from adult children in the

⁴⁴ Again, to clarify, the results here are mainly for those older people who were functionally well.

future will be investigated hypothetically by studying their plans, preparations, and expectations, which will be discussed in the next section.

7.3 Preparations and Expectations for Later Life: An Investigation from the Parents' Perspective

This section mainly investigates the expectations for long-term care in later life among the 1940s participants living in rural villages, small towns and big cities. Before exploring their expectations of adult children and their opinions towards social care institutions, this section starts by identifying the older people's own preparations for later life – to be more specific, by discussing their economic dependence and supportive social networks. The fieldwork suggested heterogeneity regarding the preparations and expectations for later life long-term care among the 1940s cohort.

7.3.1 The 1940s Cohort Living in Rural Villages

Personal plans and preparations for later life

The rural 1940s participants generally did not have much income and their main income was from farmland (including grain income and land subsidies from the government). Although most of them had joined the NRPS (it was 78 yuan/month for people over 60 years old living in the interviewed villages) and the NRCMI, this just helps to meet their very basic needs in daily life. Since their food came mainly from the farmland, they generally did not have any other high consumption demands.

For most rural 1940s participants, their expectations for later life largely remained focussed on maintaining a level necessary for survival, with little consideration of quality of life. This might partly result from their previous bitter life experiences. Just as Ms Tang said:

We are satisfied, and have no concerns... we are exempt from grain tax and now we can get public pensions after 60 years old, and we can eat wheat flour daily, all is good... (TWZ, female, 1940, living alone)

There was no formal older age support on the community level in the study villages, nor did the older people themselves have diverse social supportive networks other than family, kinship, and the neighbourhood. Some widowed participants who were living alone could not do much to secure their later life:

I do not rely on anyone; I think if only I can move, I will be on my own... I do not want to go to care institutions, and I do not expect anything... I just want to stay myself; it is OK to skip some meals, as long as I have some water to keep alive... (LLY, female, 1946, living alone)

‘*Drifting along to later life without an explicit plan*’ was a common attitude found among this group of older people. They were economically deprived, while at the same time they were residing in an environment with little or no public and social care resources.

Expectations from adult children in providing future long-term care

When asked who would be available to provide support of medical care, daily care and emotional care in their later life if they became disabled, nearly all of the participants in this group instinctively expressed their expectation on their adult children, especially adult sons. However, when asked further, they tended to avoid talking in details.

‘I will think about tomorrow after finishing today, I cannot say in the future... whether the children will take care of me or not, let it go...’ (LLY, female, 1946, living alone)

‘I cannot even live for another ten year, and I do not think a lot’ (WHY, male, 1948, living with spouse)

‘If the children help me with medical expenses, I live longer, if not, I live shorter...I cannot say now...’ (CFY, female, 1949)

This reflected the rural 1940s participants’ potential high dependence on their adult children. Most of them were highly economically dependent and, once they became disabled in later life, they could hardly afford their high medical expenses themselves, nor could they afford the cost of private or institutional service. Thinking about this consciously risked leading to more anxiety and hopelessness, as they were not able to change reality. This situation was especially serious for those in this study who were widowed and did not have sufficient income resources. Further, it also reflected their paradoxical feelings about their future older long-term care. On one hand, they generally held the traditional idea of preference for sons and rearing sons as a safety net in old age (养儿防老); on the other hand, the reality was that their adult sons may not be available due to migration. This situation to some extent confirmed the ‘structural lag’ which was discussed in the literature chapter (see 2.4.3.1):

social culture and people's perception always lagged behind socioeconomic changes. The objective family support resources among the rural 1940s participants had changed along with the dramatic social changes that have taken place in China. However, their subjective expectations for older age support had not caught up with the real circumstances.

Views on institutional and other care methods

Most of the rural 1940s participants did not accept institutional care as a choice for future long-term care. There are four reasons as found in the interviews. First of all, the rural 1940s participants were heavily influenced by the traditional idea of rearing sons as a safety net for old age (养儿防老), and they held the idea that the care homes were only for those who were childless.

The institutions is only for those who does not have children. We are not eligible to get access... (LYL, male, 1948, living alone)

The second reason was that care resources are currently extremely deficient in Chinese rural areas. In addition to the free public care homes, for which only those childless solo older people were eligible, there were very few commercial care homes available in the rural villages in this study.

We do not have the care institutions in our village, and only the urban people could get access to these care institutions... (CML, female, 1948, living with spouse and adult daughter's family)

Thirdly, in the villages, there was marked social stigma towards 'care homes' as well as to the older people who went to live there and their adult children.

People will think that your adult children are unfilial if you go to live in care homes... (LLT, male, 1946, living with spouse and adult son's family)

Finally, money was a big concern for those who did not hold prejudice towards this care method, as most of them only had very minor or nearly no income in old age.

7.3.2 The 1940s cohort living in small towns

Personal plans and preparations for later life

Having retirement pensions, several years of education, and better daily interaction with their adult children, many small-town 1940s participants exhibited more autonomy and independence in making a rational care plan for later life.

Those who were living with a spouse preferred to care for each other until one passed away. Then, they would consider moving into one of their adult children's houses or going to a care institution.

Those who were widowed and lived alone preferred to live independently until they could not cook for themselves. Then they would consider moving into institutional care, based on their adult children's availability to provide instrumental support.

Previous literature has suggested that older people with declining health, lower income, and being widowed had a higher likelihood of transitioning to reside with their adult children (Silverstein, 1995; Walters, 2000). However, little literature has investigated the impact of different degrees of disability on the transition of older people's living arrangements in later life. This study suggests that becoming mildly or moderately disabled might be combined with continued independent living, especially when the older person had some pension and a spouse available.

Ms Yan and her husband lived with their elder daughter for almost 20 years, mainly for reasons of grandchild care, and they moved to an independent house two years ago in their middle seventies. She experienced urinary incontinence two years ago and would like to live with more freedom and dignity and avoid embarrassment.

'We have been getting along very well and my son-in-law is just like my biological son... we never fight... it was just because we are becoming older and our body is not that... [working well?], so it is not convenient to co-reside again, and we decided to buy this house and move out here... it is quiet and peaceful here...'

'So what is your preference for living arrangements in later life, when you become older?' asked the researcher.

'We do not decide to come back [to co-residence] again, mainly because of inconvenience... if one of us becomes disabled, the other could take care, if finally one of us leaves... the other may discuss the further plan with our children then...'
(YXF, female, 1940, living with spouse)

The results suggested obvious differences between the rural and small-town 1940s participants, not only on the subject of independence, but also autonomy and consciousness in making decisions.

Expectations from adult children in providing future long-term care

If they got to the turning point where they needed daily instrumental care and did not have a spouse available, many small town 1940s participants still expected their adult children to provide daily long-term care. And, like their rural counterparts, some of them still held strong patrilocal traditions and expected more from their adult sons than their adult daughters.

I just expect my children to fulfil the filial piety and provide more help if we are ill... but traditionally, when you are ill, you could only stay in the son's house, rather than the daughter's, because you should never die in the daughter's home... (YXF, female, 1940, living with spouse)

When I become older, I am accustomed to live at my son's home. Very occasionally, I can live in my daughter's home for short periods, if the weather is good. However, I will not live there for a long time if my health condition is worrisome... (WZQ, male, 1949, living alone)

However some others, especially ones like Mr Pan who had very optimistic personalities and high resilience, seemed quite open-minded towards later life compared with their peers:

When I am too old to work, or maybe mentally disabled, I will consider the social care instead of family support. At that time, my children will become old and have their children and grandchildren... Our generation may live to at least 80 years old, I guess, and we will prefer to live in the care institutions with our peers, who share the mutual collective memory and have similar life experiences... Let our children go for their own work and life... I know that the children are filial and care about us, but they have their own life and we cannot ask them to accompany us all the time. A generational gap exists between different generations... Our everlasting companion should be our peers. (PRC, male, 1949, living with spouse)

He was quite explicit about his main expectation for his adult children, that is, the emotional support.

When people become old, they are easily satisfied by some steamed buns and porridge, and now we never lack that food... What we really need is the mental

support... To me, the filial piety means that whenever and wherever, the children can speak to the parents and let them feel their love ... (PRC, male, 1949, living with spouse)

In addition, Mr Pan thought the daughters and sons should take equal family responsibility, on the premise that the parents treat the sons and daughters equally.

In my opinion, the daughter and the son should take equal reasonability for their parents. However, the premise is that you treat them in the same way. If you have family fortune, you should distribute equally among your sons and daughters... (PRC, male, 1949, living with spouse)

Mr Pan's opinions on family support reflected the change from traditional to modern among this group. His early life hardships, later life broad hobbies and interests, diverse social networks, and positive personality all together contributed to his open mind towards future long-term care.

Views on institutional and other care methods

Like their rural counterparts, many small town 1940s participants still preferred their adult children to fulfil filial piety, rather than moving to care institutions when they became disabled in the future. However, their rejection was not that strong and would keep the plan flexible according to the children's availability.

If one could live at home [living at one's own or the adult children's home], of course, it is better to live at home... (CCM, female, 1941, living alone)

If my son and daughter-in-law are too busy to take care of me in the future, I can go to the care institutions... but I will not live there if I have any other choice... (WZQ, male, 1949, living alone)

Strong traditional views on family support made them feel like they were being abandoned by their adult children if they were allowed to go to a care institution.

The care institutions are good, and if I were alone, I would consider going because the children cannot accompany me all the time, nevertheless, I do not know if I would be allowed by my children... The children should not let the parents go to

the institutions because they might be worried. I guess that my three children are very 'filial' and will not send me there... (YXF, female, 1940, living with spouse)

Due to backwardness of local social care infrastructure and the shortage of professional social care-givers, care institutions were demonized among many rural and some small-town 1940s cohort.

7.3.3 The 1940s cohort living in the city

Personal future care plans and preparations

The 1940s cohort living in the city had relatively higher social economic resources themselves than the groups based in other locations. They were relatively better educated and had higher retirement pensions than their small town or rural counterparts. In addition, many of them had purchased commercial insurance as a supplement to their social insurance, which once again reflected their high independence and autonomy in making a rational plan for later life.

Living in the city, they could benefit more from the development of modernity and new technology, which made their older age easier and more convenient. The interviews found that many urban 1940s participants were proficient in using smart devices such as phones, tablets, and communication apps (mainly Wechat) in their daily lives:

I have all the popular apps on my smart phone, like QQ and Wechat, and I constantly update my status by posting pictures. I share my life and my daily experience with friends, family and my old colleagues, and I keep interaction with them by comments and likes. In this way, I can better communicate with people and let my family and relatives know that I am fine. (CJR, male, 1944, living alone)

The smart devices helped the older people easily communicate with their peers and friends, have better and fast access to their adult children, and effectively enlarge or enhance their personal networks, which played an important role in promoting their emotional wellbeing. The results reflected serious technological inequality between the 1940s cohort living in cities, small towns, and rural villages.

Expectations from adult children in providing future long-term care

Whether they were currently co-residing or not, nearly every participant in this group expressed the opinion that they would not depend on their adult children for future long-term care. Their most common reason was that their adult children were very busy and had their own lives, so it was impossible for them to take responsibility for care when the parents became disabled. Their small number of children also limited the support they might get from their adult children in the future.

Views on institutional and other care methods

However, there were interesting differences on choices of other care plans. All four participants who came from working class backgrounds consistently expressed their plans to go to care institutions when they became disabled; in contrast, both of the participants with cadre or professional backgrounds chose to hire private caregivers and enjoy care services at their own homes. The division of the choice by economic status might suggest that the urban 1940s cohort still had the preference of living in their own place; their choice to move to a care institution might be a result of economic constraints, in conjunction with their adult children's availability.

Since none of the participants in this group relied on their adult children for future instrumental support, they all paid close attention to the social care services currently provided by the local government and their community. Their expectations for the improvement of social care service mainly covered the following points:

- There were huge gaps in retirement pension between people retired from the factories or companies and people retired from the government or professional occupations (nearly three to four times). The former expected to narrow the gap between the two, and enhance equality in the current urban pension system.
- The care institutions in the community were cheap but of low quality; the municipal care institutions were good and with reasonable price, but the resources were very limited and very competitive to get access to; the commercial care institutions had good conditions but were unreasonably expensive and located further away from the downtown area. The second type of care institutions always faced resource shortages while the first and third types needed to be adjusted in their qualities and charges. The resources of care institutions needed to be better integrated and allocated. The

government needed to establish a graded standard for older people's entrance into social care services in order to optimize allocation of social care resources.

- The expectation of the integration of medical care, instrumental care and bereavement services in social care institutions.
- Enhancement of the professional training of the caregivers in care institutions and enrichment of care resources to be more diverse.
- Cultivation of community care services, training of professionals and improvement of community care quality.
- Improvement of psychological care and mental healthcare in both care institutions and the community.

To sum up, large gaps were found between people living in rural villages, small towns, and big cities in terms of their economic preparation, their dependence on adult children, and the local social support resources available to them in later life.

Among the three groups of older people, the rural 1940s participants were found to be most vulnerable, indeed some were triply vulnerable: first, they were vulnerable themselves in terms of health and economic status. They may face higher morbidity resulting from nutrient deficiency and heavy farm work in early life, but had very little social pension and disposable medical insurance due to China's urban-rural dual social structure and differentiated social security scheme. Then, they were vulnerable in terms of access to public care resources, as such facilities were not available in their local communities. Finally, they were vulnerable because their adult children were a 'transitional cohort' who were caught in the modernisation and urbanisation process in China and might be less available.

For the small town 1940s cohort, one significant problem was the lack of public care resources in the local community. For the urban 1940s cohort, as they were generally better in personal preparation and public resources, the main problems were the integration of resources and the quality of service.

7.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has found significant intra-group differences in terms of early life trajectories and influences for later life, the current patterns of intergenerational transfer, as well as in preparation and expectations for future long-term care amongst the 1940s participants living in villages, small towns, and big cities. The 1940s participants living in villages generally experienced deprivation in their early life and had accumulated fewer socioeconomic resources for later life; they were generally heavily influenced by tradition, and preferred more children, especially sons, but did not receive a significant amount of transfer from their adult children, as their adult children generally had lower socioeconomic status and migrated. They strongly rejected the idea of care homes and preferred to be cared for by adult sons in their future older age, but were found to be more cared for by their adult daughters. Comparatively, the urban 1940s participants were more economically independent, and they could make more rational care plans for their later lives. The small-town 1940s participants were in between. One important explanation which emerged from these results was modernisation, and its uneven influences on different groups of older people and the subsequent inequality which arose from it. Further discussion will be made in the final discussion and conclusion chapter.

Chapter 8 The ‘Lost Generation’: Intergenerational Support amongst the 1950s Cohort

Following the structure of Chapter 7, this chapter focuses on the same themes but for a different cohort, i.e. the 1950s cohort. The 1950s cohort is generally regarded as the major part of the ‘Lost Generation’ or the ‘Cultural Revolution Generation’, born between 1947 and 1960 (Bonnin, 2006). Similar to the findings about the 1940s cohort, great heterogeneity was found between the study participants living in villages, small towns and big cities⁴⁵.

8.1 Social and Historical Events, Early Life Experiences, and Potential Later Life Care Resources and Care Needs

This section investigates how key social and historical events, as well as key social policies, in the past few decades have influenced in different ways the three different groups of study participants born between the years 1950–59.

8.1.1 The 1950s Cohort Living in Rural Villages

Social and historical events before the Market Reform (1979)

The rural 1950s cohort were mostly in their childhood and adolescence during the early stages of the PRC (see Table 3). Due to the planned economic system within China at that time, rural Chinese families were not allowed to work individually but had to work in a collective production team and were assigned grain from the production team uniformly (see 3.2.1). Under those conditions, they had no opportunities to earn money in other ways, and during the planned economic period most rural families were deprived of money, food and clothes. Like the rural 1940s participants, many of the rural 1950s participants experienced difficulties in their early life. Mr Li recalled:

⁴⁵ In this study, we recruited research participants according to their current living status. The rural participants were all brought up in rural China, while some small-town participants were brought up in rural China; and some urban participants were brought up in rural or small-town areas of China.

Life was so difficult during my childhood. Only during the Chinese New Year could I have a chance to eat the steamed bun made of wheat flour... I did not wear socks until the age of ten ... (LXJ, male, 1955, living with spouse and adult son's family)

These early life experiences have to some extent continued to influence their lifestyles and views of consumption. A frugal lifestyle might in turn impact their standard of living in older age:

I never thought about myself, and I seldom spend money on myself. I do not drink and smoke... The money my younger daughter gives me is mainly used for social connections⁴⁶ and my grandson's pocket money... (LXJ, male, 1955, living with spouse and adult son's family)

In addition, the idea of egalitarianism developed during the collective economy in the early stages of their lives has influenced their expectations towards material support from each of their adult children. Basically, parents expected more material support from their better-off children, and used part of the money to assist those who were worse off.

As a parent, I want every child to live well, and hope to seek a balance between them. For example, my younger daughter has higher income, so I got her money to help the child who is worse off... and I expect the younger daughter to provide financial support in later life... she is my spiritual prop... (LXJ, male, 1955, living with spouse and adult son's family)

This deprivation in early life amongst the rural 1950s cohort also decreased their opportunities to receive an education.

In 1958, during the period of the Great Famine, I was school age. You may not know that it was an extremely difficult period, when [rural] residents nearly starved and had nothing to wear... Rural families worked collectively at the people's commune and had no private income or grain storage... At that time, my family was too poor to send me and my siblings to school... (ZCH, female, 1951, living with spouse)

⁴⁶ In rural China, reciprocity among villagers is an important daily ritual to maintain one's social network within the village. It is generally carried out by giving 'gift money' during weddings, funerals, or some other important ceremonies.

Compared with their urban counterparts, the rural 1950s participants on average had very little education, and there was an obvious gender gap in educational attainments between rural 1950s men and women, as suggested by the quantitative results (see 5.1.1). In this qualitative study, all of the rural 1950s women had no formal education, while the men generally had primary school or junior high school education. Educational opportunities, especially for rural 1950s women, were impacted by the economic hardships during the Great Leap Forward and the period of the Cultural Revolution. However, although some rural 1950s men were able to have elementary education, the Red Guard Campaign during the Cultural Revolution considerably reduced lowered the quality of their education.

When the Cultural Revolution started, I was at primary school. My memory of schooling at that time was mostly about the criticizing campaign every day... I had junior high school education, but the quality of education was very poor, even inferior to today's primary school education... (WMQ, male, 1957, living alone)

Early poverty and little education affected their chances of leaving their villages and experiencing upward social mobility.

I have been farming all my life... With little education and skills, which factory will accept me? (WMD, male, 1955, living with spouse)

The interviews with rural 1950s participants suggested three potential influences of early life experiences over participants' later lives: their frugal life style, their differentiated expectations toward their children for financial support, and the education and potential socioeconomic resources, including personal savings and retirement pensions, as well as other social support resources available to them.

The Family Planning Policy

Most of the 1950s cohort were in their twenties or early thirties during the period 1979 to 1984 (see Table 3), when the Family Planning Policy was tightened and advocated 'one child per couple' (Kaufman et al., 1989). However, nearly all of the rural 1950s participants in the fieldwork had three or more children. This was consistent with evidence from previous literature, indicating that the One Child Policy was not strictly implemented in rural China and that more than 40% of annual births in rural China were in breach of the plan in the 1980s (Attane, 2002). Birth rates in local official statistics were also found to be underestimated (Kaufman et al., 1989).

My second child was born in 1983, and we were imposed a heavy fine... so did our third child, but we intended to have three children, even at the price of heavy fines. (ZXF, female, 1959, living with spouse and adult son's family)

At first, the Family Planning Policy allowed us to have two children, but later it was stricter. At that time, they would take your cattle, your sheep, your grains and everything if you broke the rules... But I had three sons and wanted a daughter... Finally, I gave birth to my daughter secretly... (ZCH, female, 1951, living with spouse)

Two main reasons emerged from the qualitative data that accounted for rural 1950s participants' preference for more children. One is the prevalence of clan force in rural China.

Rural society in that period operated by clan force. If you had a bigger family with more sons, then other villagers would not dare to say any bad words in front of you or bully you. (ZXF, female, 1959, living with spouse and adult son's family)

Another reason was the consideration of care in old age. The tradition of old age care in rural China involved relying on adult children, especially the adult sons. The rural 1950s cohort were still heavily influenced by this view at childbearing age, and thus desired more children.

One child is far from enough to bear the care burdens of their parents in old age, not to mention their grandparents... (LXJ, male, 1959, living with spouse and adult son's family)

In addition to the well-known preference for sons in rural China (Das Gupta *et al.*, 2003; Murphy, Tao and Lu, 2011), many rural 1950s participants expressed their willingness to have at least a son and a daughter for old age care concerns.

Why I had four children? After having three sons, I just want to have a daughter... It would be more convenient for me to be taken care of by my own daughter rather than the daughter-in-law in my older age... (LXJ, male, 1955, with spouse and adult son's family) (Also, see ZCH's quotation above)

In order to achieve successful delivery of the (unauthorised) child/children outside of the strict policy during the 1980s, many rural 1950s participants used strategies such as hiding, temporary migration, or using their personal networks with village authorities to help them dodge the pregnancy examination and enforced abortion. After the unauthorised

child/children were safely born, many of them would try to legalise the child by paying a fine, either in cash or in goods (like family animals or furniture).

This practice resulted in more adult children being available for many rural 1950s participants in this study, compared with their urban counterparts. The intergenerational interaction and transfers are discussed in 8.2.1.

Internal migration, urbanisation and modernisation

Like the rural 1940s participants, many rural 1950s participants did not have experience of migrating themselves, but have adult children who were migrant workers. Similar to the pattern amongst the rural 1940s participants' migrant children, the migrant children of the rural 1950s participants generally migrated temporarily or seasonally, and were able to terminate their temporary jobs and return quickly at harvest season or when needed.

My eldest son does not go out to work and my youngest daughter also stays at home to take care of her children... The other two sons only go out after harvest and during winter, and they stay all summer at home... (ZCH, female, 1951, living with spouse)

Because of my bad health [breast cancer], my daughter has to take care of me and she does not do long-term work outside, currently; she left [to another province] to work temporarily and will return after one month. (WZJ, male, 1958, living alone)

Another trend which is also similar to the rural 1940s cohort was that adult sons were more likely to migrate than adult daughters. This is further discussed in 8.2.1.

Since the rural 1950s participants seldom had experience of migration themselves, they were less influenced by modernisation and urbanisation and the social values and life styles along with those trends. Like the rural 1940s participants, they were found to be very traditional in terms of their values and minds: many of them still had a preference for sons, patrilocal living arrangements, and biased intergenerational transfers. These ideas are discussed in 8.2.1 and 8.3.1.

In summary, the rural 1950s participants were similar to the rural 1940 participants in terms of their early life experiences, fertility preferences, achieved fertility, and their accumulated socioeconomic resources. They themselves were seldom influenced by the modernisation process in their early lives, and were not only deprived economically, but also had very little

education and were very traditional in their mind and views. This will be further discussed in 8.3.1.

8.1.2 The 1950s cohort living in small towns

Having urban Hukou, the 1950s cohort living in small towns in this study were relatively better educated and pension-protected than their rural counterparts; however, some of them were brought up in rural China and still impacted by the traditional view of fertility preference and family support by adult sons. Their early life experiences were distinct from those of the 1950s cohort living in the villages and the city.

Social and historical events before the Market Reform (1979)

The small-town 1950s participants included two types of people: those who were brought up and currently lived in a small town, and those who were brought up in rural villages but currently lived in a small town. The former rarely suffered much starvation during their early lives because the urban Hukou status enabled their families to get reasonable grain rations during the Planned Economy period (see 3.2.1 and Table 3). The latter were brought up in rural villages and experienced different degrees of poverty in their early lives.

For both types of participants, the most frequently mentioned impact of the Cultural Revolution was the poor quality of schooling during that period.

My education was not interrupted, but was of very low quality at that time. Our generation was generally not well trained and did not have the genuine knowledge. During the Cultural Revolution, our study was led by political trends, today we learned this policy, and tomorrow we learned that slogan... We had Chinese and Mathematical courses, but no Physics and Chemistry modules in our junior high school. (LAX, male, 1958, living with spouse)

As most small-town 1950s respondents did not experience being ‘sent down’ during the Cultural Revolution, they were more likely to marry in their early twenties and in turn, the timing of their childbearing was not delayed compared to their city counterparts who experienced being ‘sent down’. But the poor quality of schooling reduced their opportunities to experience upward social mobility to the city and to better accumulate economic resources for later life.

The Family Planning Policy

Located in between the cities and rural villages, the small-town participants had hybrid characteristics of urban and rural people. As most of them had held a non-agricultural occupation, they were more constrained by social policies than rural residents. However, as some small-town residents had rural parents or were brought up in rural areas, they had been deeply influenced by the traditional view of ‘more children bring more happiness (多子多福)’. Moreover, due to lower living expenses in small towns, parents did not have as great a financial pressure to rear more children as their urban counterparts. In this study, most small-town 1950s participants preferred to have a daughter and a son, and they generally ended with two children.

For me, a daughter and a son would be ideal. However, my first two children were both sons. How I wish to have a daughter! But it was impossible, because I was forced to have the ligation shortly after my delivery... I was a teacher at the primary school, and the [Family Planning] policy was very strict at that time... (YXL, female, 1958, living alone)

Compared with the 1950s participants living in the city, who all had only one child each (except for one migrant parent, and one unmarried parent), the small-town 1950s participants on average had two children. The key issue is that the number of children they had could make a significant difference in their current intergenerational interactions, as well as their plans for future long-term care, which is discussed in 8.2.2 and 8.3.2.

Internal migration, urbanisation and modernisation

The 1950s participants living in a small town were seldom influenced by the trend of internal migration from the 1990s onward. However, some of the 1950s participants did experience permanent migration (or upward mobility) in their early adulthood, when they moved from the villages and got jobs in the township.

The Hukou system before the 1980s was very strict, and people’s mobility was greatly controlled by the government. Rural people were not allowed to transfer their rural Hukou to an urban Hukou because the latter was attached to particular social benefits. Thus, the urban Hukou was strictly controlled by the government and became a scarce resource (see 3.2.1). For some of the 1950s cohort who originally grew up in rural villages, one common practice to achieve the urban Hukou at that time was through higher education and assigned urban jobs.

I was brought up in the villages, and after I graduated from the Normal College, I was able to get a teacher position in the county and get the urban Hukou... I started to live in this town from then on... (YXL, female, 1958, living alone)

This kind of migration was not in the traditional sense of China's large-scale internal migration, which started in the 1990s and mainly brought rural labour to big cities. The 1950s cohort living in small towns were seldom influenced in this way. Likewise, their adult children were also unlikely to be influenced by internal migration after the 1990s, according to the interviews.

The small-town 1950s participants were generally in their early midlife when China started its modernisation and urbanisation process in the 1980s, so they could be influenced by some modern culture through the socialisation process in the area of employment. For example, they did not prefer 'as many children as possible', did not hold a strong preference for sons, and could be more rational in making future long-term care plans, compared with their rural counterparts. The intergenerational transfers and plans for old age long-term care amongst this group of participants are discussed in 8.2.2 and 8.3.2.

In summary, the small-town 1950s participants were not as greatly affected as some 1940s participants by the Cultural Revolution, and most of them experienced the Family Planning Policy but still had two children. They started their midlife when China had its Economic Reform, and social modernisation further influenced their views and minds in later life.

8.1.3 The 1950s cohort living in the city

Social and historical events before the Market Reform (1979)

As discussed in 3.2.2, 17 million urban youths were 'sent down' to rural China to be 're-educated'⁴⁷ during the Cultural Revolution period. However, the qualitative data suggested that the urban 1950s participants were affected differently by the Cultural Revolution. In ordinary urban families, teenagers were not forcibly sent to rural areas. In fact, to express their high ideological and political consciousness, some urban high school graduates

⁴⁷ Mao Zedong's stated aim for the 'sent-down' policy was to ensure that urban students could 'develop their talents to the full' through education amongst the rural population. By being 're-educated' by the peasants, it was expected that the 'sent-down' campaign would better integrate the urban educated youth into the working class. See Wikipedia: Down to the Countryside Movement, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Down_to_the_Countryside_Movement.

volunteered to go to the villages. Families with ‘bad elements’⁴⁸ were ‘strongly encouraged’ to send their children to rural areas to receive re-education. In reality, many of them were forced to send at least one child, usually the eldest child, to remote rural regions. These ‘sent-down youths’ generally stayed in rural areas for three to ten years, and the ‘sent down’ experience dramatically influenced their subsequent marriages, childbearing and career development.

I was born in 1954 and in 1968, when I was only 14 years old and just graduated from junior high school, I was sent down to Dongbei [north-eastern China]. Yeah, I was the so-called ‘Laosanjie’. ... My father was a professor and the director of the physics department at Zhejiang University, he was criticised and ‘overthrown’ during the Cultural Revolution, and then our house was searched and property was confiscated... Both my elder brother and sister were sent down to live and work in a production team in Dongbei... You do not understand, we all have to go to the rural areas [to be re-educated], and my brother tried but still did not manage to escape... (CYW, female, 1954, living alone)

Ms Chen’s life had a lot of twists and turns after her return to the city. She experienced a series of life events like a relationship breakup, resigning from her job, building her business, and selling her company in later life. She remained single and did not have any biological children. Although not all the ups and downs in the course of her life were caused by the Cultural Revolution, her uneven life course was a typical example of the ‘sent-down youth’ with the particular social background of the Cultural Revolution in China.

In this study, most urban 1950s participants married after the age of 26, generally three or four years later than the average marital age (22.5 years) among the 1940s and 1960s birth cohort in the quantitative dataset (see Table 12). Consequently, the average age at which they had their first child was correspondingly postponed. This directly affected their chances of having a second child as well, as the Family Planning Policy still allowed urban couples

⁴⁸ During the Cultural Revolution, five groups of people were considered enemies of the Revolution: landlords (地主), rich farmers (富农), counter-revolutionaries (反革命), bad influencers or bad elements (坏分子), and rightists (右派). They were called the Five Black Categories and became the targets of the Cultural Revolution. See Wikipedia: Five Black Categories, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Five_Black_Categories.

to have a second child prior to 1979, providing there was a long interval between births (Attane, 2002).

I was just graduated from junior high school in 1966 and had no chance to go to senior high, because high school education was suspended and the teachers were jailed. Then I went here and there with other 'Red Guards' to rebel... When 1968, I went to the army, and three years later, I was demobilized and did two years' farm work... I was finally recommended to go to junior college in 1973.... When I got married, I was already 28 years old... My son was born in 1978, when we were still allowed to have a second child after a five year interval. However, shortly afterwards, the policy was totally changed... You would be dismissed if you were against the One Child Policy... We had no choice but to abort our second child during pregnancy... We intended to have at least two children if we had not been strictly restricted ... (ZLF, male, 1950, living with spouse and adult son's family)

For others, because of later marriage and later childbearing, the timing of being grandparents was also delayed. This meant that they might be older when they first had a grandchild and provided care for them.

The Cultural Revolution interrupted our education, and it was not until 1978 that we went to college. My husband then continued doing his masters, so I had my daughter when I was 35 years old... Now she is 26 and does not even have a boyfriend. I guess I might not be able to support her with childcare in the future in my late 60s... (MAY, female, 1955, living with spouse)

Although not evidenced in this qualitative study, previous literature suggested that there was a sharp rise in the divorce rate among the 'sent down' cohort when the policy allowed them to return to the city (Chang, 1996). This study, however, found that some urban 1950s participants remained unmarried and childless after the delay caused by the Cultural Revolution. As parent-child relations are central to the social embeddedness of older people, and childless adults are at higher risk of lacking the social and emotional support when they became frail and dependent (Albertini and Kohli, 2017), the childless urban 1950s cohort could become more vulnerable than their peers when they become older.

Amongst the children who 'luckily escaped' from the 'disaster', the greatest influence of the Cultural Revolution upon their lives was the interrupted education or low education quality, which might possibly have influenced their later-life employment.

I was not 'sent down' because I had an elder sister who was sent down to the village. Actually, my father had high ideological and political consciousness and intended to send all our three siblings to the villages, but was prevented by my mother. We were at junior high school at that time, and as I remembered, we were holding Chairman Mao's 'Little Red Book' to criticise our teachers all day long... My husband is four years older than me, and he was the 'Laosanjie' [see 3.2.2]. They went to Beijing to make 'connections' with other 'Red Guards' and were interviewed by Chairman Mao... for most of us, it was a period of rebellion, and the school education was nearly suspended... (GHF, female, 1955, living with spouse)

Some members of the urban 1950s cohort who were not 'sent down' to rural areas went into the labour market after completing their junior or senior high school education. During the Cultural Revolution, 95% of urban jobs were state assigned, and children from working-class backgrounds could go to their parents' 'danwei' (working unit) by 'dingti' (replacement) or 'neizhao' (internal recruitment) (Bian, 1994). Being less educated and having fewer skills, those 'assigned' members of the urban 1950s cohort were more likely to experience lay-offs or early retirement during the large-scale reform of the state-owned enterprise (SOE) in the 1990s and early 2000s (Ci, 2002).

We are the miserable cohort... During the Cultural Revolution, we could not accept normal education and do not have the genuine knowledge. We were assigned jobs at early ages, but there were no good jobs at that moment... later, some of us again became the victims of SOE reform [see 3.2.4] and were laid off... (MAY, female, 1955, living with spouse)

In summary, the life courses of many members of the urban 1950s cohort were significantly influenced by the Cultural Revolution, with delayed marriage and childbearing, and many other uneven life experiences. However, they were also a distinct group who developed strong will, firm faith, and great independence from the twists and turns in their lives. These distinct characteristics might influence their attitudes towards later life, as discussed in 8.3.3.

The Family Planning Policy

Most urban 1950s participants were brought up in the city and only had one child. There was, however, one participant in this study who had five children because he was brought up in a nearby rural village and migrated to the city after retirement. For most native members of the urban 1950s cohort, the Family Planning Policy, especially the tightened policy after 1979, had a great impact on their fertility choices.

My colleague wanted a boy, but she was forced to have medical abortion otherwise both the couple would be dismissed... (GHF, female, 1955, living with spouse)

Some members of the urban 1950s cohort who were born in the early 1950s should have had some chance to give birth to a second child before 1979, when the Family Planning Policy started to be tightened and forced urban citizens to have only one child. However, influenced by the Cultural Revolution and the ‘sending down’ campaign, first marriage for many ‘sent-down’ youths among the urban 1950s cohort was significantly postponed. Their first births were correspondingly delayed as a result. They may have, in this sense, lost their chance to have a second child (see quotation of ZLF, P 218). The Family Planning Policy, in general, rigidly restricted most of the urban 1950s cohort to have only one child, regardless of their fertility preferences.

Internal migration, urbanisation and modernisation

Most 1950s participants in this study originally grew up in the city, thus they and their family members were seldom influenced by the internal migration in China. However, one participant from this group was originally from a rural area, and migrated to the city where he was interviewed to live permanently in old age. He is a typical example of the ‘migrant parent’ living in the city.

I was a businessman in W city, which is close to the city of Hangzhou. After my retirement [from self-employment], my wife and I moved to the second daughter’s home to help her take care of the child, for around three years... Then we helped our youngest son look after his child for around five years... Now we live separately in a house in this community, and we do not plan to move back to our home village. (XXT, male, 1950, living with spouse)

Mr Xu had five children, who all had university-level education, higher socioeconomic status, and lived permanently in the city. Mr Xu and his wife also had enough savings from a previous business and owned a property in this city. The main problem they faced was the integration of their social and medical insurance.

We have the medical insurance and I have some money on my account. But the money on our accounts is restricted to be used within our hometown and I have to pay myself when I see a doctor in Hangzhou... (XXT, male, 1950, living with spouse)

Migrant parents are an emerging group in the city and they require appropriate attention by policy makers. Although the government is now working towards the integration of social and medical insurance between urban and rural areas (Cai and Du, 2015), this study suggests that social protection for migrant older people remains limited and urgently needs to be addressed. This issue will be further discussed in the discussion chapter.

In addition to internal migration, the adult children of some urban 1950s participants migrated to other countries permanently. The participants might not have an adult child nearby in older age. Their future plans for long-term care are discussed in 8.3.3.

Most older people from this group were significantly influenced by the rapid urbanisation and modernisation process which has taken place in Chinese cities. The respondents living in urban areas tended to be more independent and open-minded, and to have more frequent use of technology and more diverse social networks. This in turn significantly impacted their current intergenerational interaction with their adult children and their future long-term care plans. This is discussed in 8.2.3 and 8.3.3.

In summary, great heterogeneity was found amongst the early life courses of the 1950s cohort living in different hierarchical regions. The rural and small-town 1950s cohort generally were not caught up in political events, but they experienced deprived living standards and low-quality education during their early lives. Most of the urban 1950s cohort, however, were within the ‘Lost Generation’, who had a lot of ups and downs in their adolescence and early adulthood, and were more likely to be influenced in terms of their education, employment, marriage, childbearing and so on. As adulthood is a crucial life stage that determines one’s cumulative life advantages and disadvantages, their later life socioeconomic status and family support recourses were affected to various extents.

8.2 Current Patterns of Intergenerational Family Support

Unlike the 1940s cohort, the 1950s cohort were still in their late midlife or early old age at the time of interviews. One consequence of their younger age was that they were more

likely to have a spouse available; another was that their adult children were likely to be in their thirties and to have the double burden of employment and raising a dependent child. The average number of children, as well as the socioeconomic status of the adult children, was found to be different amongst the 1950s participants living in the villages, small towns, and big cities, and this might result in different patterns of intergenerational transfers among them.

8.2.1 The 1950s Cohort Living in Rural Villages

The intergenerational transfer from adult children to the parents

The interviews suggested that the material support patterns from adult children to the rural 1950s participants were quite similar to those amongst the rural 1940s participants, because the socioeconomic status of the cohorts themselves and their adult children were quite similar. In addition to this, the reported patterns of instrumental and emotional support reflected a hierarchical ordering: **the significant spouse, the thoughtful daughters and the negligent sons**.

In accordance with previous literature (Cooney and Di, 1999) and similar to the situation among the rural 1940s cohort, for those who had a spouse available, the spouse remained the primary source of family support when rural 1950s participants were in need.

When I was in hospital early this year, my wife took care of me and we did not ask the children for help. They are very busy and had their own children and we did not want to give them extra burden... (LXJ, male, 1959, living with spouse and adult son's family)

My husband was accompanying me in hospital and we did not let our migrant children know that I was ill... (ZXF, female, 1959, living with spouse and adult son's family)

However, for those members of the rural 1950s cohort who were widowed at this age, the absence of a spouse brought them extra difficulties in life. In this case, adult daughters were seen as more competent and helpful than adult sons, due to their close proximity (i.e., not having migrated) as well as their increasing power within the family domain (the reasons were explained in details in 7.2.1).

Similar to those of the rural 1940s cohort, the adult daughters of the rural 1950s cohort were generally more emotionally close to their parents than the adult sons. This was reflected

through daily interaction and the giving of instrumental support when needed. Many members of the rural 1950s cohort in this study were visited by their nearby daughters around every week or ten days. Daughters seemed to be more responsible for the parents who were in bad health conditions or difficulties.

Mr Wang was suffering from breast cancer at the time of the interview, and his wife had just passed away from the same disease. He was very weak and frail and had some difficulties with his daily living activities.

I can barely cook myself. I cook two meals daily and skip the third meal... When you are disabled, it is hard to say whether you can live to tomorrow or not... My son and his wife are doing temporary work in the county and taking care of their children who are studying in the county schools... It is my second daughter who comes to see me every day. Now my son and grandchildren come back home for summer vacation and my daughter can go out to work for one month... (WZJ, male, 1958, living alone)

A similar situation occurred for another widowed rural 1950s woman who was living alone.

My husband passed away last year and my eldest son just divorced... He works outside and eats here in my home when he is back. I take care of his two kids... Life is so difficult for me, I only had two Jiao [0.2] yuan at home and sold my goose for 50 yuan... my son was involved in a car accident and I had no money to help him make compensation... I completely depend on my daughter, because only she takes pity on me... Yesterday she gave me 200 yuan... (ZDJ, female, 1959, living alone)

Consistent with recent literature discussed in Section 4.2.1, the rural 1950s cohort's daughters were not viewed as 'spilt water'; on the contrary, they seemed even more helpful than the sons to their parents. Even though the intergenerational transfers from the parents to adult children were still significantly gender biased, being primarily focussed towards adult sons and their families, the older parents in rural areas in this study received more support from their daughters, rather than their sons.

Intergenerational transfers from parents to adult children

Because their adult sons migrated for the purpose of working, many rural 1950s participants had taken on the responsibilities of raising their young grandchildren, especially when both

the adult son and his spouse migrated to work in other places. Such arrangements appear to have become a near universal phenomenon among the rural 1950s participants, no matter whether they were co-resident with their adult sons, living with their own spouse, or living alone.

The children of the three sons were all raised up by my spouse and I. (LXJ, male, 1959, living with spouse and adult son's family)

How can we not take care of the grandchildren? Their parents have to go out to make money... (WMD, male, 1955, living with spouse)

My eldest son's two children were living with me. He is divorced – if I do not raise the kids who will worry about them? (ZDJ, female, 1959, living alone)

Aside from taking care of the grandchildren during the periods in which the adult children had migrated, the rural 1950s cohort always provided daily meals during the periods when their migrant sons returned home. The adult sons had their own houses, which were usually near their parents' homes, but some of them still ate at their parents' homes when they returned from migration temporarily.

In addition, the downward intergenerational support from the rural 1950s participants to their adult children was partial and gender-biased. All of the rural 1950s participants in this study held the idea that they were only responsible for their adult sons' children and they would not look after the grandchildren on the daughters' sides. This suggests an asymmetrical pattern of intergenerational reciprocity among the rural 1950s participants: while significant upward intergenerational support came from adult daughters, downward intergenerational transfers still mainly pointed towards adult sons and their families. This result is consistent with one recent piece of published research, which indicated that adult daughters in mainland China were generally 'providing more but receiving less' (Hu, 2017).

In summary, the intergenerational transfer pattern amongst the rural 1950s cohort were very similar to that amongst the rural 1940s cohort, except for two changes: the more obvious hierarchical orders of family support towards them (i.e. spouse-daughter-son), and the more significant downward transfer towards their adult sons, not only including childcare, but also frequent daily meals.

8.2.2 The 1950s cohort living in small towns

Like many 1940s participants living in small towns, the small-town 1950s participants generally had two children and had at least one child living in the same town as them. The patterns of intergenerational transfer amongst the small-town 1950s participants were also quite similar to those amongst the small town 1940s participants.

Intergenerational transfers from adult children to parents

Due to the intergenerational transmission of poverty, in this study very few of the adult children of the rural 1950s participants achieved upward social mobility and became permanent citizens of a city. However, the adult children of some small-town 1950s participants obtained upward social mobility through education or doing business. This study found that better-off adult children always provided more financial or material support to their parents, while nearby children visited their parents more frequently and helped more with the parents' daily needs. Ms Lu had a son living abroad who gave her material support constantly. In contrast, her nearby daughter visited her more often but transferred fewer resources financially.

My son graduated from Tsinghua University and now he is in the United States doing research... Poor or not, my daughter would not burden us financially, but my son could not bear that we were short of money... He supported us financially, and he said he would buy us a new house in the near future... (LAL, female, 1954, living with spouse)

Similar to Ms Lu, Mr Li's better-off younger son bought him a house in the son's city to live in when he got older.

My younger son had bought a house for us in W city, the city he is living in... and we will live close to his own neighbourhood when we become older... (LAX, male, 1958, living with spouse)

Qualitative data from this study did not suggest a gender difference in intergenerational transfers from adult children to the small-town 1950s participants. This might be because the small-town 1950s participants had relatively few children, and their children were more diverse in terms of socioeconomic status compared to the children of the rural 1950s participants. The intergenerational support from adult children to the small-town 1950s

participants also reflected the negotiations between siblings over providing family support to their parents. By providing different types of support, the adult children sought a balance of filial obligations toward their parents according to their proximity, ability, and availability.

Intergenerational transfers from parents to adult children

Similar to the small town 1940s participants, the small town 1950s participants in general provided their adult children with not only childcare support, but also some financial help. Their downward intergenerational transfers were not that partial, since they had less preference for sons and fewer children than their rural counterparts.

My husband passed away twenty years ago and I brought up my two sons on my own. Besides my main job, I did several part-time jobs to make money... I helped both sons with their marriages... I supported my elder son around 10,000 yuan and my younger son around 30,000-40,000 yuan when they got married... After retirement, I go to my elder son's house to help them cook meals and send my grandson to school every day, and it lasts for four to five years... As the parent, I love both of them, but I lean slightly to the child who is weaker. Like my elder son, he is not as affluent as my younger son and his child is not that healthy, so I devote more to his family than to my younger son's... (YXL, female, 1958, living alone)

Like Ms Yang, many small town 1950s participants, especially women, helped their adult children's families with daily chores or childcare. Some of them also provided financial support when the adult children bought their houses. Compared with the small-town 1940s cohort, the downward financial support from the small-town 1950s cohort seemed to be in larger amounts. This might partly be an effect of age, as their children were in early adulthood and need greater financial support when getting married or buying a property. It might also be due to a cohort effect, which indicates that the 1950s cohort have better economic conditions in older age than the 1940s cohort and are more able to assist their adult children when needed.

8.2.3 The 1950s cohort living in the city

Intergenerational transfers from adult children to the parents

Like the urban 1940s participants, most urban 1950s participants did not receive regular substantial financial or material support from their adult children, as they were better

protected by their pensions. However, some better-off adult children would give their parents ‘gift money’ or ‘precious gifts’ on special days or festivals to express their ‘filial piety’. This kind of material support was more expressive than substantial, mainly pointing towards the emotional support of parents.

My son [annual income around 500,000 CNY] constantly gives me gift money to express his gratitude for our support for his family... (ZLF, male, 1950l, living with spouse and adult son’s family)

Every time when they [the son’s family] come back home from Japan, they give us gift money... They remember our birthdays and usually send us gifts. Last time, my daughter-in-law brought me a very pricey bracelet from Hong Kong as my birthday gift. (GHF, female, 1955, living with spouse)

Some others, however, refused to accept gift money from their adult children because they thought their own income was enough for their daily living and old age.

The interviews also suggested that the urban 1950s participants were generally functionally well and provided family support to their adult children. They did not need any instrumental care for the time being. Their expectations for future long-term care are discussed in 8.3.3.

The emotional support given from adult children to their parents also varied from person to person and was based on their intergenerational relationship. However, significantly damaged relationships were found between divorced older men and their adult children.

Previous research suggests that people who had experienced being ‘sent down’ were more likely to have an unhappy marriage than their peers who did not have that experience (Chang, 1996b), and that divorced males were more likely to experience a deteriorated relationship with their children (see 2.4.2.3). The experience of Mr Wang, who is a divorced ‘sent down’ urban 1950s participant in this study, confirmed the previous literature.

Mr Wang is an extremely ‘silent’ interviewee among the participants. After I asked one question, he always looked at me quietly but said nothing. I could see sadness in his eyes, especially when we started to talk about his only daughter, who nearly had no contact with him after his divorce. He had lived alone since then. (The researcher’s notes 20161027)

‘Have your daughter got married or had children?’ (the researcher)

'I do not know, I do not know... I know nothing about her after that (the divorce)... we drifted apart since 2003...' (WH, male, 1950, living alone)

Older men like Mr Wang who are divorced, living alone, and have broken intergenerational relationships tend to be doubly vulnerable in terms of both intergenerational support resources and mental health. They critically need the intervention of specific social care and support.

Intergenerational transfers from parents to adult children

Like the urban 1940s participants discussed in 7.2.3, most urban 1950s participants had only one child, and nearly all of them were providing or planned to provide financial support, childcare, and support via daily chores to their only adult child. However, the amount of time and money they contributed was notably much greater.

For example, one couple from this group spent all their previous savings in order to buy their only daughter a property in the city, as house prices soared alongside the urbanisation process in big Chinese cities. In addition to that, the parents also provided full-time childcare and gave a constant living subsidy to the only adult child and her family.

We moved from another province to accompany my daughter here, when she got a job in this city in 2007. Then her father and I spent all our savings to buy her a house here. Our retirement pensions are in another province and much lower than here in Hangzhou. My husband found a second job here after retirement... we did not ask our daughter for daily expenses, because our income is OK... We buy groceries and pay bills, and sometimes we buy the baby's stuff... we do not mind... we always say that everything of ours is hers, no matter whether now or in the future... (MZX, female, 1955, living with spouse and adult daughter's family)

The 1950s participants were in their mid-fifties to mid-sixties at the time of interview, and all the urban 1950s participants were retired. Although most of them had chronic diseases to varying degrees, they were all functionally fit and many of them had previously or were currently taking care of their grandchildren. In this study, two co-resident 1950s participants lived with their adult children mainly for the purpose of providing grandchild care. Two others who were living with their spouses had just finished their roles as the caregivers for their grandchildren.

Ms Mao's granddaughter was two years old, and she spent nearly the entire day carrying out housework and taking care of the baby.

Basically, when I wake up at 6 am, I start to do housework, go out to buy daily groceries, cook meals, and look after the baby... most of the daytime I am busy, except for one or two hours when the baby is sleeping... (MZX, female, 1955, living with spouse and adult daughter's family)

Ms Guan had been a full-time caregiver for her grandson for five years from the day he was born. She and her husband looked after the grandchild in China while their adult son and daughter-in-law lived in Japan.

They [my son and daughter-in-law] live in Japan. You know, in that society, the pace of life is more rapid and they get more pressure... During their hardest time [when the baby was born], as parents, we said to my son, we support you, no matter how difficult... I then brought my grandson to China after he was born and raised him from 0 to 5 years old, all by ourselves in China. ' (GHF, female, 1955, living with spouse)

This intergenerational support pattern partially resulted from their age, as the 1950s participants were just retired and had certain personal savings and time, while their adult children were in early adulthood and tended to have more role conflicts and living pressures. However, 'Everything of ours is hers' vividly implies a cohort effect among the first generation of 'one child' parents, who would never regret giving too much to their 'only child', regardless of the child's gender.

In summary, the intergenerational transfer pattern among the 1950s participants living in rural areas, small towns, and big cities was similar to those of the 1940s participants living in each region respectively. A slight difference was that, compared with the 1940s participants, the 1950s participants in each category transferred relatively more money or time to their adult children's families. This could be largely explained by their age, as most of the 1950s cohort were in their 60s at the time of interviews, and when they became grandparents, they were likely to be more involved in childcare provision for their adult children's families. But among the urban 1950s cohort, 'Everything of ours is hers (his)' significantly reflected the cohort effect caused by One Child Policy, which partially accounted for their great monetary, time, and instrumental transfers to their only child.

8.3 Preparations and Expectations for Later Life: An Investigation from the Parents' Perspective

8.3.1 The 1950s Cohort Living in Rural Villages

Personal future care plans and preparations

Most members of the 1950s cohort who lived in the villages where interviews were conducted had their own farmland and mainly relied on farming for a living. Of those who were born in the early 1950s and had reached 60 years of age, most were receiving the new rural social insurance of around 78 yuan per month. However, rural social insurance was far from enough to cover their basic needs, especially when they got sick.

The 78 yuan cannot even afford your medical expenses if you get a cold. I had rural medical insurance, but the charge in the village hospital is very high and for treating the simple flu, it would be around 100 yuan... (ZCH, female, 1951, living with spouse)

In addition to their own personal resources and family support, the social support networks for the rural 1950s participants were relatively poor and weak. It was suggested that the most important supportive network next to family support (children and kinships) was their neighbours. In the relatively closed rural Chinese society, people always knew each other and had frequent daily interactions with each other. This study suggests that neighbours were always helpful when the rural 1950s participants had an emergency but did not have an adult child nearby. However, neighbours might not be able to provide the long-term care for when they become older.

If we came across difficulties and my children were not around, all the neighbours living nearby could give a hand, if you ask them, but just for emergency... (ZXF, female, 1959, living with spouse and adult son's family)

In the context of large-scale outward migration in Chinese villages, neighbours usually served as the urgent and immediate helpers. However, in this study, in addition to kinship, neighbours seemed to be the only source of social connections amongst the rural 1950s participants, with absence of community support and other supportive social networks.

Expectations from adult children in providing future long-term care

Similar to the rural 1940s participants, the rural 1950s participants (especially women) still had no or very little education and tended to hold the traditional idea of ‘son as old age safety net’ (养儿防老). Although their adult daughters provided more support in their daily lives, they still could not count on the adult daughters. One participant said, *‘no matter how much better were the daughters, they would leave, and no matter how much worse were the sons, they would stay’* [staying within the family and carrying on the family line]. (WMQ, male, 1957, living alone). Many of them would still prefer to depend on their adult sons in older age.

For long-term care, the sons should bear more, because the daughters belonged to another family. (ZDJ, female, 1959, living alone)

If we really need money, I believe my son will give us some... I don't ask the daughters for help, because they have married off and had their own families... If I were disabled in the future, I would rely on my son... (ZXF, female, 1959, living with spouse and adult son's family)

In the future, if I need daily help, I will ask my sons for help; if the sons are not at home, I will ask the neighbours... (ZCH, female, 1951, living with spouse)

However, when asked their specific expectation from each child, most of the rural 1950s participants would refuse to discuss this further. Their attitudes are represented by this from Mr Li and Mr Wang:

I have not thought that long. As long as ‘I remain a monk, I ring the bell’. It means that, as long as I am alive, I have to deal with the trivia and move on. I never consider who exactly would be able to care for me in the future if I were disabled. (LXJ, male, 1955, living with adult son)

I do not have any plans and arrangements, and never think about the next year before ending this year. People always say that plans cannot catch up with changes. No matter how well you have planned, it will change and your plan cannot be achieved... (WMQ, male, 1957, living alone)

Being in an early stage of older age, many rural 1950s participants did not currently need instrumental care in daily life and they seldom had experienced having their needs be ‘unmet’

because of their adult sons' outward migration. Therefore, their expectation was still hypothetical and will need further investigation when they reach older age.

Views on institutional and other care methods

The attitudes towards care institutions and other care methods among the rural 1950s participants were exactly the same as those amongst the rural 1940s participants. Institutional care still had severe stigma amongst this group of older people.

If you have sons and daughters and they send you to the care institutions, your children will lose face... Why losing face, because you raise them up but they escape their responsibilities and send you to the institutions... (WMD, male, 1955, living with spouse)

'You raise them [the children] up and if they have filial piety, they won't agree to you going to the institutions... if they send you to the care institutions and do not take the responsibilities, their own children and grandchildren will disregard them... (LXJ, male, 1959, living with adult son's family)

Besides, in the villages where the interviews were conducted, there were seldom any old age care services provided by the local village communities, nor were there any facilities. This study found that social care resources were scarce in the rural villages of central China.

8.3.2 The 1950s cohort living in small towns

Personal future care plans and preparations

Most small-town 1950s female participants had retired and were receiving a retirement pension. Their economic statuses were similar to those of the small-town 1940s participants. Some male participants were still working in the local area and had regular income at the time of the interviews. The average income or pension was around 2,000 yuan per month, which could generally cover their living expenses.

Compared to the small-town 1940s participants and the rural 1950s participants, the supportive networks outside the family amongst the small-town 1950s cohort were enlarged, and included the neighbours as well as friends and interest groups. These social networks could help enhance the emotional wellbeing of this group of older people.

I do not have any particular hobbies other than pastimes [square dancing]. It is the way we retired people get together and have fun... [From square dancing,] I have

seven to eight friends and we always meet and talk frequently. I will chat with them if I am not happy or under pressure... (PCL, female, 1955, living with adult son's family)

I like square dancing and playing badminton, and I can even beat my opponents who are in their thirties... I go out to play and meet these friends everyday... (YXL, female, 1958, living alone)

The small town, compared with the rural villages, had relatively more public places and better communal facilities for older people to develop their interests and activities, make friends, and enlarge their personal networks.

Expectations from adult children in providing future long-term care

Compared with the rural 1950s participants, the small town 1950s participants' expectations from their adult children for future long-term care seemed more rational and flexible. Although many of them still preferred to have support from their adult children, they would consider the availability of their adult children and be willing to accept other care methods. Their old age care plans seemed to be a compromise of their own willingness and their children's availability.

We [my friends and I] always talk about this [old age care]. When we are old, will our children have that time to provide care? We are considering the institutional care... if my children have that time and are willing to look after me, I will stay at home; if not, I will think about moving to care institutions... at least, our daily living can be ensured in a care institution... (PCL, female, 1955, living with adult son's family)

Generally, they had flexible plans and specific expectations from each child, considering their proximity, socioeconomic status, as well as availability to provide daily care.

Those who had multiple children with similar socioeconomic status and proximity generally thought that the burden should be shared by each child equitably, and expected the children to 'do the rounds'.

Those who had a child with better socioeconomic status but who lived far away usually expected more material support from the better-off child and more instrumental support from the nearby child.

Unlike the expectations amongst the rural 1950s cohort, no particular gender preference was found amongst this group of older people when considering the allocation of care responsibilities between each adult child.

Views on institutional and other care methods

The opinion towards the institutional care and other care methods amongst the small-town 1950s participants was similar to that amongst the small-town 1940s participants. Many of them still preferred to be cared for at home, and by their adult children, when they became older. However, if their children were not available, they could accept institutional care, but seemed quite worried about the quality and environment, and reserved it as their last choice for future long-term care.

8.3.3 The 1950s cohort living in the city

Personal future care plans and preparations

The urban 1950s participants, no matter whether they were local or migrants, were significantly better off than the other two groups of 1950s participants. Their retirement pensions and household savings enabled them to live a cosy life. In addition, their tenure of city properties provided them with another insurance for later life, as housing and rent were extremely expensive in China's big cities.

For those urban 1950s participants who experienced being 'sent down' or other downward social mobility during the Cultural Revolution, their early lives had a lot of ups and downs and seemed tragic. However, the interviews suggested that many of them showed different degrees of resilience in their later lives. Their resilience was partly due to their positive personality traits such as optimism, and partly from their multi-level social networks.

A significant network amongst the 'sent-down' 1950s participants in this study was the online peer group via Wechat.

We have a 'Sent-Down Youth Group' via Wechat, and everyone in that group had the mutual experience of being 'sent down'. We always chat together, recall our bitter memories of that period of life, encourage each other, and share information. It is one great way for us to look back and forward... You see, I just came back from the road trip with some friends from that group. (CYW, female, 1954, living alone)

Another important network found from this study was the interest groups at the community and city level. Nearly all of the urban 1950s participants mentioned their participation in interest groups, such as community activity groups (yoga, painting, accordion, and so on), provincial university for senior citizens, religious groups, and volunteer groups.

For those who had no natural child or whose only child was abroad, a significant supportive network was from kinship or ‘surrogate kinship’.

I subsidize two kids for their education, and they call me ‘surrogate mother’⁴⁹ (干妈)... (CYW, female, 1954, living alone)

My son has his life and career in Japan and it is impossible for him to return here... I have several surrogate daughters (干女儿), and it is good. They always ask me for my opinions in their daily lives, and we have frequent interactions, which makes me delighted... (GHF, female, 1955, living with spouse)

The interest groups and peer groups in real life and online brought some of the urban 1950s participants much emotional support, in the ‘one child’ context, which possibly contributed to their resilience in later life. ‘Surrogate kinship’, on the other hand, made up for the regret resulting from the One Child Policy, and might improve their later life intergenerational support resources, particularly in terms of emotional support.

Expectations from adult children in providing future long-term care

Rarely did any urban 1950s participants in this study plan to rely on their children for old age long-term care. Like some of the urban 1940s participants who held similar ideas, they were, on one hand, more economically independent and capable of affording the cost of old age care themselves; on the other hand, they were more sensible and understanding of their adult children’s life pressures. As in 8.2.3, many urban 1950s participants still transferred or were transferring great financial or childcare-based support to their adult children’s families. During the interviews, many participants mentioned the word ‘trouble’ and in order not to ‘trouble’ their children, they were developing their independence in their daily lives intentionally.

⁴⁹ A woman whose position is roughly equivalent to a foster mother and godmother without religious or legal complications.

We never tell our son when we have a minor illness. Why bother them because of these little trifles? If I tell him, he still cannot manage to accompany us every time but he will feel guilty. We just bear it ourselves and try to learn new things and rely on ourselves. For example, I go to hospital myself and learn the rules when seeing a doctor; I learn online shopping and buy my shoes and clothes online... we have to learn new things by ourselves and do not trouble the child... now we are still helpful: when we are not, living with the son's family is impossible. When you are old and not helpful, you will be cold-shouldered, from not only your own son, but also the grandchild... They may be tired of you and feel that you are dirty, which makes you lose dignity... (ZLF, male, 1950, living with spouse and adult son's family)

Like Mr Zhou from the above quotation, one women who lived with her adult daughter also expressed the willingness to move out when she and her husband become older. The current co-residence, for some urban 1950s participants, was a temporary living arrangement mainly based on the adult children's (and his/her family's) needs. On the premise of 'one child', the urban 1950s cohort devoted a lot to their next generation, with little expectation of feedback in the future.

Views on institutional and other care methods

Many urban 1950s participants accepted the method of institutional care; however, the interviews suggested that there might be several obstacles for them to get access to this method of care. One apparent existing problem was the shortage of public care resources.

Now it is difficult to go to the public care institutions. I have a friend who helped me consult some institutions, and told me that I had to wait until I am 80 years old. I even do not know if I can live that long. We have a care institutions in our community as well; it is not big but also fully packed... (CYW, female, 1954, living alone)

The government-run public care institutions were generally of a high standard and reasonable price. However, this public resource was limited. Other private-run high-quality care institutions with professional medical service and superior conditions always cost a lot and were not affordable for most ordinary urban retired workers.

My mother-in-law previously lived with us but after she got dementia, we decided to send her to a good care home, which costs 20,000 yuan per month. She used to

be a cadre and has 6,000 yuan retirement pension per month, and she rents out her house in Shanghai to cover the deficit. The condition of that care home is really good, but for me, I only have around 3,000 yuan retirement pension each month, and have to save for around ten years before entering into that care house... (GHF, female, 1955, living with spouse)

Many urban 1950s participants believed that private-run care institutions cost more but were not as reliable as government-run public institutions. For those private care institutions with the finest care conditions, the cost was generally not acceptable for ordinary older people.

Based on the reality that the only adult child was not always available while the public care institutions were difficult to get access, many urban 1950s participants kept an open mind to various future care methods. Among the most frequently mentioned was the ‘peer collaborative’ care method (抱团养老). Some participants also proposed a blueprint for its implementation.

Living at home and care yourself is not realistic; what if you become 80 years old and disabled? You have to find a paid private caregiver. However, what if you cannot afford it? I suggest the old neighbours moving together in one house and renting out others, to improve their disposable income, then they hire a private caregiver together... In this case, they could live in their familiar community, with their well-known friends and neighbours, and integrate the care resources at the same time. This should be operated under the supervision of the community... (CYW, female, 1954, living alone)

I prefer the ‘peer collaborative’ method (抱团养老), which means that my siblings or friends who had good relations with each other live together, to cooperative for housework and care each other. It would be a lively and sweet environment in our old age... we all do not want to trouble our children, since they are far away and not available... (GHF, female, 1955, living with spouse)

The peer collaborative care method to some extent is a proposal of collective living, and this proposal might be a result of the urban 1950s cohort’s early life experiences. Many of them had a shared collective memory of rural life during the ‘sending-down’ campaign, and their experiences during that life stage had shaped their collective ideology towards later life living arrangements. Or alternatively, this proposal might be a modification of current public

institutional care and community care against the background of rapid ageing of the ‘baby boomer’ generation in China, and the limited public resources. It also reflected that, compared with the rural and small-town 1950s cohort, the urban 1950s cohort were more autonomous and independent in planning their old age.

In summary, the 1950s cohort’s preparations for later life and expectations from their adult children for family support were found to be similar to those of the 1940s cohort in the corresponding regional categories. However, since the urban 1950s cohort roughly represented the ‘Lost Generation’ and had more mutual experience of collective life, a new theme of the ‘peer collaborative care method’ came up amongst this group. This might be ‘a third way’ in addition to social care and family support.

8.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the impact of previous life experiences on later life, current patterns of intergenerational transfers, and expectations for later life amongst the 1950s cohort living in the villages, small towns, and big cities. In general, the members of the 1950s cohort who were born in the city were affected greatly by the Cultural Revolution, which might have delayed their subsequent marriage and childbearing, and they were most constrained by the Family Planning Policy compared with their peers living in villages and small towns. On the other hand, the members of the urban 1950s cohort were also most affected by urbanisation and modernisation, and accumulated certain socioeconomic resources for later life. In terms of intergenerational transfers, the 1950s participants overall provided significant downward transfers to their adult children, with the urban 1950s participants giving the greatest amount (of money, time, and household assistance), compared with their 1940s counterparts. In terms of personal preparations and plans for later life, there was a significant increase in terms of independence, flexibility, and autonomy in making choices, from the villages to the urban participants. The members of the urban 1950s cohort, heavily influenced by their previous collective life experiences, proposed a new method of old age support: the peer collaborative care method.

Chapter 9 The Cohort under Reform:

Intergenerational Support amongst the 1960s Cohort

This chapter focuses on the 1960s cohort, who were born in the period of China's Cultural Revolution, but stepped into their adulthood alongside China's tremendous social change after the Economic Reform. The Economic Reform, modernisation, and globalisation had significant influences on their midlife, and shaped their views towards their future old age. The results are presented following the structure of the previous two chapters.

9.1 Social and Historical Events, Early Life Experiences and Potential Later Life Care Resources and Care Needs

9.1.1 The 1960s Cohort Living in Rural Villages

Social and historical events before the Market Reform (1979)

Born during the period of China's Cultural Revolution, very few of the rural 1960s participants were impacted directly by this event, other than that they generally had memories of deprived childhoods. However, as they stepped into adulthood, the social changes after China's Open Door Policy influenced their subsequent lives significantly. Among these social changes were the Family Planning Policy and the rural-to-urban internal migration which are discussed below.

The Family Planning Policy

The rural 1960s participants were found in this study to have two to four children each. Although they generally gave birth in their twenties, when the Family Planning Policy was very strictly implemented in most regions of China, this policy did not seem to take full effect among this group of participants in this study. They still held the very strong traditional view that a family should have at least one son in order to carry on the family name. Therefore they spared no effort to evade the policy, and many of them had at least one son in the end. The presence of multiple children might potentially secure their old age family support, although this cannot yet be established for certain by the time of this study. However, more evidence suggested that their preference for sons and sex selection in the context of

Family Planning Policy brought rigorous challenges to their adult sons' marriages, and heavy economic burdens to the family in their late midlife. This is because of the severely biased sex ratio among their children's generation which resulted from sex selection.

Previous literature has suggested that traditional son preference, the biased 1.5 Family Planning Policy in rural China and the prevalence of abortions for purposes of sex selection resulted in surplus males in China (Hesketh, Lu and Xing, 2005; Ebenstein and Leung, 2010), and those males who were at the bottom of the social hierarchy would experience a severe marriage squeeze (Hesketh and Xing, 2006). It was estimated that more than 10% of males born after 1980 would not be able to find a spouse, and this trend is expected to be more grave by 2040, with around 40 million males between the ages of 20 and 49 being surplus in the marriage market (Jiang, Feldman and Li, 2014). Consistent with the previous literature, this study found a serious marriage squeeze among the rural 1980s and 1990s cohorts, the adult children of the 1960s cohort. One phenomenon which arose from this was the sky-high cost of the young males' marriages in rural China, which did not match at all the rural household income.

Unlike in western culture, it was considered to be parents' responsibility to support their sons in getting married and building a family. One 1960s participant said, *'You are never regarded as accomplishing your duty as a parent until you help your son organise the feast for the grandchild's one-month celebration.'*⁵⁰ (YZG, male, 1969, living with spouse and adult son's family). Moreover, before arriving at this point, the parents had to support their son's marriage. The costs of a son's marriage always included the following major parts: betrothal gifts to the bride's family, wedding expenses, housing, and sometimes a car.

Nowadays the cost of a son's marriage is shockingly high and is still on a rise. The betrothal gift money is around 200,000 Yuan or so [around 22,000 pounds] and can be much higher in some circumstances. Then you have to build a two- or three-floor house for the new couple and buy them a car... the parents will be desperately worried if they have two unmarried sons... (YZG, male, 1969, living with spouse and adult son's family)

⁵⁰ This is a tradition in China that the family of the new-born baby will hold a feast to friends and relatives when the baby reaches his/her one month. And it is usually called a 'full moon wine'. In rural Henan province, the parents on the husband side always support for this feast.

National statistics suggested that the per-capita disposable income of rural residents was 12,363 yuan in 2016.⁵¹ The cost of one son's marriage could be as much as twenty to thirty times higher and brought his family great economic pressure. In order to fulfil their responsibilities as parents, many rural 1960s participants borrowed large amounts of loans for their sons' marriages and had to spend many years paying for them. This was also one significant reason that accounted for some rural 1960s participants' decisions about migration. For example, some participants mentioned that they had to migrate to work for ten years or so to make money for their sons' marriages or to pay debts caused by their sons' marriages. The great pressure of debts might lower their quality of life in older age, and the great economic support of the sons' marriages might also influence their expectations of family support from the sons in their old age. This is further discussed in 9.3.1.

Internal migration, urbanisation and modernisation

In the pre-reform period, China's internal migration was strictly regulated and controlled by the state, and self-initiated relocation from the country to the city was nearly impossible for ordinary peasants (Chan, 1999). However, after the 1990s, the trend of outward-migration for non-agricultural work became a common phenomenon in Chinese rural areas (Liu, 2014). According to Henan Province Bureau of Statistics, the outward-migration rate in Henan province rose from 8.4% in 2000 to over 20% in 2015,⁵² and Henan Province was amongst the provinces with the highest proportion of outward migration in China (Liu, Cao and Geng, 2014). In the villages of this study, large-scale outward-migration began in around the late 1990s to early 2000s, when most of the 1960s participants were in their thirties.

I went out to work in 1998, in my early thirties. At that time, many villagers around my age went out to make money, because the income from the farmland could only cover our eating, but not the cost of the children's schooling and daily expenses...
(DYZ, female, 1965, living with spouse)

Just like Ms Du, many rural 1960s participants had the experience of being migrant workers, and they were actually the main force of the first generation of migrant workers in China

⁵¹ Data comes from National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/sjjd/201701/t20170120_1456174.html, accessed on 25/05/2017.

⁵² Data from the website of Henan Province Bureau of Statistics http://www.ha.stats.gov.cn/sitesources/hntj/page_pc/tjfw/tjfx/qsfz/ztfz/article34d3ed67e0e04e99ae1d973c5e4a6cdd.html accessed on 25/05/2017.

(Huo, Xiong and Li, 2015). The experience of outward migration greatly changed their subsequent lives, which might, in turn, impact their circumstances in older age. Some significant impacts were the improved family income, savings, and standard of living.

We started to go out to make money in 2003. At that time, the agricultural income could not cover the expenses of the whole family, especially when you had older parents to care for and three younger children to raise. The outward migration enabled us to make extra money and improved our life dramatically. We [my husband and I] both went out [to work] at that time and we lived on one's salary and saved the other's... After three to four years, we built this two-storey house using our migration income... We continued to migrate seasonally until 2014 when my husband died from an accident... However, we had earned sufficient money for my son's marriage. Then I helped him get married, and bought them a house...
(LJY, female, 1964, living alone)

However, the outward migration of the rural 1960s cohort might have affected their children's childhood and education.

One impact of our migration was on my children. During the period of our migration, my children were not properly taken care of and could not eat well, their education was also spoilt. They did not continue senior high school after junior high, and became migrant workers like us... (WXC, female, 1969, living with spouse and adult son's family)

Previous literature has indicated mixed impacts of parental migration on children's development. Young children were more likely to suffer from parental absence as they might need more parental care, while girls and children at higher educational levels were more likely to benefit from migrating parents' remittance in their education (Lu, 2012). In addition, more recent research found that children residing in areas with a higher proportion of historical outward migration were significantly lower in their school pacing than those living in areas with a lower proportion of outward migration. Nevertheless, after controlling for the county and family level characteristics, it was the mother's education and the average county-level education that accounted for the variations in children's school pacing, rather than parents' migration (Jordan, Ren and Falkingham, 2014). In this sense, the impact of the outward migration of the 1960s cohorts on their children's education was complex.

However, this study did offer some evidence to support both the previous cited studies. On one hand, it found universally low educational attainment amongst the rural participants' children compared with their small-town and urban counterparts, regardless of their parents'

migration status. This might confirm Jordan, Ren and Falkingham's study. On the other hand, in this study, the rural 1960s participants with experience of migration enabled each of their children to receive school education, regardless of the child's gender. Two of them had youngest daughters who entered higher education, which partly agreed with Lu's research, suggesting that remittances from parental migration benefited their daughters' educational opportunities. But more generally, this study confirms the 'poverty trap' hypothesis, which indicates that both household-level and community-level poverty can have an adverse effect on the quantity, as well as the quality, of children's education (Knight, Shi and Quheng, 2009). On average, the rural 1960s participants' children had junior education and later became migrant workers themselves. Their poor education to some extent resulted in a lower socioeconomic status in their adulthood, which might have indirectly reduced their family support – especially material support – to their parents when they became older.

Another impact of the outward migration of the rural 1960s participants might be upon their views and plans for methods of support in later life.

I always heard my workmates discussing social insurance when I was doing a job in the factory. I thought it might be a good idea to pay social insurance myself when I was young and get the public pension when I am not able to work... in this way, I do not have to trouble my children... (WXC, female, 1969, living with spouse and adult son's family)

The experience of outward migration amongst the rural 1960s participants increased their exposure to rapid modernisation in Chinese cities, and gradually changed their values and views. Although this aspect of change was not as obvious as the economic aspects, it had an important role in shifting their later choices for long-term care and further decision-making.

The rapid development of labour-intensive industries in southeast China, and the urbanisation process, required an enduring labour supply and more recently contributed to a larger scale of rural-to-urban migration. As a result, the children of the rural 1960s cohort were involved in this social trend, and were the main force of the second generation of the migrant workers in China. The social trend of rural-to-urban migration continued to influence the rural 1960s cohort indirectly by influencing their migrant children's work and lifestyles. The rural 1960s cohort's children's decision-making about their future lives, which was influenced by their own migration experiences, would in turn affect the rural 1960s cohort's proximity to their children in later life, as well as the material support they

received from their children, and their emotional wellbeing. Current intergenerational transfers and the expectations of adult children for later-life family support amongst the rural 1960s cohort are discussed in 9.2.1 and 9.3.1.

9.1.2 The 1960s cohort living in small towns

Social and historical events before the Market Reform (1979)

Like the rural 1960s participants, the small-town 1960s participants were less likely to be directly influenced by China's Great Famine and the Cultural Revolution. However, because their parents were generally amongst the 1940s cohort, they might be influenced indirectly if their family members were involved in some political punishment.

When I was young, my father was labelled as a rightist, and the 'red Guardian' searched our house and confiscated our family property. We lived on tenterhooks during the Cultural Revolution period... At that time, I determined to become strong and change the fate of my family... (ZFY, female, 1964, living with spouse and adult son's family)

My mother said something inappropriate during the Cultural Revolution and in order to escape from punishment, my mother took my siblings and me to her rural hometown in another province and we stayed until the end of the Cultural Revolution... Of course, my education was interrupted for some time... (WXQ, female, 1962, living with spouse and adult son's family)

In general, most small-town 1960s participants did not remember much about that period of their lives, as they were generally in their early childhood. However, the more profound influence of social change on their life occurred after the 1979 Economic Reform, and is further discussed in the following two parts.

The Family Planning Policy

Just like the small-town 1950s participants, the 1960s participants generally had two children, and they did not have obvious gender preference for their children. Having a son and a daughter was ideal for most participants, and they adopted different strategies to achieve this aspiration.

'Why does your son have the rural Hukou while your family all have the urban Hukou?' asked the researcher.

'Well, how should I explain... it was because of the One Child Policy, and if we had two children, we would face the risk of losing our jobs. My son was then hidden in their rural grandparents' home and was registered with rural Hukou...' (ZCL, female, 1963, living alone)

Other strategies reported by the participants include reporting two children as twins, secret parturition and paying the penalty later when the child grew up to school age and needed a Hukou registration, and using a 'Guanxi' (connection) with local government officials to evade pregnancy examination, etc. Most small-town 1960s participants in this study had two children, and the impact on their current intergenerational interaction is discussed in section 9.2.2.

Internal migration, urbanisation and modernisation

As discussed in 3.2.2, during the Planned Economy era, people's jobs were assigned by the government, and frequent career alteration was very rare. The introduction of the Market Economy after 1979 resulted in a free job market, and increased business opportunities as well as social mobility amongst the small-town 1960s participants in their midlife. The increasing mobility possibly led to a pattern of 'mobile families' among the small-town 1960s cohort.

My husband was working in a bank in this town, however, ten years ago, he found a better position in the capital city of our province and we have been living apart since then. We get together during the weekends. I decided to work until my retirement and move to my husband's place. (ZCL, female, 1963, living alone)

The rapid development of the market economy also brought more business opportunities to people and even could alter their social or economic status.

My husband was originally from the suburban area and doing farming. He started his construction business in the 1990s and after these years, his business expands and our family income greatly increases... We supported our son and daughter around two million and one million yuan respectively for their housing in the capital city of this province... (LHM, female, 1964, living with spouse)

Compared with the 1940s and 1950s cohort living in small towns, the social differences amongst the 1960s cohort seemed to be more obvious and their family patterns seemed more diverse, with both having been impacted by the economic reform after the Open Door Policy

and the Market Economy. The stratification of their current social economic status might in turn bring more heterogeneity regarding later life circumstances among this group of people in their old age.

In terms of internal migration, the small-town 1960s participants were rarely involved in the large-scale internal migration trend which happened in the 1990s. Like some members of the small-town 1950s cohort, some participants achieved permanent social mobility from rural to urban China through education and job assignment, and their adult children, likewise, might have achieved social mobility from the small town to the big city after their higher education. Along with this upward trend in social mobility were their improving economic status but longer geographic distance from their parents, which might affect their intergenerational transfer patterns and is further discussed in 9.2.2.

9.1.3 The 1960s cohort living in the city

Social and historical events before the Market Reform (1979)

The participants in this group were generally not influenced by the Great Famine, Cultural Revolution and other social events before the Market Reform Era. However, most of them were very significantly influenced by the Family Planning Policy and the economic reform process in China. The Family Planning Policy directly resulted in their current 4-2-1 family structure (Hesketh, Lu and Xing, 2005; Phillips and Feng, 2015), while the economic reform and modernisation process shaped their economic status, values, and minds (Sun and Wang, 2010).

The Family Planning Policy

The interviews suggested that the urban 1960s participants were universally and inevitably affected by the Family Planning Policy, which was the strict One Child Policy imposed upon Chinese urban citizens in the 1980s during their young adulthood. Except for one woman who experienced two marriages, all of the urban 1960s participants had only one child. Interestingly, when asking their original preference of fertility, opinions differed among the participants.

The participants who were brought up in central, developed districts of the city preferred to have only one child, and did not think their original fertility choice was restricted by the Family Planning Policy.

One is good, and I do not have the ability to raise more... No one could help me to care for the child at that time... (ZXH, female, 1965, living with spouse and adult daughter)

It is difficult to raise a child and educate him/her well, so one is enough... (GYF, male, 1965, living alone)

By contrast, the participants who were brought up in marginal, developing districts of the city or were originally from the countryside held the idea that a family should have two children, and thought their fertility was restricted by the One Child Policy.

We expected to have two children, and no matter girls or boys, two children could support each other in the future... But at that time, if you do not get the Birth Approval Certificate, you will be forced to abortion; otherwise, you will lose your job... (GHW, male, 1961, living with spouse)

In 7.1.3, we found that many urban 1940s participants chose to give birth to only one child, although they had the chance to have a second one before the Family Planning Policy was tightened in 1979. However, some of the urban 1960s participants still strongly expressed their preference for two children. Is this a signal of regression of modern fertility? Some cohort effects could account for this issue. The 1940s cohort were in their midlife when China started its economic reform and urbanisation; as most of them had settled down, there was very little social mobility among them. The urban 1940s participants in this study were generally born and brought up in the city, and their views on fertility consistently reflected the views of urban citizens. The urban 1960s participants, however, experienced more opportunities for social mobility during China's urbanisation process. Some current citizens were originally brought up in rural areas or the outskirts of cities, but were integrated into the city in the process of city planning and expanding. For those 'new urban citizens', their views on fertility were more likely to be influenced by traditional values.

Another effect of the One Child Policy was on children's development. The One Child Policy limited some urban 1960s participants' willingness to have a second child. This way, they might pour all their love on the only child, and the only child might be 'spoiled' by their parents and grandparents. Previous literature has suggested the 'one child generation' could be spoiled and have the 'little emperor syndrome', and suffer some behavioural problems (Hesketh and Zhu, 1997).

I raised him like a 'little emperor', so that he had no sense of responsibility at all. He divorced, mortgaged my house to a loan shark and disappeared... Now I have nowhere to live and have to raise his little son... It is all my fault, that I did not educate him well when he was young... (SYP, female, 1960, living with spouse)

Once their only child went astray in their life path, parents lost hope of intergenerational support in older age. What was worse, this case suggested that they might also suffer from great economic loss and psychological impairment.

Internal migration, urbanisation and modernisation

China's early stages of economic reform after 1979 directed by Deng Xiaoping were regionally prioritized and mainly focused on the coastal regions. Large-scale foreign investment and the development of private business brought a significant boom to the regional economy and improved people's incomes in these coastal provinces (Fujita and Hu, 2001). The interviews with the urban 1960s cohort were conducted in Zhejiang province, where local people were more significantly impacted by China's economic reform, modernisation and globalisation process.

One significant influence on the urban 1960s cohort was the increase in job or business opportunities. Although some participants were laid off during the state-owned enterprise (SOE) reform in the 1990s, they were generally able to discover other business opportunities and start new careers against the background of rapid modernisation and urbanisation in Chinese cities.

After being laid off, I started to explore a second career. By introduction of my daughter's teacher, I started an after-school centre to take care of the children whose parents were too busy to accompany them after school... I felt that life was even better after I was laid off. By running the small business, my income nearly doubled and I earned more but spent less time than my previous job in the factory... (ZXH, female, 1965, living with spouse and adult daughter)

I tried several businesses after I was laid off in 1998. I have run a restaurant, a ballroom, and then I went to another company owned by a friend. Since then, I kept working there, even after my formal retirement, I was rehired and continued working there... (GHX, female, 1962, living alone)

The economic reform in China during the past few decades created more work and business opportunities in the city, which enabled the laid off workers to start new careers. These

business opportunities significantly improved their family income and savings, and helped secure their economic status in later life.

Another noteworthy effect of modernisation on the urban 1960s cohort was the increasing divorce rate, which is consistent with previous literature (Wang, 2001; Wang and Zhou, 2010) and the quantitative results presented in 5.1 (see Table 12). With rapid economic growth and the development of modernisation, women were more engaged in the workforce and became more economically independent. At the same time, people's social attitudes were influenced by western culture and they became more open-minded towards free choice of marriage. The 1981 New Marriage Law in China also largely relaxed the legal granting of divorce, which made divorce easier in practice (Zeng and Wu, 2000).

In the field, the two participants who lived alone were both divorced. Both female and male participants were still working and economically independent, but their relationship with the adult children seemed to be different. 9.2.3 will further discuss the intergenerational relationship and transfers between the urban 1960s participants and their adult children.

The large-scale rural-to-urban migration did not influence the city 1960s cohort's lives significantly, as suggested by the fieldwork. However, international migration driven by globalisation may have affected their adult children and thus enlarged the geographic distance between parents and their children.

My daughter studied overseas in Japan; she married a South Korean and started her life in Korea... We can generally meet her once a year but we contact each other every day. It is very convenient using Wechat... (GHW, male, 1961, living with spouse)

The long distance resulting from adult children's international migration was mediated by the high development of communication technology. This reduced the side effects of children's international migration on their parents' emotional wellbeing, but might still have little to do with the instrumental support for parents when they become older.

To sum up, the 1960s participants were from a 'transitional cohort' and were greatly influenced by the post-Mao reform which started in 1979. No matter whether they were living in rural villages, small towns, or big cities, they were inevitably caught in the reform, but were affected differently. Some rural 1960 participants were within the first generation of migrant workers, and became more economically independent and open-minded than the

older rural cohorts. The Family Planning Policy did not exactly restrict their number of children, but did change the sex ratio among their adult children's generation and brought great economic pressure to their adult sons' marriages. The small-town 1960s participants were found to experience social mobility during the reform era and exhibited more heterogeneity in their socioeconomic statuses. The urban 1960s participants, comparatively, benefited the fullest from economic and technological development in Chinese cities, and accumulated more life chances and economic resources for their later lives.

9.2 Current Patterns of Intergenerational Family Support

The 1960s participants were in their late midlife at the time of the interviews, and their adult children were likely to be in their twenties to early thirties and might not have established their own families. In this study, the 1960s participants were purposively sampled within those who do not have a dependent child, which meant that, their adult children had finished education and were economically independent. However, it is still worth noting that the following results were a combination of both age and cohort effect.

9.2.1 The 1960s Cohort Living in Rural Villages

Intergenerational transfers from adult children to parents

According to the table of life events (see Table 3), the 1960s participants were around their late forties/early fifties at the time of the interviews, and all of the rural 1960s participants had at least one adult child who was a migrant worker. Like the rural 1950s participants, few of them received monetary support from their adult children, nor were they getting any instrumental help. It might be an effect of age that most of them were still in good health and did not need any instrumental care at that time, however, there was also some evidence pointing towards the change in the traditional value of filial piety among their adult children. As Mr Yan said, '*Nowadays, where can you find that adult children give their parents money? It is always the other way round...*' (YAM, male, 1961, living alone). However, like the rural 1950s participants, the rural 1960s participants always found their daughters to be relatively more considerate than their adult sons, as they constantly received in-kind support and frequent contact from their adult daughters. In addition, this was especially obvious among the widowed participants.

My daughters are more considerate and they care about me very much. They always buy me clothes, food, and help me with the farm work and housework. They nearly call me every day if not coming and I am even bothered by these calls... for the son,

I have to care for him and his family and not to mention being cared by him...
(YAM, male, 1961, living alone)

My daughters care for me more than my son does. My son sometimes gives me money, but the money was all spent on his own children whom I look after. I have to help him with childcare and housework. By contrast, my daughters care for me more and expect nothing in return; although not being able to give me a large amount of money, they constantly buy me clothes and food, and daily things I need...
(LJY, female, 1964, living alone)

Like their parents, most adult children of the rural 1960s participants had low education (around junior high school education), and were migrant workers themselves. Outward migration was even more popular among the adult children of the rural 1960s cohort than the 1940s and 1950s cohort, as interviews found that both adult sons and adult daughters were generally involved in this trend. Influenced by modern culture in the cities, the migrant children of the rural 1960s cohort benefited from the high levels of technology and were less constrained by geographic distance in proving material support to their parents. For example, they could send out in-kind gifts by online shopping, and transfer remittances by e-money using Alipay and Wechat pay, which was easy and quick.

Regarding emotional support, some rural 1960s participants owned smartphones and had internet access, and they generally had frequent contact with their children far away, as instant video calls could be made whenever and wherever. This significantly improved their daily contact with their adult children and therefore contributed to their emotional wellbeing. In addition, they could search for information and enjoy entertainment online, which enriched their daily lives, and improved their quality of life to some extent.

Intergenerational transfers from parents to adult children

Being in middle age, most the rural 1960s participants became grandparents and had young grandchildren. Like the rural 1950s participants, most rural 1960s participants only helped take care of their son's children. However, one significant difference was that the 1960s participants not only provided instrumental childcare but also financial support to their grandchildren.

For the grandchildren, I take care of them and buy everyday stuff for them... The elder granddaughter is in kindergarten now and I pay the tuition fees for her... for

the younger grandson, I look after him, feed him and pay his daily expenses...
(WXC, female, 1969, living with spouse and adult son's family)

Surely I support my son's family financially. I take care of their children and buy stuff for the children... (DYZ, female, 1965, living with spouse)

I looked after my elder son's child from 0 to 6 years old and now we are looking after the second son's children. We did not ask their parents for the children's daily expenses, it is not worth mentioning, and as grandparents, we just pay the grandchildren's expenses ourselves... (WDG, male, 1960, living with spouse)

Another general phenomenon among the rural 1960s participants and their adult sons was 'living apart but eating together'. This living arrangement was also confirmed by some recent literature, which conceived of it as the 'networked family' or 'intimacy at a distance' (Thang, 2010). Nevertheless, some research suggested that the networked family was a modified model of traditional multigenerational co-residence in modern society and functioned in similar ways (Lei *et al.*, 2011; Cai *et al.*, 2012). However, more recent literature argued that the networked family did not provide significant family support to married parents, as the spouse served as the primary source of family support (Gruijters, 2017b). This study, on the other hand, suggested that networked living arrangements might serve different priorities over people's life courses. The interviews with the rural 1960s participants suggested that in people's late midlives, close proximity with adult children was mainly for the convenience of downward intergenerational support of the adult children's families.

'Living apart but eating together' is a pervasive living arrangement existing among that rural 1960s participants who were currently not co-residing. 'Living apart' provides the space for each generation's private life while 'eating together' is mainly in favour of the adult sons' families. (Research notes 20161008)

No matter whether you say we are separate or not, well, we divide our farmland and house, but we eat together... It was not convenient to still live together in the same household after they [the sons] got married... But both my elder son and younger son normally come to eat in my house when they return from migration... Most of the time I do the housework, but sometimes my daughter-in-law would help... (DYZ, female, 1965, living with spouse)

For the rural 1960s participants who were currently living together with their adult sons' families, there was potential for them to have separate living arrangements in the near future.

They [the son's family] currently live with us, but they have their own house which is not far away from here... I do not ask him to move because he is too young to support a family independently... You see, he became a father when he was only 20 years old... After several years, perhaps when he is more mature and his children become older, I will let them live independently... (WXC, female, 1969, living with spouse and adult son's family)

The fieldwork suggested that there was a clear trend of independent living among the rural 1960s participants and their adult children, especially after the children got married. Nowadays in rural China, owning a property is essential before a young man can marry a young woman. However, the story was not that simple, and we could not say that traditional stem family would disappear or decline in the future. The newly emerged networked family was a reversed model of intergenerational living arrangements in modern society; it still provided intergenerational instrumental support (currently mainly downward), but allowed each generation more independent space and privacy in their daily life, compared with traditional co-resident stem families. (Yan, 2003). However, further investigation on the priorities of the networked family in providing family support during one's life course was needed. At the time of the interviews, the 1960s cohort were still in their late midlife and most had a spouse available, what if they become older and have some functional disabilities? Their adult children were more intensively involved in large-scale migration, and the features of their migration and decision-making might be different from the first generation of migrant workers. What is the expectation of the rural 1960s cohort from their adult children? This is further discussed in 9.3.1.

9.2.2 The 1960s cohort living in small towns

Intergenerational transfers from adult children to parents

The small-town 1960s participants generally had two children each. Many of them were still in the job market, and they generally were not yet in need of instrumental support, nor did they need monetary support. The most significant support from adult children was found to be emotional closeness. No matter whether they were living in the same town or not, the small-town 1960s participants generally received weekly contact from their adult children, either by phone, video calls, or in-person visit.

My daughter [living in the same town] comes to visit us weekly while my son [living in another province] contacts us every weekend. It is very convenient to use Wechat to have the video call and we can see each other when talking... (ZKJ, male, 1966, living with spouse)

Modernisation, on one hand, encouraged the adult children's geographic mobility, but on the other hand, the development of technology in modern society connected people more conveniently. In this study, all the small-town 1960s participants had smartphones and internet access, and they could easily contact their adult children. The well-developed high-speed railway network in China made transport much easier and speedier. The high-speed train can reach 350km/h, making it much easier for parents and children to meet with each other weekly if they live in the same province.

My daughter and son are both living in Zhengzhou [capital city of the province], but I will go to visit them every weekend. It is very convenient taking the high-speed train and I could arrive within one hour... (LHM, female, 1964, living with spouse)

The 1960s cohort's adult children were in their twenties at the time of the interviews, and many of them had just graduated from college and started their careers and core families. As a result of their age, they were weak financially; however, many adult children gave their small-town parents 'red envelopes' (gift money) at Chinese new year to express their filial piety and respect. The gift money here was not in the traditional sense of financial support, but rather pointing towards another type of emotional support.

I don't ask my son for money because he just started working and had to pay the mortgage. I have not retired and had enough salary and do not need his money, but he will give me 1,000 yuan in Chinese new year to express his respect. (ZCL, female, 1963, living alone)

My two daughters generally both gave me 1,000 yuan for the Chinese New Year, and my son gives me around 600 yuan... But in other times, I do not accept their money... (WXQ, female, 1962, living with spouse and adult son's family)

The small-town 1960s cohort generally had better education, and this might be another factor that contributed to their closeness with their adult children. Their adult children often sought advice from them, and benefited from their experience in work and life. In this sense, the emotional support between the two generations was mutual.

My children always contact me weekly, mainly on the weekends. They ask about the recently circumstance of myself and their mother, and they also report their work and life and sometimes ask my advice. (LYY, male, 1961, living alone)

I always discuss with my son about problems at work. We both work for the government and find it beneficial to communicate with each other. (ZFY, female, 1964, living with spouse and adult son's family)

This is consistent with the quantitative results regarding the 'parents' attractive effect' presented in 6.7.1(see Table 41), which indicated that the parents who had higher education, urban Hukou status, and non-agricultural work were more likely to attract their adult children to visit and contact them frequently.

Intergenerational transfers from parents to adult children

Like the 1950s participants living in the small town, many 1960s participants supported their adult children in buying a house. Unlike their rural counterparts, the small-town 1960s participants gave financial support to both their sons and their daughters instead of only supporting sons.

We supported our son and daughter around two million and one million CYN respectively for their housing in the capital city of this province... (LHM, female, 1964, living with spouse)

We supported our elder daughter around 50,000 to 60,000 yuan when she got married... Of course, we have to help our son buy a house, later when he gets married. The economic burden from the son is higher than the daughter generally in today's society... (ZKJ, male, 1966, living with spouse)

Although they gave both their sons and daughters financial support, in large amounts, the parents' financial support of the sons were generally higher than of the daughters, as many of them thought they were responsible for helping their sons buy properties when they got married. It also reflected the minor influence of traditional patrilineal culture in Chinese society.

9.2.3 The 1960s cohort living in the city

Intergenerational transfers from adult children to parents

Due to their age, the urban 1960s participants also did not need their children's support at the time of the interviews. However, the fieldwork suggested some characteristics of their adult children which might necessitate intergenerational support resources for their parents in the future.

Firstly, the urban 1960s participants' adult children generally had a similar educational background and social economic status as their parents. For example, if the parents were workers, then their adult children were generally in the working class. If the parents were cadres, their children had more chance of receiving a better education and getting a high-income job. As most parents would have their personal savings and retirement pensions in old age, they generally did not have high demands for their children's material support in the future, but once in need, the children would still be able to provide material support to their parents.

Secondly, compared with the urban 1940s and 1950s participants, the urban 1960s participants were less likely to have their only children, living in the same city, or even the same country. This confirms the results presented in 5.2. The increasing geographic distance between the two generations reduced their daily face-to-face interaction; however, the extensive use of smartphones and communication apps such as Wechat mitigated the geographic distance significantly. To think forward, the increasing geographic distance between the urban 1960s participants and their adult children might result in a trend of old-age migration among parents in the future when they are older and need daily support. Old-age migration might be a new research area that asks for further investigation.

Another significant phenomenon was the intergenerational relationship between divorced parents and their adult children. We had two divorced urban 1960s participants: one was male and the other was female. Like the case mentioned in 8.2.3, the parents' divorce might have a negative impact on the father-child relationship. However, the interview did not find a similar negative influence on the mother-child relationship.

My daughter works in Shanghai, and we can meet three to four times a year... We contact with each other very rare, only when she came across difficulties... We seldom share daily life and exchange emotions, but she will communicate with her mother about these... (GYF, male, 1965, living alone)

Basically, I meet my daughter and her baby once a week but we contact every day using Wechat. On weekdays, we both have to work, but on weekends, my daughter, together with my son-in-law and granddaughter, will come to have dinner together

with me... For my son [with the second husband], we contact each other two or three times a week, you know, boys generally are not as considerate as girls... (GHX, female, 1962, living alone)

These findings are consistent with some literature presented in 2.4.2.3 and the quantitative results presented in Table 27, Table 28, and

Table 29, which suggested that being divorced compared with married had a significant negative effect on frequent meeting and contact with children, as well as regarding children as the future main carer, amongst the males. Therefore the divorced older man may form a vulnerable group in potential family support, and require targeted policy intervention.

Intergenerational transfers from parents to adult children

This study found that, no matter whether they were living in villages, small towns, or big cities, the 1960s participants generally had larger economic transfers to their adult children, compared with the older cohorts. This is especially true of the urban 1960s participants: as they had only one child each, they generally invested a large amount of money in the only child's education, marriage or housing.

I sent my daughter to Japan for college study, and my financial support to her oversea education was nearly 600,000 CNY all together... (GHW, male, 1961, living with spouse)

I bought my son a house for his marriage in this city. (CWX, male, 1966, living with spouse and adult son)

For some unmarried adult children of the city-based 1960s participants, although they had jobs and income, they were found to stay in their parents' households and were sheltered by their parents.

My daughter is an accountant and her annual salary is only 60,000 CNY. She lives with us but I did not ask her for living expenses. I want her to save her own money for future use... (ZXH, female, 1965, living with spouse and adult daughter)

The western literature showed a trend of adult children delaying leaving their parents' homes (Cherlin, Scabini and Rossi, 1997). Young women in their early twenties were the group most likely to return to their parents' homes after completing higher education (Stone,

Berrington and Falkingham, 2014), and some urban 1960s participants' adult children also showed this trend.

The study of the urban 1960s participants to some extent confirmed the modernisation and aging theory, which states that modern families were more 'children oriented' rather than 'elderly oriented', and showed a 'status reversal' between the younger and the older generation (Aboderin, 2004). The 1960s participants in this study can be regarded as the adult children of the 1940s participants, and their adult children were generally born in the 1980s and 1990s. If we look back to Chapter 7 and compare with the intergenerational transfers between the 1940s participants and their adult children, we find a trend of increasing downward material transfer from parents to adult children, and a decreasing upward material transfer from adult children to parents. There were, of course, some age effects as the children of the 1960s participants might have just finished higher education and were less able to give material support, while the 1960s participants themselves had fewer needs. However, there were also some cohort effects as most members of the urban 1960s participants benefited more from the economic reform in China and were less dependent. The One Child Policy constrained their willingness to have more children and deepened their 'child-oriented values' along with the social modernisation process.

The One Child Policy increased the urban 1960s participants' risk of lacking intergenerational family support once the only child went astray in the right life direction or died.

I do not know where he is now... He just disappeared... [the participant started weeping]... In order to make my grandson eligible for kindergarten in that district, I transferred the tenure of the property to my son. How can I imagine that he pledged my house to a loan shark for money and escaped when he could not repay the credit? Now the loan shark was so brutal that they drove us away and confiscated the house... I have nothing now but a grandson to raise all by myself...
(SYP, female, 1960, living with spouse)

Ms Shi's adult son was an extreme example of the 'spoiled' only child in the city. The lack of responsibility of the only child not only could not only reduce intergenerational support of the parents, but also could make the parents' life even harder when they had to pay the price for their children's mistakes.

In summary, the qualitative study found significant downward intergenerational transfer among the 1960s participants living in rural villages, small towns, and big cities. The effect

of age could explain part of the story, because they were still in midlife and able to support their children – who had just established their own families and careers and were more in need of support. However, significant cohort effects influenced by modernisation were found through the interviews: first, the 1960s participants were more child-oriented rather than older-people-oriented. As they could be roughly considered to be the adult children of the 1940s participants, their transfers to their older parents (discussed in Chapter 7) were in stark contrast with their transfers to their adult children. Second, they were found to have larger geographic distances between them and their adult children, but these were bridged by modern technology. The high-speed railway and the widespread use of smart devices made face-to-face or online contact much easier. The fast development of e-commerce and online shopping enabled gifts to be sent between the two generations whenever and wherever.

9.3 Preparations and Expectations for Later Life: An Investigation from the Parents' Perspective

9.3.1 The 1960s Cohort Living in Rural Villages

Among the three cohorts living in rural China, the 1960s cohort exhibited more modern features in terms of increased education, an enriched experience of modernisation through migration, increasing economic independence, usage of smart devices, and so on. However, this cohort of people still kept some residual traditions such as the preference for sons. As this cohort was the first generation of migrant workers in China, they represented a transitional cohort in rural China, and their attitudes and expectations for old age care plans represented a mixture of traditional and modern features.

Personal future care plans and preparations

In the field, most of the rural 1960s participants had independent houses, and many of them had at least one adult child living nearby in the same village. Like the older cohorts, they did not have any stable income except for the farmland income. However, the general savings from their previous or current migrant income were significantly higher than those of the older rural cohorts, which enabled them to live with more financial freedom and give their grandchildren some financial support.

Many of the rural 1960s participants still had no explicit plans for their old age, but some of them had started to seek support from their social pension rather than family in their old age.

I have been paying for the resident social pension scheme for years. Previously, it was 2000 yuan a year, but now it has increased to 5000 yuan a year. For many rural people, it is not a small expenditure; so many villagers are not willing to pay for it, because they cannot see the benefit in a short period... I pay this social pension scheme just to have a guarantee in my old age, in order not to trouble my children at that time... (WXC, female, 1969, living with spouse and adult son's family)

Ms Wang was the only rural 1960s participants who paid the high-level social pension scheme. However, it did provide some evidence of the changing trend of personal preparation for old age among the rural 1960s participants.

Expectations from adult children in providing future care

Most rural 1960s participants expressed their willingness to rely on their children, especially adult sons, for old age daily care and material support if they could not care for themselves or afford the medical expenses. This might due to the large amount of economic support of their sons' marriages (see 9.2.1). Some parents even had heavy debts because of their sons' marriages, and they had to continue migrating for years until they paid off the credit. However, the interviews suggested some gender differences in their expectations regarding old-age living arrangements. The male participants in this group, whether they were widowed, living with their spouses or co-residing with their adult children's families, generally expressed their willingness to live independently in their own house in old age. However, the female participants, especially the widowed participants, expressed a preference to live with their sons' families in old age.

I won't go anywhere when becoming old and I'd rather live alone. It is convenient to live alone... When becoming old, who would like to live in the children's house?! (YAM, male, 1961, living alone)

I want to live with my son [when I am old]. Do I have any other choice? If it is really impossible to live with my son, I would hope to live with my daughter. (LJY, female, 1964, living alone)

According to the statistics presented in 5.1.1 (see Table 13), around 23.3 % of women in the rural 1960s cohort had no education, while the same was true of 3.3% of men within the

group. Educational status may play an important role in shaping people's modern features, views and lifestyles.

The fieldwork suggested that, compared with the rural 1940s and 1950s participants, the rural 1960s participants seemed more optimistic in their expectations of their adult children for old-age support. This result was consistent with the quantitative result presented in 5.3.3, (see Figure 26), which suggested that a higher percentage of the 1960s cohort thought that their children would be available when they had functional difficulties in the future. It might be an effect of age, given that the 1960s participants were still in their late midlife and did not have much experience of needing instrumental care. For the rural 1960s participants, this might also relate to some cohort effect, as most of the 1960s participants had given their sons greater economic transfers. Thus they might have higher expectations of their sons in older age.

Views on institutional and other care methods

Views varied among the rural 1960s participants in this study. Some people kept a positive attitude towards care institutions, but were only concerned about the high cost and the economic burden. If it proved affordable, some of the rural 1960s participants could accept institutional care. But the current problem was that there were very few care institutions or public care resources available in the rural villages where the interviews took place.

I accept this care method, and think it is good to stay with our peers, talking and playing cards with each other, in order to kill loneliness... (LJY, female, 1964, living alone)

I prefer this way [institutional care]. The urban people always pay for the institutional care and do not trouble their children and I agree. In this way, I save my children some burden, and they can visit me whenever they miss me. I just do not know when good care institutions could be built in our rural villages... (WXC, female, 1969, living with spouse and adult son's family)

Some others, similar to those rural 1940s and 1950s participants, were biased against institutional care and worried about the stigma on their adult children if they went to care institutions in old age.

If you have children, you'd better not to go to the institutions. For yourself, it is not comfortable to live outside home; and for your children, it will attach bad labels to their morality and reputations. (WDG, female, 1961, living with spouse)

The rural 1960s participants were in general more open-minded towards institutional care than the older cohorts living in the village. However, due to the reality that care institutions are extremely underdeveloped in rural areas, especially in central and western China, this was still not as widely accepted as among their urban counterparts.

9.3.2 The 1960s cohort living in small towns

Personal future care plans and preparations

Most small-town 1960s participants were still working at the time of the interviews. Many of them had a strong sense of saving money themselves and not relying on their children for material support in the future. One participant even expressed his plan for a second career after his retirement.

I will retire around 60 years old, but I feel that I am still young at that time. You cannot just stay at home and wait for your children to support you. I plan to drive a taxi in town after retirement and save some extra money for old age. Nowadays people live longer and you have to do a lot of preparations towards unforeseen risks before you becoming old. (LYY, male, 1961, living alone)

Compared with their rural counterparts, both were more economically independent than the older cohorts, however the small-town 1960s participants took more initiative in planning their future work. For some rural 1960s participants, as discussed in 9.2.1 and 9.3.1, their older age employment might be passive, and driven by 'son-oriented' motivations, that is, to make money to support their adult sons' marriages or pay off debts from the sons' marriages. Some small-town 1960s participants also planned to continue employment, but to work for themselves, and with the aim to secure their later life and prepare against unforeseen risks in the future. As 'risk' was conceptualised as a specific feature in modern society (Beck, 1992), the small-town 1960s participants in this study revealed significant modernity in their personal preparations for later life.

Expectations from adult children in providing future care

The interviews with the small-town 1960s participants found that they generally did not rely on their adult children for material support in old age, as most of them would have pensions

after their retirement, and some of them planned to continue working after retirement. Like the small-town 1950s participants, they still hoped they could be taken care of when they became frail or disabled in old age.

We have regular income and pension in the future, and it [economic burden] should not be a problem when we get old. (ZCL, female, 1963, living alone)

When you become older, you will feel lonely and would like the company of your own children... It is about the feeling... being comforted. (WXQ, female, 1962, living with spouse and adult son's family)

However, they were more rational in making choices about long-term care according to their children's proximity and availability. Again, like the small town 1950s participants, adult children 'doing the rounds' was often mentioned if the children lived in the same city as their parents. The expectation of children 'doing the rounds' was specific amongst the small-town and some rural 1960s participants who had more than one child, but not possible for the urban 1960s participants who generally had only one child.

Views on institutions and other care methods

Opinions on whether to accept institutional care or not differed among the small-town 1960s participants in this study. Some still held the idea that living in their own place was an ideal method for old age care, and they generally preferred their children to 'do the rounds' if they became functionally disabled. Others, however, stayed on the sidelines because they were concerned about the quality of institutional care in the local area.

The care institutions in the local area could only meet the criterion of survival. In this county, we have no public care institutions, and all the institutions are private and with no supervision. It is common that the older people were abused... One in our county that I know is run by a couple, they just cook three meals a day for the older people, eat or not, as you like, no more else... (ZKJ, male, 1966, living with spouse)

Although the small-town 1960s participants started to exhibit some modern features, such as planning a second career after retirement and saving money for older age, the local infrastructure of social care resources was far from their expectations and demands.

9.3.3 The 1960s cohort living in the city

Personal future care plans and preparations

The interviews suggested that most urban 1960s participants had regular income either from their current employment or a pension, and their income could basically meet their current demands for daily expenses. Like some small-town 1960s participants, the currently retired women in this group generally had a second career after their retirement. Having a second job was more common among the urban 1960s participants: even those who had not retired had some investment or a second job besides their formal employment. In addition, it was more common to purchase commercial insurance as a supplement to social insurance among this group of people.

I bought several types of commercial insurance, like Ping-An Insurance, life insurance, accident insurance and health insurance. I bought them ten years ago, and at that time, I just regarded this method as a way of financial management, and could also serve as a complement to the deficiency of social insurance... (GHX, female, 1962, living alone)

Housing prices in urban China, especially in some big cities, were extremely high and for local citizens who owned a property, their tenure provided a third insurance for their old age.

Older people could rent out their house. Like our community, the rental is quite high. For example, a 60 square metres house could rent for 3500-4000 yuan per month, and you can use this amount of money to pay for institutional care... (GYF, male, 1965, living alone)

From the perspective of life course, ageing is a lifelong process. and later life socioeconomic status is accumulated from early life trajectories (Bengtson, Elder Jr and Putney, 2012). Among the three cohorts living in the city, the 1960s cohort benefited most from the Economic Reform in China during the past decades, and had more cumulative advantages in terms of wealth and economic conditions. In this sense, they might be more prepared economically and less in need of material support in older age, compared with their older urban counterparts.

Expectations from adult children on providing future care

The most common theme among the urban 1960s participants was ‘not to burden the child in old age’. The interviews largely supported the idea that modern family values were more child-oriented than older-people-oriented (Aboderin, 2004).

I do not like the term 'filial piety', it existed in the feudal society that the state took no responsibility to share the risks. The state did not take part of the risk in people's older age, so it asked for the family and adult children to take it, which is 'filial piety'. My opinion is, for example, if I am old, by no means should I trouble my child. Why? Because we did not sacrifice a lot for our children. My grandparents generally nearly spent their whole adulthood to give birth and raise the children, and they should expect for a return. For us, although we care our child, we actually did not devote that much, and therefore, we should not expect any feedback from our child. It is the parents' own choice to give birth to a child and the child does not have the freedom of being born or not. In this sense, they parents should give more. The higher the power, the heavier the responsibility. It is fair. (GYF, male, 1965, living alone)

I just want to try my best to help my daughter in her life before I am old, but once I get old, I do not want to trouble her at all. (ZXH, female, 1965, living with spouse and adult daughter)

We won't do anything if it would trouble my daughter in the future. (GHW, male, 1961, living with spouse)

The 'trouble' here not only means financial burden, but also time, energy, and even the shackles of obligations.

If disabled, we will choose to go to the care institution; my daughter does not have that time to look after me. For the emotional support, I will seek from my friends rather than her. The child would be very busy at that time, and by no means should I trouble her... (ZXH, female, 1965, living with spouse and adult daughter)

Although participants from all three cohorts in the city all commonly expressed that they would not rely on their adult children for future support, the urban 1960s participants seemed more independent and had fewer expectations of their adult children, even for emotional support. They generally expressed that they would like to minimise their trouble to their adult children in the future.

Views on institutional and other care methods

Care institutions were the common choice of the urban 1960s participants for old-age long-term care. One participant mentioned that institutional care was a good way to integrate social and human care resources.

Hiring a private carer is very inefficient from a social perspective. A private carer actually is able to care for three older people. For example, there is no difference between cooking for 2 or for 4 people. In this sense, hiring a private caregiver is not an unscientific way of distributing care resources. If assembling the older people in an institution and hiring a carer to care for more people, it will lower the expense of the older people while increasing the income of the carer... (GYF, male, 1965, living alone)

Although this method of social care seemed to be an inevitable choice during some stages of later life for many members of the urban 1960s cohort who had only one child, they still held some concerns about the cost and quality of care.

We cannot afford very good care institutions but the conditions of the cheap ones were worrying. Older people's bad emotion will infect each other and you will feel depressed if you see people around you are in bad health conditions. (ZXH, female, 1965, living with spouse and adult daughter)

The fieldwork in Hangzhou found that the current public care institutions were very packed, and older people had to wait in a queue for years until their turn; on the other hand, many commercial or private care homes were comparatively unused and faced the problem of sustainability. Many reasons might account for this imbalance: the cost, the quality of service, the reputation, and the location. In general, government-run care institutions aim more towards public welfare rather than profit, so they charge a relatively reasonable price, have government supervision and better reputations, and are also often located in the city centre; comparatively, commercial/private care institutions are the other way around. As the 1960s cohort were the baby boomer generation in China and they generally have fewer children, their demands for social care will increase significantly in the future. Therefore the integration of public and commercial/private care resources is very urgent and requires the attention of policymakers.

In spite of the possibility of institutional care, some participants mentioned 'peer support' as a possible way to support themselves if they were still functionally well. This proposal was also mentioned by some urban 1950s participants in 8.3.3.

I would not consider living with my child. It is not convenient for both of the two generations. I could go to the institutions with my best friends. If possible, I can just

live with my sisters and best friends and we support each other. This kind of living arrangement is good for our emotional wellbeing. (GHX, female, 1962, living alone)

Another preferred way is to live with friends in old age. We could rent out our houses, rent a larger one, and live together. If we are too old to care for each other, we can hire a private caregiver to help us, but currently, it just sounds like something fancy. (ZXH, female, 1965, living with spouse and adult daughter)

In addition, current community care had improved a lot as a supplement to family care for older people, and could serve as another method of social support for the urban 1960s cohort when they are in old age.

The community currently provides the GIS cell phones to the older people in order to ensure that they do not get lost or to monitor their safety when being alone. (GHW, male, 1961, living with spouse)

The community social worker will provide free housework service to older people aged 80 and over living in the community one day per week... This is actually paid for by the local government. (GYF, male, 1965, living alone)

Our community is very friendly to the retired older people. It has the connection with local hospitals and other social institutions. Once the older people are in the hospital, the community social workers will be informed, then they will visit and send out gifts. If the older people are in difficulties at home, the community social workers will come to help once they receive the call from the older people... And it has public facilities for older people's daily exercise and activities, which is good for their quality of life... (GHX, female, 1962, living alone)

Current social care resources, especially community care resources were distributed in an unbalanced way in China's urban and rural areas, as well as the eastern developed provinces and the middle and western underdeveloped provinces. Although they only had one child each, the urban 1960s participants were not necessarily more vulnerable than the older cohorts who had more children, as qualitative data suggested that they were better economically prepared, and socially protected. In addition, they may have a range of choices with the development of better technology and more economic development in the city.

In summary, people from the 1960s cohort were generally more economically independent and open-minded towards future long-term care. However, a great gap existed in terms of

social and community care resources. Rural villages the small towns were found to have no or very few public care resources, which, in the next twenty years, might become a critical social problem when the baby boomer 1960s cohort arrives at older age.

9.4 Chapter Summary

Members of the 1960s cohort have been deeply influenced by China's economic reform, modernisation, and urbanisation processes and these have significantly shaped their socioeconomic statuses, lifestyles, views and minds. They had fewer children than previous cohorts, but they had more life chances and employment opportunities as a result of modernisation and urbanisation, and they might choose to work longer or keep several part-time jobs to secure their economic conditions in later life. They had longer distances between them and their adult children, but the widespread high-speed railway and the universal internet network bridged these geographic distances.

The number of children could no longer be regarded as the key indicator for this cohorts quality of life in older age, rather their accumulated life chances were the key discriminator. Many chances were created during China's economic reforms, but these were unequally distributed between different regions, and also between people from different parts of the social hierarchy. The original strategy of Deng's economic reform was 'to allow some people [to get] rich, and the rich [to] drive the poor, to achieve common prosperity' (Whyte, 2012). However, caution should be taken against this going too far: the rich getting richer, and the poor getting poorer. One significant example from this study was the uneven distribution of formal care resources between the big cities, the small towns, and the rural villages. As the rural 1960s participants exhibited significant modern features and might be a potentially large group who demand public and commercial care service in the near future, the gap between this potential need for resources and the current availability raise big concerns and crucially call for policy-makers' attention.

Chapter 10 Discussion and Conclusion

It is useful to restate the thesis research questions and highlight the key research findings from both the quantitative phase (Chapter 5 and 6) and qualitative phase (Chapter 7, 8 and 9), and to discuss how these come together to add value to this study. This chapter also draws out the implications of the findings and discusses how they inform relevant future social policy in China. Finally, this chapter further discusses the contributions and limitations of the research, as well as the recommendations for future research.

This research adopted a life-course perspective to examine the changing life courses and dynamics of intergenerational family support amongst those older people born in China during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. The overall aim was to investigate the changes regarding family support circumstances amongst the three birth cohorts, as well as diversities between geographic regions, in order to inform effective and targeted social policy to meet the needs of vulnerable groups and future groups of older people. The thesis addressed the following research questions:

RQ1: How do sociodemographic characteristics, family formation, and current intergenerational support resources differ between the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s birth cohorts in China?

RQ2: What are the key factors that influence different types of intergenerational family support among currently middle-aged and older people in China?

RQ3: a) For China's 1940s, 1950s and 1960s birth cohorts, how are their family support circumstances in later life shaped by China's recent periods of social change and their own personal life events? b) How do their views and expectations differ in terms of future long-term care?

RQ4: Who are the vulnerable groups and what are the trends amongst the three cohorts of older people and how can social policy address these?

The thesis employed mixed methods to address the above research questions. Key findings from each phase are highlighted separately before synthesising the results, and discussing the research implications on the integrated results.

10.1 Highlights of Quantitative Research Findings

The quantitative phase of this study mainly addressed the first two research questions by analysing the CHARLS 2011 data. Descriptive analysis distinguished key differences amongst the three cohorts in terms of education, marital status, living arrangements, contact, and intergenerational transfers.

In terms of **education**, there was a significant increase in educational attainment from the 1940s to 1960s cohort; however great gaps still exist between rural women and urban men, as the illiteracy rate among the former was more than 20 times larger than among the latter.

Regarding **marital status**, the divorce rate among the 1960s cohort was double that of the 1940s cohort, and amongst them, the urban 1960s cohort had the highest divorce rate. The proportion of people who were married but not living with their spouses was significantly higher among the 1960s cohort, with the highest proportion being among the rural 1960s cohort.

As for **living arrangements, meeting and contact**, among the three cohorts, the 1940s cohort had the highest proportion of ‘empty nests’, while the 1960s cohort had the lowest proportion. The 1950s cohort, on the other hand, had the highest proportion of ‘co-residing with adult children’. This may in part be an age effect, which was discussed in 5.2.1. However, among those ‘empty nesters’, the 1940s cohort had had the highest proportion of those with closer proximity to, and who frequently met, their non co-resident adult children, while the 1960s cohort contained the lowest proportion of these. That said, the 1960s cohort tended to have more frequent contact with their non co-resident adult children. This may be in part explained by a cohort effect which is related to child number and migration.

Regarding **intergenerational material transfers**, among all three cohorts, the proportion of upward transfer (from adult children to parents) was higher than that of downward transfer (from parents to adult children). However, the trend of upward transfer decreased, while the trend of downward transfer increased, between the 1940s cohort and the 1960s cohort (see Figure 21). Regarding urban-rural differences, within each birth cohort a higher proportion of rural parents tended to receive material support, while a lower proportion of them tended to give it, than their urban counterparts. This suggests that the rural older people generally had less disposable income compared with their urban counterparts. A different trend was found amongst the urban 1960s cohort – that is, the proportion of downward transfer

exceeded the proportion of upward transfer (see Table 21). This may be in part an age effect, as the 1960s cohort may have children still in college education.

The findings from the multivariate logistic regressions we discussed in Chapter 6 presented results from a number of factors are associated with older people's intergenerational family support. The key findings show that, being female, having more adult children, having the nearest adult child living in the same city but not co-resident, being more sociable, and having a married child compared with their reference groups were factors associated with higher odds of reporting receipt of all five types of family support resources. However, being separated, divorced, or never married compared with married, and living in central or western China compared with eastern were the factors associated with lower odds of reporting receipt of all five kinds of family support resources from adult children (see Table 40).

Four mechanisms for family support were found from the multivariate regressions: the parents' 'attractiveness' to their children in terms of resources, the parents' needs, the children's high SES, and investment (see 6.7). Parents' 'attractiveness' means that parents who have better socioeconomic resources and health are more likely to attract their adult children to live close by, and to meet and have contact with them more frequently, but also that the parents are less likely to receive material support from them. The effect of parents' needs, however, suggests that parents who potentially have more instrumental and financial needs (for example, being older, widowed, physically not capable, etc.) are more likely to have adult children living nearby, or to receive material support; however, they are less likely to have frequent contact with their children. Those who have children with higher education and income are more likely to get material support and have frequent contact, but less likely to have their children living nearby or to meet them often, which suggests the effect of the children's high SES. Investment, however, implies that parents' financial support of their children or grandchildren will help create or maintain emotional closeness between them, but will decrease the chances of close proximity.

Based on this quantitative evidence, an interview sampling structure was developed which included cohorts, living regions, living arrangements, and gender (see 4.3.3), aiming to study the cohorts' life experiences and their intergenerational transfers, as well as their views and expectations.

10.2 Highlights of Qualitative Research Findings

The qualitative phase of this research aimed to develop a deeper understanding of the circumstances of family support and future long-term care amongst three cohorts of older people, by understanding how their previous life courses impacted upon their later lives. By analysing in-depth interviews with people from each cohort, we identified three main themes: i) social and historical events, early life experiences, and potential later life care resources and care needs; ii) current patterns of intergenerational family support; and iii) preparations and expectations for later life: an investigation from the parents' perspective

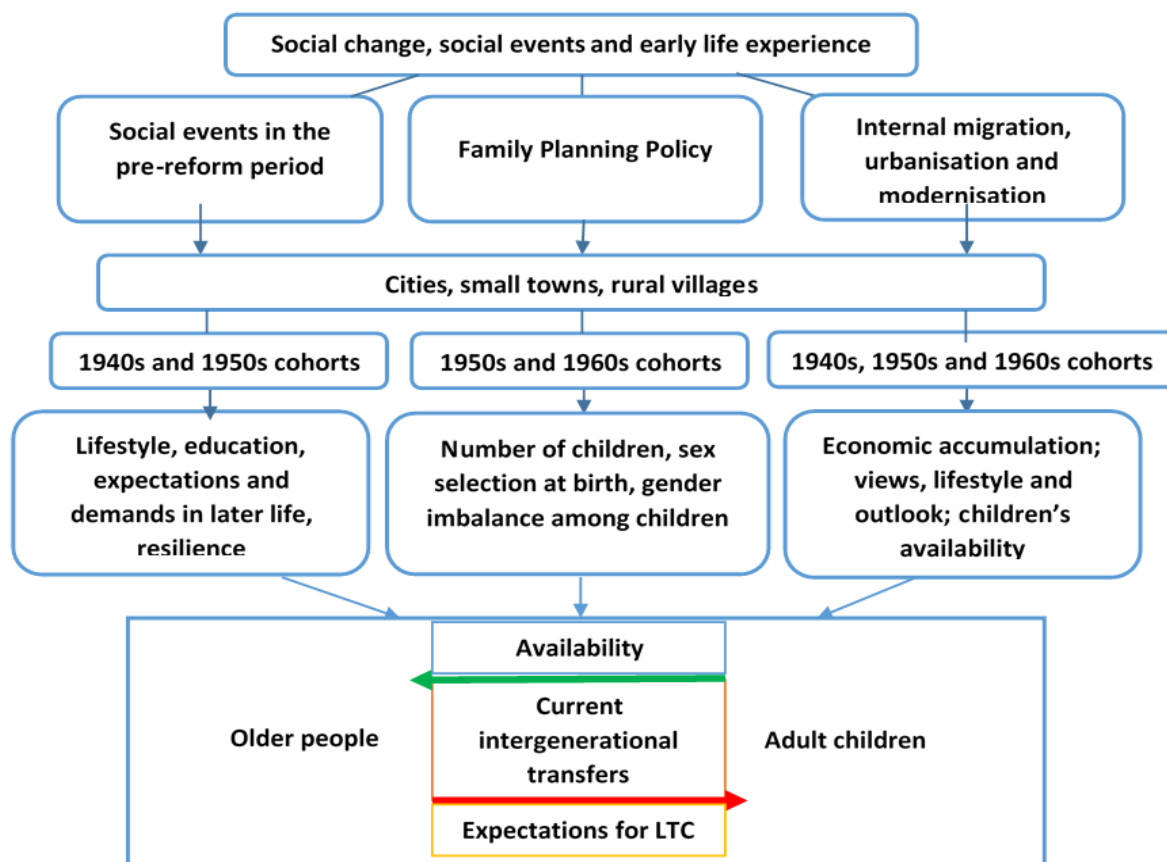


Figure 37: Early life experiences and later life family support circumstances amongst China's 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts

Note: LTC is the acronym for 'Long Term Care'.

Source: The author's own conceptualisation

Figure 37 illustrates how the social events that have occurred in China over the past 50 years influenced upon the later life family support and future long-term care circumstances of the three cohorts. Such social and political events which occurred during the pre-reform era

mainly influenced the 1940s and 1950s cohorts, in terms of their educational opportunities or educational quality, and lifestyles, as well as their expectations and demands in later life. For some people, adverse early life events have helped them develop positive personal traits and promoted resilience, which have been viewed as an important factor for wellbeing and adaptation in later life by previous literature (Ong and Bergeman, 2004; Ong *et al.*, 2006).

The introduction and the implementation of the Family Planning Policy mainly affected the 1950s and 1960s cohorts, but its impact upon urban and rural citizens was different. It heavily restricted the urban couples who first gave birth after 1980, such that they could have only one child, while the 1.5 Child Policy for rural residents (Hesketh, Lu and Xing, 2005) triggered sex selection at birth, resulting in severely skewed sex ratios, and leading to the phenomenon of ‘marriage burden’ among the sons of the rural 1960s cohort. Trends of internal migration, modernisation, and urbanisation after the 1979 economic reform had an extensive impact on all cohorts, but particularly shaped the socioeconomic status and outlook of the 1960s cohort. The trends will continue to have an impact upon the adult children of the 1960s cohort, particularly with the deepening of social modernisation and the urbanisation process in Chinese society.

The current patterns of intergenerational transfers amongst the three cohorts reflected a negotiation between children’s availability and parental needs. However, the parents’ expectations for their own future long-term care were shaped by their social values as well as by current patterns of intergenerational transfers, and their perceptions of their children’s availability in the future.

The qualitative study found that members of the 1940s and the 1950s cohorts shared many experiences in common, while the 1960s cohort clearly showed some distinct characteristics, for example in terms of their socioeconomic status and outlook. One explanation might be that the landmark economic reforms in China started in 1979, and a series of accompanying social policies have shaped the 1960s cohort’s midlives differently. The emerging social trend of internal migration, the implementation of the Family Planning Policy, the widespread growth of modern and urban culture, and the rapid development of high-tech communication and transportation, significantly influenced their family structure and intergenerational relationships, as well as their outlook, lifestyles and future plans. Thus, the characteristics of the 1960s cohort are discussed separately.

The members of the 1940s and 1950s cohorts living in rural villages

The study participants from the 1940s and 1950s cohorts residing in rural villages had very few personal socioeconomic resources (education, financial resources and social networks), very limited access to public social care resources and services, and held very strong patrilocal and patrilineal norms. Therefore they were found to be the most vulnerable group among older people interviewed, as their limited education impeded their access to information and high technology, a lack of sufficient financial resources restricted their anti-risk capabilities (including the ability to purchase over the counter medicines), and weak social networks and limited public social care resources could not compensate for the absence of their migrant children. This indicated high risks to their financial and physical wellbeing. In addition, their deep sense of patrilocal and patrilineal norms and the fact that their adult sons' outward migration created a gap of unmet needs, with a potential negative impact on their emotional wellbeing. Among this group of people, those widowed were found to be the most vulnerable, since spouses were suggested to be the most helpful caregivers, however they did not have their spouses available. Furthermore, they seldom had strong social networks to compensate for the absence of their family support.

The members of the 1940s and 1950s cohorts living in cities

The city-based members of the 1940s and 1950s cohort were influenced differently by social and political events in China. Taking advantage of their urban Hukou and the social benefits associated with it, they accumulated more socioeconomic resources; their city residential status enabled them to benefit more from the urbanisation and modernisation process and the boosting of economic opportunities, as well as the technology which appeared along with this process. Although some members of the two groups experienced downward social mobility during the Cultural Revolution and were negatively influenced by their employment and family life events (such as marriage and childbearing), some developed resilience through this adversity. Their early disadvantage to some extent was mediated by the accumulation of socioeconomic resources in later life during the Economic Reform period. Interestingly, some of these urban older cohorts chose to have only one child, which was more a result of the influence of modernisation than the well-known One Child Policy. Among the two groups of older people, those who were involuntarily childless, and divorced older men were found to be most vulnerable in terms of receipt of family support, potentially having higher demands for social support. The newly emerging phenomena of 'migrant parents' highlights the need for a unified social security system, covering older citizens living in urban (and rural) areas regardless of Hukou status to be put on the agenda.

The members of the 1940s and 1950s cohorts living in small towns

The small town is a geographic region as well as an administrative level between the city and the villages. Therefore, many of the small-town participants of this study had dual characteristics: on the one hand, many of them had rural origins and were still significantly influenced by tradition; on the other hand, they held urban Hukou and were entitled to certain social benefits. Their socioeconomic status was generally in between their village and city counterparts; however, unexpectedly, the small-town participants seemed to have better family support situations than the participants from the other two regions. Compared with their city counterparts, they generally had more children, and their adult children were more likely to be available when needed, due to the slower pace of life in town. Compared with their village counterparts, the adult children of participants from small towns were generally not caught in the internal migration trend and thus had closer proximity to their parents. Those who had migrated were likely to settle down in the city and experience upward social mobility. In this sense, the migrant adult children of the small-town older people were better placed to provide material support than those of the rural villagers. In this group, the childless participants and those who had no biological children crucially highlighted the need for, and indeed some requested social support, however at the time of interview, public infrastructure and community-based facilities for older people were nearly entirely absent or in very low quality in small towns.

The members of the 1960s cohort living in rural villages

The rural 1960s cohort was a transitional cohort compared with the older cohorts in rural China. As many of them had personal (direct) experience of outward migration, they were distinct from the traditional Chinese peasants⁵³ in terms of income, lifestyle and outlook. Although some of the participants from this group had three or more children and seemed to have evaded the Family Planning Policy, the Family Planning Policy influenced their later life in an indirect way with a time lag, by exacerbating the skewed sex ratio amongst their children's generation. This put them under great economic pressure to support their sons' marriages, with expensive marriage gifts expected by the bride's family. Their migration and

⁵³ The traditional sense of Chinese peasants can be depicted by an old saying- 'face to the loess land and back to the sky' (面朝黄土背朝天), which implies that they mainly live on farm work and had limited outlook and horizon.

working experiences in the city influenced their views and demands for social support, but the public resources for older age support were found to be extremely underdeveloped in many rural areas of China. Moreover, their adult children were generally the second generation of migrant workers in China and as such may well face different choices regarding returning to the village in the future, which would further impact upon the availability of family support circumstances of the rural 1960s cohort in their future older age.

The members of the 1960s cohort living in cities

The city-based members of the 1960s cohort benefited significantly from economic growth and technology development in the rapid modernisation and urbanisation process. For example, they could pursue lifelong working or lifelong learning due to the development of the urban economy and the improvement of urban infrastructure and public resources; they enjoyed unprecedented convenience in communication and transportation, which greatly improved their quality of life and bridged the distance from their children living in other cities or abroad. Their outlook, at the same time, had significantly modern characteristics. For example, the qualitative study found that urban 1960s participants were more obvious in their ‘child-centred’ values, as they generally provided greater financial support to their adult children but did not expect such support in return in their future older age. A significant social phenomenon amongst this group of individuals was the increasing divorce rate and the impaired relationship between divorced men and their adult children. This study found that divorced men often had weaker connections with their adult children, which indicated a potentially vulnerable group of older people in the coming decades as the divorce rate rises in Chinese society, especially in urban China (Liao and Heaton, 1992; Wang, 2001).

The members of the 1960s cohort living in small towns

The participants from small towns and the city were influenced to varying degrees by the Family Planning Policy, as many of the small-town participants had more than one child while their city counterparts generally had only one child each. Greater social stratification and heterogeneity were found among the small-town 1960s participants regarding their socioeconomic status compared with the older cohorts living in towns; meanwhile, their family patterns became more diverse: for example, the emergence of ‘mobile families’ was found among this group of participants. Therefore, there is a potential trend of ‘old-age migration’ among this group. For example, current ‘mobile families’ may migrate to get together, or those with adult children settling down in the cities may consider migrating to

live near their children in their future older age. This, once again, has implications for a unified social security system, which would allow the transfer of social and medical insurance between different geographic regions, and enable migrating older people to be entitled to local community and medical resources, as well as public benefits.

10.3 Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Research Phases of This Study

4.1.1 discussed Greene's five justifications for combining quantitative and qualitative research, that is, triangulation, complementarity, development, initiation, and expansion (Greene, Caracelli and Graham, 1989; Bryman, 2006). In this study, the quantitative and qualitative phases of the research were integrated on the basis of four justifications throughout different stages of this research. Previous research has suggested that the use of visual display (e.g., diagram) could contribute to the understanding of 'data mix' (Happ, 2009), therefore Figure 38 provides details of the integration of both phases in response to the four original research questions.

Firstly, the justification of 'expansion' was used in this research. Expansion means, 'seeking to extend the breadth and range of enquiry by using different methods for different inquiry questions' (Greene, Caracelli and Graham, 1989, p.259). The quantitative and qualitative phases were integrated in the beginning of this study when formulating the research purpose and introducing both quantitative and qualitative research questions (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2003; Ivankova, Creswell and Stick, 2006). Because there was no appropriate secondary dataset available at the time this research started, the quantitative phase was designed to answer research questions one and two, and the qualitative phase was designed to answer research question three (see p. 267). The answer to research question four was based on the analysis of both research phases.

Secondly, the justification of 'development' was adopted in this research. Development applies when the author 'seeks to use the results from one method to help develop or inform the other method, where development is broadly construed to include sampling and implementation, as well as measurement decisions' (Greene, Caracelli and Graham, 1989, p. 259). This study used an explanatory sequential design, which was driven by quantitative secondary data analysis and followed by qualitative in-depth interviews. The quantitative and qualitative phases were integrated during the research design and data collection process.

The interview sampling and data collection of the qualitative phase were guided by the results from the quantitative phase (Hanson *et al.*, 2005). For example, the quantitative results suggested that parents' SES and children's SES both have an impact on the intergenerational support the parents receive. Therefore, in the interview design, the sampling frame was purposively designed to capture three groups of older people. These are: older people with high SES themselves, who have children with high SES; older people with low SES themselves, who have children with low SES; and older people with low SES themselves, but who have children with high SES.⁵⁴ In the context of China, this was broadly operationalised as urban parents with urban children, rural parents with rural children, and small town parents with urban children⁵⁵ (see 4.3.3). In addition, the interview protocols were partly grounded in the results from the quantitative phase, aiming to provide in-depth understanding of particular results. For example, the quantitative results suggest that fertility decreased from the 1940s cohort to the 1960s cohort. In the interviews, questions were asked about fertility choices and their impact on their later life, in order to provide in-depth understanding of this issue.

A third justification used in this study was 'triangulation', which means, 'convergence, corroboration, correspondence of results from different methods' (Bryman, 2006). Social-demographic changes amongst the three birth cohorts were described through statistical descriptive analysis, and these were largely corroborated by the qualitative interviews (see Figure 38). For example, based on the analysis of CHARLS data, the 1960s cohort was found to have significantly increased their levels of education, divorce rates, geographic distance from their adult children, and so on. In the qualitative phase, these characteristics were evidenced by some interview participants. The average educational attainment amongst the interview participants from the 1960s cohort was higher than that amongst the participants from the other two cohorts. Divorce was more common among the 1960s participants, and could lead to solo living and changed intergenerational relations. In this sense, triangulation makes the research's arguments stronger and more reliable.

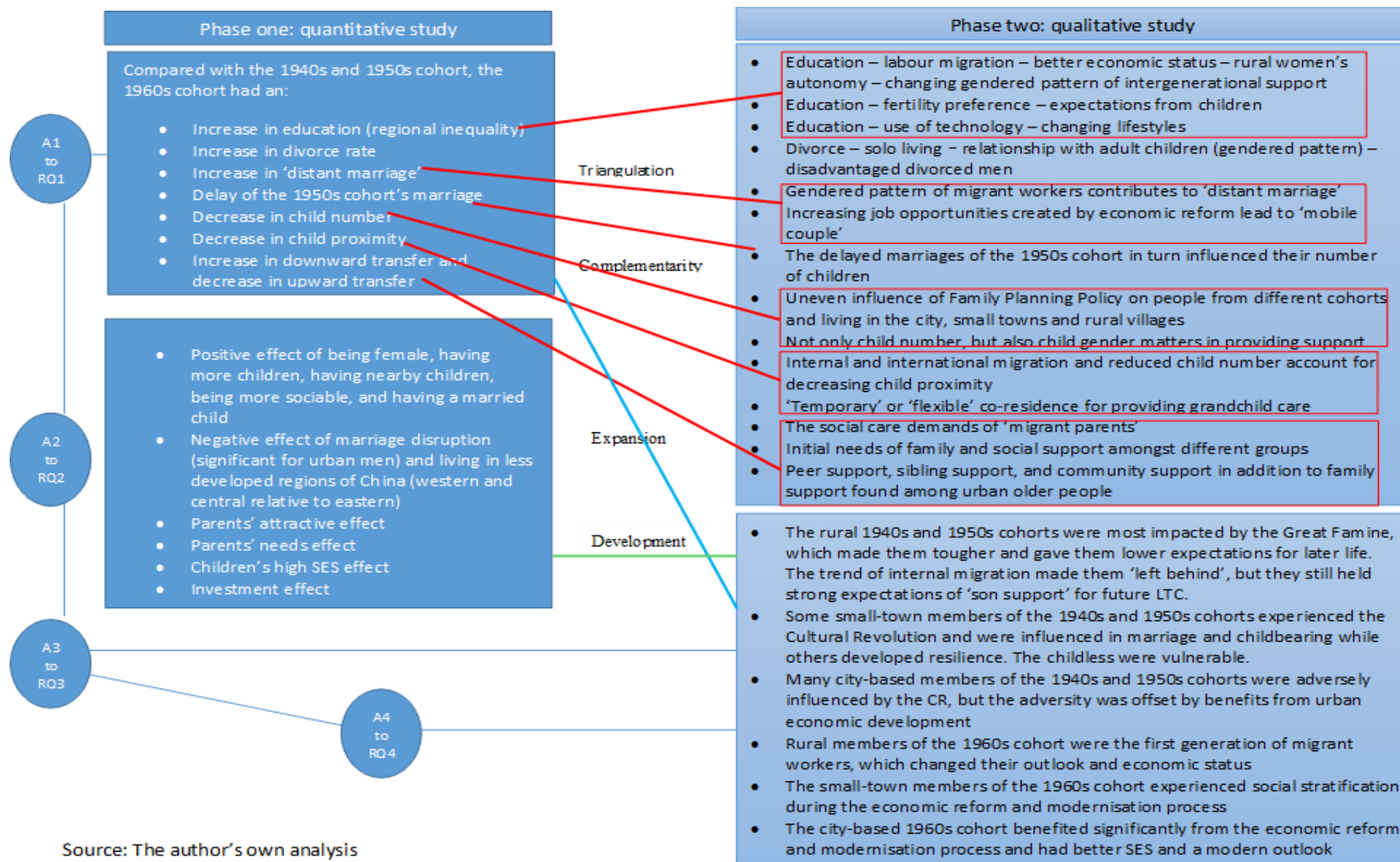
⁵⁴ The group- older people with high SES themselves but have children with low SES, which refer to 'urban parents with rural children' are not common in Chinese context, thus this group was excluded from the sampling frame.

⁵⁵ This group was first designed as 'rural parents with urban children'. However this group is not very common in the villages interviewed and eligible research participants are difficult to find. Therefore, we changed our original sampling design, and revised this group as 'small-town parents with urban children' as social mobility was more common in small towns than rural villages.

The last – and the most significant – justification employed in this study was ‘complementarity’, which means to ‘seek elaboration, enhancement, illustration, clarification of the results from one method with the results from another’ (Greene, Caracelli and Graham, 1989, p.259). In the study, there are many places where the qualitative study provided elaboration on the results of the quantitative analysis. For example, the qualitative results explained the possible causes of ‘distant marriages’ (see Figure 38 and also 9.1.2). The qualitative analysis also elaborated on the consequences of ‘delayed marriage’ amongst the urban 1950s cohort (see Figure 38 and also 8.1.3). By adding analysis of diversities and inequalities between participants living in the city, small towns, and rural villages, the qualitative analysis specifically described the influence of Family Planning Policy on different groups of people, and clarified the ambiguous results presented in the quantitative analysis, such as the general trend of decreasing fertility (see Figure 38).

In summary, expansion and complementarity add to the width and depth of the research inquiry, while development and triangulation contribute to the coherence, logic, and validity of this study.

Figure 38 The integration of quantitative and qualitative phases in response to four research questions



10.4 Implications of This Study

10.4.1 Conceptualisation of three cohorts and rethinking ageing and modernisation theory in the context of contemporary China

Following discussion of the key research findings in terms of life course, intergenerational family support, and future long-term care expectations amongst the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s cohorts living in different regions, we tried to find a way to conceptualise the characteristics of the three cohorts in relation to their later-life care circumstances. Three dimensions were selected to represent three key indicators:

- Personal resources and access to public social care resources/services: capturing aspects related to older people's personal socioeconomic resources and levels of public social care services in their residence
- Outlook and expectations: capturing aspects related to older people's views and autonomy
- Number of children: capturing aspects related to intergenerational family support resources

Overall, the participants from the city generally possessed the highest level of personal resources and had the best access to public social care resources/services. In addition, they had the most modern outlook, and had the fewest children. Comparatively, the rural participants had the lowest level personal resources and worst access to public social care resources/services, and they had the most traditional outlook, and most children. The small-town participants were in between in the three aspects. Within each region, the 1960s participants generally had the highest level of personal socioeconomic resources, the most modern outlook, and fewest children, while the 1940s participants were towards the other end of the spectrum. It is noteworthy that due to their experience of migration, members of the rural 1960s cohort saw significant improvement in their socioeconomic statuses as well as the modernity of their outlook compared with those from the rural 1940s and 1950s cohorts, although they still generally fell behind their small-town and city-based 1960s counterparts in terms of their socioeconomic resources and modernity.

In addition, the number of children might not be an effective indicator of intergenerational support among rural older people, as their adult children's outward migration largely reduced their availability. It further confirmed the grave situation of the 'left-behind' older people in rural China.

The framework (see Figure 39) highlights a key finding of this study; that is, modernisation and ageing in the Chinese context. The modernisation process has influenced older people unevenly in China. For example, members of the rural 1940s and 1950s cohorts were a less modernised older group, who had to face modernising and the decreasing availability of their adult children. Thus a gap of 'unmet need' emerged, as most members of the rural 1940s and 1950s cohort still held traditional expectations of 'son support' for long-term care, but they had to face the challenges of the absence of their adult sons as a result of the recent large scale internal migration in China. Comparatively, the outlook of members of the 1960s cohort were significantly shaped by social modernisation, and they did not view themselves as dependents of their adult children in their future older age, compared with the older rural cohorts. Instead, they might have more independence and autonomy in planning their older age and pursue an active ageing, due to their improving socioeconomic status and the rapid development of technology. The 1960s cohort will be the first modernised cohort of older people in China, and their needs for different types of family support and their perspectives towards receiving care are distinct from those of the older cohorts.

Therefore, this study provides a new revision to the modernisation and ageing theory, which anticipated that older people in modernised societies would lose their authority and experience a decrease in family support (Aboderin, 2004). This study, on the other hand, acknowledges the principal status of older people themselves, and argues that as older people in society become more modernised themselves, their perspectives on receiving family support are also changing. They might expect less material support and instrumental support from their adult children, due to the improvement of their own financial status and the decrease of their children's availability. They might also seek more face-to-face emotional support from their peer groups and siblings, due to their increasing distance from their children. In addition, their daily interactions with their adult children may be under transition, in the context of internal and international migration and the widespread use of communication technology. This theoretical contribution will be further discussed in 10.6.1. Based on these facts, older people in future may reduce their dependence on adult children in later life, but increase their demands towards multiple care agents. Therefore, multi-agent

care provision for future older cohorts and relevant social policy is a key issue for the future policy-making agenda. This is further discussed in 10.5.

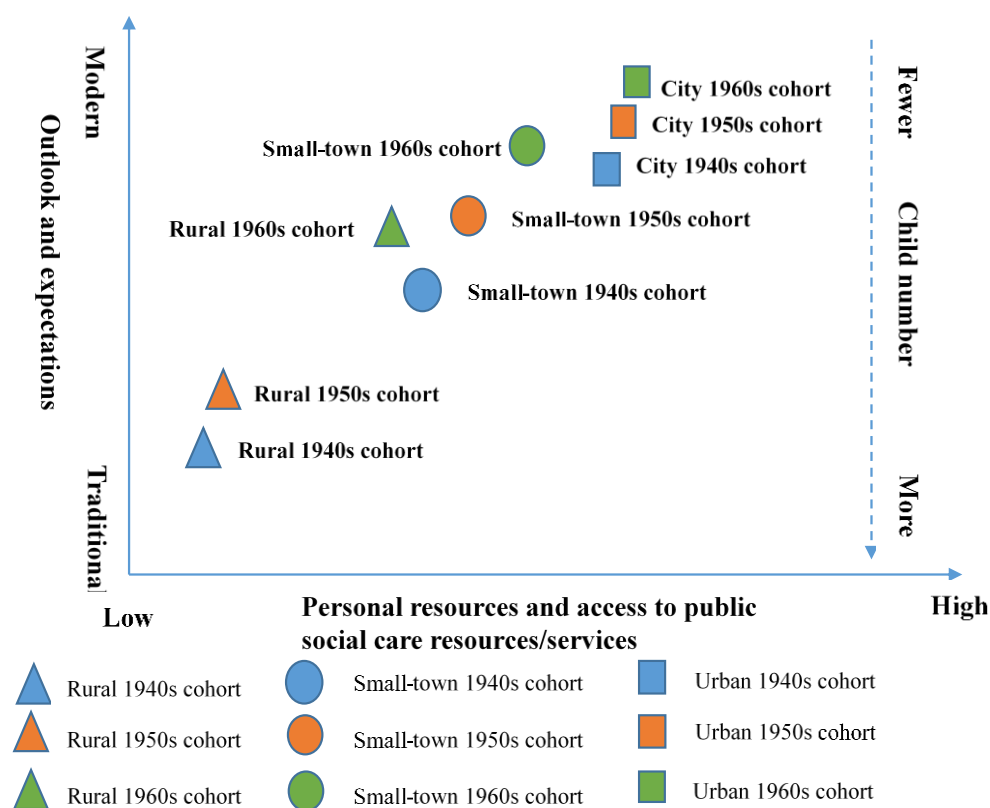


Figure 39: Three-dimensional conceptualisation of the three cohorts in terms of their later-life long-term care circumstances

Note: The abscissa represents an overall indicator of the participants' income, savings, education, and other related personal resources as well as the public social care resources and services in their places of residence. This aims to depict a difference in socioeconomic status and access to public social care resources among different social groups. The left ordinate represents the subjective aspects of the participants in terms of the modernity of their outlooks and their expectations of receiving care in old age. The right ordinate represents the number of children the participants had. It is dashed because the number of children can no longer be regarded as an effective indicator of intergenerational support in the context of large-scale internal migration in Chinese society. Detailed comparison can be found in Chapters 5–9.

Source: The author's own conceptualisation

10.4.2 The vulnerable groups of older people highlighted by the qualitative study

In addition to modernity, Figure 39 also highlights another key finding; that is, inequality among people from each cohort living in different regions. Significant inequality and diversity exists in terms of people's personal socioeconomic resources, access to public social care resources and services, as well as the number of children they had and the potential availability of their children. Due to these inequalities and differences, this study highlighted the most (potentially) vulnerable groups of older people in each region and within each cohort, who could be major beneficiaries of policy intervention or reform.

Firstly, older people from the rural 1940s and 1950s cohorts were vulnerable and might require improved social and medical support. Although having more children potentially available, many face the risk of being 'left behind' and have to face the decreasing availability of their adult children in the context of outward migration from rural China. Other social support resources such as social networks, community care and public welfare were very underdeveloped in rural China. For example, the current NRPS was largely below the minimum level of living standards in less developed provinces and regions of China,⁵⁶ and the NRCMI still needed to enhance its reimbursement ratio.

Among this group, widowed participants needed more policy attention on their emotional wellbeing and long-term care in the future, as the spouse was found to be the primary source of family support, yet they did not have one available. This group was largely neglected by the current rural social assistance system such as the 'Five guarantees (Wubaohu)'⁵⁷ and the 'Rural Minimum Living Standard Guarantee Program (Dibao)'⁵⁸. However, the trend of outward migration in rural areas of China weakened the role of adult children, especially

⁵⁶ The monthly pension from the New Rural Pension Scheme was 78 yuan (equal to around 8-9 pounds) per month in the interviewed villages in Henan province in 2016.

⁵⁷ The 'Five Guarantee system' focuses on rural older people 'who have lost the ability to work, who have no source of income, and who have no legal guardians whatsoever to support them, or their legal guardians do not have the ability to support them'. They are entitled with 'the state's 'five guarantees' system, which means that their food, clothing, housing, medical care and burial expenses are taken care of and subsidized by the government'. Source from: <http://www.china.org.cn/english/aged/192046.htm>, last accessed on 30/01/2018.

⁵⁸ As a complement of the 'Five Guarantee system' targeted for poor rural households, the Rural Minimum Living Standard Guarantee Program, known as rural Dibao, began in the early 1990s on an experimental basis in some cities and became nationwide in 2007. This programme aims to provide income transfers to households with income per capita below an income threshold, in Golan, J., Sicular, T. and Umapathi, N. (2014) 'Any guarantees? china's rural minimum living standard guarantee program', *Social protection and labor discussion paper*; no. 1423. World Bank Group, Washington, DC. © World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/19976> License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.

adult sons, in providing family support and brought challenges to older people, especially those widowed and living in villages.

Secondly, the older people who were childless not by choice, but influenced by particular socio-political events, needed more social support. This group of people existed in the urban or small-town 1940s and 1950s cohorts (for example, case CCM in 7.1.2), and were the people who had been sent down or who had adverse life experiences during China's Cultural Revolution. As previous literature has suggested a higher exposure to negative emotion among the involuntary childless (Hansen et al., 2009), their emotional wellbeing in older age should be cared for, and their physical wellbeing should be supported by targeted social policy.

Thirdly, divorced older men who were living alone were another vulnerable group. Previous literature found that they had damaged relationships with their adult children, and once again this was confirmed by this study. During China's modernisation process, the divorce rate rose, especially among the 1960s cohort. Policymakers need to consider the emotional wellbeing, and the potentially weak support from their adult children, among this group of people in their older age, and make targeted social policy to support them.

Last but not the least, the 'migrant parents' or 'migrant older people' were an emerging social phenomenon in many Chinese cities. This study found that parents either migrated after retirement for the purpose of providing childcare for their adult children's families, or to permanently live near their adult child/children. The members of the 'mobile families' among the 1960s cohort were also likely to move together after retirement. Although the government has acknowledged the rights of migrant workers and started to develop the social welfare system for migrant workers (Gao et al., 2017), social welfare targeted towards migrant parents or migrant older people still remains sparse. For example, the qualitative research found that the migrant parents still had barriers in accessing local medical resources, and their reimbursement rate of medical insurance was much lower than that of the local citizens. When being ill, some of them had to return to their hometown to receive treatment, which brought them great inconvenience. Such inequalities in social welfare request policy attention because with the first generation of the parents under the One Child Policy children stepping into retirement, there is a potential increase in old age migration in Chinese society. Therefore, reform of social welfare towards a unification system is critical in the near future.

10.4.3 The emerging trends among Chinese older people in the context of social modernisation

China's Economic Reform after 1979 has involved a series of social transformations and thus influenced the lives of older people from different birth cohorts. From the comparison between three birth cohorts, this study suggested some emerging trends among older people in Chinese society which appeared along with China's social modernisation process.

Firstly, in social and demographic aspects, there was a significant increase in education and income among the 1960s cohort compared with their 1940s counterparts living in the same regions. On the other hand, there was a general decrease in the number of children participants tended to have, and their proximity to their adult children. This means that future older people might have better socioeconomic resources themselves but lower availability of their children to provide family support, compared with previous older cohorts.

Secondly, regarding family formation and function, it is likely that in the coming decades, the family will become more 'geographically further apart but psychologically closer', which means that, on one hand, with increasing internal and international migration occurring in contemporary Chinese society, the distance between parents and their adult children will tend to be greater. On the other hand, the parent-child relationship will become more equal and closer, with a decreasing number of children and increasing frequency of intergenerational contact in the context of wide spread of modern culture and rapid development of communication technology. As a result of this trend, the function of Chinese families in providing long-term care for older people will be under a great transition: its function of providing instrumental support will probably gradually weaken, while its function of providing emotional support remains. It would continue as a safe net for older people by providing a sense of belonging; however, the function of providing material support would also probably reduce as a result of their decreased demands.

Thirdly, in terms of the trend of intergenerational transfers, there is a significant increase in downward transfers, both materially and instrumentally, from parents to adult children, but upward transfers still require further investigation, as most participants in this study were physically active at the time of interview and had very few needs for instrumental support. Nevertheless, a hierarchical order of support from family members has been found from this study; that is, 'the significant spouse, the thoughtful daughters and the negligent sons'. To be more specific, among all family members, spouses were found to be the primary source of family support, followed by adult daughters, then adult sons. This pattern is especially

apparent among rural older people as they generally had more children including both sons and daughters.

In addition, in rural China, the patrilocal and patrilineal norms which were dominant in the pre-reform era are under transformation. A gendered pattern of intergenerational support, as well as an asymmetric pattern of intergenerational relations, was found among the older cohorts of rural participants. Adult daughters were involved in the everyday lives of their natal parents on an unprecedented level, providing emotional, instrumental and material support, while the function of adult sons weakened alongside the growing trend of outward migration. However, interestingly, although adult daughters provided considerable support to their natal parents, the parents in the rural 1940s and 1950s cohorts still held the idea that they would rely on their sons for future long-term care. As a result, they only provided childcare to adult sons' families and passed their farmland on to adult sons. This suggests that although rural China is under transformation, the minds of people from the rural 1940s and 1950s cohorts are still dominated by traditional norms and less influenced by modernity. There is a cultural lag in the views and minds of the older cohorts, which contributes to this asymmetric pattern of intergenerational relations – with daughters providing more but receiving less (Hu, 2017). As the 1960s cohort steps into older age, this pattern is likely to be modified, because they are more modernised and also have fewer children.

Furthermore, in urban China, new trends emerge to complement the reduced availability of adult children due to the limited number of children and pressured urban lives of the younger generations. For example, peer support is a significant theme in the interviews. A considerable amount of emotional and instrumental support of people from in urban 1940s and 1950s cohorts was provided by their spouses, siblings, friends and neighbours. Additionally, they proposed a blueprint of 'peer collective care methods' in the future instead of relying on their only children for daily company and instrumental support. For those who did not have a child available in the same city, 'surrogate kinship' was a popular way of seeking emotional support from the younger generation.

10.5 Recommendations for Social Policy

Based on the discussion in previous sections, two aspects of policy are recommended by this study. One is that relevant social policy should be built or enhanced for the potentially vulnerable groups of older people identified by this study; another is that multi-agent care

systems need to be constructed for future older people, in order to adapt to China's social and demographic transitions, as well as the demands of the older people themselves.

10.5.1 Social policy for potentially vulnerable groups of older people

This study highlights the current and potential future vulnerable groups of older people that require targeted social policy.

Firstly, older people – especially those from the rural 1940s and 1950s cohort - require enhanced material and medical support. Of these, the widowed people who live alone particularly need to be included in the social assistance system. In addition, a community-level support system, including budget, infrastructure, and professionals, urgently needs to be built in rural villages, especially in those in less developed provinces. To achieve this, the central government needs to set up dedicated funding for rural community construction, and encourage healthcare professionals to work in rural communities by setting up reasonable reward systems.

Secondly, involuntarily childless older people and divorced older men who live alone need particular emotional support. Living in a family-oriented society, they are at risk of being marginalised in the community and disconnected from younger generations, which is quite negative for their psychological wellbeing. Therefore, it is crucial for local communities to have a complete record of childless, divorced, and solo-living older people, and to design particular social care and support for these groups, such as regular home visits and peer activities. Local communities can arrange for social workers, volunteers, and peer groups to provide this support. On the other hand, active, younger-old childless or divorced older people should be encouraged to participate in more volunteering activities, in order to increase their social participation and involvement. In addition, local communities can also arrange networking events between childless or lonely older people and young people working in local enterprises but with their own parents in their hometowns. Intergenerational support can be achieved through developing surrogate kinships or friendships between the old and the young. This method has been adopted in some communities in Hangzhou, Zhejiang province, and introducing it to other regions should be considered.

In addition to their emotional needs, lonely older people may also need more physical care from agents other than their children in their future older age, especially when they become disabled or have dementia. Particular social and commercial long-term care insurance needs to be designed for this group.

Thirdly, social and medical insurance needs to be further integrated, and barriers need to be removed for migrant older people when they are accessing medical services and community support in their ingoing residences. This is particularly important in the context of large-scale migration in China, and the issue has aroused the attention of the central government. During the NPC (National People's Congress) and CPCC (Chinese Political Consultative Conference)⁵⁹ – the two sessions – in 2016, China's Prime Minister Li Keqiang has appealed that efforts should be made to solve the problem of reimbursement of long-distance medical treatment for older people. Zhejiang province, one of the most developed provinces, achieved inter-provincial reimbursement of medical insurance in 2017, and generalising their experience nationwide should be considered.

10.5.2 Multi-agent care systems for future cohorts of older people

10.4.3 acknowledges the changing sociodemographic status and autonomy of future cohorts of older people, the changing functions of their families, and the changing social norms of old age support. Therefore, for future cohort of older people, represented by the 1960s cohort, a multi-agent care system needs to be proposed to meet the changes. *Figure 40* outlines the proposed multi-agent care system based on research findings from this study.

Firstly, the family may reduce its instrumental support of older people, but will continue its function of providing emotional support, partial financial support, and providing older people with a sense of belonging. As the 1960s cohort generally has more siblings but fewer children, sibling support may become a significant type of family support for this cohort.

Secondly, a community-based care system needs to be built in rural areas, and enhanced in small towns and some less developed cities. Community-level support aims to provide instrumental support and emotional support, as well as to provide places for activities, communication, and peer support for older people. Currently, there are significant disparities in community construction between urban and rural areas, as well as in the eastern developed provinces compared to the middle and western, less developed provinces. Earmarks should be considered by the central government and governments at provincial level to narrow regional gaps as well as urban-rural disparities.

⁵⁹ The National People's Congress and the Chinese Political Consultative Conference, also known as 'two sessions', are held every five years.

Thirdly, the state should endeavour to minimise urban-rural and regional inequality regarding public pensions, medical insurance, and public care infrastructure and services. For example, this study found that the monthly pay for the NRPS was 78 yuan per month in rural Henan province, while it could be 1000–2000 yuan in rural Zhejiang province due to higher provincial or local government subsidies. One study suggested that the pension gap between rural and urban areas was as large as 20-fold (Wu, Yang and Ge, 2013). The central government needs to be aware of the imbalance in regional economic development, and try to narrow the gap through social welfare redistribution. The differentiated redistribution strategy should be based on systematic research and scientific calculation.

The state also needs to make efforts towards the integration of social care resources and a more equal and unified pension scheme. It is not an easy task for China as the fragmented and segmented social protection system among different social groups has a long history. Previous research has suggested there are two ways for the unification of the current social insurance system to happen: one is to set up a multi-layered contribution structure in which people could choose among different contribution entitlement plans, and remove the fragments based on social status. The other one would be a non-contribution-based 0 pillar that offers minimum coverage, which allows peripheral or gradual reform, avoids the shock of forceful changes, and protects the most vulnerable and the least willing (Li, 2014).

As the baby-boomer cohort (which also largely overlaps with the ‘one-child’ parents’ cohort) enters their old age, the future need for long-term care will significantly increase. It is a crucial time for China to set up its long-term care insurance, in order to meet the needs of the future booming older population with increasing life expectancy.

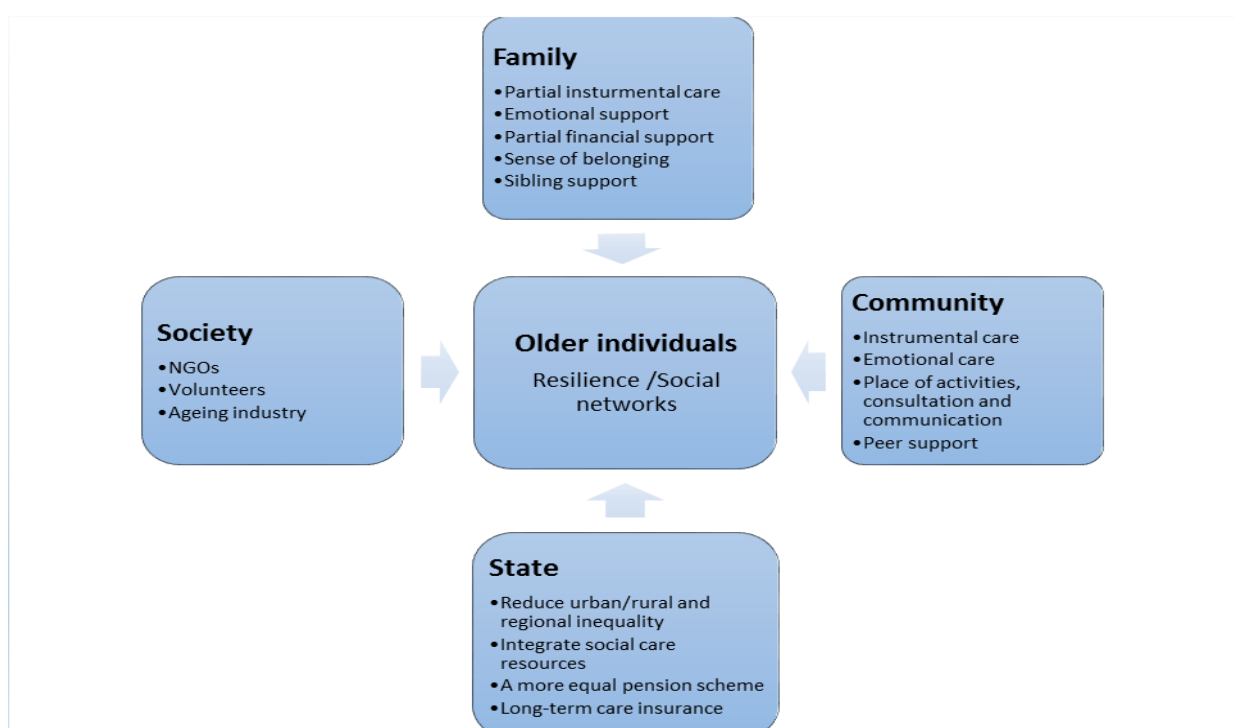
Fourthly, NGOs and volunteer groups are largely underdeveloped as important agents of care in Chinese society and they should be encouraged by future social policy. Ageing-related industries, such as intelligent care instruments and professional care institutions, need to be encouraged by social policy. Lessons should be learned from developed countries, where the third sector has flourished. For example, in the UK, AgeUK is the largest charity working with older people. It provides services ranging from advice, enabling, accompanying, and so on. It has a number of flexible funding resources, like donations, legacies, events, trusts, and foundations, as well as retail and trading,⁶⁰ which enables its

⁶⁰ More information can be found via AgeUK website: <https://www.ageuk.org.uk/>, accessed on 19/04/18.

sustainability. Its work has a tremendous influence on the lives of older people in the UK, with 7.5 million beneficiaries being reached in 2016/17.⁶¹

Last but not least, efforts should be made to improve the resilience of older individuals. Resilience can be either promoted in the internal sense, such as with psychological, financial, or health resources, or in the sense of social networks and available services from either the public, private, or voluntary sectors (AgeUK, 2014). Therefore, to promote the resilience of older people, on one hand, as discussed above, resources and services should be provided and equally distributed among different older social groups. On the other hand, platforms should be provided for older people to build their own social networks. For example, peer support is a win-win strategy for older people. The retired ‘younger-old’ should be encouraged as active agents to provide mutual support for each other as well as for the ‘oldest old’ in the community. On one hand, this will increase young-older people’s social participation, and give them a sense of usefulness. On the other hand, it will build an ageing-friendly community for the oldest-old and promote their wellbeing.

Figure 40: Multi-agent care system for future cohorts of older people



Source: The author’s own conceptualisation

⁶¹ Data come from AgeUK annual review 2016/17: https://www.ageuk.org.uk/globalassets/age-uk/documents/annual-reports-and-reviews/annual_review_2016_2017.pdf, accessed on 19/04/18.

10.6 Research Contribution

This research is significant in terms of its theoretical contribution, methodological initiative, empirical contribution, and practical significance.

10.6.1 Theoretical contribution

This research contributes to two theoretical areas: the life course theory, and the modernisation and ageing theory. It extends the application of the life course perspective and explores new methods for conducting life course research in a Chinese context. It also revised the modernisation and ageing theory using the case in transitional China.

This study is an empirical study using the life course perspective to investigate the life courses of three birth cohorts and their intergenerational support in the context of China. It once again confirms the critical period model (see 2.1.2), with evidence from some 1940s and 1950s participants, which showed the importance of education and periods of work in early life in making a difference to their circumstances in later life. It confirms the cumulative life chance model (see 2.1.2.1), with the life experiences of the rural 1940s and 1950s participants, who accumulated disadvantages in their early life courses and had fewer resources in later life. It also supports the pathway model (see 2.1.2.1), with the evidence of the rural 1960s cohort, who experienced migration and showed how experiences of migrant work in midlife moderated the effects of deprived situations in early life, and built up resources for later life. The social mobility model (see 2.1.2.1) is verified by the experience of the urban 1940s and 1950s cohort, who had the experience of being ‘sent down’, and experienced social mobility during early stages of their lives. The experience of some laid-off workers from the urban 1950s and 1960s cohorts during the SOE reform and the market reform also highlighted the importance of human agency (see 2.1.2.5) in shaping later life outcomes.

However, this study adds new value to the life course perspective. In the empirical sense, it extends the application of the life course perspective to the domain of family and intergenerational support, by investigating the ‘linked lives’ between the three cohorts of older people and their adult children, and even the wider community and society, in a transitional Chinese context. This also adds richness and cultural diversity to the life course research literature with Chinese evidence. In a methodological sense, it adopts a cohort lens when adopting the life course perspective, and mixed methods in order to add width and

depth to the research inquiry. It also provides a template for results integration of mixed-methods life course research (visual display by diagram).

Another major theoretical contribution of this study is that it provides a revised version of the modernisation and ageing theory from the perspective of older people themselves, and from the comparison between successive birth cohorts (see Figure 41). The main claim of the modernisation and ageing theory is that, in modern society, the role of older people, as well as the family support they get, is deteriorating as a result of industrialisation, urbanisation, formal education, and secularisation (Aboderin, 2004). This is because, from a structural-functionalist perspective, support from adult children of older people is based on older people's authority and intergenerational exchange, rather than affective sentiment. Therefore if their authority and exchange resources erode during social modernisation, filial obligation and family support from adult children will decline (Aboderin, 2004) (also see Figure 1). This study, however, found that although upward material support is declining in China (which seems to confirm the claim of the modernisation and ageing theory), older people themselves as active agents are also under transition. As discussed in 10.4.1 and Chapter 9, although they are losing authority, older people can themselves be the beneficiaries of modernisation. On one hand, education, urbanisation, and the development of new technology have significantly empowered them and decreased their dependence on their adult children; on the other hand, the increased education and socioeconomic resources they achieved from modernisation also equipped them to be more capable of intergenerational exchange. In addition, their improved education and enlarged outlook may promote intergenerational communication and contact, and further improve affective sentiments (see Figure 41).

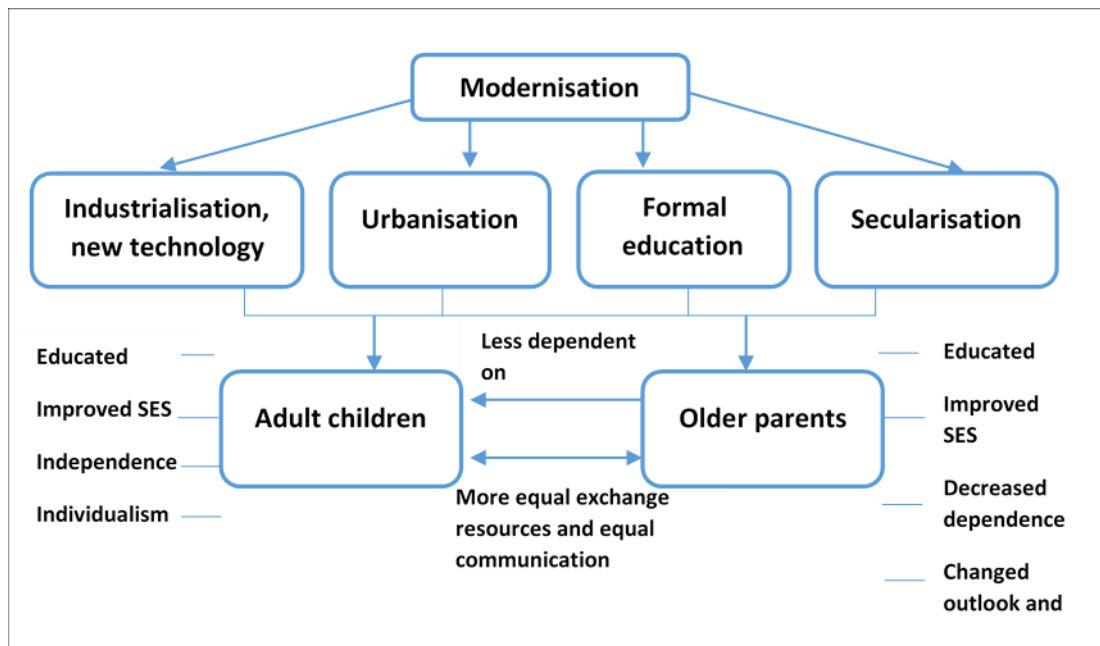


Figure 41: Revised modernisation and ageing theory

Source: the author's work

This study argues that, as older people become more modernised (for example, they are more educated, have better socioeconomic resources, public resources, and more modern outlooks), their need for material support, their perspectives towards receiving support, and their expectations of support from their adult children will change. Following this viewpoint, this study further argues that, although older people lose their authority as social modernisation deepens in a society, they should not be simply regarded as passive dependents, but be seen as active agents who are able to negotiate their care arrangements and plan their own lives in old age with more initiative.

10.6.2 Methodological initiative

To date, there are substantial amounts of literature on ageing and intergenerational relationships in China, which have provided a wealth of information in this area of research. However, existing research is largely conducted according to a single methodology, and mixed-method research is 'disappointedly rare' (Gruijters, 2017a). Existing quantitative studies largely focus on identifying the factors that relate to intergenerational support, which lacks the inquiry into older people's subjective experiences. Qualitative studies, on the other hand, have mainly used ethnographic methods to study in a particular research setting, such as a community or a particular social group, which are too geographically restricted and risk missing the bigger picture.

This study offsets the limitations of each single method by adopting a mixed-method research design. It is able to answer the research questions more comprehensively by incorporating both quantitative and qualitative findings. It also provides an example of conducting sequential explanatory design of mixed-method research, and illustrates how to integrate both components by illuminating four integrating rationales.

The second methodological contribution of this study is through adopting a cohort lens to investigate ageing and intergenerational support in transitional Chinese society. Previous studies on older people largely regarded the research subjects as a homogeneous group, passively in need of support. However, as China has undergone tremendous social and demographic changes during the past decades, the life trajectories of each birth cohort are so distinct that their family formation, socioeconomic resources, outlooks, and initiatives are different. The cohort-comparative perspective acknowledges changes in external environment, as well as internal outlooks between cohorts, and enables a more comprehensive understanding from a life course perspective.

10.6.3 Empirical contribution

The empirical findings of this study are significant in developing existing literature within the area of ageing and intergenerational support in China, as previous findings may be constrained by outdated data.

Regarding specific intergenerational support circumstances in China, the results are broadly consistent with previous empirical studies which showed that family sizes in China were becoming smaller (Vermeer, 2006) and that the function of multi-generational co-residence was changing from prioritising upward support towards parents to prioritising downward support towards grandchildren (Wang, 2014). It confirms the flexible living arrangements of older people, with evidence from the qualitative study finding many examples of temporary multi-generational co-residence in urban China (Wang, 2016), and a lot of generation-skipping families in rural China (Zeng and Wang, 2003). It also shows that many future older people prefer to live independently with a spouse (if they have one) in older age, which concurs with Ren and Treiman's findings (Ren and Treiman, 2015) suggesting that living independently with a spouse is most beneficial to older people's emotional wellbeing.

However, it is inconsistent with Silverstein and colleagues' study in 2006 (Silverstein, Cong and Li, 2006), which indicated that rural older people living in three-generation families or

in generation-skipping families with their grandchildren, had better psychological wellbeing than older people living in single-generation families. On the contrary, this study found that current older people's co-residence was mainly for the purpose of childcare, which brought them great burdens in terms of care and housework, and they preferred to return to independent living with a spouse after fulfilling the task of childcare. This attitude was especially evident among the 1960s cohort. It also conflicts somewhat with the results of Chen and Silverstein's other study in 2000, which showed that providing instrumental support to adult children improved older people's morale by making them feel more useful, especially for those parents who were more traditional (Chen and Silverstein, 2000). On the contrary, this study found that parents who provided childcare to their adult children or helped with household chores considered it a burden, and the instrumental support to their children was not initially caused by their own willingness, but by the needs and demands of their adult children. If not asked to help by their adult children and grandchildren, older people, especially those living in cities, had other ways to make themselves feel useful and get a sense of achievement. For example, participants from the urban 1950s and 1960s cohorts achieved meaning in their lives by joining in the community activities and extending their employment (see 8.3.3 and 9.1.3). The contradictory findings between this study and the previous two studies might have resulted from different samples of older people – the samples of older people in the two studies were likely to be older (1920–1940s cohort) than the cohorts investigated in this study.⁶² These contradictory findings to some extent confirm the significance of this study, which investigated the changing dynamics of intergenerational support patterns and the changing needs and expectations in later life among different birth cohorts.

This study has provided empirical evidence to support previous statistics of the uneven fertility rate in rural and urban China, and the increasingly skewed sex ratios (Ding and Hesketh, 2006b) among the younger generation. However, it presented detailed reasons and consequences for these phenomena. Traditional 'son preference' and 'clan force' in culture, as well as agricultural labour demands, led to high willingness for fertility in rural China. Without holding a formal job and by taking advantage of personal connections, rural citizens were able to evade penalties and give birth to more than two children, if they previously had no sons. The qualitative research also showed that, consequently, seriously skewed sex ratios

⁶² The sample in Chen and Silverstein's (2000) study is from a survey in 1992, and the sample average age is 69 years old, which indicates that they might be from the 1920s birth cohort. The sample of another paper, Silverstein *et al.* (2006), is much likely to be from the 1930s and 1940s cohort.

in rural China resulted in a severe marriage squeeze among rural young males (who are likely to be the children of the 1960s cohort) and, further, brought great economic burden upon the 1960s cohort, in order to pay sky-high betrothal gifts to brides' families.

In addition, the results also showed that having stronger social networks and social connections reduces the negative effects of living alone, which fills the gap mentioned in Sun's study (Sun *et al.*, 2011).

Regarding the factors that affect the intergenerational support, in general, the quantitative part of this study found four effects: parents' 'attractiveness' to their children in terms of resources, parents' needs, children's high SES and parents' investment (see 6.7). These patterns were broadly consistent with many previous pieces of research (Lee, Parish and Willis, 1994; Bian, Logan and Bian, 1998a; Xie and Zhu, 2009; Chen and Jordan, 2017); however, they conflict with some others. For example, research in urban China has suggested that parents' age does not affect proximity, contact, or help from adult children (Bian, Logan and Bian, 1998a), nor does it have an effect on the financial support they receive (Logan and Bian, 2003). The conflicts might be a result of research samples, since these two studies were conducted in urban China, where most older people had pensions and did not need much financial support.

This study confirms the significance of daughters in providing support to their older parents, especially within those 'One Child' families and those living in rural areas. These results were consistent with more recent studies, which suggest that the daughters who control more family resources and who have more social and economic resources are more likely to provide financial support to their natal parents (Hu, 2017; Yang and Wang, 2017).

Considering filial piety, this study supports neither the belief that filial piety has weakened (Yan, 2003), nor the opinion that it is still oriented towards family support for older people (Qi, 2015). Rather, it is to some extent consistent with the idea that the meaning of filial piety is being modified (Chen, 2011). This research found that the concept of filial piety is a construction of both parents and adult children, and it varies between people in different birth cohorts, with different SES, and living in different areas, even under different living arrangements. Moreover, it also found that parents would negotiate their expectation of their children's filial obligations based on their own preparations for old age and the availability (for example, time, proximity, and money) of their children. Intergeneration exchange and

interaction is another factor that parents take into consideration when negotiating their expectation of their children's filial behaviour.

In summary, this study is innovative because it integrates the above fragmented and scattered findings into cohort dynamics, and links them to China's broad socioeconomic changes during the past decades. By comparing cohort characteristics, it outlines the general trends of mental outlook and care scenarios among Chinese older people, which is fundamental to informing future policy of social care.

In addition to the above three contribution, this research is significant in its policy implications. It examines inter- and intra-cohort differences in terms of their needs for, and availability of, intergenerational family support. Moreover, it identifies the current most vulnerable groups of older people and their primary needs, and proposes a policy framework (see 10.5.2) for future older people to meet their changing circumstances.

10.7 Limitations and Future Directions

10.7.1 Research limitations

Firstly, it needs to be recognised that the results presented here might be affected by potential attrition bias in the quantitative analytical dataset. In the quantitative analytical dataset, the proportion of women was a little bit higher than in similar age groups in the 2010 population census, although the difference in proportions was very minute and could be acceptable. In the qualitative phase, we adopted an a priori determination of the sample structure, and the sampling process was oriented towards filling the cells in the sampling frame evenly and sufficiently (see 4.3.3). Although this strategy was appropriate for examining differences between specific groups, it may still be criticised as restricting the variational range of possible comparisons and restricting the developmental space of theory (Flick, 2014). In addition, interviews were collected from the capital city of Zhejiang province, and several villages and a small town in Henan provinces, which only represent the most affluent and the typical agricultural provinces, and lack data from other regions. As China is a large multi-ethnic country, life experiences in different regions and ethnic groups should be different. From this point of view, the interview sampling was limited by time and budget of this PhD project.

Secondly, the information within the data was limited. For example, in the CHARLS 2011 dataset, there was no information about parents' expectations of adult children for family support and perceived relationship quality. Thus we were not able to analysis the subjective experiences of older people themselves. Another example is that, in the quantitative dataset, we were only able to analysis the relationship between parents and their non-co-resident children; there was no such information about the interaction between parents and their co-residing adult children. As to the qualitative data, we only interviewed people who were active and functionally capable in their daily lives. Information about the life experiences and intergenerational relationships of people who had difficulties in ADL and IADL cannot be captured by this study. Another potential limitation of our qualitative research is that we only focused on the views of the parents but failed to interview the adult children and took their perspectives into our discussion.

Thirdly, the quantitative analysis was limited by the availability of a proper longitudinal dataset or enough waves of an appropriate repeated cross-sectional datasets. The cross-sectional analytical design has a few limitations. The cohort comparison in this research was actually pseudo cohort analysis. Because we were comparing birth cohorts at different ages, there was a risk that we might misinterpret the age effect as cohort effect. The potential endogeneity in cross-sectional analytical design is also acknowledged in the limitation of this study. As for qualitative data, there was no relevant qualitative longitudinal dataset available, and, as a PhD project, it was not possible to track each case for several years. Therefore, the findings regarding people's views were just at the time of interviews. As cohorts' circumstances change over time and the 1960s cohort were still in their late midlife, follow-up qualitative research is needed in the future.

Finally, the use of mixed methods could have some limitations in this research. For instance, there was a possibility of data redundancy, whereby some data were generated which were not that relevant in addressing the research questions (Bryman, 2006). However in order to maintain the integral logical process, they could not be removed from the analysis. This may result in a waste of research resources and researchers and readers' time.

10.7.2 Future directions

The limitations of this study, as well as some interesting findings from this research, point out the directions for future study in the area of ageing and long-term care in China.

As more waves of CHARLS dataset and other national representative longitudinal datasets such as China Family Panel Studies (CFPS) become available, it will be possible for future researchers to track the changing dynamics of family support between birth cohorts by quantitative longitudinal studies. The availability of the CHARLS 2014 life history dataset will enable researchers to compare differences in the life course experiences across cohorts using sequence analysis and other quantitative methods. The quantitative research in this area will be enriched and benefit from the availability of more potential datasets.

This study also identifies some trends among Chinese older people that ask for further investigation:

- Older divorced men, their intergenerational relationships and emotional wellbeing;
- Migration at an older age, and social and family support for migrating older people;
- Intergenerational support among only-child families;
- The use of internet and smart devices on intergenerational relations and older people's wellbeing; and
- Practical research on the design of community care system and volunteer services in China's rural and small-town areas, as well as in less developed regions.

Appendix A Key Terminology in the Life Course Perspective

Cohort	Generation
<p><i>‘A cohort is a group of people who were born in the same time interval and who age together’ (Riley, Johnson and Foner, 1972). Cohort is a definition based on age, historical time and life experience. People from the same cohort shared some critical experiences, similar social norms and cultural heritage and they are affected by peer-group socialization. ‘Children of the Great Depression’ is a particular cohort that received great attention from the life course researchers.</i></p> <p>Cohorts brings their own history with them when moving through life stages and experience a different circumstance of ageing compared to their counterparts (Kunkel and Morgan, 2015).</p>	<p>Compared to ‘cohort’, the word ‘generation’ has more broad meanings. Kertzer has placed the usage of generation in four categories: generation as a principle of kinship descent, as cohort, as life stage and as historical period (Kertzer, 1983). Regardless of an overlap meaning and interchangeably usage as cohort, it has a significant linkage with the kinship. Thus, it normally encompass a longer age span, say, as long as 30 years.</p> <p>A generation can consist of several different cohorts, but each cohort has their own experience of history and this will affect their life course and trajectories differently (Hareven, 1994).</p>
Cohort effect	Period effect
<p>A cohort is an age group that is linked by its members’ historical and societal background. When the occurrence of particular social and historical events makes the lives of successive birth cohorts distinct from each other, the ‘cohort effect’ is then generated (Mortimer and Shanahan, 2007). The cohort effect implies difference occurring between cohorts after all age effects (impacts of age as people grow older) are taken into account (Blanchard, Bunker and Wachs, 1977).</p>	<p>The period effect refers to the change happening during a period of time that uniformly affects people of all age groups and different cohorts (Blanchard, Bunker and Wachs, 1977).</p>
Time	Timing

<p>Time objectively exists and nobody can change it. It equally works on people's chronological age.</p>	<p>Timing is the sequence of occurrence of people's life events. It means the entry into and the exit from different roles (Hareven, 1994). The timing of an individual's life events do not have a certain pattern, and cannot be predicted by the age.</p>
<p>Life events</p>	<p>Life transitions</p>
<p>Life events can be understood on two levels; from the level of individual, the term refers to the particular moments for the individuals in particular time and place, which represents a mark between 'before' and 'after', and may affect the individual's identity. In this sense, the life events for each individual are unique.</p> <p>The population level emphasises the regularity of life events (for example, birth, death and marriage) and focuses on their effects on population structure and development. (Levy, 2005)</p>	<p>Unlike life events, life transitions stress the change from one life stage to another. According to Levy, 'transitions are moments within a particular trajectory characterized by accelerated changes, compared to the relative stability of stages' (Levy, 2005) Levy also distinguishes three characteristics of this concept: it refers to its outcomes, it is more or less limited in time, and it is most often applied to the changes in an individual's life course. (Levy, 2005)</p>
<p>Life stages</p>	<p>Life trajectories</p>
<p>Life stages are relatively stable periods which are periods of balance which the individual tries to achieve after experiencing life transitions. In this sense, a life stage is the period between two life transitions and it can be of various durations. At a more micro level, the notion of life stage is applied to describe family development, and sometimes to designate age groups such as adolescents, middle-aged, etc. Moreover, it is sometimes defined by social institutional participation. (Levy, 2005)</p>	<p>Trajectory is a 'model of stability and long term changes' (George, 1993) and it can be viewed as a sequence of life transitions and stable stages between two transitions. Trajectories are interdependent between linked lives and it is important to take the parents' life trajectories into consideration when trying to find the logic underlying the child's trajectory. (Levy, 2005)</p>

Appendix B Data Structure of CHARLS 2011 Baseline Dataset

Part	Modules	Contents
A.	Household roster	For each household member, ask: Gender, marital status, relation to the respondent, Hukou status, education, migration.
B.	Demographic background	BA: birth BB: birthplace and moving BC: Hukou status and change BD: education BE: marriage BF: spouse
C.	Family information	CA: parents' information CB: childrearing information CC: siblings CD: intergenerational time transfer CE: economic transfer CG: living arrangements preference
D.	Health status and functioning	DA: general health status and disease history DA: lifestyles and health behaviours DB: functional limitations and helpers DC: cognition and depression DE: self-reported health and vignettes
E.	Health care and insurance	Part 1: health insurance and benefits Part 2: healthcare costs and utilisation
F.	Work, retirement and pension	FA: job status FB: work history FC: farm employed FD: employed FE: labour supply FF: wages FG: fringe benefits FH: non-farm self-employed and unpaid family business FI: social insurance for self-employed FJ: side job FK: unemployment and job search activities FL: most recent job FM: retirement FN: pension insurance
G&H.	Income, expenditure and assets	Part 1: household wage income and individual-based transfers Part 2: household agricultural income and expenditure Part 3: self-employment activities Part 4: household public transfer income

Appendix B

		Part 5: household living expenditure HA: household assets HB: individual assets HC: financial assets HD: debts
I&J	Housing characteristics and interviewer observation	Housing characteristics and interviewer observation
Source: China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS) 2011 baseline questionnaire.		

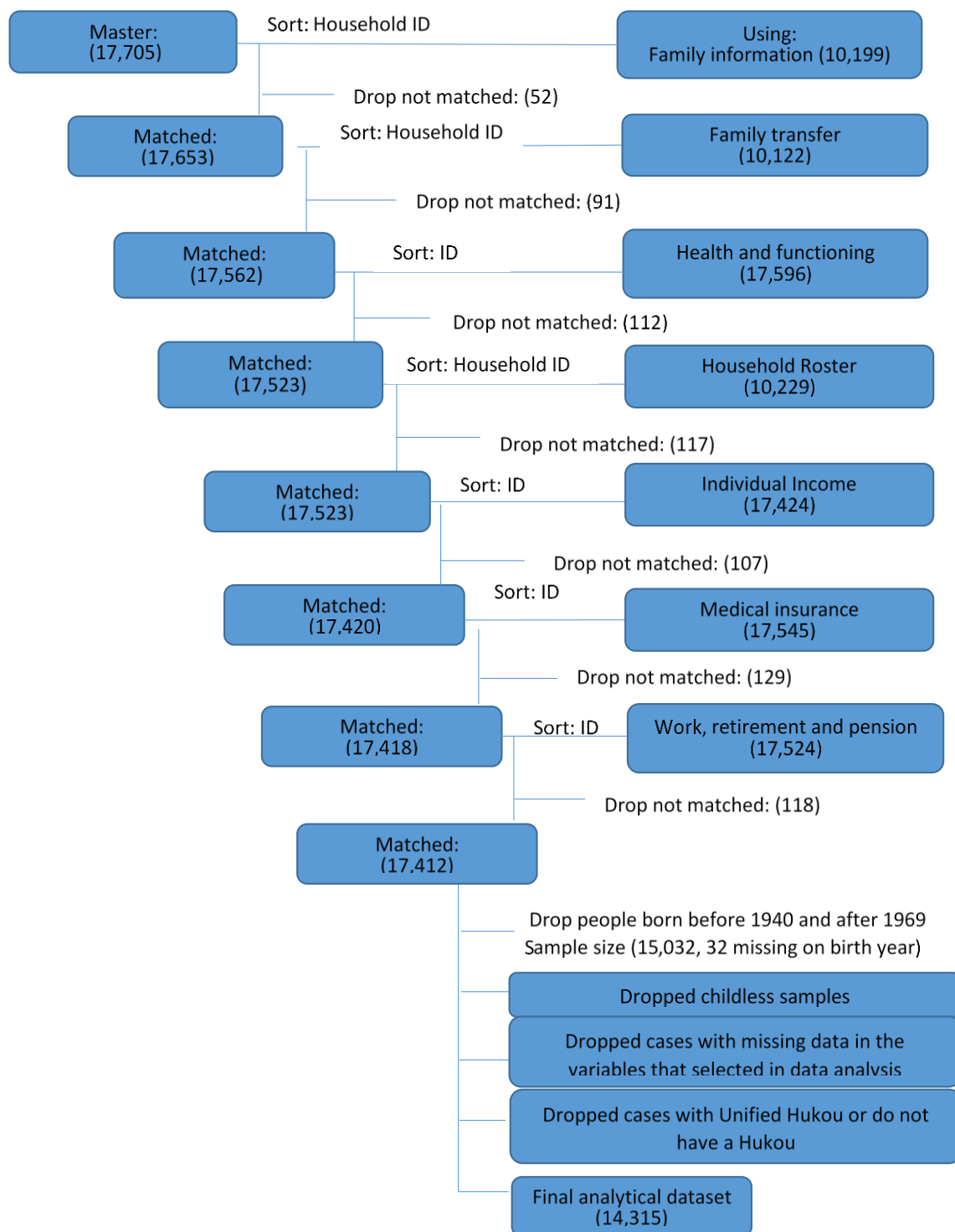
Source: CHARLS 2011–2012 baseline data.

Appendix C Sample Size of CHARLS 2011 Baseline Dataset

CHARLS 2011-12 sub-datasets	Sample size
Household roster	10,229
Demographic background	17,705
Family information	10,199
Family transfer	10,122
Health care and insurance	17,545
Health status and functioning	17,596
Household income	10,026
Individual income	17,424
Work, retirement and pension	17,524
Interviewer observation	17,326
Housing characteristics	10,081
Weight	18,245
Biomarkers	13,974
Psu	450

Source: CHARLS 2011–2012 baseline data

Appendix D The Flow Diagram of Subsets Merging Process



Source: The author's work

Appendix E Number of cases that Have Been Dropped from the Analytical Dataset

Number of cases that have been dropped	Reasons for dropping
12	Missing in gender
104	Do not have a Hukou or having Unified Hukou status
15	Missing in education
50	Missing in living arrangements
32	Missing in year of birth
9	Missing in self-reported health status
30	Missing in income source
232	Missing in occupations
24	Missing in current working status
310	Childless samples

Source: the author

Appendix F Stage One- Screening Questionnaire

Stage One - Screening questionnaire

Social Change and Family Support in China - a Study of China's 1940-1960 Cohorts from a Life Course Perspective

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research. This research aims to study the changing patterns of family support for the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohorts in the backgrounds of great social and demographic change in China over the past sixty years. By studying this issue, it expects to inform policy makers to adjust social support systems in China in order to meet the needs of future older people.

This is a screening questionnaire to choose the participants for in-depth interviews in the next stage. I will ask you some basic questions about yourself, your spouse and your children. Questions include demographic background, family information, health and income categories.

The interview is likely to take within half an hour and please feel free to interrupt me if you need me to repeat a question, further explain a question or for any other reason.

Before I start, do you have any questions? *[Take time to answer initial questions raised by participants as appropriate]*

Section One: Demographic Information

In this section, I will ask you some questions about yourself

A001	Name	
A002	Gender	1. Male 2. Female
A003	Year of birth	
A004	Hukou registration status	1. Rural 2. Urban 3. Other
A005	Current marital status	1. Married and living with a partner (first marriage) 2. Married but not living with the partner currently (first marriage) 3. Married and living with a partner (remarriage) 4. Married but not living with the partner currently (remarriage) 5. Separated/divorced (-Skip section two) 6. Widowed (-Skip section two) 7. Never married(-Stop interview)
A006	Educational attainment	1. No formal education 2. Below high school degree 3. Above high school degree
A007	Current working status	1. Currently doing agricultural work 2. Currently doing non-agricultural work 3. Currently retired from non-agricultural work 4. Currently not working

Appendix F

A008	Main occupation currently or before retirement/ stopping working	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Work as a farmer 2. Work for the government 3. Work for institution/NGO 4. Work for a firm 5. Work for individual business, farmer, individual household and other 6. Self-employed or family business 7. Never worked
A009	Self-reported health	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bad or not very well 2. Fair 3. Good or very good

Section Two: Spouse's Information

A001	Name	
A002	Gender	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Male 2. Female
A003	Year of birth	
A004	Hukou registration status	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rural 2. Urban 3. Other
A005	Current marital status	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Married and living with a partner (first marriage) 2. Married but not living with the partner currently(first marriage) 3. Married and living with a partner (remarriage) 4. Married but not living with the partner currently(remarriage) 5. Separated/divorced 6. Widowed 7. Never married(-Stop interview)
A006	Educational attainment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No formal education 2. Below high school degree 3. Above high school degree
A007	Current working status	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Currently doing agricultural work 2. Currently doing non-agricultural work 3. Currently retired from non-agricultural work 4. Currently not working
A008	Main occupation currently or before retirement/ stopping working	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Work as a farmer 2. Work for the government 3. Work for institution/NGO 4. Work for a firm 5. Work for individual business, farmer, individual household and other 6. Self-employed or family business 7. Never worked
A009	General health conditions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bad or not very well 2. Fair 3. Good or very good

Section Three: Children's Information

In this section, I will ask you some questions about your children and his/her family

B000_1. Do you have any children (biological/ step/ adopted)?

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Yes (-continue B000_2) | 2. No (-Stop interview) |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|

B000_2 Do you have children who are not at school education?

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Yes (Continue B001) | 2. No (-Stop interview) |
|------------------------|-------------------------|

	Questions	Child1	Child2	Child3	Child4	Child5	Child6	Child7	Child8
B001	Name								
B002	Gender 1. Male 2. Female								
B003	Year of birth								
B004	Hukou registration status 1. Rural 2. Urban 3. Other								
B005	Residence 1. Co-resident 2. Not co-resident but living in the same city 3. Not in the same city								
B006	Marital status 1. Married 2. Cohabited 3. Divorced/ separated /widowed 4. Not married								

Appendix F

B007	Parental status <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do not have a child 2. Have a child less than 16 years old 3. All the child/children are over 16 years old 								
B008	Educational attainment <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Illiterate 2. Below high school 3. High school to 4-year college(not including 4-year college) 4. College and above 								
B009	Current working status <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Currently doing non-agricultural work 2. Currently doing agricultural work 3. Currently not working 								
B010	Main occupation <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Work as a farmer 2. Work for the government 3. Work for institution/NGO 4. Work for a firm 5. Work for individual business, farmer, individual household and other 6. Self-employed or family business 7. No currently working 								
B011	Child's annual income <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <¥10,000 (around 1000 pounds) 								

	2. ¥ 10,000- ¥ 60,000 3. ¥ 60,001- ¥ 100,000 4. ¥ 100,001- ¥ 200,000 5. > ¥ 200,000								
B012	You (and/or your spouse) has/have given this child financial support last year 1. Yes 2. No								
B013	You (and/or your spouse) is/are helping (or has helped) this child with housework or child care for a period of time. 1. Yes 2. No								

Section Three: Household Information

Please provide me with the name(s) of the people who live with you, their age (if known) and the relationship with you.

	Name	Gender	Age	Relationship with you
<u>1</u>				

<u>2</u>				
<u>3</u>				
<u>4</u>				
<u>5</u>				
<u>6</u>				
<u>7</u>				
<u>8</u>				
<u>9</u>				
<u>10</u>				

.....
.....

The interview is now over.

Thank you so much for your time to take part in this interview and I am very grateful for that. Further for this research, I will conduct some in-depth interviews to study the details of family support and people’s subjective feelings and coping strategies. If you are selected in the second stage study, would you be willing to take part in it?

Yes	No

If yes, can you please leave me the contact details?

Title and name of the participant	Telephone number	Email address	Preferred contact method

Thank you very much for your time and your kindly help

Appendix G Stage Two - Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Social Change and Family Support in China - a Study of China's 1940-1960 Cohorts from a Life Course Perspective

This interview guide consists of the outline of the in-depth interview which is going to conduct with 36 research participants in Zhejiang and Henan province, China.

Interview guide	Explanatory notes
Introduction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participant information sheet • Consent form 	Let the participants read (or read for them) the participant information sheet and the consent form, get the signed (or verbal) consent form before conducting the interviews.
Demographic information	Confirm the demographic information with the participant briefly, from the stage one screening questionnaire.
Living arrangement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who do you currently live with • Economically independent or not if living with adult children and his/her family • Eating together or not if living with adult children and his/her family • How are daily chores and living expenses distributed among the household members 	Investigate the specific nature of the respondent's living arrangement by asking his/her interaction or relationship with other household members (especially with co-resident children)
Brief personal life history <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Major family life events during the life course, and timing of these life events • Experience of major social/political events in China during your life trajectory • How timing and decision-making of family life events (such as marriage, child bearing and living arrangements, etc.) have been impacted by the social context 	Investigate the interaction between personal life events and the social events and social context. Try to find out how family life decisions have been impacted by social and political events and how do these in turn impact or likely to impact their old age family support?

Family information <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spouse • Adult children (SES/marital status/parental status) 	<p>Obtain information of the participant's spouse and adult children, especially the Socioeconomic Status (SES) of adult children and their availability to give care and support if needed or if needed in the future.</p>
Intergenerational relationship with adult children <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visit/contact frequency • proximity • Financial transfer(mutually) • Daily chores/ instrumental support(mutually) • Emotional support(mutually) • Care for grandchildren • Son/daughter differences on providing and receiving support to and from the participant 	<p>Information on interaction and reciprocity with adult children</p>
Social networks and activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation of a series of social activities • Interaction and relationship with friends, neighbours and colleagues • Availability of personal networks when need support or if need support in the future 	<p>Investigate the participant's own social networks and social capital and their availability when the participant needs support currently or in the future.</p>
Health status and care receiving experience <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is your current health status? Do you need any long-term care or short-term care currently? Who is the main carer if you are in need currently? • Did you have any experience of needing a carer in daily life during the past few years due to your health issues? Who mainly provided care for you at that time and how did you feel the care provided at that time? 	<p>Health status and care needs, experience of care provision by a care-giver.</p>
List three persons that are most likely to provide you with the following support (based on your real circumstances) if you are in need (please list the names in an order of most likely to less likely) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need help on daily chores • Have chronic disease and need long-term care • Have critical disease and need hospital accompany • Feel lonely • Feel sad or distressed 	<p>Real availability of family members/friends/paid service for different types of care demands</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of money for daily living or medical care • Need accompany 	
<p>Please list three persons (or methods) of your preference for current or future support if/when you are in need (please list the names in an order of most likely to less likely):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need help on daily chores • Have chronic disease and need long-term care • Have critical disease and need hospital accompany • Feel lonely • Feel sad or distressed • Lack of money for daily living or medical care • Need accompany 	Preference for care-givers of different types of care demands
<p>Expectation for children on care provision</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (For those who have more than one child to answer) What are your expectations for each child on care provision when you are in need? And why? • (For those who have only one child to answer) What are your expectations for your child on care provision and old age support when you are in need? And why? 	The participant's expectation for children of care and support provision. This question aims to investigate the differences of support expectation from children amongst different SES groups and amongst different cohorts.
<p>Personal preparation for old age</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Current income brackets, pension, social security and medical insurance conditions 	Ability of self-care and service purchase
<p>Community infrastructure and social care available</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To your knowledge, what are the care services available for old people from the community/work units/ local government/central government 	Get a general idea of what and how do social support services provided to older people in different areas and from different Social Economic backgrounds
<p>Expectations for social support</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are your expectations for the community or the local/central government in terms of social support or social security provision for the older people? 	Expectation for social support
<p>Personal concerns for future old age support</p>	Concerns of future support situations

Appendix G

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• What are your concerns currently or in the future in terms of your own old age support situations?	
--	--

Appendix H Participant Information Sheets (Stage One)

Study Title: Social Change and Family Support in China - a Study of China's 1940-1960 Cohorts from a Life Course Perspective

Researcher: Ms Ning Wang

Ethics number: 20123

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

I am a postgraduate researcher in the Centre for Research on Ageing (CRA), University of Southampton. This research is part of my PhD programme, which looks at social change and the changing family support situations for the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohort in China. I am interested in the changing family support patterns (financial support, instrumental help and emotional support) for each cohort and the reasons behind these changes. I also want to explore the subjective feelings, demands and choice of old age support from each cohort themselves.

Why have I been chosen?

I have chosen Hangzhou, Zhejiang province and Shangqiu, Henan province as my two research areas. I have obtained the research approval from local government and the community/village committee prior to conducting this research. You are chosen because you are registered in this community I am researching in and are among the list of the local community's permanent residence registration form. This is the screening questionnaire for recruiting in-depth interview participants for this research. I appreciate your time and contribution and hope to learn from your experience. I expect this research to be enriched by adding your personal experiences, if selected.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you agree to take part, I will invite you to take part in an interview with me, which takes around 30 minutes. The venue can be at your own home, or another quiet place you feel comfortable. The interview content includes demographic background of yourself and your family information (mainly spouse and children). The interview will be recorded by a recording device and all the information you provide will be anonymous and confidential.

The interview is a screening interview for selecting the appropriate in-depth interview participants. If you meet all the criteria of the sampling methods, I would like to book another time with you for getting in-depth information about you, your family and your family support situations. Once needed, I will contact you by phone in the first place and get your consent before the follow-up visit. You will get a new participant information sheet concerning that in-depth interview and a consent form before it starts.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

There is no direct benefit to you, other than you have an opportunity to talk about your own experience and find this process interesting. In addition, your personal response will help us better understand the changing family structure, support patterns and subjective needs across cohorts in China. We also hope this research will contribute to the improvement of social support system in China in the future.

Are there any risks involved?

There are not any real risks involved. You can tell me at any time if you feel uncomfortable during the interview. You have the right to refuse any questions, to suspend interview or to withdraw the interview with no penalty. I will try my best to ensure your right to stop or withdraw during anytime of the interview.

Will my participation be confidential?

Yes, your participation will be confidential. All the information you provided will be securely kept in a password-protected computer and a locked storage device which could only be read by myself and my academic supervisors if necessary. All the details that could be identifiable of you and your family members will be made anonymous. This research is under the approval of the Ethics Committee of the University of Southampton, UK, and is in line with UK data protection laws. I will ensure that the information you provide will be confidential and anonymous and be well stored in a safety place.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to withdraw at any point during the research process, if you change your mind, there will be no penalty nor any negative effect on you.

What happens if something goes wrong?

If something goes wrong or you have any concerns or complaints on this research, you may contact the following person who is not involved in this research by the contact details below:

Head of Research Governance

University of Southampton,

rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk

+44 (0)2380 595058

Where can I get more information?

If you have any further questions concerning this participant information sheet or about this research, please contact:

Ms Ning Wang (Researcher):

+44 7479477195; N.Wang@soton.ac.uk

Prof. Maria Evandrou: (Academic Supervisor)

+44 (0)23 80 594808; maria.evandrou@soton.ac.uk

You can also write to us at:

Centre for Research on Ageing

Faculty of Social and Human Sciences

University of Southampton

Southampton, SO17 1BJ

Thank you for your time

Appendix I Participant Information Sheet (Stage Two)

Study Title: Social Change and Family Support in China - a Study of China's 1940-1960 Cohorts from a Life Course Perspective

Researcher: Ms Ning Wang

Ethics number: 20123

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

I am a postgraduate researcher in the Centre for Research on Ageing (CRA), University of Southampton. This research is part of my PhD programme, which examines social change and the changing family support for the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s cohort in China. I am interested in the changing family support patterns (financial support, instrumental help and emotional support) for each cohort and the reasons behind these changes. I also want to examine the subjective feelings, preferences and choice of old age support from each cohort themselves.

Why have I been chosen?

The participants in this research are people born between the year 1940-49, 1950-59 and 1960-69 and have at least one adult child who is over 25 years old and not at school education. I am interested in three types of 'parents-adult children' relationships, those are, urban parents with urban adult children, rural parents with rural adult children and rural parents with urban adult children.

You have been chosen because you are located in the area where I am researching, have completed the screening questionnaire and meet all the criteria of my in-depth interview sampling methods. We think your situation of family support is very typical for this research and we wish to benefit from your valuable experience.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you agree to take part, I will book a time with you and invite you to take part in an interview with me, which takes no more than two hours. The venue can be at your own home, or another quiet place you feel comfortable. The interview content includes demographic background of yourself, your brief family life history, your family information (mainly spouse and children), your family support situation (support from spouse and adult children) and your own choice of the old age support. The interview will be recorded using a recording device only for the purpose of transcription and data analysis. All the information you provide will be anonymous and confidential.

The interview will take place once with no follow-ups. However, I might book another time with you for getting some supplement information if the previous one omitted something important. Once needed, I will contact you by phone and get your consent before the return visit.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

There is no direct benefit to you, other than you have an opportunity to talk about your own experience and find this process interesting. In addition, your personal response will help us better understand the changing family structure, support patterns and subjective needs across cohorts in China. We also hope this research will contribute to the improvement of social support system in China in the future.

Are there any risks involved?

There are no real risks involved. You can inform me at any time if you feel uncomfortable during the interview. You have the right to refuse any questions, to suspend interview or to withdraw the interview with no penalty. I will try my best to ensure your right to stop or withdraw during anytime of the interview.

Will my participation be confidential?

Yes, your participation will be confidential. All the information you provided will be securely kept in a password-protected computer and a locked storage device which could only be read by myself and my academic supervisors if necessary. All the details that could be identifiable of you and your family members will be made anonymous. This research is under the approval of the Ethics Committee in the University of Southampton, UK, and is in line with UK data protection laws. I will ensure that the information you provide will be confidential and anonymous and be well stored in a safety place.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to withdraw at any point during the research process, if you change your mind, there will be no penalty nor any negative effect on you.

What happens if something goes wrong?

If something goes wrong or you have any concerns or complaints on this research, you may contact the following person who is not involved in this research by the contact details below:

Head of Research Governance

University of Southampton,

rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk

+44 (0)2380 595058

Where can I get more information?

If you have any further questions concerning this participant information sheet or about this research, please contact:

Ms Ning Wang (Researcher):

+44 7479477195; N.Wang@soton.ac.uk

Prof. Maria Evandrou: (Academic Supervisor)

+44 (0)23 80 594808; maria.evandrou@soton.ac.uk

You can also write to us at:

Centre for Research on Ageing

Faculty of Social and Human Sciences

University of Southampton

Southampton, SO17 1BJ

Thank you for your time.

Appendix J Consent Form (Stage One for screening questionnaire participants)

Study title: Social Change and Family Support in China - a Study of China's 1940-1960 Cohorts from a Life Course Perspective

Researcher name: Ning Wang

Ethics reference: 20123

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (Participant Information Sheet (Stage One)_14/04/2016) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

☐

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be recorded and used

☐

I understand that my responses will be anonymised in reports of the research

☐
☐

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

Appendix K Consent Form (Stage Two for in-depth interview participants)

Study title: Social Change and Family Support in China -a Study of China's 1940-1960 Cohorts from a Life Course Perspective

Researcher name: Ning Wang

Ethics reference: 20123

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (Participant Information Sheet (Stage Two)_14/04/2016) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

☐

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be recorded and used

☐

I understand that my responses will be anonymised in reports of the research

☐

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without my legal

☐

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

Bibliography

Aboderin, I. (2004) 'Modernisation and ageing theory revisited: Current explanations of recent developing world and historical Western shifts in material family support for older people', *Ageing and Society*, 24, pp. 29-50.

AgeUK (2014) 'Generation R: risk, resilience, ready for ageing? Age UK Research Department, June 2014. Available on http://www.ageuk.org.uk/Documents/EN-GB/For-professionals/Research/AgeUK_Generation_R_research_report_June_2014.pdf?dtrk=true, accessed on [19/04/18].'

Altheide, D.L. and Johnson, J.M. (1994) 'Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research'.

Amato, P.R. and Booth, A. (1991) 'Consequences of parental divorce and marital unhappiness for adult well-being', *Social Forces*, 69(3), pp. 895-914.

Amato, P.R. and Booth, A. (1996) 'A prospective study of divorce and parent-child relationships', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, pp. 356-365.

Antonakis, J. *et al.* (2014) 'Causality and endogeneity: Problems and solutions', *The Oxford handbook of leadership and organizations*, 1, pp. 93-117.

Ash, R. (2006) 'Squeezing the peasants: Grain extraction, food consumption and rural living standards in mao's china', *The China Quarterly*, 188, pp. 959-998.

Attane, I. (2002) 'China's family planning policy: an overview of its past and future', *Studies in family planning*, 33(1), pp. 103-113.

Aybek, C.M., Huinink, J. and Muttarak, R. (2015) *Spatial Mobility, Migration, and Living Arrangements*. Springer.

Baldassar, L. (2007) 'Transnational families and the provision of moral and emotional support: The relationship between truth and distance', *Identities: global studies in culture and power*, 14(4), pp. 385-409.

Bao, L. (2005) 'Reflects on the Timing View of Life Course Theory (in Chinese) ', *Sociological Studies*, 4, pp. 120-133.

Bao, L. (2012) 'Chinese Only Children's life course: An institutional choice on view of family-state relationship (in Chinese)', *Journal of Social Science*, (5), pp. 90-101.

Beck, U. (1992) *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. Sage.

Ben-Shlomo, Y. and Kuh, D. (2002) 'A life course approach to chronic disease epidemiology: conceptual models, empirical challenges and interdisciplinary perspectives', *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 31(2), pp. 285-293.

Bengtson, V.L., Elder Jr, G.H. and Putney, N.M. (2012) 'The life course perspective on ageing: linked lives, timing, and history', *Adult lives: A life course perspective*, pp. 9-17.

Bengtson, V.L. and Harootyan, R.A. (1994) *Intergenerational linkages: Hidden connections in American society*. Springer Publishing Co.

Bibliography

- Bengtson, V.L. and Roberts, R.E. (1991) 'Intergenerational solidarity in aging families: An example of formal theory construction', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, pp. 856-870.
- Bengtson, V.L. and Schrader, S.S. (1982) 'Parent-child relations', *Research instruments in social gerontology*, 2, pp. 115-186.
- Berger, R. (2015) 'Now I see it, now I don't: Researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research', *Qualitative research*, 15(2), pp. 219-234.
- Bernstein, T.P. (2006) 'Mao Zedong and the Famine of 1959–1960: A Study in Wilfulness', *The China Quarterly*, 186, pp. 421-445.
- Bian, F., Logan, J. and Bian, Y. (1998a) 'Intergenerational relations in urban China: Proximity, contact, and help to parents', *Demography*, 35(1), pp. 115-124.
- Bian, F., Logan, J.R. and Bian, Y. (1998b) 'Intergenerational relations in urban China: Proximity, contact, and help to parents', *Demography*, 35(1), pp. 115-124.
- Bian, Y. (1994) 'Guanxi and the allocation of urban jobs in China', *The China Quarterly*, 140, pp. 971-999.
- Blanchard, R.D., Bunker, J.B. and Wachs, M. (1977) 'Distinguishing aging, period and cohort effects in longitudinal studies of elderly populations', *Socio-Economic Planning Sciences*, 11(3), pp. 137-146.
- Blau, P.M. and Duncan, O.D. (1967) 'The American occupational structure'.
- Bollen, K.A., Guilkey, D.K. and Mroz, T.A. (1995) 'Binary outcomes and endogenous explanatory variables: tests and solutions with an application to the demand for contraceptive use in Tunisia', *Demography*, 32(1), pp. 111-131.
- Bonnin, M. (2006) 'The "lost generation": Its definition and its role in today's Chinese elite politics', *Social research*, pp. 245-274.
- Boone, P., Eble, A. and Elbourne, D. (2013) *Risk and evidence of bias in randomized controlled trials in economics*.
- Boulton, D. (2000) 'Unusual terms: What do you mean by', *Research in social care and social welfare*, pp. 86-91.
- Bourke, B. (2014) 'Positionality: Reflecting on the research process', *The Qualitative Report*, 19(33), pp. 1-9.
- Brannen, J. (1992) 'Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches: An overview (pp. 3–37)', *Mixing methods: Qualitative and quantitative research*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Brody, E.M. (1990) *Women in the middle: Their parent-care years*. New York: Springer.
- Bryman, A. (2006) 'Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: how is it done?', *Qualitative research*, 6(1), pp. 97-113.
- Bryman, A. (2007) 'Barriers to integrating quantitative and qualitative research', *Journal of mixed methods research*, 1(1), pp. 8-22.
- Bryman, A. (2008) 'Why do researchers integrate/combine/mesh/blend/mix/merge/fuse quantitative and qualitative research', *Advances in mixed methods research*, pp. 87-100.

- Bryman, A. (2015) *Social research methods*. Oxford university press.
- Buckley, C. (2015) 'China Ends One-Child Policy, Allowing Families Two Children, The New York Times, [online] http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/30/world/asia/china-end-one-child-policy.html?_r=0, [accessed 14/01/2016].'
- Burgess, E.W. (1960) 'Aging in western societies'.
- Cai, F. and Du, Y. (2015) 'The social protection system in ageing China', *Asian Economic Policy Review*, 10(2), pp. 250-270.
- Cai, F. *et al.* (2012) *The elderly and old age support in rural China*. World Bank Publications.
- Cai, Y. and Feng, W. (2005) 'Famine, social disruption, and involuntary fetal loss: Evidence from Chinese survey data', *Demography*, 42(2), pp. 301-322.
- Case, A., Fertig, A. and Paxson, C. (2005) 'The lasting impact of childhood health and circumstance', *Journal of health economics*, 24(2), pp. 365-389.
- Ceci, S.J. (1991) 'How much does schooling influence general intelligence and its cognitive components? A reassessment of the evidence', *Developmental psychology*, 27(5), p. 703.
- Chan, K.W. (1999) 'Internal migration in China: a dualistic approach', *Internal and international migration: Chinese perspectives*, pp. 49-71.
- Chang, J. (1996a) 'Life course: Cultural Revolution and its impact on 'Lao San Jie' cohort's education and family (in Chinese)', *China Youth Study*, 1.
- Chang, J. (1996b) 'Life Course: Cultural Revolution and its impact on the marriage of 'LaoSanJie' cohort(in Chinese)', *China Youth Study*, 3.
- Chao, S.F. (2011) 'Assessing social support and depressive symptoms in older Chinese adults: a longitudinal perspective', *Aging Ment Health*, 15(6), pp. 765-74.
- Charles, N., Davies, C.A. and Harris, C. (2008) *Families in transition: social change, family formation and kin relationships*. Policy Press.
- Chen, F. (2005) 'Residential patterns of parents and their married children in contemporary China: A life course approach', *Population Research and Policy Review*, 24(2), pp. 125-148.
- Chen, F., Liu, G. and Mair, C.A. (2011) 'Intergenerational Ties in Context: Grandparents Caring for Grandchildren in China', *Social forces; a scientific medium of social study and interpretation*, 90(2), pp. 571-594.
- Chen, J. and Jordan, L.P. (2017) 'Intergenerational Support in One-and Multi-child Families in China: Does Child Gender Still Matter?', *Research on Aging*, p. 0164027517690883.
- Chen, L. (2011) 'Elderly residents' perspectives on filial piety and institutionalization in Shanghai', *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, 9(1), pp. 53-68.
- Chen, T. (2018) 'Living arrangement preferences and realities for elderly Chinese: implications for subjective wellbeing', *Ageing & Society*, pp. 1-25.
- Chen, X. and Silverstein, M. (2000) 'Intergenerational Social Support and the Psychological Well-Being of Older Parents in China', *Research on Aging*, 22(1), pp. 43-65.

Bibliography

- Chen, Y., While, A.E. and Hicks, A. (2015) 'Physical activity among older people living alone in Shanghai, China', *Health Education Journal*, 74(2), pp. 156-167.
- Chen, Y. and Zhou, L.-A. (2007) 'The long-term health and economic consequences of the 1959–1961 famine in China', *Journal of health economics*, 26(4), pp. 659-681.
- Chen, Z. (2008) 'Studying the social protection of new-generation migrant rural workers under the perspective of life-course theory (in Chinese)', *Academic Exchange*, 176(11), pp. 193-197.
- Chen, Z. and Liu, J. (1991) *The history of the Chinese community party. (in Chinese) [Zhongguo Gongchandang Jiansheshi]* Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe.
- Cheng, T. and Selden, M. (1994) 'The origins and social consequences of China's hukou system', *The China Quarterly*, 139, pp. 644-668.
- Cheng, Z. (2014) 'Layoffs and Urban Poverty in the State-Owned Enterprise Communities in Shaanxi Province, China', *Social Indicators Research*, 116(1), pp. 199-233.
- Cherlin, A.J., Scabini, E. and Rossi, G. (1997) 'Still in the nest: Delayed home leaving in Europe and the United States', *Journal of Family Issues*, 18(6), pp. 572-575.
- Chesley, N. and Poppie, K. (2009) 'Assisting parents and in-laws: gender, type of assistance, and couples' employment', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71(2), pp. 247-262.
- Cheung, C.k., Kwan, A.Y.h. and Ng, S.H. (2006) 'Impacts of filial piety on preference for kinship versus public care', *Journal of community psychology*, 34(5), pp. 617-634.
- ChinaDaily (2007) 'Chinese Life Expectancy to Rise to 85 by 2010, [online] <http://www.china.org.cn/english/China/199848.htm> , [accessed 02/06/2016]'.
- Chou, R.J.-A. (2011) 'Filial Piety by Contract? The Emergence, Implementation, and Implications of the "Family Support Agreement" in China', *The Gerontologist*, 51(1), pp. 3-16.
- Ci, Q. (2002) 'Cultural Revolution', social transitions and deprived poverty: An explanation of age distribution of the urban poor (in Chinese)', *Chinese Journal of Population Science*, (2), pp. 20-27.
- Cialdini, R.B., Kallgren, C.A. and Reno, R.R. (1991) 'A focus theory of normative conduct: A theoretical refinement and reevaluation of the role of norms in human behavior', in *Advances in experimental social psychology*. Elsevier, pp. 201-234.
- CLASSTeam (2014) 'China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey Annual Report 2014, [online] <http://class.ruc.edu.cn/index.php?r=data/report>, [accessed 02/02/2016] ', p. 22.
- Coale, A.J. (1984) *Rapid population change in China, 1952-1982*. National Academies Press.
- Coale, A.J. and Banister, J. (1994) '5 decade of missing females in China', *Demography*, 31(3), pp. 459-479.
- Cong, Z. and Silverstein, M. (2008) 'Intergenerational Time-for-Money Exchanges in Rural China: Does Reciprocity Reduce Depressive Symptoms of Older Grandparents?', *Research in Human Development*, 5(1), pp. 6-25.
- Cong, Z. and Silverstein, M. (2011) 'Parents' depressive symptoms and support from sons and daughters in Rural China', *Int J Soc Welf*, 20(s1), pp. s4-s17.

- Cong, Z. and Silverstein, M. (2012a) 'Caring for grandchildren and intergenerational support in rural China: a gendered extended family perspective', *Ageing & Society*, 32, pp. 425-450.
- Cong, Z. and Silverstein, M. (2012b) 'Parents' preferred care-givers in rural China: gender, migration and intergenerational exchanges', *Ageing and Society*, 34(05), pp. 727-752.
- Cong, Z. and Silverstein, M. (2012c) 'A Vignette Study on Gendered Filial Expectations of Elders in Rural China', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(3), pp. 510-525.
- Cooney, R.S. and Di, J. (1999) 'Primary family caregivers of impaired elderly in Shanghai, China: kin relationship and caregiver burden', *Research on Aging*, 21(6), pp. 739-761.
- Cooney, T.M. and Uhlenberg, P. (1990) 'The role of divorce in men's relations with their adult children after mid-life', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, pp. 677-688.
- Creswell, J.W. *et al.* (2003) 'Advanced mixed methods research designs', *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research*, 209, p. 240.
- Creswell, J.W. and PlanoClark, V.L. (2007) *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Sage publications.
- Crockett, L.J. (2002) 'Agency in the life course: Concepts and processes', *Faculty Publications, Department of Psychology. Paper361. available at* : <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/psychfacpub/361>
- Daatland, S.O. (2007) 'Marital history and intergenerational solidarity: The impact of divorce and unmarried cohabitation', *Journal of Social Issues*, 63(4), pp. 809-825.
- Dannefer, D. and Settersten, R.A. (2010) *The Study of the Life Course: Implications for Social Gerontology. The SAGE Handbook of Social Gerontology*. SAGE Publications Ltd. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Das Gupta, M. *et al.* (2003) 'Why is son preference so persistent in East and South Asia? A cross-country study of China, India and the Republic of Korea', *The Journal of Development Studies*, 40(2), pp. 153-187.
- Davey, A., Janke, M. and Savla, J. (2004) 'Antecedents of intergenerational support: Families in context and families as context', *Annual Review of Gerontology & Geriatrics*, 24, p. 29.
- Deng, Z. and Treiman, D.J. (1997) 'The impact of the cultural revolution on trends in educational attainment in the People's Republic of China', *American Journal of Sociology*, 103(2), pp. 391-428.
- Denyer, S. (2015) 'Easing of China's one-child policy has not produced a baby-boom, the Guardian, [online], <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/06/china-one-child-policy-problems-ageing-population> [assessed 14/01/2016].'
- Deutsch, F.M. (2006) 'Filial piety, patrilineality, and China's one-child policy', *Journal of Family Issues*, 27(3), pp. 366-389.
- Ding, Q.J. and Hesketh, T. (2006a) 'Family size, fertility preferences, and sex ratio in China in the era of the one child family policy: results from national family planning and reproductive health survey'. British Medical Journal Publishing Group.

Bibliography

- Ding, Q.J. and Hesketh, T. (2006b) 'Family size, fertility preferences, and sex ratio in China in the era of the one child family policy: results from national family planning and reproductive health survey', *British Medical Journal*, 333(7564), pp. 371-373.
- Ebenstein, A. and Leung, S. (2010) 'Son Preference and Access to Social Insurance: Evidence from China's Rural Pension Program', *Population & Development Review*, 36(1), pp. 47-70.
- Ebenstein, A.Y. and Sharygin, E.J. (2009) 'The consequences of the "missing girls" of China', *The World Bank Economic Review*, 23(3), pp. 399-425.
- Eggebeen, D.J. (1992) 'Family structure and intergenerational exchanges', *Research on aging*, 14(4), pp. 427-447.
- Egri, C.P. and Ralston, D.A. (2004) 'Generation cohorts and personal values: A comparison of China and the United States', *Organization science*, 15(2), pp. 210-220.
- Elder, G.H. (1992) 'Models of the Life Course', *Contemporary Sociology*, 21(5), pp. 632-635.
- Elder, G.H. (1994) 'Time, Human Agency, and Social Change: Perspectives on the Life Course', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 57(1), pp. 4-15.
- Elder, G.H. (1999) *Children of the Great Depression: Social change in life experience*. Westview Press.
- Elder, G.H. (2005) 'Overview of Dr Elder's research: The life course and human development'.
- Evandrou, M. *et al.* (2016) 'Intergenerational flows of support between parents and adult children in Britain', *Ageing & Society*, pp. 1-31.
- Fairbank, J.K. and Goldman, M. (2006) *China: A new history*. Harvard University Press.
- Fan, C.C., Sun, M. and Zheng, S. (2011) 'Migration and split households: a comparison of sole, couple, and family migrants in Beijing, China', *Environment and Planning A*, 43(9), pp. 2164-2185.
- Fang, R.K. (1993) 'The geographical inequalities of mortality in China', *Soc Sci Med*, 36(10), pp. 1319-23.
- Fei, X. (1998) 'Xiangtu Zhongguo (From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society)', *Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe*.
- Feng, C. (2007) 'State and laid-off workers in reform China: The silence and collective action of the retrenched', *China Review-an Interdisciplinary Journal on Greater China*, 7(1), pp. 143-145.
- Feng, Z. *et al.* (2017) 'Changes in living arrangements and mortality among older people in China', *SSM-Population Health*, 3, pp. 9-19.
- Fergusson, D. *et al.* (2002) 'Post-randomisation exclusions: the intention to treat principle and excluding patients from analysis', *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 325(7365), p. 652.
- Ferraro, K.F. and Shippee, T.P. (2009) 'Aging and Cumulative Inequality: How Does Inequality Get Under the Skin?', *The Gerontologist*, 49(3), pp. 333-343.

- Fingerman, K. *et al.* (2009) 'Giving to the good and the needy: Parental support of grown children', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71(5), pp. 1220-1233.
- Flick, U. (2014) *An introduction to qualitative research*. Sage.
- Fu, X. *et al.* (2016) 'Filial piety: Theories, measurements, variations, and relationships to related variables (in Chinese)', *Advances in Psychological Science*, 24(2), pp. 293-304.
- Fujita, M. and Hu, D. (2001) 'Regional disparity in China 1985–1994: the effects of globalization and economic liberalization', *The Annals of Regional Science*, 35(1), pp. 3-37.
- Furstenberg, F.F., Hoffman, S.D. and Shrestha, L. (1995) 'The effect of divorce on intergenerational transfers: New evidence', *Demography*, 32(3), pp. 319-333.
- Gair, S. (2012) 'Feeling their stories: Contemplating empathy, insider/outsider positionings, and enriching qualitative research', *Qualitative Health Research*, 22(1), pp. 134-143.
- Gans, D. and Silverstein, M. (2006) 'Norms of filial responsibility for aging parents across time and generations', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68(4), pp. 961-976.
- George, L.K. (1993) 'Sociological Perspectives on Life Transitions', p. 353.
- Giddens, A. (1984) *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Univ of California Press.
- Giele, J.Z. and Elder, G.H. (1998) *Methods of life course research: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Sage Publications.
- Gierveld, J.D. and Peeters, A. (2003) 'The interweaving of repartnered older adults' lives with their children and siblings', *Ageing and Society*, 23, pp. 187-205.
- Giles, J. and Mu, R. (2007) 'Elderly parent health and the migration decisions of adult children: Evidence from rural China', *Demography*, 44(2), pp. 265-288.
- Glesne, C. (2015) *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction*. Pearson.
- Goh, E. (2011) *China's one-child policy and multiple caregiving: raising little suns in Xiamen*. Routledge.
- Golan, J., Sicular, T. and Umapathi, N. (2014) 'Any guarantees? china's rural minimum living standard guarantee program', *Social protection and labor discussion paper;no. 1423*. World Bank Group, Washington, DC. © World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/19976> License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.
- Gomersall, K. and Wang, M. (2013) 'Life-course experiences of laid-off workers and their attitudes towards migrant workers in urban China', *International Development Planning Review*, 35(3), pp. 219-240.
- Goode, W.J. (1963) 'World revolution and family patterns'.
- Graham, J.W. (2009) 'Missing data analysis: Making it work in the real world', *Annual review of psychology*, 60, pp. 549-576.

Bibliography

- Greene, J.C., Caracelli, V.J. and Graham, W.F. (1989) 'Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs', *Educational evaluation and policy analysis*, 11(3), pp. 255-274.
- Greenhalgh, S. and Winckler, E.A. (2005) *Governing China's population: From Leninist to neoliberal biopolitics*. Stanford University Press.
- Gruijters, R.J. (2017a) *Beyond Filial Piety: Intergenerational Relations and Old Age Security in Contemporary China*. Doctoral thesis. Humboldt Universität zu Berlin.
- Gruijters, R.J. (2017b) 'Family care-giving and living arrangements of functionally impaired elders in rural China', *Ageing & Society*, 37(3), pp. 633-655.
- Gruijters, R.J. (2017c) 'Intergenerational Contact in Chinese Families: Structural and Cultural Explanations', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 79(3), pp. 758-768.
- Grundy, E. and Henretta, J.C. (2006) 'Between elderly parents and adult children: A new look at the intergenerational care provided by the 'sandwich generation'', *Ageing and Society*, 26(05), pp. 707-722.
- Guba, E.G. and Lincoln, Y.S. (1994) 'Competing paradigms in qualitative research', *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2(163-194), p. 105.
- Guo, M. (2014) 'Parental status and late-life well-being in rural China: the benefits of having multiple children', *Aging Ment Health*, 18(1), pp. 19-29.
- Guo, M., Chi, I. and Silverstein, M. (2009) 'Intergenerational support of Chinese rural elders with migrant children: Do sons' or daughters' migrations make a difference?', *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 52(5), pp. 534-554.
- Guo, M.A.N., Aranda, M.P. and Silverstein, M. (2009) 'The impact of out-migration on the inter-generational support and psychological wellbeing of older adults in rural China', *Ageing and Society*, 29(07), p. 1085.
- Guo, Y. and Chang, A. (2005) 'Life circle and social security: A sociological exploration into the life course of laid-off and unemployed workers (in Chinese)', *Social Sciences in China*, (5), pp. 93-107.
- Ha, J.-H. *et al.* (2006) 'Older Adults' Perceptions of Intergenerational Support After Widowhood: How Do Men and Women Differ?', *Journal of Family Issues*, 27(1), pp. 3-30.
- Hallqvist, J. *et al.* (2004) 'Can we disentangle life course processes of accumulation, critical period and social mobility? An analysis of disadvantaged socio-economic positions and myocardial infarction in the Stockholm Heart Epidemiology Program', *Social Science & Medicine*, 58(8), pp. 1555-1562.
- Hansen, T., Slagsvold, B. and Moum, T. (2009) 'Childlessness and psychological well-Being in midlife and old age: An examination of parental status effects across a range of outcomes', *Social Indicators Research*, 94(2), pp. 343-362.
- Hanson, W.E. *et al.* (2005) 'Mixed methods research designs in counseling psychology', *Journal of counseling psychology*, 52(2), p. 224.
- Happ, M.B. (2009) 'Mixed methods in gerontological research: Do the qualitative and quantitative data "touch"?', *Research in gerontological nursing*, 2(2), pp. 122-127.

- Hareven, T.K. (1994) 'Aging and Generational Relations - a Historical and Life-Course Perspective', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 20, pp. 437-461.
- Hareven, T.K. (1996) *Aging and generational relations over the life course: A historical and cross-cultural perspective*. Walter de Gruyter.
- Hareven, T.K. and Adams, K.J. (1982) *Ageing and life course transitions: An interdisciplinary perspective*. Routledge.
- Hareven, T.K. and Masaoka, K. (1988) 'Turning Points and Transitions: Perceptions of the Life Course', *Journal of Family History*, 13(1), pp. 271-289.
- He, C. and Ye, J. (2014) 'Lonely Sunsets: Impacts of Rural-urban Migration on the Left-behind Elderly in Rural China', *Population, Space and Place*, 20(4), pp. 352-369.
- Hesketh, T., Lu, L. and Xing, Z.W. (2005) 'The effect of China's one-child family policy after 25 years', *New England Journal of Medicine*, 353(11), pp. 1171-1176.
- Hesketh, T. and Xing, Z.W. (2006) 'Abnormal sex ratios in human populations: causes and consequences', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 103(36), pp. 13271-13275.
- Hesketh, T. and Zhu, W.X. (1997) 'Health in China - The one child family policy: The good, the bad, and the ugly', *British Medical Journal*, 314(7095), pp. 1685-1687.
- Hess, B.B. and Waring, J.M. (1978) 'Parent and child in later life: Rethinking the relationship', *Child influences on marital and family interaction: a life-span perspective/edited by Richard M. Lerner, Graham B. Spanier*.
- Hill, R. (1964) 'Methodological issues in family development research', *Family Process*, 3(1), pp. 186-206.
- Hillcoat-Nalletamby, S., Dharmalingam, A. and Baxendine, S. (2006) 'Living together or communicating at a distance: Structural and associational solidarity between mid-life parent and adult child in New Zealand', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 37(3), pp. 381-+.
- Holmes, M. (2006) 'Love Lives at a Distance: Distance Relationships over the Lifecourse', *Sociological Research Online*, 11(3), p. holmes.
- Hong, L.K. (1987) 'Potential effects of the one-child policy on gender equality in the People's Republic of China', *Gender and Society*, pp. 317-326.
- Houser, B.B., Berkman, S.L. and Bardsley, P. (1985) 'Sex and birth order differences in filial behavior', *Sex Roles*, 13(11), pp. 641-651.
- Hu, A. (2017) 'Providing More but Receiving Less: Daughters in Intergenerational Exchange in Mainland China', *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 79(3), pp. 739-757.
- Hu, B.O. and Ma, S.A.I. (2018) 'Receipt of informal care in the Chinese older population', *Ageing and Society*, 38(4), pp. 766-793.
- Hu, P. and Zhu, C. (1996) 'A discussion on the Family Planing Policy and the changing Chinese women's life course (in Chinese)', *Chinese Journal of Population Science*, 55(4), pp. 21-26.

Bibliography

Hu, Y. and Scott, J. (2014) 'Family and Gender Values in China: Generational, Geographic, and Gender Differences', *Journal of Family Issues*.

Population Aging in China: A Mixed Blessing. The Diplomat, November 10th, 2013. Available at <http://thediplomat.com/2013/11/population-aging-in-china-a-mixed-blessing/> accessed on 16/09/2015. (2013).

Huo, S., Xiong, J. and Li, Y. (2015) 'Pension Debt Problems and Countermeasures of the First Generation of Migrant Workers in Informal Employment (in Chinese)', *Agricultural Economic and Management* (4), pp. 44-50.

Ikels, C. (1993) 'Settling accounts: The intergenerational contract in an age of reform', *Chinese families in the post-Mao era*, pp. 307-333.

Ikels, C. (2004) *Filial piety: Practice and discourse in contemporary East Asia*. Stanford University Press.

Ikkink, K.K., van Tilburg, T. and Knipscheer, K. (1999) 'Perceived instrumental support exchanges in relationships between elderly parents and their adult children: Normative and structural explanations', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 61(4), pp. 831-844.

Ivankova, N.V., Creswell, J.W. and Stick, S.L. (2006) 'Using mixed-methods sequential explanatory design: From theory to practice', *Field methods*, 18(1), pp. 3-20.

Izuhara, M. (2010) *Ageing and intergenerational relations: Family reciprocity from a global perspective*. Policy Press.

Jiang, Q., Feldman, M.W. and Li, S. (2014) 'Marriage squeeze, never-married proportion, and mean age at first marriage in China', *Population research and policy review*, 33(2), pp. 189-204.

Jiang, X. (2003) 'Significance of Gerontology being established as a major in Chinese universities (in Chinese)', *Population Research*, 27(6).

Jin, X., Guo, Q. and Feldman, M.W. (2015) 'Marriage squeeze and intergenerational support in contemporary rural China: Evidence from X county of Anhui province', *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 80(2), pp. 115-139.

Jin, Y., Manning, K.E. and Chu, L. (2006) 'Rethinking the 'iron girls': Gender and labour during the Chinese cultural revolution', *Gender & History*, 18(3), pp. 613-634.

Jordan, L.P., Ren, Q. and Falkingham, J. (2014) 'Youth Education and Learning in Twenty-First Century China', *Chinese Sociological Review*, 47(1), pp. 57-83.

Kalmijn, M. (2007) 'Gender differences in the effects of divorce, widowhood and remarriage on intergenerational support: Does marriage protect fathers?', *Social Forces*, 85(3), pp. 1079-1104.

Kalmijn, M. and Saraceno, C. (2008) 'A comparative perspective on intergenerational support', *European Societies*, 10(3), pp. 479-508.

Kane, P. (1988) *Famine in China 1959-61. Demographic and social implications*. Macmillan Press.

Katz, R. and Lowenstein, A. (2010) 'Theoretical perspectives on intergenerational solidarity, conflict and ambivalence', *Ageing and intergenerational relations: Family reciprocity from a global perspective*, p. 29.

- Kaufman, G. and Uhlenberg, P. (1998) 'Effects of Life Course Transitions on the Quality of Relationships Between Adult Children and Their Parents', *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 60(4), pp. 924-938.
- Kaufman, J. *et al.* (1989) 'Family planning policy and practice in China: A study of four rural counties', *Population and Development Review*, pp. 707-729.
- Kertzer, D.I. (1983) 'Generation as a sociological problem', *Annual review of sociology*, pp. 125-149.
- King, V., Ledwell, M. and Pearce-Morris, J. (2013) 'Religion and Ties Between Adult Children and Their Parents', *Journals of Gerontology Series B-Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 68(5), pp. 825-836.
- Kinnick, M.K. and Kempner, K. (1988) 'Beyond "front door" access: attaining the bachelor's degree', *Research in Higher Education*, 29(4), pp. 299-318.
- Klassen, C. and Burnaby, B. (1993) "'Those Who Know": Views on Literacy Among Adult Immigrants in Canada', *Tesol Quarterly*, 27(3), pp. 377-397.
- Knight, J., Shi, L. and Quheng, D. (2009) 'Education and the poverty trap in rural China: Setting the trap', *Oxford Development Studies*, 37(4), pp. 311-332.
- Kunkel, S.R. and Morgan, L.A. (2015) *Aging, Society, and the Life Course*. Springer Publishing Company.
- Laditka, J.N. and Laditka, S.B. (2000) 'Aging children and their older parents: The coming generation of caregiving', *Journal of Women & Aging*, 12(1-2), pp. 189-204.
- Laditka, J.N. and Laditka, S.B. (2001) 'Adult children helping older parents: Variations in likelihood and hours by gender, race, and family role', *Research on Aging*, 23(4), pp. 429-456.
- LaFave, D. (2017) 'Family Support and Elderly Well-being in China: Evidence from the China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study', *Ageing International*, 42(2), p. 142.
- Lang, A.M. and Brody, E.M. (1983) 'Characteristics of middle-aged daughters and help to their elderly mothers', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, pp. 193-202.
- Lawton, L., Silverstein, M. and Bengtson, V. (1994) 'Affection, social contact, and geographic distance between adult children and their parents', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, pp. 57-68.
- Lee, E., Spitze, G. and Logan, J.R. (2003) 'Social support to parents-in-law: The interplay of gender and kin hierarchies', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65(2), pp. 396-403.
- Lee, H.Y. (2000) 'Xiangang, the Chinese Style of Laying Off Workers', *Asian Survey*, 40(6), pp. 914-937.
- Lee, W.K.-m. and Hong-Kin, K. (2005) 'Differences in expectations and patterns of informal support for older persons in Hong Kong: Modification to filial piety', *Ageing International*, 30(2), pp. 188-206.

Bibliography

- Lee, Y.-J. and Aytac, I.A. (1998) 'Intergenerational financial support among whites, African Americans, and Latinos', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, pp. 426-441.
- Lee, Y.-J., Parish, W.L. and Willis, R.J. (1994) 'Sons, daughters, and intergenerational support in Taiwan', *American journal of sociology*, 99(4), pp. 1010-1041.
- Lee, Y.-J. and Xiao, Z. (1998) 'Children's support for elderly parents in urban and rural China: Results from a national survey', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 13(1), pp. 39-62.
- Lei, X. *et al.* (2011) 'Living arrangements of the elderly in China: Evidence from CHARLS', *RAND Labor and Population Working Paper Series*, WR-886, Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1923988> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1923988>.
- Leopold, T. (2012) 'The legacy of leaving home: Long-term effects of coresidence on parent - child relationships', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(3), pp. 399-412.
- Leung, J.C. (2003) 'Family support for the elderly in China', *Family: Critical Concepts in Sociology*, 2, p. 343.
- Levy, R. (2005) 'Why Look at Life Courses in an Interdisciplinary Perspective?', *Advances in Life Course Research*, 10, pp. 3-32.
- Li, B. (2014) 'Social pension unification in an urbanising China: paths and constraints', *Public Administration and Development*, 34(4), pp. 281-293.
- Li, L.W., Zhang, J. and Liang, J. (2009) 'Health among the oldest-old in China: Which living arrangements make a difference?', *Social Science & Medicine*, 68(2), pp. 220-227.
- Li, Q., Deng, J. and Xiao, Z. (1999) 'Social transition and individual development: The paradigm and methods of life course perspective (in Chinese)', *Sociological Studies* 6(1).
- Li, S., Feldman, M.W. and Jin, X. (2004) 'Children, marriage form, and family support for the elderly in contemporary rural China: the case of Songzi', *Research on Aging*, 26(3), pp. 352-384.
- Liang, H. (2011) 'Migrating-out and left-behind in the view of life course: A comparative analysis of the characteristics of the second-generation migrant workers (in Chinese)', *Population Research*, 35(4), pp. 17-28.
- Liang, J. and Xu, Y. (2018) 'Second-hand clothing consumption: A generational cohort analysis of the Chinese market', *International Journal of Consumer Studies*.
- Liao, C. and Heaton, T.B. (1992) 'Divorce trends and differentials in China', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, pp. 413-429.
- Lillard, L.A. and Willis, R.J. (1997) 'Motives for intergenerational transfers: Evidence from Malaysia', *Demography*, 34(1), pp. 115-134.
- Lin, I.F. (2008) 'Consequences of parental divorce for adult children's support of their frail parents', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 70(1), pp. 113-128.
- Lin, J.P. and Yi, C.C. (2011) 'Filial norms and intergenerational support to aging parents in China and Taiwan', *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 20, pp. S109-S120.
- Lin, J.Y.F. (1992) 'Rural reforms and agricultural growth in China', *American Economic Review*, 82(1), pp. 34-51.

- Lin, Z. and Pei, X. (2016) 'Intergenerational Exchange of Resources and Elderly Support in Rural China', *International Journal of Aging & Human Development*, 83(2), pp. 108-127.
- Little, R.J. and Rubin, D.B. (2014) *Statistical analysis with missing data*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Litwak, E. (1960a) 'Geographic mobility and extended family cohesion', *American Sociological Review*, pp. 385-394.
- Litwak, E. (1960b) 'Occupational mobility and extended family cohesion', *American Sociological Review*, pp. 9-21.
- Liu, d., Cao, q. and Geng, m. (2014) 'Migrant population and the patterns of urbanization in Henan Province (in Chinese)', *Economic survey*, 31(3), pp. 7-13.
- Liu, J. (2014) 'Ageing, migration and familial support in rural China', *Geoforum*, 51, pp. 305-312.
- Liu, Z. (2005) 'The formation of sex preference of birth: A life course perspective (in Chinese)', *Journal of Shanxi Teachers University (Social Science Editions)*, 32(6), pp. 108-111.
- Logan, J.R. and Bian, F.Q. (2003) 'Parents' needs, family structure, and regular intergenerational financial exchange in Chinese cities', *Sociological Forum*, 18(1), pp. 85-101.
- Logan, J.R., Bian, F.Q. and Bian, Y.J. (1998) 'Tradition and change in the urban Chinese family: The case of living arrangements', *Social Forces*, 76(3), pp. 851-882.
- Lowenstein, A. and Daatland, S.O. (2006) 'Filial norms and family support in a comparative cross-national context: evidence from the OASIS study', *Ageing and society*, 26(02), pp. 203-223.
- Lu, J.H. and Zhang, Y. (2017) 'Patterns of living arrangements of the elderly in mainland China Changes, consequences and policy implications', *Asian Education and Development Studies*, 6(2), pp. 179-191.
- Lu, Y. (2012) 'Education of children left behind in rural China', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74(2), pp. 328-341.
- Lutz, W. *et al.* (2007) 'China's uncertain demographic present and future', *Vienna Yearbook of Population Research*, pp. 37-59.
- Lye, D.N. (1996) 'Adult child–parent relationships', *Annual review of sociology*, pp. 79-102.
- Mamdani, B. and Mamdani, M. (2006) 'The impact of China's one-child policy', *Indian J Med Ethics*, 3(3), pp. 106-8.
- Marks, N.F. (1995) 'Midlife marital status differences in social support relationships with adult children and psychological well-being', *Journal of Family Issues*, 16(1), pp. 5-28.
- Mason, K.O. (1992) 'Family change and support of the elderly in Asia: What do we know?', *Asia-Pacific population journal*, 7(3), pp. 13-32.
- McEvoy, P. and Richards, D. (2006) 'A critical realist rationale for using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods', *Journal of research in nursing*, 11(1), pp. 66-78.

Bibliography

- Meng, X. and Gregory, R.G. (2002) 'The Impact of interrupted education on subsequent educational attainment: A cost of the Chinese Cultural Revolution', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 50(4), pp. 935-959.
- Meng, X. and Luo, C.L. (2008) 'What Determines Living Arrangements of the Elderly in Urban China?', *Inequality and Public Policy in China*, pp. 267-286.
- Merz, E.-M., Schulze, H.-J. and Schuengel, C. (2010) 'Consequences of filial support for two generations: A narrative and quantitative review', *Journal of Family Issues*.
- Morgan, D.L. (1998) 'Practical strategies for combining qualitative and quantitative methods: Applications to health research', *Qualitative health research*, 8(3), pp. 362-376.
- Morse, J.M. (2003) 'Principles of mixed methods and multimethod research design', *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research*, 1, pp. 189-208.
- Mortimer, J.T. and Shanahan, M.J. (2007) *Handbook of the life course*. Springer Science & Business Media.
- Murphy, R., Tao, R. and Lu, X. (2011) 'Son preference in rural China: Patrilineal families and socioeconomic change', *Population and Development Review*, 37(4), pp. 665-690.
- Murtagh, K.N. and Hubert, H.B. (2004) 'Gender differences in physical disability among an elderly cohort', *American journal of public health*, 94(8), pp. 1406-1411.
- Nelson, M.K. (2000) 'Single mothers and social support: The commitment to, and retreat from, reciprocity', *Qualitative Sociology*, 23(3), pp. 291-317.
- Ng, A.C.Y., Phillips, D.R. and Lee, W.K.-m. (2002) 'Persistence and challenges to filial piety and informal support of older persons in a modern Chinese society: A case study in Tuen Mun, Hong Kong', *Journal of Aging Studies*, 16(2), pp. 135-153.
- Ng, S.H. (2002) 'Will families support their elders? Answers from across cultures', *Ageism: Stereotyping and prejudice against older persons*, pp. 295-309.
- Ofstedal, M.B., Knodel, J. and Chayovan, N. (1999) 'Intergenerational support and gender: A comparison of four Asian countries', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 27(2), pp. 21-41.
- Ofstedal, M.B., Reidy, E. and Knodel, J. (2004) 'Gender differences in economic support and well-being of older Asians', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 19(3), pp. 165-201.
- Ong, A.D. and Bergeman, C. (2004) 'Resilience and adaptation to stress in later life: Empirical perspectives and conceptual implications', *Ageing International*, 29(3), pp. 219-246.
- Ong, A.D. *et al.* (2006) 'Psychological resilience, positive emotions, and successful adaptation to stress in later life', *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 91(4), p. 730.
- Palmore, E. (1978) 'When can age, period, and cohort be separated?', *Social Forces*, 57(1), pp. 282-295.
- Peng, X. (1989) 'Major determinants of China's fertility transition', *The China Quarterly*, 117, pp. 1-37.
- Phillips, D.R. and Feng, Z. (2015) 'Challenges for the aging family in the People's Republic of China', *Canadian Journal on Aging/La Revue canadienne du vieillissement*, 34(03), pp. 290-304.

- Phua, V.C. and Loh, J. (2008) 'Filial piety and intergenerational co-residence: The case of Chinese Singaporeans', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 36(3), pp. 659-679.
- Pillemer, K. and Suitor, J.J. (2006) 'Making choices: A within-family study of caregiver selection', *The Gerontologist*, 46(4), pp. 439-448.
- Pudrovska, T. and Anikputa, B. (2014) 'Early-life socioeconomic status and mortality in later life: An integration of four life-course mechanisms', *The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 69(3), pp. 451-460.
- Qi, X. (2015) 'Filial Obligation in Contemporary China: Evolution of the Culture-System', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 45(1), pp. 141-161.
- Qian, Y. (1999) 'The Process of China's Market Transition (1978-98): The Evolutionary, Historical, and Comparative Perspective', *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics JITE* 156.
- Qian, Y. and Knoester, C. (2013) 'Parental Status and Subjective Well-Being Among Currently Married Individuals in China', *Journal of Family Issues*, p. 0192513X13503323.
- Qin, M., Falkingham, J. and Padmadas, S.S. (2018) 'Unpacking the differential impact of family planning policies in china: Analysis of parity progression ratios from retrospective birth history data, 1971–2005', *Journal of biosocial science*, pp. 1-23.
- Quach, A.S. and Anderson, E.A. (2008) 'Implications of China's Open-Door Policy for Families: A Family Impact Analysis', *Journal of Family Issues*, 29(8), pp. 1089-1103.
- Raley, S. and Bianchi, S. (2006) 'Sons, daughters, and family processes: Does gender of children matter?', *Annu. Rev. Sociol.*, 32, pp. 401-421.
- Ren, Q. (2005) 'Research on the current fertility level in China (in Chinese)', *Market & Demographic Analysis*, 11(6), pp. 28-32.
- Ren, Q. and Treiman, D.J. (2015) 'Living Arrangements of the Elderly in China and Consequences for Their Emotional Well-being', *Chinese Sociological Review*, 47(3), pp. 255-286.
- Riggio, H.R. (2004) 'Parental marital conflict and divorce, parent-child relationships, social support, and relationship anxiety in young adulthood', *Personal Relationships*, 11(1), pp. 99-114.
- Riley, M., Johnson, M. and Foner, A. (1972) 'Age strata in the society', *Riley, Johnson & Foner (eds.), Aging and Society*, 3.
- Riley, N.E. (2004) 'China's population: New trends and challenges', *Population Bulletin*, 59(2), pp. 1-36.
- Roff, L.L. and Klemmack, D.L. (1986) 'Norms for employed daughters' and sons' behavior toward frail older parents', *Sex Roles*, 14(7-8), pp. 363-368.
- Rosenthal, C.J. (1985) 'Kinkeeping in the familial division of labor', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, pp. 965-974.

Bibliography

- Sale, J.E., Lohfeld, L.H. and Brazil, K. (2002) 'Revisiting the quantitative-qualitative debate: Implications for mixed-methods research', *Quality and quantity*, 36(1), pp. 43-53.
- Salomon, J.A. *et al.* (2012) 'Healthy life expectancy for 187 countries, 1990–2010: a systematic analysis for the Global Burden Disease Study 2010', *The Lancet*, 380(9859), pp. 2144-2162.
- Sereny, M. (2011) 'Living Arrangements of Older Adults in China: The Interplay Among Preferences, Realities, and Health', *Research on Aging*, 33(2), pp. 172-204.
- Shanahan, M.J. (2000) 'Pathways to Adulthood in Changing Societies: Variability and Mechanisms in Life Course Perspective', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, pp. 667-692.
- Shanas, E. (1979) 'Social myth as hypothesis: The case of the family relations of old people', *The Gerontologist*.
- Shapiro, A. (2003) 'Later-life divorce and parent-adult child contact and proximity - A longitudinal analysis', *Journal of Family Issues*, 24(2), pp. 264-285.
- Shapiro, A. (2012) 'Rethinking marital status: Partnership history and intergenerational relationships in American families', *Advances in Life Course Research*, 17(3), pp. 168-176.
- Shen, C. and Williamson, J.B. (2010) 'China's new rural pension scheme: can it be improved?', *International journal of sociology and social policy*, 30(5/6), pp. 239-250.
- Shen, K., Feng, W. and Cai, Y. (2018) 'A Benevolent State Against an Unjust Society? Inequalities in Public Transfers in China', *Chinese Sociological Review*, pp. 1-26.
- Sheng, Y. (2014) 'Family Migration Pattern in China (In Chinese)', *Population Research*, 38(3), pp. 41-54.
- Shi, L. (1993a) 'Family financial and household support exchange between generations: A survey of Chinese rural elderly', *The Gerontologist*, 33(4), pp. 468-480.
- Shi, L. (1993b) 'Health care in China: a rural-urban comparison after the socioeconomic reforms', *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 71(6), p. 723.
- Shi, L. (2009) "“Little Quilted Vests to Warm Parents' Hearts”: Redefining the Gendered Practice of Filial Piety in Rural North-eastern China", *The China Quarterly*, 198, pp. 348-363.
- Shirk, S.L. and Shirk, S.L. (1982) *Competitive comrades: Career incentives and student strategies in China*. Univ of California Press.
- Sicular, T. *et al.* (2007) 'The urban–rural income gap and inequality in China', *Review of Income and Wealth*, 53(1), pp. 93-126.
- Silverstein, M. (1995) 'Stability and change in temporal distance between the elderly and their children', *Demography*, 32(1), pp. 29-45.
- Silverstein, M. and Bengtson, V.L. (1997) 'Intergenerational solidarity and the structure of adult child–Parent relationships in American families', *American Journal of Sociology*, 103(2), pp. 429-60.
- Silverstein, M., Cong, Z. and Li, S. (2006) 'Intergenerational Transfers and Living Arrangements of Older People in Rural China: Consequences for Psychological Well-Being', *Journal of Gerontology*, 61B(5), pp. S256–S266.

- Silverstein, M. *et al.* (2002) 'Reciprocity in Parent-Child Relations Over the Adult Life Course', *The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 57(1), pp. S3-S13.
- Silverstein, M., Gans, D. and Yang, F.M. (2006) 'Intergenerational Support to Aging Parents: The Role of Norms and Needs', *Journal of Family Issues*, 27(8), pp. 1068-1084.
- Silverstein, M., Parrott, T.M. and Bengtson, V.L. (1995) 'Factors that predispose middle-aged sons and daughters to provide social support to older parents', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, pp. 465-475.
- Snell, K. (2017) 'The rise of living alone and loneliness in history', *Social History*, 42(1), pp. 2-28.
- Somera, N. (2008) 'Disturbing the Descendants of the Dragon: One Child Policy and Women in China', *Women in Action. Isis International*.
- Song, J. and Huang, F. (2011) 'Intergenerational relationship between adult only child and their parents (in Chinese)', *Population Research* 35(3), pp. 3-16.
- Song, L., Li, S.Z. and Feldman, M.W. (2012) 'Out-Migration of Young Adults and Gender Division of Intergenerational Support in Rural China', *Research on Aging*, 34(4), pp. 399-424.
- Song, S. and Zheng, L. (2016) 'The impact of the sent-down movement on Chinese women's age at first marriage', *Demographic Research*, 34, pp. 797-826.
- Spitze, G. and Logan, J. (1990) 'Sons, daughters, and intergenerational social support', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, pp. 420-430.
- Stark, O. and Bloom, D.E. (1985) 'The new economics of labor migration', *The American Economic Review*, 75(2), pp. 173-178.
- Stoller, E.P. (1994) 'Teaching about gender: The experience of family care of frail elderly relatives', *Educational Gerontology: An International Quarterly*, 20(7), pp. 679-697.
- Stone, J., Berrington, A. and Falkingham, J. (2014) 'Gender, turning points, and boomerangs: Returning home in young adulthood in Great Britain', *Demography*, 51(1), pp. 257-276.
- Sun, J. and Wang, X. (2010) 'Value differences between generations in China: A study in Shanghai', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 13(1), pp. 65-81.
- Sun, R. (2002) 'Old age support in contemporary urban China from both parents' and children's perspectives', *Research on Aging*, 24(3), pp. 337-359.
- Sun, X.J. *et al.* (2011) 'Associations between living arrangements and health-related quality of life of urban elderly people: a study from China', *Quality of Life Research*, 20(3), pp. 359-369.
- Sung, K.-T. (1998) 'An exploration of actions of filial piety', *Journal of Aging Studies*, 12(4), pp. 369-386.

Bibliography

Swartz, T.T. (2009) 'Intergenerational family relations in adulthood: Patterns, variations, and implications in the contemporary United States', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 35, pp. 191-212.

Tan, K.-C.T. (2016) *Geography Research Forum*.

Tang, C., Ma, C. and Shi, J. (2009) 'Ethic and Fairness of Daughter's Support to Her Parents' Family: Gender Study on Intergenerational Family Relation in Rural Areas of Eastern Zhejiang Province(in Chinese)', *Sociology Studies*, 6, pp. 18-36.

Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie, C. (1998) *Mixed methodology: Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Sage.

Teddlie, C. and Tashakkori, A. (2003) 'Major issues and controversies in the use of mixed methods in the social and behavioral sciences', *Handbook of mixed methods in social & behavioral research*, pp. 3-50.

Teddlie, C. and Tashakkori, A. (2010) 'Overview of contemporary issues in mixed methods research', *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research*, pp. 1-41.

Teddlie, C. and Tashakkori, A. (2012) 'Common “core” characteristics of mixed methods research: A review of critical issues and call for greater convergence', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(6), pp. 774-788.

Thang, L.L. (2010) 'Intergenerational relations: Asian perspectives', *The SAGE handbook of social gerontology*, pp. 202-214.

Thomas, W.I. and Znaniecki, F. (1918) *The Polish peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an immigrant group*. University of Chicago Press.

Thornton, A. and Young-DeMarco, L. (2001) 'Four decades of trends in attitudes toward family issues in the United States: The 1960s through the 1990s', *Journal of marriage and family*, 63(4), pp. 1009-1037.

Ting, K.-f. and Stephen, W.K.C. (2002) 'Leaving the Parental Home: Chinese Culture in an Urban Context', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 64(3), pp. 614-626.

Toulemon, L. (1996) 'Very few couples remain voluntarily childless', *Population an English Selection*, pp. 1-27.

Treas, J. and Chen, J.M. (2000) 'Living arrangements, income pooling, and the life course in urban Chinese families', *Research on Aging*, 22(3), pp. 238-261.

Treas, J. and Spence, M. (1989) 'Intergenerational economic obligations in the welfare state', in Mancini, J.A. (ed.) *Aging parents and adult children*. Lexington, MA: Lexington, pp. 181-185.

Tsang, M.C. (2000) 'Education and national development in China since 1949: Oscillating policies and enduring dilemmas', *China review*, pp. 579-618.

Umberson, D. (1992) 'Relationships between adult children and their parents: Psychological consequences for both generations', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, pp. 664-674.

United Nations, D.o.E.a.S.A., Population Division (2017) 'Probabilistic Population Projections based on the World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision. Population Division, DESA. <http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/>'.

- United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, P.D. (2017) 'Household Size and Composition 2017. (POP/DB/PD/HSCD/2017) [Online] <https://population.un.org/Household/index.html#/countries>, [assessed 01/04/2018]'.
- United Nations (2013) 'World Population Ageing 2013, [online], <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/ageing/WorldPopulationAgeing2013.pdf>, [accessed 16/09/2015]'.
- Vermeer, E.B. (2006) 'Demographic Dimensions of China's Development', *Population and Development Review*, 32, pp. 115-144.
- Viry, G. and Kaufmann, V. (2015) *High Mobility in Europe: Work and Personal Life*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Vlachantoni, A. *et al.* (2015) 'The determinants of receiving social care in later life in England', *Ageing & Society*, 35(2), pp. 321-345.
- Wagstaff, A. *et al.* (2009) 'Extending health insurance to the rural population: an impact evaluation of China's new cooperative medical scheme', *Journal of health economics*, 28(1), pp. 1-19.
- Walters, W.H. (2000) 'Types and patterns of later-life migration', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 82(3), pp. 129-147.
- Wang, H. *et al.* (2013) 'Associations and Impact Factors between Living Arrangements and Functional Disability among Older Chinese Adults', *Plos One*, 8(1).
- Wang, P. (2015) 'Life course, social economic status and sex preference of birth (in Chinese)', *Shandong Social Sciences*, 233(1), pp. 83-89.
- Wang, Q. (2001) 'China's Divorce Trends in the Transition Toward a Market Economy', *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, 35(1-2), pp. 173-189.
- Wang, Q. and Zhou, Q. (2010) 'China's divorce and remarriage rates: Trends and regional disparities', *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, 51(4), pp. 257-267.
- Wang, S. *et al.* (2011) 'Toward a healthy and harmonious life in China: stemming the rising tide of non-communicable diseases', *Washington: The World Bank*.
- Wang, Y. (2014) 'Changing Lineal Families with Three Generations: An Analysis of the 2010 Census Data (In Chinese)', *Population Research*, 38(1), pp. 51-62.
- Wang, Y. (2016) 'The analysis of parents-child's living arrangements among the first generation of urban one child families (in Chinese)', *Chinese journal of population science*, 5, pp. 49-65.
- White, L.K. and Rogers, S.J. (1997) 'Strong support but uneasy relationships: Coresidence and adult children's relationships with their parents', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, pp. 62-76.
- WHO (2012) 'Healthy life expectancy (HALE) at birth. In: Global Health Observatory (GHO) [Online].', Geneva: WHO (http://www.who.int/gho/mortality_burden_disease/life_tables/hale/en, [accessed 31/03/2018].

- Whyte, M.K. (2012) 'China's post-socialist inequality', *Current history*, 111(746), p. 229.
- Wijckmans, B. and Van Bavel, J. (2013) 'Divorce and Adult Children's Perceptions of Family Obligations', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 44(3), pp. 291-+.
- Wilmoth, J. and Hudson, R. (2010) 'Aging policy and structural lag', *The New politics of old age policy*, pp. 42-63.
- Wong, B. (2015) 'Generation Gaps: Post-'60, '70, '80, '90', *CityWeekend*, Wed April 15, 2015, online article <http://www.cityweekend.com.cn/beijing/article/generation-gaps-post-%E2%80%9960-%E2%80%9970-%E2%80%9980-%E2%80%9990>, accessed on [30/04/2018].
- Wong, O.M. and Chau, B.H. (2006) 'The evolving role of filial piety in eldercare in Hong Kong', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 34(4), pp. 600-617.
- Wu, F. and Huang, N. (2007) 'New urban poverty ion China: Economic restructuring and transformation of welfare provision', *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 48(2), pp. 168-185.
- Wu, L.-N., Yang, G.-Y. and Ge, N. (2013) 'Relationship between social-psychological factors and quality of life in old women with coronary heart disease', *Sichuan da xue xue bao. Yi xue ban = Journal of Sichuan University. Medical science edition*, 44(2), pp. 261-299.
- Wu, L. (2013) 'Inequality of pension arrangements among different segments of the labor force in China', *Journal of aging & social policy*, 25(2), pp. 181-196.
- Wu, X. and Li, L. (2014) 'The motives of intergenerational transfer to the elderly parents in China: consequences of high medical expenditure', *Health Economics*, 23(6), pp. 631-652.
- Xiang, G. and Liu, N. (2011) 'Wo guo gao deng jiao yu yu she hui liu dong guan xi shan bian', *Xian dai jiao yu guan li*, 1.
- Xie, Y., Jiang, Y. and Greenman, E. (2008) 'Did send-down experience benefit youth? A reevaluation of the social consequences of forced urban-rural migration during China's Cultural Revolution', *Social Science Research*, 37(2), pp. 686-700.
- Xie, Y. and Zhu, H. (2009) 'Do Sons or Daughters Give More Money to Parents in Urban China?', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71(1), pp. 174-186.
- Xu, A. and Xia, Y. (2014) 'The changes in mainland Chinese families during the social transition: A critical analysis', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 45(1), pp. 31-53.
- Xu, Y. (2001) 'Family support for old people in rural China', *Social Policy & Administration*, 35(3), pp. 307-320.
- Xue, Y. (2013) 'Gender and Intergenerational Support in Later Life: A Research of Urban China and Japan Based on Case Studies', *Journal of Political Science & Sociology*, (18), p. 115.
- Yan, Y. (2003) *Private life under socialism: Love, intimacy, and family change in a Chinese village, 1949-1999*. Stanford University Press.
- Yang, H.Q. (1996) 'The distributive norm of monetary support to older parents: A look at a township in China', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 58(2), pp. 404-415.
- Yang, J. (2010) 'The fatal politics of the PRC's Great Leap Famine: the preface to tombstone', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 19(66), pp. 755-776.

- Yang, J. and Li, S. (2011) 'The impact of rustication on sent-down cohorts' income', *Frontiers of Economics in China*, 6(2), pp. 290-310.
- Yang, Y. and Wang, L. (2017) 'An Analysis on the Autonomy Right of Married Women for Supporting Their Own Parents Economically (in Chinese)', *Population Journal*, 39(1), pp. 67-75.
- Yao, Y. and Chen, X. (2013) 'A theoretical framework for group analysis of ageing (in Chinese)', *Population Research*, 37(2), pp. 73-82.
- Ye, M., Chen, Y. and Peng, Y. (2017) 'A New Era in Living Arrangements: Determinants of Quality of Life Among Chinese Older Adults', in *Family, Work and Wellbeing in Asia*. Springer, pp. 43-64.
- Ye, M.Z. and Chen, Y.W. (2014) 'The influence of domestic living arrangement and neighborhood identity on mental health among urban Chinese elders', *Aging & Mental Health*, 18(1), pp. 40-50.
- Yeh, K.H. and Bedford, O. (2003) 'A test of the dual filial piety model', *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 6(3), pp. 215-228.
- Yi, Z., Liu, Y.Z. and George, L.K. (2003) 'Gender differentials of the oldest old in China', *Research on Aging*, 25(1), pp. 65-80.
- Yuan, S., Yu, B. and Yang, Y. (2009) 'The life trajectories of returned migrant workers-examples from Gou village in Hubei Province (in Chinese)', *Youth Study*, 4.
- Zeng, d. (2014) 'Labour migrants's effects on the age at first marriage: A life course perspective (in Chinese)', *Chinese Journal of Sociology*, 34(5).
- Zeng, Y. (2010) 'Challenges of population aging in China', *China Economic Journal*, 2(3), pp. 277-283.
- Zeng, Y. *et al.* (1994) 'Leaving the Parental Home: Census-based Estimates for China, Japan, South Korea, United States, France, and Sweden', *Population Studies*, 48(1), pp. 65-80.
- Zeng, Y. *et al.* (2016) 'Older Parents Benefit More in Health Outcome From Daughters' Than Sons' Emotional Care in China', *Journal of aging and health*, 28(8), pp. 1426-1447.
- Zeng, Y. and Wang, Z. (2003) 'Dynamics of Family and Elderly Living Arrangements in China: New Lessons Learned from the 2000 Census', *The China Review*, 3(2), pp. 95-119.
- Zeng, Y. and Wu, D. (2000) 'A regional analysis of divorce in China since 1980', *Demography*, 37(2), pp. 215-219.
- Zhan, H.J., Feng, X. and Luo, B. (2008) 'Placing elderly parents in institutions in urban China: A reinterpretation of filial piety', *Research on Aging*, 30(5), pp. 543-571.
- Zhang, H. (2007) 'China's new rural daughters coming of age: Downsizing the family and firing up cash-earning power in the new economy', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 32(3), pp. 671-698.

Bibliography

- Zhang, W. (2009) "'A Married Out Daughter Is Like Spilt Water'?: Women's Increasing Contacts and Enhanced Ties with Their Natal Families in Post-Reform Rural North China', *Modern China*.
- Zhang, W. and Wang, Y. (2010) 'Meal and residence rotation of elderly parents in contemporary rural Northern China', *Journal of cross-cultural gerontology*, 25(3), pp. 217-237.
- Zhao, L. (2006) 'The life course of the first One-child parent's generation in urban China: a study of mid-life empty nest families (in Chinese)', *Youth Study*, (6), pp. 35-43.
- Zhao, S.H. (1987) *The organizational History of the CCP (in Chinese) [Zhongguo Gongchandang Zuzhishi Gongyao]*. Hefei, China: Anhui Renmin Chubanshe.
- Zhao, Y. *et al.* (2013) 'China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study-2011-2012 National Baseline Users' guide'.
- Zhao, Y.H. *et al.* (2014) 'Cohort Profile: The China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study (CHARLS)', *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 43(1), pp. 61-68.
- Zhao, Z. (2000) 'Coresidential patterns in historical China: a simulation study', *Population and Development Review*, 26(2), pp. 263-293.
- Zhou, X. (2004) *The state and life chances in urban China: Redistribution and stratification, 1949-1994*. Cambridge University Press.
- Zhou, X.G. and Hou, L.R. (1999) 'Children of the cultural revolution: The state and the life course in the People's Republic of China', *American Sociological Review*, 64(1), pp. 12-36.
- Zimmer, Z. (2005) 'Health and living arrangement transitions among China's oldest-old', *Research on Aging*, 27(5), pp. 526-555.
- Zimmer, Z. and Kwong, J. (2003) 'Family size and support of older adults in urban and rural China: Current effects and future implications', *Demography*, 40(1), pp. 23-44.
- Zuo, D. *et al.* (2014) 'End-of-Life Family Caregiving for Older Parents in China's Rural Anhui Province', *Canadian Journal on Aging-Revue Canadienne Du Vieillissement*, 33(4), pp. 448-461.