

**The Ethic of Conviction and Women's Participation of  
Elderly Care in Rural Families  
-----An Analysis Based on the Data from Field Research  
Carried out in a Rural Area Named Wentsing of China**

Shuqin Li (lishuqin33@163.com)  
Japanese studies center, Beijing Foreign Studies University

**Abstract:** Since elderly care is concerned as a social problem by society, a number of researches about elderly care have been conducted. Who cares for elderly forms focus of debate. Most of the researches are from the perspective of considering elders as object but not subject. In other words, it presupposes the elders' passivity in elderly care because of their recipient status. However, elderly people's attitudes absolutely affects actions of elderly care and the operation of family's care function. In order to canvass the influence of elderly people's attitudes to the elderly care conducted by family, I approach a field research in a rural area of China. I define the attitudes that elderly people hold as the ethic of conviction which is specified by Max Weber in his speech, "Politics as a Vocation". It prompts the elderly people to take value-rational social action without calculation of consequences under the backdrop of deep belief in their conviction without any dubiousness at all. They take their action for granted on the basis of the ethic of conviction. Consequently, the aged parents incline to take constant care of their offspring instead of being taken cared by their descendants. They feel endless responsibilities for their children even if they haven't obtained statutory feeding-back from their adult children. Instead of being cared for, most of them undertake the responsibility of bringing up their grandchildren and consider it as their obligation. Viewing from gender, only approximately half of child-generation women take part in elderly care in this rural district. To some extent, the harsh situation the elderly people are faced with is greatly related to their ethic of conviction.

**Key words:** ethic of conviction, elderly care, inter-relationship, value-rational, consequence.

## **1 Introduction**

Aging problem in China has become a pronounced social problem in recent years. The population in 2010 has reached about 1.33 billion, containing about 110 million old elders who were above 65 years old.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, the aging population rate has reached 9 percent. On the other hand, the rural total population had reached about 660 million containing about 66 million aging population. The rural aging population rate has astonishingly reached 10 percent in China. A concept extensively prevalent in China is that even though living on limited revenues, the rural elders can be taken cared by their offspring, namely "feeding-back" mode stated by Hsiaotung Fei in 1983.<sup>2</sup> To discriminate from the western mode of elderly care, he writes that the Chinese mode is a "feeding-back" mode based on the traditional consciousness of "hsiao"<sup>3</sup> to parents. To repay parents' nourishing favor, when they grow up, they're to take care of their elder and feeble parents based on moral obligations. However, in recent years, a number of researches revealed that the

inter-generational relationship has been increasingly loosing. At worst, the elderly people could not endure offspring's apathy and decided to commit suicide to make a end of his or her whole life.<sup>4</sup> If according to Fei's theory, the reason of young generation's absence of participation in elderly care could be attributed to the collision of "hsiao". However, it is a cultural perspective.

In previous researches, there is an obvious appearance that the elderly people are all in desperate need of being taken cared. Basing on this presupposition, the majority of scholars conduct their researches from the perspective of regarding the elders as object, rather than the one of regarding the elders as subject. Numerous researches are teeming with the topics regarding the construction of the mechanism of the elderly care in rural districts and rural old-age pension insurance system. Introduction of endowment insurance, construction of rural communities, the government's role in elderly care and the family model of caring for the aged are intensively debated in previous researches. However, the elders' attitudes in elderly care is neglected. Why do we have to discuss the elderly people's attitude before discussing the construction of mechanism of elderly care? Because the elderly people are the terminal subject in this program. Obviously, if the elders refuse to be taken cared by some of their offspring in the backdrop of loosing inter-generational relationship, family's devotion to alleged elderly care could hardly be fulfilled. Therefore, this paper is to focus on the elder people's attitude in elderly care which will be defined as "the ethic of conviction" and debate its effects on rural young generation women's participation in elderly care.

Viewing elderly care issue from the elders' subject perspective is not innovated by me, it is first raised by Shanhua Yung<sup>5</sup>. He quotes Max Weber's "the ethic of responsibility" theory in his field research conducted in Beijing urban districts. He insists that the elder people's ethic of responsibility made them be more voluntary to take care of their offspring but not being taken cared by them. The responsibility the elderly people perceive accelerates the degradation of the family's function of elderly care.<sup>6</sup>

In Yung's research, he underscores the urban elderly people's content with their living situations based on "the ethic of responsibility" without discussing their reactions of being faced with the outcomes of not being fed back by their offspring at all, such as no mental consolation or no economic support from their offspring at all. At worst, are they able to endure the long-lasting indifference of their offspring? What are the elderly people's reactions to this situation? But all of those questions haven't been discussed in Yung's research. The ethic of responsibility is dramatically possible to be challenged by unexpected consequence, such as long-term indifference or abuse from the offspring. Virtually, Weber's theory about the ethic of responsibility is related to calculation of consequence. The ethic of responsibility is not only about responsibility but also about calculations of consequence.

## **2 The ethic of conviction and the ethic of responsibility**

### **2-1. Two ethics and consequences**

"The ethic of conviction" and "the ethic of responsibility" are a couple of ethical worldviews stated by Max Weber. They are noted in a speech named "Politics as a vocation" in 1919 and the speech is later be published as an essay. Weber writes that "We must be clear about the fact that all ethically oriented conduct may be guided by one of two fundamentally differing

and irreconcilably opposed maxims: conduct can be oriented to an ethic of conviction or to an ethic of responsibility".<sup>7</sup> It leaves us with a straightforward impression that the two ethics are irreconcilable. However, toward the end of the essay, contrarily, two ethics are not polar alternatives at all: " an ethic of conviction and an ethic of responsibility are not absolute contrasts but rather supplements."<sup>8</sup> What does that mean? If they supplement each other, it means the actor who believe in ethic of conviction also has related responsibility for his rational social action. Yet, in this essay, Weber insists that " The believer in an ethic of conviction feels 'responsibility' only for seeing to it that the flame of pure intentions is not quenched: for example, the flame of protesting against the injustice of the social order".<sup>9</sup> Just as Weber said the absolute ethic does not ask for consequences.<sup>10</sup> Virtually, two ethics are related to two types of rational social action mentioned by Weber in his work, *Economy and Society*, value-rational and instrumental-rational action. According to Weber's statement in "Politics as a Vocation", it could be speculated that the ethic of conviction is leading to value-rational action without calculation and choice of means. Their social action is not oriented to effective achievements. And the agent's act begins and ends in accordance with obedience to the given values. Because the ethic of conviction presupposes the reality that the values are hierarchically ordered without conflicts of duties. As Bradley E. Starr points out that, "Both types of rational social action are present in both ethics. The ethic of conviction recognizes a given hierarchy of values as the context for moral endeavor. The ethic of responsibility acknowledges value obligations, but assumes the absence of any given hierarchy of values and the inevitability of value conflict as the context for moral endeavor."<sup>11</sup> As a result, the consequences of action are left out of the deliberative process. Contrarily, the agent who believe in ethic of responsibility tend to be aware of balancing values conflicts and combining consistency in efficiency and consistency with values. <sup>12</sup> In other words, the consequence of the action is certainly taken into consideration in the process, and the conduct is oriented to the most efficient set of ends, means, and results. That's why Weber appraise the ethic of responsibility toward the end of "Politics as a Vocation", " It is immensely moving when a mature man is aware of a responsibility for the consequences of his conduct and really feels such responsibility with heart and soul.....That is something genuinely human and moving." <sup>13</sup> Therefore, value-rational oriented actors is drastically possible to take irrational action leading to irrational consequence which are not previously calculated at all. The ethic of conviction believers tend to take this type of rational social action. They will be frustrated by the consequence and efficiency but not perplexed by the values they absolutely obey to.

## 2-2. Rural elderly people's ethic of conviction

If viewing from the perspective of ethic of responsibility, not only value-rational and instrumental-rational social action but also the value conflicts the elderly people will encounter in the process of offspring's absence of participation in elderly care should have been debated in Yung's research. More importantly, the consequence of their alleged rational action, exactly consequences of offspring's absence of participation in elderly care, also need to be discussed and

supported by related evidence. Yet, Yung only emphasizes that the responsibility of elderly people perceive in Beijing is prevalent which makes them prefer to care for themselves rather than be taken cared by offspring and does not analyze the consequence of it and the value conflict in the process of it. That's the deficiency in his research. On the other hand, if we attribute the young-generation's absence of participation in elderly care to the elder's ethic of responsibility, it implies that all of the prospective consequences they encounter have already calculated before their moral deliberation and it should be interpreted that the elderly people's social action is effective. However, as a lot of evidence shows that not all of the consequences elders encounter are endurable and effective in rural areas. And the value conflicts in the alleged "ethic of responsibility" of elder generation are subtle just as Yung states, all they can feel is the responsibility for their children. On this basis, I will attribute it to the ethic of conviction but not the one of responsibility.

The ethic of conviction the traditional Chinese parents hold could be defined as a conviction that they must maintain consanguineous descendants incessant. Having offspring is a significant glory and inevitable obligation as for elderly people. Therefore, a given hierarchy of values embodies having offspring and make best efforts to satisfy the offspring's needs unconditionally without enforcing their offspring to care for them when they get old and taking the prospective consequences they'll encounter in future into consideration. That's why the Chinese grandparents are criticized of spoiling grandchildren. As for the offspring's future, what they can do is only to anticipate but not to enforce. If the offspring are full of promise, parents will only consider it as an surprise but not an imperative accomplishment. Therefore, all of the consequences they encounter are out of anticipation. When suffering the indifference or abuse from their offspring, seldom of them are going to charge them even those behaviors conducted by their offspring have violated the related laws. What they can only do is to reap the bad outcomes what they have sown by themselves with misery and sorrowfulness. Because charging offspring means that the descendants will be in danger which is incompatible with the ethic of their conviction. Obviously, they won't take a risk of losing their treasure consanguineous offspring or putting them in danger. In other words, between the two or three generations in China, the parents devote more than do their offspring. Their active devotion to the inter-generation relationships is increasingly taken for granted by their offspring and indirectly induces offspring's passivity of the devotion to take care of their elderly parents. Not to mention caring for aged parents, more and more child-generation tend to demand more from their parents, just like monetary support and raising grandchildren. Viewing from the perspective of gender, the participation of younger female generation in elderly care also can not be deemed as what it has ever been before.

Differing from elderly people in urban districts, the rural elderly people living on a handful of incomes seem to encounter more difficulties than do their counterparts in urban. What are the performances of the rural elderly people's ethics of conviction? What is the consequence of the ethic of conviction in the rural area? And how do their ethics impact on elderly people themselves? In order to canvass these problems, I will conduct a field research in a rural district.

### **3 The data collection and research method**

Endeavoring to approach those related questions, I conduct this field research in a rural area named Wentsing, a village in China. Selecting this area is due to the my acquaintance with it as a hometown. Through methods of interviewing with the people face to face and sampling survey, I

gather the first hand data. Moreover, some of the data is provided by the secretary of the village. Benefiting from a year long time staying at home to prepare my doctoral examination, before doing this research, I have obtained much materials deriving from constantly returning back to hometown and audible materials from fellow-villagers. Once beginning the research, I used several times of my vocations ( from August to November) about 30 days to go to the village to get the data and verify the authenticity of the materials heard from others. Furthermore, the identity made me readily accessible to the materials needed. Additionally, some of the elderly people holding rural household registration were absent, so all the data is primarily based on the present elderly people in the village.

#### **4 Wentsing elderly people's situation**

##### **4-1. The elderly people's economic situation**

Wentsing village is located in southern of Hubei province, in the middle of China, belonging to the subtropical monsoon climate district. The primary agricultural crops are rice and lotus. Some of the households have several acres of lands to plant fruit trees, just like peach, kiwi, pear and so forth, but only as complement financial resources. A few of households keep fish farming as family's pillar industry. Generally, they sell fish to earn money at the end of the lunar year, because pickled fish is an indispensable tasty dish on every family's dining-table during the period of the most important festival of the whole year, namely the spring festival, lasting 15 days. In addition to fish, chicken, pig, duck are the most prevailing livestock in the village. From the perspective of function, they are the same as fish, but the quantity is not as much as fish. Only by these revenues can hardly satisfy the primary expenditure on daily lives, especially for the young generation. The secretary specified that in general family consisted of 4 family members, the annual minimal expenditure is about 30 thousand yuan (5 thousand dollar) including 20 thousand yuan daily expenditure and 10 thousand yuan humanity monetary gift.<sup>14</sup> Certainly, the figure does not contain the expenditure of raising children and medical care. Seldom of young people would like to remain in the village, a majority go to cities to earn much more money. Therefore, elderly people's figures are ubiquitous in village. What they can do is just continuing the farm works to feed on themselves. Meanwhile, more than a half of them undertake the responsibility of raising their juvenile grandchildren.

The total population of Wentsing is 2987, including 373 elderly people above 60 years old. Among these 373 people, 256 people are above 65 years old. The aging population rate has reached 8.5 percent exceeding the standardized 7 percent. The resident elderly people present in the village are 273 people. 100 elderly people are not present, 70 of them are invited by their offspring to raise grandchildren, while 30 of them are being outside for earning money as peasant-workers. Therefore, this field research is conducted based on the present elderly people and local women. According to the secretary, the elderly people's annual incomes per person are approximately 4000 yuan (667 dollars). The incomes derive from four avenues: the incomes of the grain and livestock, money given by offspring and relatives, government rural pension, and subsistence allowance. The subsistence allowance only serve the elderly people who's living situation is under the fundamental living standard level. In author's research, 121 people have the quality to gain the allowance 960 yuan annually per person. The government pension is distributed

to all of the elderly people. According to age, they can get general incomes from 660 yuan to 960 yuan annually. The elderly people who are under 80 are able to receive 660 yuan annually, while the people above 80 can receive more 300 yuan. Besides, the main revenue is from grains or livestock and offspring's economic support. The acre of farmlands are limited with a small-scale scope, so the revenue is comparatively stable with about 2000 yuan. But the monetary support from offspring differs. During author's investigation process, among the 273 people, only 150 people can receive this support. Generally, each adult offspring will give 3000 yuan or 4000 yuan each year to their parents. If an elder has 6 children<sup>15</sup>, the money from their offspring will be far enough for them to expend.

But it seldom realized. Even the 150 people could constantly gain money from their offspring, but not all of their offspring offer to support them. There are 173 elderly households. I selected 20 samples as analysis data. Only 7 households elderly people could get money from all of their offspring. Most of them have to live on their fields and doing the farm work by themselves without their offspring's help. At worst, some elderly people without spouse only have a handful of farmland and could not survive on at all. According to the secretary, 121 elderly people are living on minimum pension from government about 900 yuan annually which is hardly to feed on oneself. An old widow, named Wu, who is 80 years old, having 9 offspring (5 sons and 4 daughters) could hardly receive money from her children. Because of her physical situation, there is no possibility for her to do the farm work. The economic resources are from the savings left by her husband and the government pension. When asked why not request her children to care for her, she answered that her daughters-in-law had an aversion to her, and she didn't want to add more burden to her sons. Even when she got sick this summer, no one of her offspring came to see her except for the last son. I told her that her offspring who did not care for her had breached related laws and she could go to charge them so that she could at least obtain deserved alimony from them. She drastically refused and said in a little bit agitated tone "such a stupid girl, no mother will go to charge her children, I couldn't send my sons to the prison." When I further asked why not go to ask daughters' to provide for her, she answered that daughters had been other families' people already, they had no responsibility to take care of her. She thought she and her daughters had been relatives already but not family relationship. Another similar case was happened on an old man, named LI, who was also 80 years old living with his spouse. Unfortunately, he got cancer. As a normal peasant in Wentsing village, his revenue apparently could hardly afford his treatment. He has 4 sons and 4 daughters, but none of them paid attention to him except for the last son. When I went to visit him, he broke down and wept for his offspring's apathy. He said that he never thought he would be faced with this misery situation. He had ever thought that the more offspring he had the more blessing and felicity he would get in rest of life. However, the present situation thoroughly smashed his dream. Even suggested by author that he had the right to charge them so that he could get the statutory support from them, he waved his hands and rejected this suggestion, just saying that he deserved what he suffered.

#### 4-2. The elderly people's life-style in the village

Living with offspring including child generation and grandchild generation together is always an ideal family image in accordance with traditional Chinese people's perception. "Four generations under one roof" is always complimented by its harmony and flourishing population.

However, it is only an ideal sketch of family. Virtually, a number of families in Wentsing village exist in the form of core family. Among those 273 elderly people, 175 people are living alone and feeding on themselves. Namely, 64 percent of the elderly people in this village are living separately from their offspring. The rest 98 people are living with their offspring together, but half of them manage household chores for their offspring just like cooking and do a load of laundry for them.

Most of these rural elderly people have farm works to do. Seeding, fertilization, reaping and other works concentrating in several months of first half year. A large amount of time of a year they are at leisure. Even if in the busiest season, they also can find interesting leisure activities to do. Chatting with neighbors is a commonplace means of passing time. Moreover, they could find a more boisterous activity to do, namely playing mahjong<sup>16</sup> or being an spectator of watching others playing mahjong. There are 16 mahjong parlors in Wentsing. Each parlor has no less than 8 tables. If the tables have been full, there also remains a number of people besides the table to watch the game. At most, the spectators doubles the players. Virtually, the game is somewhat a gamble with only a small amount of money. The elderly people even gamble much less. Sometimes, the game ends in a draw without any loser. And sometimes, there could be one to three winners. Whether win or lose, the money will not exceed 80 yuan which equals about 4 kilograms pork. Generally, 20 to 30 yuan is the limitation. One could not win or lose all the time, and the players are always identical. Therefore, they don't worry about money they gamble away at all. Because they believe every dog has its day. Mahjong parlor just undertakes the function of providing leisure venue for the elders. The elders are also fond of the venue, because they could find joy in the game and not feel lonely.

Even living on limited incomes, the elderly people's life-styles tend to be identical. Another common phenomena is that the elderly people incline to be fond of raising grandchildren. Except for the 70 people who go to cities to raise grandchildren, among the present 273 elderly people, 189 of them are bring up their grandchildren full time in the village. The grandchildren consist of infants and school age children. Bring up a kid is not an easy task because of the economic and educating pressure. Certainly, an absolutely large number of them do not need to worry about the economic pressure in the context of receiving nurturing fees from their children monthly. According to Chen, who is 68 years old, he gets 1000 yuan monthly from his son to nurture his little grandchild who's only 3 years old. The money given by their offspring can only support the grandchildren's expenditure including milk powder, medical care, snacks, toys and etc. For the sake of grandchildren's growth, the elders tend to give the best ones to them and satisfy all of grandchildren's requirements. The money received from children are always deficient. In this case, they will supplement by themselves. Even though the situation is mentioned as above, the elders also consider raising grandchildren a great glory and obligation. Having grandchildren itself is a significant glory in the village. If someone who has grandchildren but not bringing up them will be criticized by their own children and other fellow villagers. It has become an obligation and consensus.

## **5 Women's participation in elderly care**

The young generation women's participation in elderly care is far less than what we have ever speculated. Chinese women are usually considered "virtuous wives and benign mothers",

which means the women in family undertake the main responsibility of caring for the elders. However, as what we have mentioned above, the elderly people care for themselves more than do their daughters or daughters-in-law. Generally, they have their own life-styles just like playing mahjong, chatting with neighbors, and so forth. Only in some important festivals in a year, spring festival<sup>17</sup> or Tsingming festival<sup>18</sup> alike, can they meet their daughters or daughters-in-law. When I asked the elders whether they want daughters or daughters-in-law to care for their daily lives, 156 people answered no. A majority thought that it was inconvenient to live with them because of the living habits. At the same time, they wouldn't like to become a burden on their offspring. On the other hand, if they get sick, they would like to be cared for by their daughters and daughters-in-law. More than a half of them tended to be cared for by daughters-in-law. Because they thought daughter is son-in-law's family's members while daughter-in-law is the one of his/her own family's. However, the reality is less than satisfactory. Among 173 elderly households, I chose 20 households which have 24 elderly people in total to conduct the research of women's participation in elderly care. The behavior of caring for elders contains two aspects: economic support and daily care. According to this rule, the statistics regarding the child-generation women's participation situation in elderly care in each household was shown as the tables below.

Table 1

women's participation rate offspring's gender component	daughters-in-law	daughters
no daughter but sons	3/4	0/4
no son but daughters	0/2	2/2
both sons and daughters	8/14	7/14

Table 2

Women's absence of participation rate offspring's gender component	daughters-in-law	daughters
no daughter but sons	1/4	0/4
no son but daughters	0/2	0/2
both sons and daughters	9/14	8/14

Among the 20 households, 6 households' gender component of offspring is imbalance. The others have several sons and several daughters. There was an pronounced appearance that not every daughter or every daughter-in-law took part in elderly care. As a result, the participation rate and absence of participation rate is not exactly one. If we calculate the daughters' and daughters-in-law' participation rate in elderly care, it is separately 56.3 percent and 61.1 percent. Additionally, the absence of participation rate is separately 50 percent and 55.6 percent. Except for that, among the 24 elderly people, 11 elderly people have the experience of being insulted by their daughters-in-law.

## 6 Conclusion

The feeding back mode of caring for elderly people pointed out by Chinese sociologist Hsiaotung Fei exactly exists in a number of families. Yet, it should not be concluded as Chinese pattern. As mentioned above, no less than half of elderly people in Wentsing are self-reliance without being taken cared by their offspring at all. It indicates that the traditional function of



caring for elders by family could not be counted on.

Asian women, especially Chinese women figures are always labeled as “virtuous wives and benign mothers”. It contains two types of responsibilities, namely nursing children and assisting husbands. Additionally, it also recognizes women’s role in elderly care. However, whether take care of aged parents or not is not the standardized virtue as a housewife. Instead of it, carrying on the family line indicates a more significant glory for them. As the proverb said, “mother is honored by descendants”, the ethic of conviction within family significantly affects the women’s conduct. It also impacts their participation in elderly care.

Generally, the degradation of the family’s function of caring for elders may be attributed to industrialization and urbanization. But, the subject of elderly care, namely the elderly people’s attitude is also an significant factor which should not be ignored. In this paper, I define it as the elderly people’s ethic of conviction, but not the ethic of responsibility, quoting Weber’s notion first published in his speech named “Politics as a Vocation”. The ethic of conviction differs from the ethic of responsibility. The former is value-rational social action which is based on a given hierarchy of values without taking consequences into consideration. When encountering surprising outcomes, only can they regret and be mute. In Wentsing, the given hierarchy of values is just maintaining offspring incessant. The parent-generation tend to devote more to their offspring than do their offspring. Because of their ethic of conviction, the elderly people apparently incline to take more irrational social action, just like not asking for statutory economic support from offspring and even keeping silence when getting abuse from their daughters-in-law. Their activity indirectly leads to offspring’s passivity of feeding back to them. Even if not being taken cared by their offspring or getting apathy, insult alike from their offspring, they hinder themselves to charge their offspring and endure the misery. They will not send their offspring to prison or place them in dangerous situation. Because it will endanger the succession of consanguineous descendants which is absolutely prohibited under their given hierarchy of values. Their unique responsibility is to maintain the flame of this conviction not quenched. Viewing from the perspective of gender, the recession of women’s participation in elderly care is also inevitable. Constructing a plural elderly care mechanism, especially in rural areas, is imperative.

#### Endnotes:

1 The data is based on the figures published by the National Bureau of Statistics of China. <http://data.stats.gov.cn>

2 It was explicated in Fei’s seminar speech paper named “The elderly care problem in the variation of family structure” at The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1983.

3 Filial piety. It underscores the offspring’s obligations to be obedient of parents and respect them.

4 “The variation of inter-generational relationship and elder people’s suicide-----An empirical research on Jingshan in Hubei Province”, Baifeng Chen, *Sociology Research*, 2009, pp157-245.

5 A sociology professor in Peking University.

6 The ethic of responsibility and the family support in Beijing, Shanhua, *Journal of Peking University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)*, Vol.41, 2004, pp71-84.

7 “Politics as a vocation” 1919 a, Weber 1946, p120.

8 “Politics as a vocation” 1919 a, Weber 1946, p127.

9 “Politics as a vocation” 1919 a, Weber 1946, p121.

10 “Politics as a vocation” 1919 a, Weber 1946, p120.

11 The structure of Max Weber’s ethic of responsibility, Bradley E. Starr, published in *The Journal of Religious*

Ethics, Vol.27, No.3 (Fall, 1999), p.407.

12 The structure of Max Weber's ethic of responsibility, Bradley E. Starr .published in The Journal of Religious Ethics, Vol.27, No.3 (Fall, 1999), p.411.

13 "Politics as a vocation" 1919 a ,Weber 1946, p127.

14 Humanity monetary gift means that expended in keeping relationships with relatives and friends, In rural area, it focuses on relatives. The monetary gift is sent to their relatives on birthday party, wedding, burial, festivals, and other forms of ritual.

15 In this village, most elderly people have more than 4 children, and some of them even have 9 children.

16 A traditional game in China with more than hundreds of years history. It consists of 136 tiles and must be played by four people.

17 The traditional most important festival in China is only held at the beginning of lunar year to welcome the coming of the new year.

18 It is a festival for offspring to visit the graves of ancestors.

## References

National Bureau of Statistics of China.(2013).<http://data.stats.gov.cn>

Hsiaotung Fei.(1983).The elderly care problem in the variation of family structure.Tianjin Social Science.

Baifeng Chen.(2009).The variation of inter-generational relationship and elder people's suicide-----An empirical research on Jingshan in Hubei Province.Sociology Research.2009,pp157-245.

Shanhua Yung.(2004).The ethic of responsibility and the family support in Beijing.Journal of Peking University( Philosophy and Social Sciences) .Vol.41.2004,pp71-84.

Weber Max. Politics as a Vocation, 1919 a, Weber 1946,pp 120-127.

Bradley E.Starr.(1999).The structure of Max Weber's ethic of responsibility.The Journal of Religious Ethics,Vol.27, No.3, p.407.

Weber Max. Science and Politics,Sanlian Bookstore.(2013),pp 107-116.

Weber Max. Economy and Society, Sanlian Bookstore.(2013),pp 205-367.

Hsiaotung Fei. Peasant Life in China: A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley. Sanlian Bookstore.2012.

Hsiaotung Fei. Fertility Regimes.Beijing University Press. 2011.