Low-cost leisure and the hysteresis of habitus: an inquiry on elderly leisure in China

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Abstract:	This article investigates into the economic scarcity and social context that have shaped the leisure activities of Chinese elderly consumers through the theory of practice. It aims to demonstrate that elderly in China are less eager to spend money on their leisure and travel activities due to not only present constraints but also a hysteresis of their habitus. A micro-level ethnographic observation and a national survey analysis together would underline how elderly generations grew up under the Maoist period draw the frontier between necessary, desirable and excess consumption. By addressing this matter, this article would challenge the oversimplified justification for a highly potential grey market in China, as well as highlight some key social symptoms in the reform era.

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Introduction

Post-reform China faces the *de facto* impossibility for the society to break away with structural outcomes of past times, a major one being the reversing demographic structure (Kim & Lee, 2007; Riley, 2004). Largely due to the one-child-policy began in the 1980s, China is seeing an unprecedented aging population, even faster than Japan and Western Europe nations (Chen & Powell, 2011; England, 2005). A recent official report warned an annual growth in the elderly population of 7.46 million up to 2040 (Zhang, 2018). At the same time, the central government is making attempt to "activate people's consumption potential" (State Council, 2018), and optimists start to envision future promotion of "full prosperity" (*quanmian xiaokang*) through cultural consumption as a pillar of the economy (Fang et al., 2017). In other words, Chinese people are supposed to reach the stage of exigent consumers not only willing to suffice basic needs (*chi bao chuan nuan*), but also satisfied with cultural development that meets their "spiritual and cultural needs" (Fang et al., 2017). Regarding the attempt of the state to shift economic demand from export sector to domestic consumption, the absence of elderly population in the consumption culture (Miles, 2007) seem to be a concern for researchers, policymakers, and business practitioners. Although researchers have described the present senior market in China as one that is not yet mature (Chan & Zakkour, 2014) or a real marketing challenge (Croll, 2006), many still imagine the possibility to free the elderly population from saving and familial investment, and release their consumption potential (Ying & Yao, 2006; Ma & Zhang, 2011; Chan & Zakkour, 2014; Croll, 2006). Such belief could be deceptively simple all as if the Western idea of "the third age" (Laslett, 1987) presuming a new and fresh stage of life can be accepted by elder consumers in China with little difficulty.

Unlike their parallel generations in Western societies such as baby boomers in the U.S. who had experienced the development of mass consumption society (Gilleard & Higgs, 2009), the present elderly population in China lived through most of their life under a society dominated by collectivist ideology and material scarcity. In analyzing their consumption, as an undervalued alternative to the framework of lifestyle and individual choice, the theory of practice would underline the common social processes generating observable patterns of consumption (Warde, 2005; 2014). In light of these, this article emphasizes the historical and social factors that interfere with the consumption practices of Chinese elderly people. It aims to demonstrate that elderly in China are less eager to spend money on their leisure and travel activities not only due to present status but also a hysteresis of their *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1984). For the present population, past cultural factors and economic scarcity have shaped and supported their parsimonious use of resources. In the first part, the authors will portrait a wealthy retired couple, Mr. Zhang and Ms. Zhu, from urban Northeast China (*dongbei*, 东北) that they have observed for years. In good health, well-insured, more than decent in income and wealth, this couple still feel uncomfortable even with the idea to spend ¥10 for a park entrance ticket. This micro-level ethnographic observation would underline how elderly grew-up under the Maoist period draw the frontier between necessary, desirable and excess consumption. Widening the span of the investigation, the second section will scale the observation of persisted scarce consumption pattern for leisure and travel to a larger population. Applying Mannheim's theory of generations (1970), the authors will try to model how the volume of household consumption for leisure and travel are bonded to a cohort commonality with data from a representative national survey. By addressing this matter, this article would challenge the oversimplified justification for a "grey market" (Gunter, 1998) of high potential in China. Moreover, through analyzing the practices of these elderly who are of the margin to consumer culture, it helps to highlight some key social symptoms inherited from the Maoist period in the reform era.

Leisure practices of a retired couple in urban northeast China

Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu are a retired couple born at the beginning of the 1950s. As more than eighty percent of the Chinese people of their generation did (Lu, 2005: 78), they grew up in the countryside. Until the mid-1970, they

lived in a village of approximately one hundred households in Northeastern China, mainly living from corn and sorgo cultivation. However, Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu experienced a quite fortunate social promotion since they were able to leave the countryside. During the Cultural Revolution, Mr. Zhang was enrolled in the Army where he succeeds at becoming a Sargent. The Army also provided him a technical training and a generous placement after his years of service. Therefore, when Mr. Zhang retired from the Army at the beginning of the 1980s, he was able to manage a position in a university in the strategic department of "procurement". This situation enabled them have bought four apartments thanks to the discount offered by Mr. Zhang's working unit for three of them[1]. Therefore, Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu whose cumulate real estate properties value reach ¥ 2 million in 2018. His wife worked as an employee in a state-run before she was able at the beginning of the 2000s to contribute to operating a sportswear shop with her son. Having changed their rural resident status for an urban one, they have benefited from a steady and comfortable income for years. Earning ¥ 10,000 per month, their situation is quite comfortable compared with their neighborhood and given the low cost of living there. In this city, most of their relative cannot earn ¥ 2,000 a month, whereas many elderly in rural area still depend on their children's earning for living[2] (Davis Deborah, 1983; Fang et al., 2012). To this extent, Zhang's family fully enjoyed the fruit of the Chinese economic miracle. With the many layoffs in the heavy industry sector, a local official reported a 20% unemployment rate. Fortunately, for Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu, their only child left does not need their financial support. She works as a middle management employee and earns more than her parents do together. To this extent, Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu are objectively in a materially resourceful condition, which supposedly enables them to spend time and money in modern shopping malls facing their residential area. They could also, for example, eventually travel during the cold winter of northeastern China.

However, Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu have embraced a very different lifestyle. Although Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu don't have the same way of leisure as before they retired, the pattern of spending limitation and saving maximization is still the main preoccupation that affects their leisure choices. They are still spending a very little portion of their regular income and keep re-investing. According to them, one-fifth of their monthly pension is sufficient to cover their spending. Mr. Zhang has never stopped to work since he officially retired at the age of 55. Like many men having reached a relatively high position in the hierarchy as vice-secretary (*fu shuji*)[3], he felt very empty after retiring. Since the many visits and presents he was used to receiving stop inflow (Yang, 1989), he felt himself "unnecessary" and "having nothing to do". Getting prepared for technician certification and obtaining a driving license to work again was a good perspective for him. Therefore, his leisure time and activities are quite limited by his work and transportation time. Mr. Zhang's main leisure consists of reading news and keeping contact with his "brothers in arms" and family members through Wechat (*weixin*). He walks after lunch and talks with the neighborhood on the "people's place" where Mrs. Zhu likes to dance. He also likes watching the news on CCTV-13 and local TV when eating peanuts, sunflower grain, and fruits after dinner. Mrs. Zhu who is in charge of cooking, housekeeping and buying vegetables on the open-air "morning market" has developed other kind of hobbies. Almost for every day, she is joining an amateur cycling group which is riding 70-130 mins per trip. Even though one of their members died of a heart attack during summer 2018, and even though Mrs. Zhu broke her leg after a fall, she is still continuing to ride to "keep fit" and avoid loneliness.

One day in August 2018, their daughter was preparing to leave the old couple's home after a two-week visit. Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu had prepared a ¥10,000 gift equivalent to their monthly earning for their daughter. In such a

[1] To be more precise, the working unit of Mr. Zhang appointed a real estate company to construct for a fair price some apartment for the specific use of their staff members.
[2] In 2005, 45.4% of the urban residents over age 60 reported pension income as their primary source of earning. The same figure was about 4.6% for rural elderly.
[3] According to the China Health and Retirement Longitudinal Study 2008, 45% of the urban men aged from 60 to 64 were still working at least one hour per week in 2008.

situation, as usual, their daughter encouraged them to keep the money for themselves, suggesting they can travel to Mongolian valley or relax in hot spring for a few days. The answer from Mrs. Zhu was quite straightforward: "You know that we don't know how to spend this money. Spending this money like this is as heartbreaking for us. It doesn't please us. You know how to make good use of that, and you can travel "yangyang" (their grandson) and entertain (*wan*) yourself. We only know how to earn money. You know last time we went to Zhangjiajie, everything was expensive and your father definitely didn't know how to entertain. We are happy to give you that because we just cannot use it."

The arguments developed by Mrs. Zhu to convince her daughter cannot be seen as pure rhetoric invention, which deserves further attention. When they are visiting their daughter in southern China Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu usually would accept to visit parks and museums, once they know the visit is free of charge. Declining activities not completely free of charge not only limited spending of their daughter and son-in-law but also gives Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu more satisfaction than any activity. When they were visiting their daughter, they rode forty kilometers per day only for buying cheap vegetables in a suburb open-air market. Like many retired people of their generation (Li, Shi, and Wu, 2015: 440), they would feel proud to make such cost-efficient deal on open-air vegetable and meat market during the closure discount as well. In other words, factors such as time cost, bodily labor, and the quality of goods rarely outperform their logic of saving the most money deeply rooted in their daily consumption. However, they do not present this kind of activity as a "deprivation" but as inherent to their social identity. Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu still like to reaffirm their capacity to live like "ordinary people" (*putong laobai xing*) and able to embody a simple life, also acting all as if with a virtue of satisfying themselves with a few things and sacrificing themselves for the welfare of their offspring. To this extent, their leisure consumptions and probably all spending even related to basic needs such as dressing and eating, are patterned by the feeling to make the best deed when restricting themselves.

Indeed, Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu's are both saving for and saving also thanks to the younger generation. The discourse of Mrs. Zhu needs to be also put in the perspective of the gift/counter-gift economy between elderly and the younger generation in Chinese society which is deeply patterned by filial piety as the moral obligation for old age support (Whyte 2004). Indeed, those gifts are made to strengthen the generational solidarity between younger needing their parents' support for childcare and investments, and elderly waiting for their future care (Wang et al., 2009). In the case of Mrs. Zhu's daughter, the gifts proposed by parents are usually refused on the ground of the elderly's already done efforts. Their daughter and son-in-law have bought their two flat TV-screens, their two mobile phones, as well as a foot massage machine and most of their more expensive and better-quality clothes (cashmere). Although Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu protested at each new gift, they were actually quite happy to eventually accept and use them, enjoying telling to their visitors that their child offered those gifts. More than consumable goodies, those gifts are symbols of their successful transmission of filial piety, which in return, saving them for spending on those items. To this extent, concerning Miles (2007)'s observation that consumer culture might become a barrier between the old and the new, such operations suggest that in turn, the generations are adopting active practices through the form of a gift to integrate consumption into their familial relationship. This operation brings elderly from outsider to a position in the margin, where they are able to enjoy the products consumer culture but without tasting the guilt pain of pulling money off their own pockets. As such, Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu can further embrace their identity of deserving ordinary people and devoted parents built on the ruin of the socialist man having bodily experienced deprivation time of scarcity (Farquar, 2002: 54). In other words, their parsimonious consumption pattern incorporated during the traumatic period of the "great famine" (Dikötter, 2010) and during the Cultural Revolution is able to persist in spite of their enrichment and thanks to the gift/counter-gift economy between elderly and the younger generation.

Modelling consumptions of elderly generations in urban China

Analyzing to what extent Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu's scarcity leisure and travel consumption objectively relate to

a larger population with a shared pattern, this part contextualizes the elderly population with the concept of generations. Previous work such as that of Suzman and colleagues (1992) and Le (2015) characterized age as a life-cycle factor and emphasized on biological features of particular periods that affect consumption, especially on healthcare. These works understand age as an indicator on biological cycle of human reproduction, a turing point to enter later life such as "over 65 years old" suggested by United Nations[4] and "over 60 years old" in Chinese law[5], or any other positivist breakpoints (such as Comte, 1908). On contrary to these purely objective and mechanical criteria (Bonnin, 2006), this part understands age and elderly as Karl Mannheim (1970) framed, through radical social changes that defines them as a "community of location". Although many scholars who have written on the issue of generations in China referring to Mannheim's work paid only lip service (Bonnin, 2006), the elderly population in China indeed fits into its theoretical presumptions. Particularly, contrast could be drawn from the comparison with Gilleard and Higgs (2009)'s work which also used generation theory from Mannheim to analyze baby boomers in the U.S. Their analysis relates their consumption lifestyle to the development of mass consumption society and cultural transformation in the 1960s. At the same time, what their parallel population in urban China underwent was a series of nationwide disruptions including war, revolution, and famines. Practically, these shared experiences constitute their "participation in the common destiny of the historical and social unit" (Mannheim, 1970). Moreover, within this common participation, a social bond would define the actuality of the generation, which is created by their exposure to the "social and intellectual symptoms of a process of dynamic de-stabilization" (Mannheim, 1970) in China's transitional times. This argument will be contextualized later in this section by a recall of the bodily experience of Mr. Zhang and Ms. Zhu to interpret our result.

Concerning the empirical ground of our findings, we use data from 2014 wave of China Family Panel Studies (CFPS), a nearly nationwide[6], comprehensive, and longitudinal social survey (Xie & Hu, 2014). Here a focus is put to the 6,614 urban households, especially elderly households in the population. One reason of such focus is a significant difference in leisure activities found between rural and urban elderly population (Su et al., 2006) putting the comparability between them into concern, another would be the ability of rural population consumption data to tell the story. As a large part of the rural area still has not entered market economy, it could be difficult to measure the economic activities by monetary value, which is also suggested by Zhang and Wu (2008) who underlined a phenomenon of zero-consumption in the countryside.

A linear regression will model the consumptions on leisure and travel in urban China in 2014. which has been adjusted for provincial gaps in purchase power[7]. Among the set of independent variables included, the primary variable of interest would be age, as an indicator of generations. Our model controls variables suggested by other researches to have an impact on elderly leisure consumption. These include income and property value as a representation of wealth; and diploma, as Ma and colleagues (2004) suggests, influential as a representation of cultural capital as well. Occupational social economic status before retirement also matters (Ma et al., 2004; Li et al., 2017). Here we simplified an occupational scheme specified in Lu (2005) into three categorical groups in order not to divide the sample too much in the model. Besides individual characteristics, variables such as household size (Chen & Short, 2008) which associates with living arrangements of the elderly, are taken as well. Social welfare factors such as medical insurance and pension received (Ma & Zhang, 2001) are put into control. In addition, daily expenses are added to control the *ceteris paribus* condition. Last but not least, it would be necessary to clarify on not including the seasonal differentiation in elderly consumption claimed by some researchers (Zheng et al., 2004). First, the seasonality effect in elderly consumption is still in debate with contradictory findings (Sun et al., 2001; Robinson,

[4] "WHO | Definition of an older or elderly person". Who.int. Retrieved 2016-04-04.
[5] Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Elderly.
[6] The population of 25 provinces covered in CFPS represents 94.5 percent of total population in Mainland China (Xie & Hu, 2014).
[7] We use provincial GDP per capita to adjust the level of consumption to approximate that of the purchasing power.

1997). With most Chinese social surveys collecting data annually or every two years, the seasonality would be assumed to be neglected or at least co-variating with the younger consumers. The summary statistics of all relevant variables are given in Table 1, and the result of the OLS model is given by Table 2.

In model 1, for people between ages 53 and 65 in 2014, they spend 31.7% lower than those below age 53, controlling their status in income, occupation, diploma, as well as other conditions. For people older than 65, the gap eventually enlarges to 58.9%, showing that in the *ceteris paribus* condition such a household will spend only less than half compared with a younger counterpart. Such a huge difference cannot be only attributed to spending patterns in different stages of the life-cycle. Indeed, our model has controlled elements relating to life-cycle differences such as the medical expenses which are more likely to increase at the old age, and real estate ownership as well. It remains impossible to net life cycle factors out of generational differences as the transition towards consumption society took place in the middle of their life, and no survey long enough in time span had been established in China[8]. The comparison across many influence comparability of some variables such as diploma and occupation, but will not call into question the huge generational gap on consumption. In early times a higher diploma was less common before the higher education massification in the late 20th century and a blue- or white-collar job was rarer. Given this, an elderly household with *ceteris paribus* condition is supposed to be better off compared with a younger household, while actually, the consumption of such an elderly family is still far below the level of its younger counterpart. Taking these factors into consideration, the models still show well how large the gap between generations in consumption could be measured in its volume.

Contrary to the life-cycle claims, the many discussions the authors hold with elderly such as Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu invite to underline the importance of the bodily experience during the "great famine" (1958-1962) on their consumption behavior. Almost every time we had the opportunity to discuss the memory of his childhood with Mr. Zhang when drinking "rice alcohol (*bai jiu*)", Mr. Zhang always mentioned his painful experience of hunger. He explained several times that he ate tree leaves to survive and even saw people feeding themselves with mud to reduce hunger. Having lost a younger sister during those years, he likes to mention that he is enjoying his present situation in which he can "feed well and dress with warm clothes" (*chi de bao, chuan de nuan*). For him, it seems that the experience of famine and scarcity leads to a great satisfaction on the present basic resource, but at the same time constant and underlying worry about the future material needs. Therefore, in his words, other kinds of consumptions, therefore, become "unnecessary" and "guilty".

Mrs. Zhu's memory of this hard time is also deep, while it leads to a quite different attitude in practice. When Mr. Zhang started to discuss the years of hunger with guests or family members, Mrs. Zhu always tried to interrupt him, sometimes quite straightforwardly. She often reproaches her husband that he "does not have another topic of discussion". Mrs. Zhu's family was fortunate enough not to lose any member, but Mrs. Zhu still suffered a lot for hunger compared with her surroundings. Similar to the Jewish people have survived the Shoah and who didn't want to discuss their painful experiences outside of the victim's circle (Lapierre, 1989), she tries to keep for herself her past suffers. More specifically, when the canteens were closed after the famine, Mrs. Zhu's alimentation was sacrificed for the benefits of her older and younger brothers. This constitutes a stable environment of experience through which she acquires a specific *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1984), or "structured structuring structure" that avoids hedonist consumptions. Her sense of sacrifice for family members and willingness to earn money by herself was therefore habituated.

Even though Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu's experience of scarcity and deprivation are not exactly the same, they resulted from a more general socio-historical context which can be further objectivized through quantitative analysis.

[8] Surveys which are well designed and implemented appear mostly began in recent times after 2000.

Indeed, our model 1 is showing that the leisure and traveling expenditure of Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu's generation (aging 53-65) are still larger than those of the previous generation (above 65) are. Here, aging 65 at 2014 seem to be a division point, which was tested by further dividing subgroups. In model 2, 30.9% (less than the younger generation) for people in 53 to 60 and 36% for people between 61 and 65 seem not so numerically different. Similarly, 62.9% less for people at 66 to 870 and 57.2% for people above 70 seem to generate little difference as well. On the contrary, the largest gap still falls between people of 61 to 65 (36% less) and people of 66 to 70 (62.9% less). To this extent, the age 65 is not meant to be exact, but it may indeed act as "a breaking point between two radically different and closely related groups" (Mead, 1970) by demonstrating its statistical magnitude. It divides the elderly population into two generations in this sense: elderly population born after 1949 and before 1949.

For people born after 1949 and before 1961, they might belong to the same "generation unit" (Mannheim, 1970) in that most, if not all of them have experienced the nationwide great famine (Dikötter, 2010) which started in 1958. During the period, they are at their infancy or childhood, suffering from extreme food shortage. Besides, categorized as the cultural revolution generation (born between 1947 and 1960) proposed by Bonnin (2006), this generation had grown up in restless and increasingly destructive political movements, peaking at the cultural revolution (1966-1976) during which they had no access to higher education due to the nationwide hiatus of the school system. At the same time, the communist regime and socialist movements which includes a dualist system of thought, aesthetics of slogan, and gestures have shaped the generation with a unified mentality. For example, Lei Feng as a national role model of moral education initiated in 1963 (Geist, 1990; Reed, 1995) has contributed to a shared cultural memory, whose virtues are still officially promoted until today (Steen, 2014). As Mannheim (1970) asserted, "From the casual slogan to a reasoned system of thought, from the apparently isolated gesture to the finished work of art, the same formative tendency is often at work-the social importance of which lies in its power to bind individuals socially together."

Elderly people born before 1949 are even more frugal in consumption in our data. Apart from famine and a longer period of material scarcity, the bodily experience of war is unique to the extent that none of their posterities had undergone. They are mostly born after 1937 when the Sino-Japanese war began, which marks the starting point of long wartime period in Chinese history. Besides incalculable devastation of property and material scarcity, they also witnessed large migration and unrest which led to a separation with families (Eastman, 1991). The end of the Sino-Japanese war was followed by an explicit conflict between two ruling political parties, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Nationalist Party or Kuomintang (Pepper, 1991). It eventually turned into a civil war that continues social unrest, as described by Chun (1950) during that time. The time that the nation had been explicit in war status added up to nearly 10 years. To this extent, this generation was longer exposed to these social contexts in their previous stage of social life, which contributes to a "hysteresis of habitus" consisting of their particular way of thinking, acting and feeling acquired, i.e., to adopt scarce consumption and to be concerned about their material subsistence or surviving.

Conclusion and discussion

The proverb from Passeron (2013), that "people aren't changing ideology like they change their shirt", can be verified on the ground of elderly consumption, and more particularly for their leisure and entertainment spending. At the end of this analysis, we have demonstrated that elderly' *habitus*, patterned by the scarcity and mentality of their young age, still incline them to spend a few amounts of money on their travel, leisure and to please themselves through "guilty pleasures" (Rolandson, 2011). Consistent with Carp (1990)'s finding, such lifestyle does not completely confirm the Chinese traditional ideology of "enjoying comfortable happiness (*xiang qin fu*)" which literally means enjoying the fortune of doing nothing (Thang, 2005). Moreover, this phenomenon which has been also observed in other "post-socialist" societies (such as Chelcea, 2002) seems even more obvious in China.

During the past decades, China has transitioned from a communist regime to a "capitalism with Chinese characteristics" (Huang, 2008), and the market shift has created a sphere of consumption in the urban area (Davis,

2000). Unlike their previous generation who confronted the socialist institutions and pre-communist society (Davis-Friedman, 1983), the current elderly generation experienced, in addition, this rapid social transformation. Nevertheless, the land of mass consumption is less opened to the elderly population as many have noted (Li & Zhang, 2004; Ma et al., 2004; Miles, 2007). Coming to an age when the choice of leisure is transferred from political authorities to the individual-as-consumer, they experienced a radical break in social life with the former Maoist organization, which challenges their previously established *status quo* of values and habits (Miles, 2007). At a later stage in their life course, the leisure choices of the Chinese elderly, as "a prosaic autonomy" (Rojek et al., 2006), are still influenced by social, cultural, political and economic vagaries in their historical paths.

These elderly people are able to cross over the margin of consumer culture to some extent by integrating it into their intergenerational contract. Mr. Zhang and Mrs. Zhu are more easily accepting to put on the clothes bought by their daughter than to plan expensive trips for themselves. However, as many people from their generation do, they just cannot ease themselves from the traumatic experience of hunger, which is entirely structuring their tastes, preferences, and perception of necessary and unnecessary spending. To paraphrase Marx (2011), "*Le mort saisit le vif*" (the dead seizes the living), the incorporated feeling and reflex from the Maoist society still conflicts with the value of the consumer society. Moreover, the necessity of intergenerational solidarity, traditional Confucian ethics, low welfare development, and the cost of apartment buying or child education, are further incentives for the elderly to save as much as they can. Described by Croll (2006) as a "battle-weary" generation doing all they can to hang on to their money, the elderly generation is still generally very modest in consumption (Li et al., 2004) and selflessly sacrifice personal wealth and future security to support their offspring. In an aging society where the state attempts to stimulate domestic demand, these generations of elderly people constitute a challenge. Inherited from the socialist era, their values and practices remain activated in the present social context, and potentially in the later course of their life in the future.

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Table 1.

Descriptive statistics of modeled variables. By generations and in total.

Generation group	Non-elder (after 1962)		53-65 (1949-1961)		above 65 (before 1949)		Total	
	Mean	St.d	Mean	St.d	Mean	St.d	Mean	St.d
Consumption on leisure (¥)	5856	9468	3851	7614	2870	6257	4881	8669
Age	39	9	59	3	73	6	49	15
Household size	3.4	1.5	3.4	1.6	2.9	1.6	3.3	1.5
Household income (¥10,000)	7.0	12.2	8.1	26.0	5.8	12.4	7.1	16.5
Real estate ownership value (¥10,000)	110	1003	91	439	82	371	101	813
Daily expenses (%)	10.1	13.3	8.2	11.3	6.3	9.0	9.0	12.3
	Percentage		Percentage		Percentage		Percentage	
% with urban hukou status	48%		59%		66%		53%	
% receiving medical welfare	29%		35%		44%		32%	
% receiving pension	10%		54%		88%		48%	
% male householder	46%		48%		54%		48%	
Occupational status								
agricultural workers	14%		41%		67%		22%	
Subordinated manual and empl.	58%		37%		20%		52%	
Subordinated intellectuals	23%		19%		12%		21%	
Ruling positions	5%		3%		1%		4%	
Highest diploma								
middle school and below	60%		74%		82%		67%	
High-school	22%		21%		12%		20%	
Voc. College	10%		4%		3%		7%	
Bachelor and ab.	8%		1%		3%		6%	
N	3989		1498		1051		6538	

Notes: Consumptions are adjusted according to provincial GDP per capita in 2014.

Source: CFPS2014.

Table 2.

Generational gap on leisure and appearance consumption of urban elder households (2014).

Dependent variable: log [(entertainment and appearance (¥) + 1]	**Model 1**	**Model 2**
Age (non-elder born after 1962, experienced no famine/revolution [omitted])		
53-65: Born under communist regime, the cultural revolution generation (1949-1961)	-0.317***	
	(0.083)	
above 65: Experienced with wars (before 1949)	-0.589***	
	(0.158)	
Age (below 53 and born after 1962 [omitted])		
53-60 (1954-1961)		-0.309***
		(0.085)
61-65 (1949-1954)		-0.360**
		(0.144)
66-70 (1945-1949)		-0.629***
		(0.189)
above 70: (before 1945)		-0.572**
		(0.229)
Household size	0.280***	0.281***
	(0.024)	(0.024)
Household income	0.00000***	0.00000***
	(0.00000)	(0.00000)
Real estate ownership value (¥)	0.001*	0.001*
	(0.0004)	(0.0004)
Socio-economic status (agricultural workers [omitted])		
Subordinated manual and empl.	0.416***	0.416***
	(0.092)	(0.092)
Subordinated intellectuals	0.479***	0.480***
	(0.132)	(0.132)
Ruling positions	0.986***	0.987***
	(0.206)	(0.206)
Highest diploma (middle school and below [omitted])		
High-school	0.360***	0.355***
	(0.097)	(0.098)
Voc. College	0.824***	0.822***
	(0.168)	(0.169)
Bachelor and ab.	0.849***	0.849***
	(0.229)	(0.229)
Hukou Status (rural *hukou* [omitted])		
Urban *hukou*	0.167*	0.164*
	(0.096)	(0.096)

Medical welfare (not receiving [omitted])		
Reivicing some	0.346***	0.344***
	(0.106)	(0.106)
Pension (not receiving [omitted])		
Reivicing some	-0.052	-0.032
	(0.096)	(0.110)
Daily expenses (%)	0.00001***	0.00001***
	(0.00000)	(0.00000)
Gender (Female [omitted])	-0.063	-0.060
	(0.072)	(0.073)
Constant	6.000***	5.999***
	(0.123)	(0.123)
N	1,507	1,507
R-squared	0.289	0.289
Adjusted R-squared	0.281	0.280
Residual Std. Error	1.345 (df = 1490)	1.345 (df = 1488)
F Statistic	37.763*** (df = 16; 1490)	33.537*** (df = 18; 1488)
P-value of Breusch-Pagan test of heteroskedasticity	0.1912 (df = 16)	0.2266 (df=18)

*Notes: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Standard errors in parentheses.*

Sources: CFPS 2014.