



# Research on the Parent-Child Relationship of Unmarried Families in China from the Perspective of Satya Theory

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**Abstract.** This study takes the introduction of Sichuan's birth registration policy to remove marriage restrictions as an opportunity to explore how the Satya family therapy model can be used to address future parent-child relationship problems in China's non-marital families, and how to reduce the impact of dynamic family structures on children's development. The study used online surveys to collect public comments and questionnaire results from Tencent News, Sichuan Daily, and Sina News, and then conducted a literature search to compare and analyze the implementation in the UK. The final result is that Chinese people's concerns about the social impact of the policy are divided into two main areas: the intimate relationship between husband and wife, and the parent-child relationship, which can be summarized as the impact of changes in the family brought about by the intimate relationship between parents on the growth of children, so as to explore the future shape of family education. It is suggested that families should cultivate children's self-learning and self-reliance as early as possible in order to improve children's adaptability to the environment.

**Keywords:** Satya family therapy model · non-marital family · parent-child relationship

## 1 Introduction

Since the introduction of the policy of canceling marriage restrictions on birth registration in Sichuan, the non-marital family group has been placed in the focus of the public's attention, and its parent-child relationship has been particularly concerned by the society. As one of the family members, the "illegitimate" family mainly has several problems in its parent-child relationship: first, there is serious parent-child isolation between parents and children, and second, there is a lack of emotional communication between children and parents. These problems have not only caused great harm to minors, but also caused waste of social resources and damage to public interests. However, the parent-child relationship in non-marital families has profound social background and complex and diverse reasons.

This study is based on Satya's theoretical perspective, with the help of multi-disciplinary theoretical perspectives such as psychology, sociology and pedagogy, and mainly divides the article into five parts: The first part is to carry out relevant social research on the issue of "Sichuan's introduction of birth registration and cancellation of marriage restrictions"; The second part analyzes the concepts of "illegitimate family", "single parent family" and "contract family"; The third part takes a series of policies issued by the UK to protect the rights of unmarried children as an example, pointing out the family problems brought by the policy in the UK, and the application of Satya family therapy model in the parent-child relationship of the UK's illegitimate family; The fourth part, combining with the background of Chinese family education, studies the localization of Satya family therapy model in solving the parent-child relationship of Chinese illegitimate families; The fifth part combines the concepts of temperament theory, communication style and high self-esteem, and puts forward the idea of Satya family therapy model in solving the parent-child relationship of Chinese illegitimate families.

## 2 Investigation and Research on "Sichuan Issued the Policy of Canceling Marriage Restrictions on Birth Registration"

### 2.1 Purpose and Method of Investigation

According to the data released by the National Bureau of Statistics, China's birth population in 2020 was 17.86 million, a decrease of 260000 compared with 2019. In this context, it is of great significance for Sichuan Province to announce the abolition of marriage restrictions.

This paper takes the Measures for the Administration of Birth Registration Services in Sichuan Province, published on the official website of the Sichuan Provincial Government on December 29, 2022, as the research object, and uses the network survey method to conduct word cloud analysis, questionnaire survey analysis, text mining and emotional tendency analysis on the data of "canceling birth registration and marriage restriction".

In order to further explore the impact of Sichuan's fertility policy on economic development, this paper will extract from the relevant data the impact of the work of

“canceling the birth registration and marriage restriction” in Sichuan Province and the emotional tendencies included therein, so as to explore a series of social effects caused by the event.

## 2.2 Data Collection and Word Cloud Analysis

First of all, this article searches the information related to “Sichuan cancels the birth registration and marriage restriction” through Tencent News, Sichuan Daily, Sina News and other platforms. With “Sichuan”, “birth registration” and “canceling the marriage restriction” as the search words, it collects more than 200 online comment data, and the search time range is from February 10, 2022 to February 12, 2022. The weight of each word is further sorted by the “word centrality” in the topic model of the word2vec program, and Table 1 is obtained:

Select 29 keywords with a weight greater than 8, grab these data into Python through crawler technology, extract the thesaurus with the visual analyzer tool provided by python, and cluster the keywords by the word cloud graph method to get Fig. 1:

Then, through data analysis, it is concluded that the policy of “canceling the restriction of birth registration and marriage” can realize the freedom of marriage and birth, improve women’s fertility desire, and thus increase the number of births in the country. But it also caused people’s concern about a series of issues: the moral and ethical issues in illegitimate childbirth, such as the intervention of a third party, providing convenience for

**Table 1.** Weight of each word in network frequency data

Keyword	Authority	Keyword	Authority
bearing	80	Unmarried person	20
the other woman	50	Marriage registration	15
rich person	50	Unmarried children	15
child	41	rights and interests	12
marriage	30	policy	12
morality	30	right	12
fertility rate	30	society	12
education	30	deference	10
a married man	30	law	10
one’s own parents	30	sons and daughters	10
polygamy	30	rescission	10
Freedom of marriage	30	method	10
marriage system	30	daughter of a concubine	10
marriage	28	rate of support	10
femininity	25	DNA	10

Source: Sichuan Daily

# Cloud chart of comments on "Sichuan issued the policy of canceling marriage restrictions on birth registration"

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data sources: Sichuan Daily

**Fig. 1.** Keyword Cloud Chart

the rich, and the implicit polygamy; There are also problems with children's education, such as the attribution of educational responsibilities, and how family education should be transformed. The researchers attributed these concerns to concerns about intimacy and parent-child relationship.

## 2.3 Questionnaire Analysis

In order to count people's social cognition level about the theme of the project, the researchers designed a questionnaire "Social Cognition Survey on the Issue of Birth Registration and Marriage Restriction Policy in Sichuan" based on three aspects: "Support for the Abolition of Marriage Restriction Policy", "Oppose the Marriage Restriction Policy" and "Impact of the Policy on Family Education". The questionnaire was released on February 10, 2023, and on WeChat official account, TikTok, Weibo and other platforms. The collection period of the questionnaire was from 20:06 on February 10 to 21:25 on February 12, and it was mainly targeted at the post-90s and post-00s. At present, there are 330 valid responses. The results show that of the 330 respondents who fill in the questionnaire, 31.21% are post-90s, 25.76% are post-00s, 24.24% are post-80s, 17.58% are post-70s, and 1.21% are post-60s and before. It shows that young people account for the largest proportion of respondents, with half of the male and half of the female. 31.12% are single, 10.39% are in love, 11.21% are married, 24.24% are unmarried, 6.06% are

divorced without children, and the proportion of single and unmarried is relatively high. The proportion of doctors is 29.39%, the proportion of employees is 26.03%, the proportion of social workers is 18.38%, the proportion of teachers is 8.79%, the proportion of psychological counselors is 5.76%, the proportion of students is 3.94%, and the proportion of doctors and company staff is relatively high. In terms of attitude towards the policy, there are 122 respondents who are slightly disapproving, 100 respondents who are uncertain, 62 respondents who are disapproving, 46 respondents who are approving and 0 respondents who are slightly approving. It can be seen that respondents generally have a negative attitude towards the promulgation of this policy.

As can be seen from Fig. 2, for the question of “part of the reasons why you agree with this policy”, the first and the highest choice is “improve the quality of life”, with 172 people selected, accounting for 52.12%, which reflects the general demand of respondents for improving the quality of life; The option that was ranked fifth and accounted for the highest proportion was “Other”, with 123 people selected, accounting for 37.27%.

It can be seen from Fig. 3 that the six options for the problem of “Part of the reasons why you are worried about this policy” were selected as the first option with the highest proportion of “causing potential polygamy problems”, with 137 people selected, accounting for 41.52%; The option that was ranked sixth and accounted for the highest proportion was “children’s education problems”, with 112 people selected, accounting

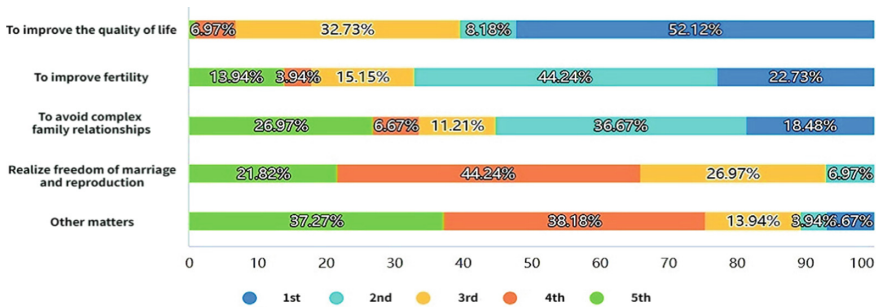


Fig. 2. Reasons why respondents agree with the policy. Source: Questionnaire Star

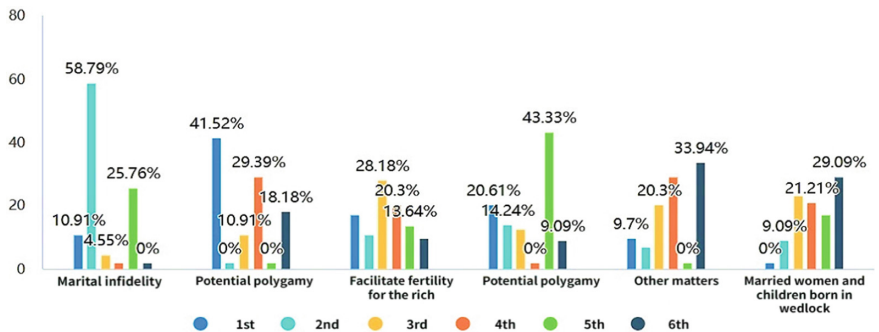


Fig. 3. Reasons for respondents' concerns about policy. Source: Questionnaire Star

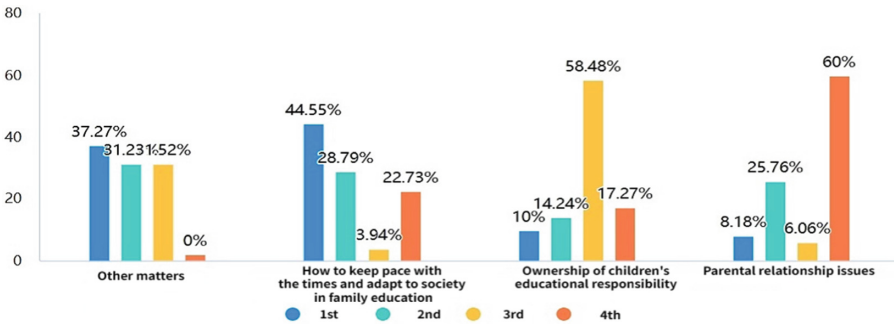


Fig. 4. Respondents' concerns about children's education. Source: Questionnaire Star

for 33.94%. It can be concluded that respondents generally have potential concerns about the institutional problems in marriage.

As for the four options of "How do you worry about children's education problems", it can be seen from Fig. 4 that the first and the highest choice is "How should family education keep pace with the times", with 147 people selected, accounting for 44.55%; The fourth choice with the highest proportion is "parental relationship problems or the lack of one party will affect the growth of children", with 198 people, accounting for 60%. It can be seen that the interviewees paid high attention to the compatibility between family education and the background of the times, but they did not pay attention to the impact of parental relationship on children's growth.

### 3 Related Concept Analysis

This paper analyzes the non-marital family based on single-parent family and contract family.

Single-parent family refers to the family formed by one of the parents and their children. It mainly includes three forms: (1) The family formed by one of the unmarried parents and their unmarried children after the end of the extramarital relationship; (2) The family where single people live with their children through artificial insemination and surrogacy; (3) The family where only one spouse can raise their unmarried children alone due to practical reasons such as divorce, death of spouse, desertion, separation, etc.

The concept of the contract family in England is a unique one, characterized by a "contract" between parents and children, which is enforceable in law. This type of family is based on the idea that both parents and children owe obligations to each other, and that these obligations can be enforced through legal action if necessary. Contract families in the UK are based on an agreement between parents and children about each parent's obligations. Such agreements usually involve parents providing food, shelter, clothing and education for their children, who in turn perform certain tasks for the parents, such as helping to care for younger siblings or elderly relatives. The agreement is legally enforceable, meaning that legal action can be taken against either party if it fails to meet

its obligations. In addition, the agreement is usually established in writing so that both parties can refer to it if necessary.

There are potential problems that can arise in the UK contrast families. For example, legal action may be taken against parents if they fail to uphold their obligations, or if children fail to fulfil their obligations. In addition, agreements may not always be clear or may be subject to interpretation, which may lead to conflict between the two parties. Moreover, the fact that legal action can be taken means that families can be caught up in lengthy and costly court battles.

Despite these potential problems, the British contract family is beneficial in many ways. For example, it allows parents to have more control over their children's lives because they can enforce certain obligations. Moreover, it can provide children with a sense of security because they know that their parents are legally obligated to provide for them. It can also provide a framework for resolving disputes, since agreements are legally enforceable.

In conclusion, the British contract family is a unique concept that provides an alternative to the traditional family structure. It is based on the idea that parents and children have obligations to each other, and that these obligations can be enforced through legal action if necessary. While contract families can present some potential problems, it can also bring benefits in many ways, such as providing security for children and a framework for disputes.

## **4 Application of the Satya Family Therapy Model in the Parent-Child Relationship of Non-marital Families in the UK**

### **4.1 Policy Introduction**

According to Eurostat, the proportion of out-of-wedlock births in Europe has increased significantly over the past decade, with the proportion of non-marital children in France, Sweden, Denmark and other countries exceeding 50% in 2016 (Eurostat, 2018). The Office for National Statistics reports that more babies were born outside marriage in England and Wales in 2021 than in marriage, accounting for 51.3% of all births (Brandford, 2021). In view of this phenomenon, many countries have enacted laws to protect the rights and interests of non-marital children. In the United Kingdom, for example, the law gives unmarried mothers the same rights as married mothers: "Unmarried mothers have the same rights as married mothers, including the right to adopt a child, to receive family support for the child, to receive child social security and to participate in child support responsibilities." There are also income tax breaks for unmarried mothers.

The aim of these policies is to improve the social conditions of unmarried mothers and their children and to increase the birth rate in the UK. However, the implementation of these policies also makes the government face some problems. First of all, due to the implementation of the out-of-wedlock birth policy, the financial expenditure of the British government has increased significantly. Families who give birth to children already receive generous policy subsidies. Unmarried mothers, as a vulnerable group, also enjoy these subsidies, as well as additional subsidies such as food, goods and medical assistance. Secondly, the out-of-wedlock birth policy has also led to changes in

family structure. Data from the Office for Social Statistics show that the number of non-marital households has increased by 12.5% since 2002 (Brandford, 2021). From the social level, these changes broke the inherent population structure of the UK and would lead to the instability of the social environment, further leading to the instability of the family environment, the uncertainty of children's social status and the possibility of children's abnormal social behaviors (Wang, Li & Liang, 2005). From the perspective of children's psychology, due to the lack of attention from both parents in the family, children may feel lonely and lack of care, thus affecting their social development and social integration. Researchers have found that unmarried children have lower self-rated health and are more likely to have behavioral problems than other children (Williams et al., 2013; Choi, Kim & Kunz, 2018). In addition, from the economic perspective, the income of families with single mothers is generally low, which makes families more likely to fall into poverty, and may affect children's education level and future development (Wimer et al., 2021).

## 4.2 The British Family Problem Under the Policy

### Single-parent family

The number of single-parent families in the UK is increasing. According to a recent report, nearly a quarter (22.9%) of children in the UK have been living with a single parent in the last decade (James, 2022). The number of single-parent families is rising sharply, especially the number of single-parent families, and the disadvantaged social and economic status of mothers inevitably leads to the poverty of women and children (Gan, 2015). Single-parent families are also more likely to experience poor health and social exclusion due to limited resources. Single-parent families face challenges in providing adequate care for their children, and parents often struggle to carve out enough time to balance work and childcare responsibilities. They may also lack the support network of extended family and friends that two-parent families often rely on (Radey & Brewster, 2013). In addition, single-parent families often lack the financial resources to provide their children with the same educational and recreational opportunities as two-parent families.

### Contract family

The British contract family has been criticized for its inflexibility and unbalanced power dynamics. In this model of family structure, the husband has more power and authority than the wife, which can lead to the wife's needs being ignored and her rights not being respected. This can lead to some family problems, such as marital conflict and domestic violence. In addition, the traditional roles of husband and wife can be restrictive because they limit the ability of both partners to pursue their own interests and career goals. In recent years, there has been a shift from the traditional British contract family model to a more egalitarian model of family structure. The new model is based on the idea of equal rights and responsibilities for both partners. It is also based on the idea that both partners should have the freedom to pursue their own interests and goals without having to compromise. This new model of family structure has the potential to reduce marital



conflict and domestic violence and to provide both partners with more flexibility and freedom.

The main characteristic of British contract family is that parents have authority and supreme status, their behavior is regarded as the guiding principle of the family, family members must obey the rules of parents. First of all, parents' authority may excessively suppress their children, making them not free to express their ideas and opinions, and weakening their children's self-confidence (Radey & Brewster, 2013). Secondly, there is a lack of communication and trust among family members because they dare not speak out their opinions or oppose their parents' instructions.

### **4.3 The Application of Satya Family Therapy Model in Solving Family Problems in England**

In response to the rise in out-of-wedlock birth rates, the British government has set up voluntary and private institutions to help look after children, aiming to provide more social support for non-marital families and help single mothers better adapt to their changing roles. In addition, civil society organizations are playing an increasingly important role. The Oneparent family of National Commission, the UK's largest voluntary support group for single-parent families, is active in lobbying the government for social policies, such as local care departments prioritized council housing for single-parent families, as well as helping them out of poverty. At the same time, since the rising trend of out-of-wedlock births has raised concerns about how to manage such families and how to establish and maintain the parent-child relationship, researchers have tried to use family therapy models to solve the existing problems, one of which is the Satya family therapy model.

Satya family therapy model believes that the relationship between family members consists of a series of complex interactive behaviors, and emphasizes that the overall function of the family can be improved by changing the relationship between family members, so that family members can live in a healthier state (Chang, 1996). Recent studies have shown that Satya family therapy model can improve family environment and enhance problem solving ability by making family members aware of the actual process of solving family problems, so that members can better cope with the challenges brought by out-of-wedlock birth (Chang, 1996; Brubacher, 2006).

The Satya family therapy model is based on the idea that positive change can occur in a family when every member is involved in the process and is respected and valued. First, the model emphasizes the importance of improving communication among family members. In the case of out-of-wedlock birth, improving communication can effectively enhance the contact among members, promote the interaction between parents and children and between parents, and thus improve family relations (Cheung & Chan, 2002). Second, the model emphasizes respect. Children born out of wedlock may feel abandoned, and respecting the relationship between family members can effectively relieve children's anxiety and sadness (Emma et al., 2022). Finally, mutual support among members is also emphasized in this model. Children born out of wedlock may be prejudiced by the social environment, while mutual understanding and support among family members can make children feel accepted and loved (Brubacher, 2006). Satya family therapy model has been widely popularized and applied in Western countries, except for

the problems caused by marriage, it can also be applied to a variety of family problems, such as drug abuse and domestic violence (Ahmed-Abali et al., 2017; Haber, 2002).

## **5 Research on the Localization of the Satya Family Therapy Model in Addressing Parent-Child Relationships in Chinese Non-marital Families**

The data on the localization of the Satya family therapy model can be divided into four categories: (1) studies on the localization of the Satya family therapy model; (2) studies on the intervention of the Satya family therapy model in parent-child relationships; (3) studies on the intervention of the Satya family therapy model in single-parent families; (4) studies on the localization of the theories related to the Satya family therapy model. The researcher found that these studies lacked discussions on the localization process and studies on the contract families that will emerge in Chinese society in response to the introduction of birth registration and the abolition of marriage restrictions in Sichuan. In the following, the author focuses on the localization process to explore how to adapt foreign research on the application of the Satya family therapy model to single-parent families and contract families.

The first step of localization should be to understand the problems faced by single-parent families and contract families in China through social surveys. Taking single-parent families as an example, currently single-parent families in China mainly face the following dilemmas: on the one hand, the education of children, the lack of a complete loving parent-child relationship is likely to cause children's low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, reduce children's subjective well-being, and affect the development of sociality (Yang, 2020); on the other hand, parents face huge economic and social pressure, lack sufficient time to spend with their children, and have obstacles in communicating and getting along with their children. There are obstacles in communication and getting along with their children.

The second step of localization should be to study the Chinese cultural context and analyze its cultural coherence and differences with foreign applications. First of all, regarding the cultural compatibility, although the West advocates individualism and focuses on the individual's inner feelings in Satya family therapy, which is an individual and social bipolar mindset, China is traditionally a collectivist culture, which emphasizes the triple combination of individual, family and social mindset, but I believe that the two are not in conflict. The Satya family therapy model is a joint family therapy model, which emphasizes the participation of family members and the inner harmony of the individual by focusing on the individual's feelings, thus from the inside out. Moreover, the state of "consistent communication", which focuses on the self, others and the environment, is consistent with the goal of building a harmonious society in China. Secondly, regarding cultural differences, we should pay attention to the differences in culture, education and family. Chinese families tend to be more of a hierarchical family (Shang, 2020), with a commanding communication posture between generations, while Western families have more of an egalitarian (He, 2010) state of being together. Therefore, Chinese families face greater difficulties in family problem solving. At the same time, intergenerational

education is common in Chinese families, and grandparents tend to coddle and harbor their grandchildren, which affects the development of children's later thinking and behavior patterns. In Western families during the same period, grandparents were rarely involved in the upbringing of the family's children, and both single-parent and contract families chose to put their children in childcare earlier when parents lacked time and energy. Therefore, in Chinese family interventions, the focus is not only on the single-parent family or the few members of the nuclear family, but also on the influence of various factors such as their respective families of origin. However, this also indicates that Chinese children lack a spirit of independence, so in using the Satya family therapy model to address parent-child relationship problems, the children should be helped to develop self-learning and self-reliance in order to reduce the influence of other factors on his or her development, and thus be able to cope with changes in the family structure and social environment.

The third step of localization should be the study of family cases. In the process of practice, the theory will be refined and localized, so as to develop a Satya family therapy model with local vitality.

## **6 A Vision of the Satya Family Therapy Model to Solve the Problems of Parent-Child Relationship in Chinese Non-marital Families**

The purpose of the social survey conducted by the author at the beginning of the article is to adopt different intervention models for different people based on their different cognitive states formed by factors such as their age, occupation, education level, and geographical location (Fu, 2017). The author attempts to incorporate this mode of thinking into the Satya family therapy model to convey to parents the idea of temperament theory, i.e., adopting different modes of communication and getting along with different children according to their behavioral, emotional, and mental states.

### **6.1 Temperament Theory**

Temperament is innate, typical and stable dynamic characteristic of a person, no matter good or bad; it is also the most basic characteristic of the nervous system, expressed in the speed, stability, intensity of mental processes and the directionality of mental activities, which will be marked in a certain way on all activities of the individual. Children's temperament can often be divided into five types and nine dimensions of traits. The five temperament types are: easy-going, difficult-going, slow-acting, intermediate easy-going and intermediate difficult-going; and the nine dimensions are: activity level, rhythmicity, attentional dispersion, tendency to avoid, adaptability, persistence, response intensity, response threshold and emotional nature.

Why is temperament so important? Satya's iceberg theory states that an individual's "self" consists of seven levels, from top to bottom: behavior, coping styles, feelings, opinions, expectations, desires, and self (Wei, 2018). The performance of a child's behavior is mainly based on the way he or she responds, and behind this response lies his or her inner feelings and the reasons for these feelings. A person's feelings are influenced by

his or her beliefs, which contain expectations of himself or herself, of others and from others, and, at a deeper level, a desire for love and acceptance. The root of everything lies in the inner self, which is his life force. Temperament is inherent in a person and is an important part of one's vitality. In Chinese families born out of wedlock, measures should be taken to make parents more aware of their children's temperament so that children can feel acceptance and love, such as increasing communication among family members, emphasizing the establishment of good relationships, improving support and understanding among members, and promoting positive emotional exchanges.

## **6.2 Communication Style**

Under temperament theory, it is more important for parents to adopt an equal communication posture in order to understand their children's thoughts so that they can adopt the right response. People are born with vitality but it diminishes as they grow up. In a hierarchical model, the individual is constantly suppressed and limited and the ego is not allowed to exist. Young children are very energetic and sincere, saying whatever they want and never being afraid to express themselves to the fullest. Therefore, from the very beginning, parents should take an equal stance in communicating with their children, not feeling superior to them, but rather that the strong vitality of the child is what parents need to learn. At the same time, an equal posture of communication is more likely to unleash the vitality of the child's life, to prevent it from being emasculated and restricted, and to return to the child's true state.

If applied to improve the parent-child relationship in Chinese non-marital families, the following communication approaches can be adopted: first, family members should establish good communication channels, such as regular family discussions, in which they can share their ideas, experiences, and opinions, in order to improve the relationship between family members and effectively solve conflicts and problems in the family; second, family members should adopt an open and fair communication. In addition, parents should give their children enough communication training to improve their children's effective communication skills.

## **6.3 High Self-Esteem**

Self-esteem refers to an individual's evaluation, definition, and identification of himself or herself. According to Satya, people with high self-esteem tend to have an internal sense of security, appreciate their abilities and strengths and accept their weaknesses and limitations, take responsibility for their decisions, and have a greater ability to be independent and adapt to change (Fu & Li, 2014). In Chinese families born out of wedlock, relationships among family members are often unbalanced and there is a lack of respect and support among family members, which often seriously affects the parent-child relationship between family members. To make improvements, parents should give more praise to their children and do more meaningful things with them to enhance their children's self-esteem; they should encourage their children to be brave and realize their potential as a way to improve their self-confidence; and they should guide their children more so that they can master some social skills and enhance their social competence.

In the context of Sichuan's birth registration policy to remove marriage restrictions, although marital families still account for the majority in China, there will undeniably be an increase in single-parent families and contract families. Children in single-parent families face incomplete love, while contract families face a lack of legal protection for the parents' marriage, which affects the stability and security of the marriage and thus the stability of the parent-child relationship. In order to minimize the impact of environmental changes on children in the face of a more dynamic family structure, parents should involve their children in family decision-making as early as possible, with the ability to learn and support themselves and to have high self-esteem, which confirms the importance of equal communication and exchange in the family.

## 7 Conclusion

This study takes the birth registration policy of Sichuan Province as an example, conducts a social survey on users of various social media platforms according to the comments of several relevant tweets, and the results are as follows:

- (1) This policy can realize the freedom of marriage and childbearing, enhance women's childbearing intention, and thus increase the number of births in the country;
- (2) The policy has also raised concerns about a range of issues, such as the moral and ethical issues in out-of-wedlock births, as well as the problem of children's education;
- (3) Respondents pay high attention to the compatibility between family education and the background of The Times, but lack corresponding attention to the influence of parental relationship on children's growth.

By exploring the Satya family therapy model used in the UK for problems related to out-of-wedlock birth, the researchers suggest that it is necessary for this model to be localized in China to solve the existing and possible problems. The researchers still take the policy of removing marriage restriction from birth registration as an example, and try to propose intervention suggestions for non-marital families based on the core theory of Satyar family therapy model: In the face of a more dynamic family structure in the future, parents should communicate with their children equally, let their children participate in family decision-making as early as possible, have autonomy, and have high self-esteem. Follow-up studies should classify and discuss the feasibility of these interventions, and further localize the Satya family model reasonably, so as to construct effective methods to widely solve the problems caused by the change of family structure under the background of the increasing number of families born out of wedlock in China.

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