



Article

# ‘Everywhere is home’: The paradox of ‘homing’ and child upbringing among Nigerian-Chinese families in Guangzhou city

*International Sociology*  
2020, Vol. 35(3) 241–259

© The Author(s) 2020

Article reuse guidelines:

[sagepub.com/journals-permissions](https://sagepub.com/journals-permissions)

DOI: 10.1177/0268580920905461

[journals.sagepub.com/home/iss](https://journals.sagepub.com/home/iss)



**Kudus Oluwatoyin Adebayo** 

Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria

**Femi O Omololu**

Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, Nigeria

## Abstract

Africa–China relations are facilitating different flows and inducing mobilities that have produced Afro-Chinese families in Guangzhou, China. This article examines how Nigerian-Chinese couples construct and embrace contradictory notions of home, as well as how their child upbringing practices manifest this paradox. The article uses data from life history interviews, repeated visits and in social hangouts involving both Nigerian-Chinese couples and individual Nigerian men in interracial marriages. Whereas Nigerian men tend to feel less at home, owing to problems such as perceived Chinese identity exclusivity, the uncertainty of life, and their experiences of discrimination and racism, their Chinese spouses, as internal migrants themselves, also feel similarly unwelcome in Guangzhou. Furthermore, Nigerian-Chinese couples feel obligated to secure the futures of their Afro-Chinese children due to a suspicion that Chinese society may not accept them. The parenting styles, hopes and aspirations revealed by Nigerian-Chinese couples regarding their children show that they view home as an un-centred category.

## Keywords

Africa–China relations, interracial marriage, migrant belonging, mixed-race children, return migration

---

## Corresponding author:

Kudus Oluwatoyin Adebayo, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Oyo 234, Nigeria.

Email: [oluwatoyinkudus@gmail.com](mailto:oluwatoyinkudus@gmail.com)

## Introduction

The recent surge in Africa–China relations has facilitated flows of diverse natures, including goods, capital and people. Scholarly investigations into the dynamics shaping these interactions highlight the preponderance of bi-directional economic relations and flows, with African international traders playing a crucial role in the process (Bodomo, 2010, 2016; Lyons et al., 2012). The social and cultural fallouts of this encounter are only beginning to attract warranted analysis. In particular, with an increasing number of Africans settling in Chinese cities and establishing families through unions with local women, the social and cultural issues arising from these relationships have taken centre stage (Castillo, 2014, 2016; Joseph et al., 2017; Zhou et al., 2016). This article examines how Nigerian–Chinese couples construct and embrace contradictory notions of home, as well as how their parenting practices manifest this paradox.

Since the early 2000s, China has gradually expanded its role in global economic spheres. This burgeoning profile has been facilitated by increased economic growth, mass commodity production capability, and the agency of profit-seeking individuals and state-sponsored enterprises. This development fostered economic linkages with Africa that, in turn, led to new flows of migration between China and many African countries, and vice versa (Haugen, 2015; Park, 2009). Speculative accounts suggest that the African population in China runs into the hundreds of thousands (Bodomo and Pajancic, 2015). Recently, however, Haugen (2019) has concluded, based on survey and resident registry data, that there are up to 22,000 Africans living in Guangzhou alone. The majority of them are young, unmarried males who are engaged in trade-related activities (Bodomo and Pajancic, 2015). The presence of these African men also coincides with the influx and concentration of female Chinese internal migrants in the same city (Lan, 2015). As Lan writes:

Guangzhou is not only a popular destination for international migrants such as African traders, but for internal migrants from rural and inland China. . . . The convergence of internal and international migration has created an ideal milieu for daily interactions between Chinese women and African men. (Lan, 2015: 134)

Although only 13% of Chinese people surveyed in Guangzhou are willing to marry an African (Zhou et al., 2016), the ‘economic melting pot’ signified by the city has certainly allowed Afro–Chinese romances and marriages to flourish.

Since the opening up of China in the 1970s, the number of marriages involving Chinese citizens and foreigners has grown. Before this time, opportunities for local Chinese people to meet and mix with foreigners were limited by residential rules and other social conditions that segregated the two groups (Pan, 2014). However, Zhou (2017) highlights that the changes of the 1970s transformed the structure of Chinese marriage practices, resulting in a rise in interracial romances. As Pan (2014) reports, registered marriages to foreigners rose from 8,460 in 1979 to 49,000 in 2011. However, the latter figure also represents a drastic decline from a peak of 80,000 in 2001. As expected, most of these marriages involve mainland Chinese and people of Chinese origin in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan. Non-Chinese foreigners who marry Chinese

citizens are predominantly from more developed countries, such as Japan, the US, Canada, Western Europe and Australia (Pan, 2014). Accurate data regarding the prevalence of Afro-Chinese marriage are not available. Furthermore, the difficulty of tracking separations and divorces, as well as the practice of polygynous marriage among African men, makes it challenging to estimate marriage prevalence between Africans and Chinese (Zhou, 2017).

Romance and marriage between Chinese citizens and foreigners have always attracted intense media and public scrutiny (Pan, 2014). However, despite constituting a small fraction of interracial romantic relationships in China (Lan, 2015), romantic involvement with African men is mainly discussed and represented negatively (Pfaffman et al., 2015; Sullivan, 1994; Wing-Fai, 2015). More so, the necessary political, social, cultural and institutional changes that would allow for the survival of Afro-Chinese marriage in China have not evolved. Presently, there is no framework in place to extend either citizenship or permanent resident status to Africans married to Chinese women (Castillo, 2014; Zhou, 2017). According to Zhou (2017), policy, culture, language, values and social pressure all shape the problems that Afro-Chinese couples face, with many unions falling outside the practices approved by the Marriage Law of the Republic of China. In addition, Afro-Chinese couples face barriers when it comes to raising children owing to problems regarding access to education (Haugen, 2012; Zhou, 2017).

Until 2016, when Chinese citizens became free to have two children legally, foreigners who chose Chinese nationality for their children upon marrying a Chinese woman were bound by the national one-child policy. Given Africans' preference for large family sizes, most Afro-Chinese children did not possess Chinese citizenship (Zhou, 2017). In the absence of Chinese citizenship, many children are excluded from the *hukou* system, a welfare framework within which China distributes social benefit to citizens. Complicating this situation further, African men often marry Chinese women from the group categorised as the 'floating population', that is, internal migrants who typically hold rural *hukou*. Therefore, a lot of legally married Afro-Chinese couples are unable to access public welfare programmes for their children. However, apart from structural exclusion, Afro-Chinese children are raised predominantly in Chinese culture. Some researchers argue that this practice is producing a new set of difficulties. As one study argues, Afro-Chinese children who are raised primarily as Chinese are doubly excluded: as well as not being well integrated into Chinese society, they also lack strong connections with both the country and the families of their non-Chinese parents (Zhou, 2017). As a result, some parents consider sending their children abroad for high school (Castillo, 2014). This strategy is becoming preferred by parents who believe that such a move would shield their interracial children from anti-black racism in China (Lan, 2015).

Consequently, 'China as home' represents a problematic notion for Afro-Chinese couples. Even though they own businesses, engage in social relations, establish families and attempt to deepen their belonging to China through community formation, Africans in relationships with Chinese women tend to perceive China as a temporary home. Castillo (2014) captures this reality with the notion of 'emplacement within transiency', whereby, despite the instability, indeterminacy and precarity they experience, African migrants find a way to make a home in their host society.

The present article makes several contributions. First, it interfaces the growing 'Africans in China' literature with discourses on home and homing in the scholarship of migration and transnationalism, a field currently dominated by the experiences of migrant and diaspora communities in Western countries (see Al-Ali and Koser, 2003; Boccagni, 2014, 2016; Duyvendak, 2011; Shutika, 2011; Taylor, 2015). Second, it uncovers how Africans experience home and homely feelings in a context that has only become attractive to African migrants over recent decades. Third, it extends the theoretical discussions regarding home by transcending the binaries of 'here' and 'there', while also accommodating the possibilities of an 'elsewhere', 'everywhere' and even a 'nowhere'. This illuminates the limitations of binate home analysis, arguing instead for an inherently uncertain and futuristic notion of both home construction and the role that child upbringing practices play in the process. This is done by simultaneously articulating the real and the ephemeral, while also taking into consideration the enduring materiality, spatiality and transnationality of home construction for African men and Chinese women invested in interracial families in urban China.

### **Theorising the migration–home nexus and migrant belongingness**

'Is home (a) place(s), (a) space(s), feeling(s), practices, and/or an active state of state of being in the world?' This was the question that Mallett (2004: 84) raised in her influential review on the uses of home. While concluding that home probably captures all of these ideas, she insists that 'how home is and has been defined at any given time depends upon "specification of locus and extent" and the broader historical and social context' (Mallett, 2004: 84). The idea of home is implicated in the process and experience of migration. Boccagni (2014: 279) made this point forcefully when he wrote that 'at its simplest, migration entails leaving home – be the latter understood as a household, a house or a local community – with no guarantee to necessarily find it again (even less, to find it as it used to be "before")'. That is, 'international migration could be seen as a prototypical source of home un-making' (Boccagni, 2016: 17). In addition to the presupposition of departing from or losing a home, migration also entails the notion of home through migrants' efforts towards the 'recovery of home' upon reaching a destination society (Boccagni, 2014). Globalisation and the resultant transnational practices have also helped to shape the contours of the meaning of home (Al-Ali and Koser, 2003; Lucas and Purkayastha, 2007; Philipp and Ho, 2010). According to Al-Ali and Koser (2003), transnational migration is transforming the relationship between migrants and their conception of home. Specifically, they insist that the rise in globally-oriented or cosmopolitan identities has been influential in transforming the feeling and sense of 'at-homeness' among international migrants.

Accordingly, many scholars work with the idea that the concept of home is both dynamic and complex, with most scholars challenging fixed or static notions of home (Al-Ali and Koser, 2003; Boccagni, 2016; Liu, 2014). Notably, Al-Ali and Koser (2003: 6) state that 'conceptions of home are not static but dynamic processes, involving the acts of imagining, creating, unmaking, changing, losing and moving "homes"'. On his

part, Boccagni (2016) underlines the relational and materiality of home, calling our attention to its open-ended and possibly accomplishable nature. In his words:

As an open-ended social relationship, home requires to be purposively negotiated and reproduced – it is not simply out there – and can be emplaced, understood and experienced in different ways and locations over the life course. (Boccagni, 2016: 4)

Taylor (2015) alludes to the same understanding through his study among Punjabi migrants. As a reality that is perpetually in the making, Taylor insists on the ‘never fully achieved’ nature of home. However, some scholars caution that we should not ignore the static or stable underpinning of home (Liu, 2014; Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). For example, in their attempt to show the complexity and flexibility associated with people’s understanding and relationship with home, Ralph and Staeheli (2011) argue that home is a simultaneously mobile and sedentary phenomenon.

Closely associated with the concept of home in a migratory context is the concept of ‘homing’ or ‘home-making’. Homing is the process through which people create a sense of home in a host society. Boccagni (2016: 23) defines homing as ‘people’s evolving potential to attach a sense of home to their life circumstances, in light of their assets and of the external structure of opportunities’. Homing has proved crucial to understanding the mechanisms by which migrants come to construe home as they do, as well as the broader process of belonging among migrant populations. With home as a multiply-placed reality, there is an interest in knowing how migrants (re)create homely feelings and relationships abroad, and thus how they manage to retain the sense of an original home – even when they have little or no material connection with it (Boccagni, 2014). In this regard, the idea of home itself has a lot to do with people’s sense and feeling of identity and belongingness (Al-Ali and Koser, 2003; Boccagni, 2014; Duyvendak, 2011). Indeed, some studies show that feelings of exclusion and the extent of an individual’s sense of belongingness shape the character and locality/ies of the homes that migrants construct (Christou, 2009; Ralph and Staeheli, 2011; Silva, 2009). As Christou (2009) puts it, ‘home is about belongingness’. That is, when migrants experience hostilities or feel excluded within the host society, they are forced to look elsewhere, usually to their place of origin/home countries, to identify a possible place to call home. Hence, through the homing feelings they cultivate and the practices they evolve, migrants are positioned to both produce and draw on a new source of belongingness (Boccagni, 2014; Fenster and Vizel, 2007).

In terms of how migrants experience it, belongingness is not always stable and positive. For example, based on their study of African migrants in Israel, Fenster and Vizel (2007: 7–8) advanced the idea that belongingness is not necessarily coherent or solid, but is sometimes a temporary attachment characterised by contradictions and feelings of rejection and otherness. Focusing on Africans in Guangzhou, where our study was conducted, Castillo (2016) hints at the possibility of ‘precarious homing’. Owing to the enduring influence and vagaries of ‘the structure of legal, social and material opportunities accessible in their receiving and sending countries’ (Boccagni, 2016: xxvi), homing among Africans in China’s Guangzhou city is taking shape within the confounding structure of the host society (Castillo, 2016).

**Table 1.** Participant information.

Study participants	Sex	Age	No. of children	Nigerian spouse yrs in China	Locations of data collection	Research settings
Couple 1	F (M)	33 (40)	3	10	Guangyuan West Road/Taojin	Workplace, street, home
Couple 2	F (M)	34 (45)	2	8	Guangyuan West Road/Foshan	Workplace, street, home
Nigerian 1	M	42	3	12	Guangyuan West Road	Restaurant
Nigerian 2	M	48	2	20	Dengfeng West Road	Workplace

This article explores the intersections of home, homing and belongingness to understand how Nigerian-Chinese couples construct, embrace, and/or simultaneously reject China as a home, as well as how practices regarding child upbringing shape this process.

## Methodology

The study is part of more extensive research on the settlement experiences of Nigerians in Guangzhou, China. Nigerians began moving into mainland China in the early 1990s, and scholarly consensus holds that their population exceeds that of other African groups (Bodomo and Pajancic, 2015; Castillo, 2014; Haugen, 2012). Early Nigerian arrivals in Guangzhou came from South Korea, Hong Kong, Japan, Malaysia, and other Asian countries where an economic downturn in the 1990s triggered a decline in employment and business opportunities. By the year 2000, Nigerians had established a presence in the city, setting up representative offices and establishing businesses catering to the needs of a growing African clientele. While a vast majority of them are undocumented (Haugen, 2012), this has not prevented them from transforming the city's image through the agency of interracial romances with Chinese women.

We collected data through several hours of life history and in-depth interviews, as well as repeated home/office visits and at social hangouts with both Nigerian-Chinese couples and individual Nigerian men who married Chinese women. Although Afro-Chinese marriages are becoming a common practice in Guangzhou, the six voices (four Nigerian men and two Chinese women) in this article were purposively selected because they have had a more extended period of continuous presence in the city. They have also managed to maintain a relatively stable life in China. However, while two Nigerian men co-resided with their children and Chinese spouses at the time of data collection (see Table 1), we were unable to interview the spouses of two other Nigerian men because they lived outside the city. The spouse and daughter of one of these men had recently moved out of the city to the countryside due to the high cost of living and limited access of rural-to-urban Chinese migrants to social welfare in cities. Still, we met the Chinese wives and children of the two other Nigerian men and conducted repeated interviews and visits.

All the Nigerian men self-identified as self-employed businessmen. Their economic activities in the city include a range of occupations, such as selling shoes and clothing, international exports, and market intermediaries/agents. One of the Chinese women operates a joint business with her Nigerian husband, while the second was a school teacher. While many Nigerian-Chinese couples did not register their marriages with the state (Lan, 2015), all our participants claimed to own valid marriage certificates. Only one participant had an infant at the time of data collection; the rest had school-aged children, including one that was studying at university level.

We asked the participants what it means for them to live in China as interracial couples, how Nigerian men compare China with Nigeria, the challenges of raising Afro-Chinese children and whether they feel a sense of belonging and desire (or not) to live in the city permanently. We conducted all the interviews in English, although some Nigerian participants interspersed their responses with Yoruba and Pidgin English. The interviews were tape-recorded and non-English conversations were translated during transcription. We analysed the data inductively using qualitative data analysis software, starting with open coding. The initial codes were sorted and organised into themes and then subjected to content analysis. Having compared notes on the definitions and applications of the generated codes, the authors then established the reliability of the themes by rereading the interview transcripts. Ethnographic summaries and direct quotations are used in reporting the findings. We have protected the identities of the participants through the anonymisation of identifying information.

## **Nigerian-Chinese couples and the construction of home in Guangzhou city**

The factors influencing the orientation of Nigerian-Chinese couples towards China as home occur along a spectrum of positive and negative perceptions and experiences in Guangzhou. On the positive side, they feel at home because China is perceived as relatively accommodating and provides opportunities for economic advancement. However, negative perceptions and experiences, such as Chinese identity exclusivity, the uncertainty of life and discrimination and racism, tend to make China feel less like home.

### ***'If you're not a Chinese, you can never be a Chinese': Orientations towards China as home***

Two major themes capture the positive orientations of Nigerian-Chinese couples towards China as home. The themes resonate more with Nigerian husbands because they are the non-citizens who feel less at home. The first positive orientation constructs China as an accommodating society. The Nigerian participants have been married to their Chinese wives for several years (between five and 20 years). They have come to view Chinese society as being increasingly accepting of their presence. While describing his life since marrying his Chinese wife, Chimeze (male/40) said that 'the Chinese are more accommodating than anything because it was easy for me to settle in. . . . I saw them [as] more . . . accepting'. In the mass housing complex where he has lived with his wife and three

sons for over nine years, he maintains that Chinese neighbours are kind to him, especially elderly women. Furthermore, when one of his sons had a severe cut on his leg, the Chinese people he met at the emergency unit did not complain when he jumped the queue. Chimeze believes that, on the whole, Chinese society respects married people, even foreigners (Africans included) who marry their women.

A second theme that captures this positive orientation is that, despite being foreigners, China provides an opportunity for social and economic advancement. Nigerian spouses value the fact that China has absorbed them into the economic life of the city despite them not having the necessary permits to participate in the local economy. One participant said that China is:

A home that welcomes Nigerians. China welcomed us like we never experienced before. Here [in China], I am not qualified to own a shop, but we are in a shop. If the police come to ask me for the permit, I don't have. (Chimeze/male/40)

We should note that the integration of Nigerian husbands into the economic life of the city is not wholly the product of the local state's practice of 'looking away'. Rather, marriage to Chinese women in itself enables Nigerian men to access greater social and economic support, which makes China feel more like home.

For example, Chinese wives cushion the unstableness that characterises the everyday life of Nigerian men. On the one hand, interracial marriage provides social security, such as when wives help their husbands to manage a business or invest in their husband's livelihood by obtaining a loan from the bank. On the other hand, the wives also provide access to accommodation and often co-opt their mothers into child-rearing, allowing the couples to focus on their businesses. Two of the Nigerian husbands, for instance, co-reside with their Chinese mothers-in-law, with one living in a self-acquired apartment and the other living in a flat owned by his wife's mother.

While these positive perceptions have made Nigerian husbands favourably disposed to China as home, the negative views made China feel unhomey. The first negative perception revolves around the exclusivity of Chinese identity. The assertion, 'if you're not a Chinese, you can never be a Chinese', came up in different interview sessions. There is a concern among Nigerian husbands that Chinese citizenship and identity are closed to foreigners. For example, one of the main pathways through which Nigerian husbands can ensure a more permanent stay in China is to secure a permanent residence card. There is a clear procedure for accessing this important document, and Nigerians married to Chinese women regularly mention the possibility of obtaining it. However, the aspiration stops at the level of 'talk' for many. The main challenge, as one participant said, is that 'as a Nigerian, you can't get a green card in China; only a few people get. . . . Even being married to a Chinese is not a guarantee' (Thomas/male/45). Due to the perceived impossibility of integration through permanent settlement, the same participant stated that:

China is not my home. . . . I don't belong here. . . . I belong to Nigeria because I don't see a future here and I don't see myself becoming a Chinese, and if you are not a Chinese, you can't become a Chinese. (Thomas/male/45)



In maintaining that a Nigerian can never become Chinese, the participants were acknowledging the racial exclusivity that pervades Chinese society and China's worldview. The literature on race in Chinese contains ample evidence to substantiate the feeling of being permanently Othered in Chinese society. The dominant ethnic/racial consciousness relegates both minority Chinese ethnicities and the black race, which is denigrated and relegated as inferior (Dikötter, 1990; Sautman, 1994; Wing-Fai, 2015).

A second negative perception regards the uncertainty of life, where, despite establishing a family, Nigerian husbands are unsure of what will happen to them in China. Some of these men carry state-issued marriage visas. However, while these visas typically have a validity of three to 12 months, there was one case in which the individual was forced to return to the immigration office every month because he was unable to get more than a 30-day visa, despite his marital status. Besides, access to visas is not automatic because visa issuing officers can decide arbitrarily if an applicant qualifies for a renewal. As such, it is not uncommon for Nigerian husbands to perform 'special prayers' when visiting the immigration office. This uncertainty forces Nigerian husbands to maintain a consciousness of an imminent departure.

A third negative perception that orients participants away from China as home are experiences of discrimination and racism. The discrimination is not directed to Nigerians alone, but also towards their Chinese wives and children. Nigerian husbands experience discrimination at the institutional level, including in the process of getting regular visa renewals. While Thomas (male/45) claims that the Chinese state blacklists Nigeria, thus making it hard to obtain a year-long residence permit, Olorundara (male/45) was forced to forego his marriage visa because of the regular racist remarks and encounters he experienced at the immigration office. Elaborating on his experience, Olorundara explains that:

When I newly married, I applied for my wedding visa. When I got to the authority, the local immigration [officer] would insult me. It is hard to say this, but I have to say it. I told my wife, but she did not believe. One day, unluckily for them, my wife also heard it when we visited the immigration office together; they did not know we were together because I came in first while she sat in the visiting area. (Olorundara/male/45)

Some Chinese women also complained that they were treated with contempt by friends and relatives who perceived Afro-Chinese unions as a serious aberration to valued racial purity and norms. If the Chinese wife is not a Guangzhou resident, there are additional institutional barriers, such as not being qualified to access social welfare. For example, as an internal migrant, Alice perceives that Guangzhou residents feel superior, and that:

In this place [Guangzhou], many are racist; they are racist, and it is common with the local people. . . . [Between] Chinese to Chinese, they feel they are rich. . . . They feel they are special. (Alice/female/34)

Racist and discriminatory behaviours were also directed at mixed-race children. Without exception, Nigerian husbands and Chinese wives reported that, at one time or another, their children would either return from school in tears or came home moody and sad on

account of how their schoolmates or teachers had behaved towards them. Two Nigerian husbands said they had accompanied their children to school to protest racist and discriminatory behaviour. One of them, whose daughter was three years old at the time, stated:

I don't know what transpired; . . . the teacher said in Chinese that she [his daughter] should return to Africa. . . . I got mad at them, but they apologised. . . . In her new school, the [Chinese] children have not seen such colour, so they started calling her foreigner, even the teachers. (Thomas/male/45)

Africans and black people, in general, have featured consistently as comparative objects in China's race discourse. The construction of being Chinese has almost always taken shape in opposition to Africanness. According to Dikötter (1990), Chinese intellectuals and cultural reformers have contributed to the racialisation of black Africans. This racialisation was done so that the denigration of blackness became a 'phenomenon of compensation' which enhanced the collective self-esteem of the Chinese. Through this process, darker races were discursively represented as hereditarily inadequate and waiting to go into extinction (Dikötter, 1990). Such denigration of the black race has informed the spectacular reactions that victimise romantically-involved African men and Chinese women in China (see Cheng, 2011; Sautman, 1994; Sullivan, 1994). The fear, for ordinary Chinese people at least, lies in the inevitable disruption that Afro-Chinese mixed-race children would bring about, mainly in terms of posing a challenge to, or destabilising, the 'purity' of the Chinese race (Wing-Fai, 2015).

Therefore, much of the feeling of un-belongingness that Nigerian-Chinese couples and their children experience, fuelled by structural exclusion and everyday racism, can be traced to the deep-seated Othering of internal Chinese migrants, discontent with Afro-Chinese romance and discomfort with the possible corruption of Chinese purity as a result of mixed-race babies.

### *Embracing and rejecting Nigeria as an alternative home*

In reconciling the tension that arises from the positive and negative orientations that participants hold regarding China, Nigerian-Chinese couples yearn for 'elsewhere'. The saying 'there is no place like home' is often used by Nigerian husbands to convey a desire for 'elsewhere'. As expected, most of them referenced Nigeria as this 'elsewhere', given that they mainly consider it to be where they will eventually return once their Chinese sojourn is over. Probed about the possibility of living in China permanently, one participant responded in the negative, maintaining that 'there's no place like home [and] there's no December that I don't travel home' (Chima/male/48). This quote means that for some husbands, circular migratory practice is a means through which they treat China as a temporary abode. For these men, a return due to retirement is always in view (Cassarino, 2004). However, in their return plans, some Nigerian men plan to return home along with their Chinese wives. As one said, 'I have a dream, the possibility of going back is from the 50s . . . and I'm going back with her [his Chinese wife]' (Chimeze/male/40).

By default, husbands perceive that their Chinese wives would leave China for Nigeria both in solidarity and as a demonstration of their commitment to the family and the life they have built together during their sojourn in Guangzhou. In anticipation of this departure, Nigerian husbands, in consultation with their Chinese wives, acquire properties in Nigeria. This partly explains why only a few of them invest in housing properties in China, preferring instead to make such investments in Nigeria. For many, who are predominantly from the Igbo ethnic group, housing investment conforms with masculine norms of expectation in their ancestral homeland, where building a house at home is a means of laying claim to local citizenship (Osili, 2004). By making investments in housing, however, Nigerian husbands try to be transparent. As one 40-year-old participant said, 'whatever I am doing back home [in Nigeria], she knows about it'. Such transparency achieves the following three things: one, it makes an eventual return to Nigeria an open secret about which the Chinese wife is well-informed; two, it communicates to the wife that such a return is not wholly an egoistic plan, but something that is undertaken in the interest of the family; and three, it once and for all reinforces the feeling that China is only a temporary abode.

It is useful to note that although some Chinese wives did not foreclose the possibility of returning to Nigeria, the practicality of such plans lay in the long-term, rather than immediate. As one Chinese wife explains:

I will go to Nigeria later. But for now, we have business here, and the babies' school [is] here [in China]. . . . I don't think I will go there now. . . . We are doing business here to make sure that we build [a] house in Nigeria; when everything finishes, Chimeze and I will go there to enjoy. (Lin/female/33)

Contrary to the position expressed by her husband, which assumes that their wives will readily return with them, some Chinese wives expressed a more negative position. In an extreme case, a Chinese wife may even reject the idea of returning or relocating to Nigeria entirely. This view, expressed by one Chinese wife in particular, departs from what her husband tends to believe regarding where his Chinese wife is prepared to call home. In this particular case, she contradicted her husband, who had said that his Chinese wife 'always agitates for us to live or stay back in Nigeria; she will say that we should go back to Nigeria' (Olorundara/male/45). While maintaining that Nigeria is a good place to visit on holiday with family and friends, she insisted that emigration for settlement is not a real option. In other words, when asked if she would return to Nigeria with her husband, she replied:

No. [Then continues] Settling? I don't think so. Maybe for a holiday, taking the kids there is okay. You know *you* were not born there. And there is this. . . . what do you call it, mosquito? Erm. . . . Malaria is also there. (Alice/female/34 wife)

Unlike Lin (female/33), who anticipates an exit from China as a future course of action, Alice (female/34) rejected the idea of a permanent return to Nigeria.

Interestingly, some Nigerian husbands held similar negative perceptions towards Nigeria as home. One Nigerian man, who has been married to his wife for over 20 years, talked about the problem of electricity and how it made life hard for his children when

they visited Nigeria (Chima/male/48). Another thought that he would be jeopardising the future of his children by returning them to Nigeria because the country has consistently failed everyone (Thomas/male/45). Similar to the perception of China, these orientations towards Nigeria make the country unhomey.

### *'Everywhere is home': Incongruities of home construction and child upbringing in Guangzhou*

Although Nigerian-Chinese couples are unable to find an easy way to pin down *the* home, they did not abandon the search for home. Instead, they 'un-centred' home by reconstructing it as a social and spatialising condition that can materialise 'elsewhere' and 'everywhere'. The idea that home is everywhere, instead of just China or Nigeria, reverberated in many conversations with participants. The 'un-centring of home' shifts the focus of home from the specific and known space and its materialities to obscure and unknown ones, just as Olorundara did below:

'Nowhere like home'; so, they say. However, to me, for a monkey, everywhere is home; if it is under the tree, if it is inside the cage, everywhere is home. Where you live that you have peace should be claimed as home. (Olorundara/male/45)

To grasp how Nigerian-Chinese couples are committing to, and conforming with, the understanding of an un-centred home construction, we must look closely at the way they parent their mixed-race children. We will suggest that, through quotidian activities like the use of public space, children's career pathway selection and so on, the practice of raising children among Nigerian-Chinese couples points to the indefiniteness of home.

Nigerian-Chinese couples exhibit the first practice of an un-centred home in the street. When in public, a parent teaches their children to behave in a way that is appropriate for living outside China. One Nigerian father, in particular, ruptured the idea of China as a home by awakening the 'spatial consciousness' of his children. To him, China's public spaces are 'too easy', and his children should not be raised to become too comfortable in them. In public, he watches his girls closely and warns them to stay on their own, away from other people. On one occasion, he screamed at his girls as follows:

Hey! Go back! I told you don't stay too close to people. If anything happens, they'll tell you this and that. Give people space. . . . People have their own space.

[He repeated the final sentence in Chinese, then continues]

Don't go into other people's space; stay out of their space. And be very watchful; it is for your own security. . . . Don't forget all the things I used to tell you. If she [i.e. Chinese kid] falls down, they will say 'she is the one that fell on me'. Give people space, manage your own space. Even if people want to enter your space, you have to tell them to move back. (Olorundara/male/45)

He directed most of these warnings at his eldest daughter, with the younger one also close-by. On another occasion, in a mall, the younger daughter tried to walk ahead of the

group, but her father told her to slow down to ‘let these crazy people go’. The ‘crazy people’ were the Chinese people who were also walking around the mall. Later, at a farmer’s market somewhere in Foshan city, the girls walked ahead of the party. Their father called out to his daughters and issued more warnings regarding security consciousness. He later explained his reasons for giving his children lessons on how to behave in public, stating that while ‘China is not very dangerous’:

They [his daughters] must be security conscious. Today, I may decide to take them to America or London. . . . Like now, my wife walks anyhow on the street; just going straight, not looking left and right. She is not security conscious. I am trying [for] them [his daughters]; they will remember that my dad always tells me [to] watch left, watch right. So that by the time they find themselves in Nigeria or any new environment, they will not find it strange. (Olorundara/male/45)

Another approach employed by Nigerian-Chinese couples to prepare their children for a trans-China world was by training them to become more cosmopolitan. This involves enhancing their cultural capital. For instance, parents may choose to send their children to private schools to ensure that they can acquire English language skills from an early age. According to one Nigerian father, attending a private school where the language of instruction is English represents a valuable investment in that it improves the child’s life chances. Again, Olorundara (male/45), who was worried about the future of his two daughters, concluded that an ‘international school’ would help to secure his children’s futures. In his words:

Understanding English would better their lives, and as female children, if they don’t understand English their lives will be limited to this place [China], and they would have an inferiority complex, which is bad.

Some may even let their children acquire a second or third ‘international language’ in addition to the Chinese and English languages, as this means that they may ‘be able to fit into any environment’ (Olorundara/male/45).

A second strategy aiming to make children more cosmopolitan is through the appropriation and/or accumulation of multiple citizenships. Nigerian-Chinese couples place great value on the type and number of citizenships held by their children. They expend resources through legal and extra-legal means to secure multiple citizenships for their children, not just the two possible citizenships that they are entitled to as children of mixed parentage. This strategy is particularly interesting because although Chinese law does not permit dual-citizenship, Nigerian husbands still acquire Nigerian passports for their children. They are aware of the ‘illegality’ of this practice, and thus keep it secret. Couples can also widen the scope of the citizenship choices for their children by sending them to a third country for schooling. Speaking about his children, one male participant feels that mixed-race children:

Are even lucky; they are Nigerians, they are Chinese. Now, they go to another country to study, [and] according to their law, in five years, they will get [another country’s] passport. My junior

sister is living there with her husband. Now, the children can live in another country, live in Nigeria and even in China. (Chima/male/48)

Parents whose children are not on the way to securing additional citizenships believe that, in the future, more citizenship opportunities will be available in Western countries. In preparation for this, Nigerian-Chinese couples map out specific career trajectories for the children. In one case, Lin (female/33) and her husband plan to send their children to the United States or England upon completing formal schooling in China. Educational migration therefore becomes a strategy for citizenship acquisition.

While they pursue various practices, mixed couples tend to raise children for environments beyond Nigeria and China, while also simultaneously grounding them as Afro-Chinese. The parents instil a dual-consciousness by educating their children about Nigerian and Chinese cultures via religion, language and food. Parents with children in public schools encourage their wards to participate in certain activities, such as swimming and Kung Fu, as a way of grounding them in Chinese culture (Lin/female/33). To learn about Nigeria, Nigerian fathers cook ethnic meals, communicate in Nigerian languages, tell Nigerian stories and endeavour to make short trips to Nigeria. Hence, Nigerian-Chinese couples orient their children towards 'everywhere' without neglecting to educate them on their position and how they are situated in the world.

## Discussion

Nigerian men in interracial marriages tend to feel less at home in Guangzhou, a reality that is shaped critically by how external opportunities are structured (Boccagni, 2016). Even while they perceive that China is accommodating and allows social and economic advancement, the problem posed by Chinese identity exclusivity, the uncertainty of life and discrimination and racism keep them at the margins of the host society. As internal migrants themselves, Chinese spouses also feel unwelcome in the city. The sense of exclusion that Chinese women feel, first as internal migrants and secondly as wives of Africans in one of China's biggest cities, impacts negatively on their sense of belonging – much like their Nigerian spouses.

Consequently, Nigerian husbands continue to interface with Nigeria through regular visits and housing investments and hope that, in some distant future, they will be back 'home' again. As far as Nigerians are concerned, this is not surprising given that Nigerians place significant value on their ancestral homeland. Notably, the Igbo people of Southeast Nigeria, who constitute the largest Nigerian ethnic extraction in Guangzhou city, have a strong attachment to their ancestral homeland and commit to homeland investment as a matter of responsibility (Osili, 2004; Uduku, 2002). The Igbo people view the world as a giant marketplace, while their ancestral homes (i.e. villages) retain the status of their real home (Agozino and Anyanike, 2007). As with the Senegalese, whose 'ultimate home' remains linked with the country of origin (Sinatti, 2009), Nigerian men do indeed place home in Nigeria.

Paradoxically, and in contrast to the Senegalese, we also observed that investment in properties at home does not mean that migrants perceive Nigeria as the ultimate place of return and settlement (Erdal, 2012). While investing in a house, some Nigerian husbands

continue to anticipate an 'elsewhere' or 'everywhere'. Nigerian-Chinese couples tend to imagine home as an un-centered category. The envisioning of an 'elsewhere', constructed as an 'everywhere', points to the randomness and contradictoriness, or if you wish the paradox, in the feelings and practices regarding home among the participants. With their view that 'everywhere is home', they challenge the binaries of 'here' and 'there' as the dominant fronts of home imagination. Their view underscores both the possibility and the growing importance of an 'elsewhere', irrespective of its constitution as an inchoately imagined, uncertain, flexible, and evolving locality. One implication of this is that any foreclosure of multilocality by the binary of homeland and host land will undermine the possibility of multiple locales that migrants have a sense of (Buffel, 2017), despite not having been there or not being certain of where those locales might be.

Meanwhile, the imagination and materiality of home engender spousal tensions in an interracial relationship. While the Nigerian husband constructs Nigeria as a place to return to, some Chinese wives prefer their Chinese homeland. The dialectics of nationality, home allegiance and attachment to separate original homes are manifested in how the participants discussed home, based on family-centred calculations. However, statements like 'my wife will follow me when the time comes' and that 'a woman has no destination', despite the moderate or total rejection of the same ideas by Chinese wives, show that both the definition and circumstances of a potential return to any home continues to be influenced by patriarchal and gender-normative precepts. Nigerian husbands take it for granted that their Chinese wives will 'naturally' follow them to Nigeria. Such insistence on the part of the Nigerian men underlines the gendered nature of home itself (Mallett, 2004). It also shows how the understanding of home can lead to a better appreciation of how interracial romance and family micro-politics can challenge global racial hierarchies. In particular, this finding calls attention to how the often-neglected everyday gender and patriarchal performance in interracial families produces a dynamic and non-rigid system of relations.

Nevertheless, the disagreement arising from couples' divergent views of where home should be does not prevent them from agreeing and acting to prevent the potential impact of Chinese exclusion on their children. Parents feel obligated to secure the futures of their children due to the suspicion that Chinese society may not accept them. They do this by giving children multiple international languages and citizenships, educating them on being 'streetwise', and grooming them as cosmopolitans. Their strategies hint at a contemporary Afro-Asian cosmopolitanism that is grounded in uncertainty and unpredictability. Furthermore, in training cosmopolitan children who are conscious of their dual-rootedness, interracial couples are operating within a post-race perspective which supports the idea that mixed-race children should be raised to know and appreciate their heritages (Edwards et al., 2010). To the parents, such post-race thinking anticipates the achievement of genuinely cosmopolitan identity, even if it remains aspirational.

## Conclusion

Despite the vagueness that characterises the constructions of home, Nigerian-Chinese couples located home in an imprecise 'everywhere', while also considering the possibility of China becoming a place to which they could belong. Based on the assumption that

continued interactions will breed similar transformations to those that have occurred in many societies, Chinese society is believed to be on the path towards change. Nevertheless, while believing that change is going to come, Nigerian husbands may not remain in China long enough to witness such change given how much effort they put into their eventual exit and the practices they have developed towards training their children for a world beyond China. Their parenting style, together with their hopes and aspirations for biracial children, suggests a tension in their expressed optimism about China as a home.

### Declaration of conflicting interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

### Funding

This research was supported by the Consortium for Advanced Research Training in Africa (CARTA). CARTA is jointly led by the African Population and Health Research Center and the University of the Witwatersrand and funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York (Grant No--B 8606.R02), Sida (Grant No:54100029), the DELTAS Africa Initiative (Grant No: 107768/Z/15/Z). The DELTAS Africa Initiative is an independent funding scheme of the African Academy of Sciences' (AAS) Alliance for Accelerating Excellence in Science in Africa (AESA) and supported by the New Partnership for Africa's Development Planning and Coordinating Agency (NEPAD Agency) with funding from the Wellcome Trust (UK) (Grant No: 107768/Z/15/Z) and the UK government. Kudus Adebayo also acknowledges the funding received through the African Humanities Program (Dissertation Completion Fellowship) and the Small Grants for Thesis Writing awarded by the Council for Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). Kudus received travel support from CARTA and the International Sociological Association (ISA) to attend the XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology in Toronto, Canada where a version of this article was read. However, the statements made and views expressed are solely the responsibility of the authors.

### ORCID iD

Kudus Oluwatoyin Adebayo  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3746-4963>

### References

- Agozino B and Anyanike I (2007) IMU AHIA: Traditional Igbo business school and global commerce culture. *Dialectical Anthropology* 31(1–3): 233–252.
- Al-Ali N and Koser K (2003) *New Approaches to Migration? Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Boccagni P (2014) What's in a (migrant) house? Changing domestic spaces, the negotiation of belonging and home-making in Ecuadorian migration. *Housing, Theory and Society* 31(3): 277–293.
- Boccagni P (2016) *Migration and the Search for Home: Mapping Domestic Space in Migrants' Everyday Lives*. Cham: Springer.
- Bodomo A (2010) The African trading community in Guangzhou: An emerging bridge for Africa–China relations. *The China Quarterly* 203: 693–707.
- Bodomo A (2016) Introduction. In: Bodomo A (ed.) *Africans in China: Guangdong and Beyond*. New York: Diaspora Africa Press, pp. 1–10.



- Bodomo A and Pajancic C (2015) Counting beans: Some empirical and methodological problems for calibrating the African presence in Greater China. *Journal of Pan African Studies* 7(10): 126–144.
- Buffel T (2017) Ageing migrants and the creation of home: Mobility and the maintenance of transnational ties. *Population, Space and Place* 23(5): e1994.
- Cassarino J-P (2004) Theorising return migration: The conceptual approach to return migrants revisited. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 6(2): 253–279.
- Castillo R (2014) Feeling at home in the ‘Chocolate City’: An exploration of place-making practices and structures of belonging amongst Africans in Guangzhou. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 15(2): 235–257.
- Castillo R (2016) ‘Homing’ Guangzhou: Emplacement, belonging and precarity among Africans in China. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 19(3): 287–306.
- Cheng Y (2011) From campus racism to cyber racism: Discourse of race and Chinese nationalism. *The China Quarterly* 207: 561–579.
- Christou A (2009) No place is (like) home: Mobilities, memories and metamorphoses of Greek migrants in Denmark. In: Tziouvas D (ed.) *Greek Diaspora and Migration Since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 83–95.
- Dikötter F (1990) Group definition and the idea of ‘race’ in modern China (1793–1949). *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13(3): 420–432.
- Duyvendak JW (2011) *The Politics of Home: Belonging and Nostalgia in Europe and the United States*. Cham: Springer.
- Edwards R, Caballero C and Puthussery S (2010) Parenting children from ‘mixed’ racial, ethnic and faith backgrounds: Typifications of difference and belonging. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33(6): 949–967.
- Erdal MB (2012) ‘A place to stay in Pakistan’: Why migrants build houses in their country of origin. *Population, Space and Place* 18(5): 629–641.
- Fenster T and Vigel I (2007) Globalization, sense of belonging and the African community in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. *Hagar: Studies in Culture, Polity & Identities* 7(1): 7–24.
- Haugen HØ (2012) Nigerians in China: A second state of immobility. *International Migration* 50(2): 65–80.
- Haugen HØ (2015) Destination China: The country adjusts to its new migration reality. Available at: [www.migrationpolicy.org/article/destination-china-county-adjust-its-new-migration-reality](http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/destination-china-county-adjust-its-new-migration-reality)
- Haugen HØ (2019) Residence registration in China’s immigration control: Africans in Guangzhou. In: Lehmann A and Leonard P (eds) *Destination China*. Cham: Springer, pp. 45–64.
- Joseph TK, Yun SQ and Teya K (2017) The influence of religion on mixed marriages among Africans and Chinese in China: A case study of inter ethnic marriages in Yiwu. *Journal of Sociology* 5(1): 122–130.
- Lan S (2015) Transnational business and family strategies among Chinese/Nigerian couples in Guangzhou and Lagos. *Asian Anthropology* 14(2): 133–149.
- Liu LS (2014) A search for a place to call home: Negotiation of home, identity and senses of belonging among new migrants from the People’s Republic of China (PRC) to New Zealand. *Emotion, Space and Society* 10: 18–26.
- Lucas S and Purkayastha B (2007) ‘Where is home?’ Here and there: transnational experiences of home among Canadian migrants in the United States. *GeoJournal* 68(2–3): 243–251.
- Lyons M, Brown A and Li Z (2012) In the dragon’s den: African traders in Guangzhou. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38(5): 869–888.
- Mallett S (2004) Understanding home: A critical review of the literature. *The Sociological Review* 52(1): 62–89.

- Osili UO (2004) Migrants and housing investments: Theory and evidence from Nigeria. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 52(4): 821–849.
- Pan W (2014) *Love and Marriage in Globalizing China*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Park YJ (2009) *Chinese Migration in Africa*. China in Africa Project Occasional Paper No. 24. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs.
- Pfafman TM, Carpenter CJ and Tang Y (2015) The politics of racism: Constructions of African immigrants in China on ChinaSMACK. *Communication, Culture & Critique* 8(4): 540–556.
- Philipp A and Ho E (2010) Migration, home and belonging: South African migrant women in Hamilton, New Zealand. *New Zealand Population Review* 36: 81–101.
- Ralph D and Staeheli LA (2011) Home and migration: Mobilities, belongings and identities. *Geography Compass* 5(7): 517–530.
- Sautman B (1994) Anti-black racism in post-Mao China. *The China Quarterly* 138: 413–437.
- Shutika DL (2011) *Beyond the Borderlands: Migration and Belonging in the United States and Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Silva K (2009) Oh, give me a home: Diasporic longings of home and belonging. *Social Identities* 15(5): 693–706. .
- Sinatti G (2009) Home is where the heart abides: Migration, return and housing in Dakar, Senegal. *Open House International* 34(3): 49–56.
- Sullivan MJ (1994) The 1988–89 Nanjing anti-African protests: Racial nationalism or national racism? *The China Quarterly* 138: 438–457.
- Taylor S (2015) ‘Home is never fully achieved. . . even when we are in it’: Migration, belonging and social exclusion within Punjabi transnational mobility. *Mobilities* 10(2): 193–210.
- Uduku O (2002) The socio-economic basis of a diaspora community: Igbo bu ike. *Review of African Political Economy* 29(92): 301–311.
- Wing-Fai L (2015) Who could be an Oriental angel? Lou Jing, mixed heritage and the discourses of Chinese ethnicity. *Asian Ethnicity* 16(3): 294–313.
- Zhou M, Xu T and Shenasi S (2016) Entrepreneurship and interracial dynamics: A case study of self-employed Africans and Chinese in Guangzhou, China. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39(9): 1566–1586.
- Zhou Y (2017) *Intercultural Marriage, Legal Status and Social Belonging in China: Chinese-African Couples and Families in Guangzhou*. Cologne: Universität zu Köln.

### Author biographies

Kudus Oluwatoyin Adebayo is a Research Fellow in the Diaspora and Transnational Studies Unit, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He obtained his PhD from the Department of Sociology of the same university. He is interested in international migration and diaspora, knowledge production, and urban studies.

Femi O Omololu is a Professor of Sociology in the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He teaches and conducts research in the areas of demography, social policy and sociological theory.

### Résumé

Les relations entre l’Afrique et la Chine facilitent différents flux et entraînent des mobilités qui ont engendré des familles afro-chinoises à Guangzhou, en Chine. Dans cet article, nous examinons comment les couples mixtes nigériens-chinois construisent et adoptent des notions contradictoires du foyer, et comment ces contradictions se manifestent dans la manière dont ils éduquent leurs enfants. L’étude s’appuie sur des données provenant d’entretiens biographiques,

de visites répétées et de rencontres sociales impliquant à la fois des couples mixtes nigériens-chinois et des hommes nigériens dans des couples interraciaux. Alors que les hommes nigériens ont tendance à moins se sentir chez eux en Chine, en raison de problèmes tels que l'exclusivité ressentie de l'identité chinoise, les incertitudes de leur existence et leur expérience de la discrimination et du racisme, leurs épouses chinoises, étant elles-mêmes des migrantes internes, ne se sentent pas non plus les bienvenues à Guangzhou. En outre, les couples mixtes nigériens-chinois se sentent obligés d'assurer l'avenir de leurs enfants afro-chinois, de crainte que la société chinoise ne les accepte pas. Les modes d'éducation, les espoirs et les aspirations des parents dans les couples nigériens-chinois concernant leurs enfants montrent qu'ils considèrent le foyer comme une catégorie non centrée.

### Mots-clés

Enfants métis, mariage interracial, migration de retour, relations Afrique-Chine, sentiment d'appartenance des migrants

### Resumen

Las relaciones entre África y China están facilitando diferentes flujos y favoreciendo movilidades que han producido familias afro-chinas en Guangzhou, China. En este artículo, se examina cómo las parejas nigeriano-chinas construyen y adoptan nociones contradictorias de hogar, y cómo estas contradicciones se manifiestan en sus prácticas de educación infantil. Nos basamos en datos de entrevistas de historias de vida, visitas repetidas y encuentros sociales que involucran a parejas nigerianas-chinas y hombres nigerianos individuales en matrimonios interraciales. Mientras que los hombres nigerianos tienden a sentirse menos en casa, debido a problemas como la percepción de exclusividad de la identidad china, la incertidumbre vital y las experiencias de discriminación y racismo, sus cónyuges chinas, como migrantes internas, también tampoco se sienten bienvenidas en Guangzhou. Además, las parejas nigeriano-chinas se sienten obligadas a asegurar el futuro de sus hijos afro-chinos debido a la sospecha de que la sociedad china puede no aceptarlos. Los estilos de crianza, las esperanzas y las aspiraciones reveladas por las parejas nigeriano-chinas con respecto a sus hijos muestran que ven el hogar como una categoría no centrada.

### Palabras clave

Matrimonio interracial, migración de retorno, niños mestizos, relaciones África-China, sentimiento de pertenencia de los migrantes.