Minority Cosmopolitanism : Afro-Cosmopolitan engagement displayed by African Australians

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MINORITY COSMOPOLITANISM: AFRO-COSMOPOLITAN ENGAGEMENT DISPLAYED BY AFRICAN AUSTRALIANS IN MOOROOKA

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Abstract

Research on cosmopolitan practices and non-white refugee and migrant populations in

Western nations often concentrates on how the mainstream 'host' culture practices

openness and hospitality towards 'new' and minority populations. Reflecting the
relationality at the heart of cosmopolitanism's conceptual promise, this research

reverses the gaze back by exploring how minority populations who are 'locals' in ethnic

hubs or enclaves practice openness towards 'non-locals' who otherwise constitute a
dominant group nationally. Our article focuses on the black African Australian (AA)
community in the suburb of Moorooka, known as a 'little Africa'. Moorooka's main

strip is lined with various AA owned shops and restaurants, and with AAs going about

their everyday lives. The suburb attracts negative news stories and is stereotyped as an
undesirable ethnic enclave marred by crime, social problems and unemployment. Yet,
Moorooka is also becoming a cosmopolitan destination for visitors to shop, explore and

dine. We thematically analyse qualitative interviews with AAs to understand how they

interact with non-AAs and why. Our research sheds new light on forms of openness and
hospitality we call 'minority cosmopolitanism' that arises from the AA experience.
Accordingly, we also highlight forms of Afro-cosmopolitanism that assists with a

deeper understanding of the African diaspora.

Total work count: 8022.

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Minority cosmopolitanism: Afro-cosmopolitan engagement displayed by African Australians in Moorooka

Introduction

Moorooka is an inner suburb of Brisbane and is about nine kilometres from this capital city's central business district in South East Queensland, Australia. Known as 'little Africa', it is the fastest growing metropolitan region in the state (Storey, Muhidin and Westoby 2010). The main street or 'strip' takes barely ten minutes to walk down but is where the action is. Due to its vibrancy in terms of encounters between regular and occasional visitors, local residents and business owners, and between African Australians (AAs) and non-African Australians, it offers a rich site for investigating processes of cosmopolitanisation. The street is lined with food and grocery shops displaying African imported goods from Ethiopian coffee to items from Sudan, Somalia and some West African nations. There are hairdressers promoting African hair and beauty products. There are multiple businesses with signs in various different national languages from the continent. Many men, women and teenagers who are Black Africans can be seen strolling, chatting, shopping, eating, working, or in transit. Some are dressed in Western-style formal outfits, some dressed casually in American influenced styles, some in traditional Muslim attire and others in clothes strongly reflecting different African ethnicities. The sounds of people talking on the street include a noticeable mix of various languages spoken in African nations, from Amharic, Arabic, Swahili, and more.

The milieu in Moorooka just described above marks a stark contrast to nearby areas, which display many of the traits typical to suburbs with predominantly Anglo-

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Australian residents, and those with influences from Mediterranean and Asian migrants

whose markers of multiculturalism are no longer remarkable but seen as an 'everyday'

(Wise, Velayutham and Vogl 2010) and mundane part of the mainstream Australian life

(Edensor 2007; Molz 2011; Authors D and C). As such, people from non-African and

particularly Anglo-White backgrounds are the majority elsewhere, but become a

minority upon entering the active, busy and bustling main strip in Moorooka. This is an

important point of perspective for us as researchers of African, Asian and Anglo

backgrounds. Rather than looking at Anglo-Australians as the 'locals' and 'hosts' who

are called upon to accommodate the differences of African Australians our article turns

the gaze around to ask questions of what negotiations, understandings, and practices are

used by African Australians who are performing cosmopolitan openness to outsiders

and those who are 'different' in the specific African 'hub' of Moorooka. In doing so, we

believe our approach allows us to empirically explore cosmopolitanism as a

contextualised, relational process (see Delanty, 2011): we study plurality, but more

importantly we try to account for the multiple perspectives and understandings

differently actors must apply in order to navigate socio-culturally diverse settings such

as Moorooka.

Background

In terms of location and demographics, Moorooka is part of South East

Queensland and according to the latest official statistics, it has a population of 10,368

(ABS 2016). Historically, until the 1990s, the residents of Moorooka were mainly

'Australians of Anglo-Saxon background (Storey et al. 2010: 147). Since 1990s,

Australians of white European backgrounds continued to be largely the residents of

Moorooka. The latest official census data reveals that top five ancestral places of people

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living in Moorooka are English, Australian, Irish, Scottish and German (ABS 2016).

Despite these statistics and historical facts, today, the business centre of Moorooka discernably paints a different picture. Research into urban planning and social inclusion noted the recent rapid social and demographic changes that are taking place in Moorooka (Storey et al. 2010). Noticeably, black African immigrants are establishing elementary businesses including ethnic stores, barbers and restaurants. Moorooka has undoubtedly become a 'cosmopolitan space' or an enlarged 'canopy (Anderson, 2011; Rumford, 2008) where black African Australian immigrants run businesses, meet and socialise. The earliest presence of African Australians in Moorooka started in the form of temporary accommodation provided to African refugees by settlement services providers (Harte, Childs and Hastings 2009).

Historically, Australia has a long history of migration from different parts of the globe but groups from Africa constitute a comparatively recent group. Amongst the many immigrant groups that Australia has accepted over the years include 'several waves of African migrations' (Jakubowicz 2010: 4). The past two decades in particular saw an increase of the number of African refugees and humanitarian entrants resettling in Australia, (Fozdar and Hartley 2013; Jakubowicz 2010; Pittaway, Muli and Shteir, 2009). However, before 1976, most African migrants in Australia were white South Africans (Jakubowicz 2010). Here, we are deliberately using the black African Australian label as 'nearly half of all Australians of African origin are white, skilled migrants from South Africa' (Phillips 2011: 65)

It is important to avoid the common stereotype of imagined false homogeneity of Africans and acknowledge that African migrants in Australia (including participants of this study) hail are from diverse nationalities, ethnicities, languages, cultural and

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religious backgrounds. The migration of African refugees into Australia has been

controversial as sections of wider society claim their integration into Australia has been

difficult. Fears include that immigrants from African conflict zones Sudan, Somalia,

Sierra Leone and Liberia would increase local crime and be culturally too foreign to the

dominant culture so as to threaten social cohesion.

Issues of discrimination and stereotyping can be significant in contributing to the

marginalisation of African migrants and refugees (Mergia, 2005; Renzaho, Polonsky,

McQuilten and Waters 2013). For instance, qualified black African nurses experience

discrimination in certain workplaces (Mapedzahama, Rudge, West and Perron 2012).

African refugees are also labelled negatively and stereotyped as being involved in gang

and violence culture and increasing criminality in their localities (Horyniak, Lim and

Higgs 2016). For example, the South Sudanese refugees in Australia were referred to as

being 'disproportionally violent and unable to settle in Australia' (Phillips 2011: 48).

The representation of Africans as a group involved in alleged gang-related activities

certainly stigmatises them (Nunn 2010). These misrepresentations may have significant

policy ramifications for African Australians as former federal government minister

Kevin Andrews called for cutting African refugee intake, citing their lack of integration

into Australia (Farouque, Petrie, and Miletic 2007). Similarly, the New South Wales

regional city of Tamworth council refused to accept the resettlement of South Sudanese

African refugees in Tamworth (Kwansah-Aidoo and Mapedzahama 2015).

The complex constructions of identity and belonging for AAs is also inseparable

from Australia's efforts of colonisation, assimilation and multiculturalism, which have

been played out within a broader nation-building project that scholars such as Hage

(2002) argue promotes and privileges white settler culture as the norm. This means

groups like African Australians are seen as 'visitors' and 'outsiders' to their own nation

of Australia. Absent from scholarly literature and general public discussions are

accounts of the contributions they make to their newly adopted country Australia. Most

literature critically lacks any fleshing out of the variety of educational, occupational,

artistic, community-organisational, and other demographic traits that counter negative

ideas and feelings towards AAs. One noteworthy piece of research (Author D) attempts

to reframe the debate and argues that pre-migration and settlement experience of AAs

could be the stimulus for success and achievement of this group.

In an attempt to address apparent limitations in literature and a lack of

sociological research into the everyday experiences and strategies of this group, this

article aims to bring about fresh pathways of understanding of this comparatively

overlooked population by focusing our research on their performance as 'hosts' to other

Africans and the non-Africans in Moorooka and elsewhere. Unlike previous studies that

mainly focused on how Africans adapt to the national space as 'non-locals' in Australia,

this research reverses that approach and evaluates how African Australians are willing

to perform the role of 'hosts' and practice openness to others who are different to them.

As we shall demonstrate later in this paper, they can take up the role of 'givers' of

openness and hospitality. This counters numerous stereotypes about AAs as deviant and

culturally incommensurable to wider Australian society. Research shows that 'further

openness is achieved through a cosmopolitan 'ethics of sharing' rather than giving,

which arises from cosmopolitan reflexivity' (Authors B, D and C). But before we

discuss the openness or its lack of it of AAs, we present in the next section a contextual

outline of cosmopolitanism as it is related to AAs.

Cosmopolitanism

This paper draws on research from a larger project funded by an Australian Research Council grant titled: XXXX. The project used a framework for understanding cosmopolitanism not as an abstract ideal but as a sharper conceptual and theoretical tool for identifying the complexity of practices of openness see (Authors B, D and C; Authors D and C). Researchers from the project argue for an ethics of sharing, not just giving or merely tolerating, and surrender rather than control in relation to individual understandings of the social context of encounters with culturally different people and settings. The idea of surrender draws and extends on the work of Hannerz (1990) who argued that cosmopolitanism is otherwise superficial if one chooses to 'exit' when their sense of mastery of the situation is threatened. The encounter is not cosmopolitan if there is an effort to maintain control and there is only an act of 'giving' which is conditional. Sharing on the other hand, is a strategy that practically opens the possibility for reciprocal and respectful mutual exchange.

However, this conceptual framework has mostly been studied in social situations where it is the dominant population describing their encounters with diversity. More specifically, cosmopolitan encounters have mostly been studied through analysing how White individuals talk about encounters. In their paper, Authors B, C and D draw a line, arguing encounters cannot be cosmopolitan if they only take up the role as 'hosts' who give hospitality (thus maintaining a position of ownership and control). Instead, encounters where these individuals surrender the position of control, and where their comparative power is acknowledged as problematic, constitutes a reflexive process that can open up a willingness not just to be 'open' but rather the will, however painful or intimidating, to share.

Importantly, as discussed in the previous section, this article reverses the focus

from how mainstream populations perform openness to minorities to explore the

experiences and viewpoint of those who are seen as 'perpetual foreigners', othered as

visible migrants or refugees in the context of particular suburbs and spaces where they

are compelled to assume the role of hosts. Few other studies do this, with tourism

studies of guides (Salazar 2005), black/white relations in working class settings

(Lamont and Aksartova 2002) and migrants in working class settings abroad (Datta

2009) being examples. Salazar's study reveals that the guides perform ambassadorial

roles of cosmopolitanism without possessing a comparatively great degree of mobility.

Although some of the motivations are orientated for profit and business, other

motivations also include pride in being able to represent and act as hosts in their area.

For foreign/global others they become cultural ambassadors and educators of the areas

that they are locals in.

Lamont and Aksartova (2002) study highlights how cosmopolitanism can be a

tool for combatting racism in blue-collar environments and argue is not just an idealistic

project of identity for the middle-class and elite. Interestingly, they also found distinct

differences between how Americans and French defined 'openness' and anti-racism. In

the former, it was discourses of individualism and upward mobility (becoming president

to owning expensive items) that were seen as equalisers, while for the latter anti-racist

views were based on ideas of egalitarianism, fraternity and 'brotherhood' drawn from

French socialist and nationalist discourses for instance.

The study by Datta (2009: 2) investigates the experiences of migrants in

working-class occupations abroad, such as in construction, and argues that forms of

cosmopolitanism can emerge from people who work together or find themselves in

situations requiring 'a strategic engagement with others through coerced choices in

order to survive in new environments'. Werbner (1999) similarly looked at highway

workers who are migrants and argued that cosmopolitanism is an active process of

getting along rather than just a matter of identity construction for middle-class elites.

Datta (2009: 3) argues that: 'cosmopolitanism is neither an ethico-political cultural

project, nor just a survival strategy but a complex mixture of cultural, ordinary, banal,

coerced, and 'glocalised' cosmopolitanisms that are enacted under different spatial

circumstances of interaction, subjective positioning, and physical proximity'.

Cosmopolitanism also is processes that exists in uneven power relations globally and

within the shadow of colonialism (see Mignolo, 2010).

Methods and Case Study: African Australians (AAs) in Moorooka

In our research of Moorooka, we examine how African Australians (AAs)

perform openness to others and also in the diverse ethnic communities within the

African diaspora. This approach is inspired by the assessments that cosmopolitanism

and openness towards others is 'produced from everyday practices in localised context'

(Datta 2009: 26). Our fieldwork in Moorooka, also known as 'Little Africa', was carried

out by a multicultural team of researchers in Griffith university, led by a member from

the African Australian community of Somalia born, a Vietnamese Australian female and

a white Australian male. We focused our research on the diasporic hub of Moorooka,

where AAs work, frequently visit and socialise. Importantly, we are interested in how

AAs act as 'locals' who host visitors to the area yet they are othered in terms of being

outside mainstream Australia. AAs are also visibly dominant within the area, which

may be viewed as an 'ethnic enclave', but it is here that they also play the role of

'hosts'. Hence, as residents in the area they negotiate multiple identity statuses

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including that of minorities and mostly new comers from various cultural, linguistic and

religious backgrounds.

The study initially conducted an ethnographic research involving visits to shops,

streets and businesses run by AAs. Ethnography is a 'systematic approach to learning

about the social and cultural life of communities, institutions and other settings'

(LeCompte and Schensul 2010: 1). Observations and interviews were conducted and

this paper draws on narratives from interviews with the AA about their community and

visitors within the hub of Moorooka. Between 2014 and 2015 four focus groups were

then conducted with 26 black AAs in Moorooka, Brisbane. 31 people participated in

four focus groups consisting of 20 men and 11 women aged over 18 years, with various

occupational and educational backgrounds. The median group size was seven

participants per focus group. According to Morgan (1996: 130), a focus group is, 'A

research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by

the researcher'. The advantage of focus group methodology is to capture practices of

inter-group negotiation, and to comparatively observe the reasoning strategies of

participants as they provide confirming or contrasting viewpoints. Researchers observed

a common rule of thumb for qualitative research which is to have between four and six

participants in a focus group (Morgan 1996: 144). The data became saturated at the end

of the fourth group discussion but we highlight other interesting themes for future

research that fell outside the scope of this project in our conclusion. Saturation is a

methodological principle for qualitative research and is defined by Morse (1995) as the

'data adequacy', meaning that data needs to be continually collected until no new

information is obtained. In order to maximise group discussions and interactions, a

schedule of questions was developed and photo elicitation exercise was used.

The researchers acknowledge that no generalisations could be made about the views of the small sample of African Australians. However, the diversity found in this small sample is illustrative of issues and themes relevant to African Australians in Queensland only and the focus group participants reflect the ethnic and nationality diversity that is apparent in this community. This small sample included African Australians who resided in Australia for several decades and newly arrived migrants including people who were special humanitarian visa entrants. Ethical considerations include that the participation was voluntary, information about the research was given using an information sheet and pre-talk before the interviews, which were then only conducted after signed consent forms were completed. The data has been anonymised as a further step. Recruitment, rapport during interviews and development the coding and themes from the data was assisted through insights by the lead author being part of the community under investigation. This includes distinguishing nuances in how cosmopolitanism is performed by minorities, for instance.

Thematic analysis is a qualitative analysis tool that helps the researcher to identify, analyse and report patterns or themes within data (Braun and Clarke 2006: 79). The analysis focused on the patterned responses participants provided to the focus group research questions. According to Braun and Clarke (2006: 82), 'A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set'. Intercoder reliability was ensured through emerging codes and themes checked by the other authors and compared to relevant literature.

Results and Discussion

The main patterned responses the study looked for were what forms of cosmopolitan engagement exist within this group, referring to the encounters with culturally different people, places, and things that may have cosmopolitan consequences (Delanty 2011). The study reveals two main forms of cosmopolitan encounters that black African Australians displayed. These are what we call 'minority cosmopolitanism and 'ambassadorial/host' cosmopolitanism. These insights draw on the three following main insights generated from the broader study we conducted on AAs. First, an ethical orientation and duty to humanity was apparent in all stages of the research where participants' responded to photo elicitations. Looking at an image of a natural disaster, for instance, they generally reflected a connectedness to a global human society and

they specifically showed willingness of sharing and caring towards fellow human beings depicted in the image. Second, there was a strategic orientation and willingness to show off their cultures in the interviews, which manifested in things such as performing cosmopolitan hospitality as part of how they do business with non-Africans in their local environment. As they are from diverse nationalities and ethnicities, African Australians equally performed playing hosts to each other and were generally positive about sharing their diverse cultures and openness within each other. While these types of cosmopolitanism are identified in other studies (Datta,2009, Lamont and Askartova, 2002), it is important to note these specific background contexts of the AA community in Moorooka and nuances and modifications distinct to black AAs which we conceptualise as both 'minority cosmopolitanism' and 'Afro-cosmopolitanism'.

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Minorities as Cosmopolitans

> Racism is something that exists. Unfortunately, it will exist for a long time to come. It
> has many faces…For example, when you're qualified and you're from an African
> background and you apply for a job. You are suited for that job — you have the skills
> — you don't get that job. Not only that job, but you apply for 150 jobs within two
> months and you don't get nothing — no response — while other people are getting the
> job. You feel isolated, you feel like you're not valued. That is I think the hardest to —
> that most difficult racism. (AA6).

Two main themes emerge from the data analysed: first, minorities as
marginalised cosmopolitans, referring to their status as sometimes being socially
marginalised whilst also embodying aspects of the cosmopolitan ideal. Minority
positionality in terms of cosmopolitan gestures, convivial acts and motivations is rarely
considered or studied. Minorities are usually seen as recipients and not the givers or
sharers. Secondly, as ambassadors of their cultural heritage and as hosts to the wider
society in Australia. These themes are inter-related and cosmopolitanism in AAs cannot
be understood without exploring their minority experience of marginalisation. This
marginalisation is multilayered and complex and is partly informed by the historical
problems of colonisation of Africa by the Western European countries known as the
scramble of Africa (Pakenham 1992). It is also the marginalisation from mainstream
Australian media outlets that stereotype and misrepresent them as a problem group (Han
and Budarick 2018). They also include the prejudices they encounter in Australia as
new migrants from certain politicians who link them with criminal gang activities
(Ferguson 2018). Some of the comments below explain the prejudices and stereotypes
they face in their new adopted homeland Australia.

A xenophobic message at that time … I think it say 'African go back' something like

that, go back to your country. Yeah, so that is amazing message. It is very xenophobic

and I think the council has responded quickly. Then I think on the same time we, he

took on newspaper as well and he respond to quickly… (AA1 commenting on graffiti in

Moorooka)

We are going to shop — close the shops around five o'clock. Obviously, building at the

top someone wrote, [nigger] go home. (AA1 commenting on graffiti in Moorooka)

The AAs we interviewed were also concerned about how sometimes non-

African members of society make assumptions about their employment status, assuming

they are unemployed and not working hard. Another common misconception

compounded by the first is that they are loitering rather than legitimately socialising in

Moorooka's public spaces. For instance, one participant reveals:

Yes, and then that goes back to cultural differences. Those people that you see standing

there, it does not mean they are jobless. Most — some of them work night shifts and

they come here about 1 pm to stay there for a few hours. Some of them drive taxis.

Some of them are elderly who retired — are not required to work. But then again, you

don't get that feeling — or you don't see that — somewhere else. So, I can understand

someone from an Australian background — an Anglo-Sax background — when they're

passing by and they see this number of people sitting there having coffee together. They

might — that question will cross their mind, definitely. But the picture doesn't tell the
story, it's not like that. (AA 6)

Other participants we spoke to further elaborate on forms of cultural stereotyping and

misconceptions below.

The only negative stereotype is that when you get there and you are from outside or

different culture, the first impression that you will have is are the people crazy [and

that], the way they talk, they happy, they talk loudly which is very different than

Australian culture. They talk and stay as groups rather than individuals, they cross the

lights as groups. So, it's about the way that they present themselves which is naturally

cultural rather than bad thing that people could see as a negative. (AA 7)

If you are from outside African community or if you're from white Australian and you

came in Moorooka, you might feel that you're alone, you're being surrounded by all of

these tall African people. (AA 7)

You know how there are, some of them instead of coming into the shop, or stay in the

shop get the service, and then go where they have to go. But they hang around on the

street. I think that's really, I don't like that… they sit down. That's the part I don't like.

I think even for my experience, for my clients. Even having, you know how the

pavement is just for walking, so for other customers it's really annoying as well. (AA

10).

Our ethnographic observations and conversations with local AAs reveal that

many of the male adults congregating in parks and the streets of Moorooka work shifts,

drive taxis at night, and eat, drink and socialise until their next taxi shift starts at late

afternoon. There were no incidents of public mishap or crime, and especially none

started by AAs with non-AAs. People were, apparently, just going about their day. In

other words, what we observed supports the participants' quotes above about being

stereotyped based on misunderstandings or assumptions. Our data also supports other

research that argues minorities such as AAs in Australia are subject to stereotypes as

being under-skilled and contributing to unemployment (Abdelkerim and Grace, 2012).

The feelings of discrimination reported by the participants above also confirm theories

about broader societal racism operating in suburban spaces like Moorooka, where non-

Whites are othered as perpetual foreigners and as possibly 'sinister' or deviant (Baas

2015; Hage 2002; Lobo 2016). Both structural and 'on the ground' encounters of

discrimination clearly situates AAs as minorities in the broader society.

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However, we argue that this marginal positioning or liminality shapes AAs in particular ways that include a sense of cosmopolitan empathy. While this research can only shed light on AAs in a 'little Africa' type hub in a small suburb in Australia, we were still able explore strategies they used to suspend and transcend 'local' specific loyalties and biases over to 'universal' ones and cosmopolitan forms of sharing the space and cultural experiences, even towards those who marginalise them. For example, participants admire the richness of Australian society's cultural diversity. At the same time, AAs we spoke to felt many Anglo Australians can be uncosmopolitan.

However, some participants also expressed they felt this was due to their lack of offshore contact with people and cultures who are different to them, and from lack of experience being a minority. The comments below highlight a common view amongst interviewees that overseas travel is important, and how that may help White Australians in particular develop more openness and acceptance of others.

> I think the fear within Australia, stems because they have never been exposed to other
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> cultures, [unclear] different … background, different lifestyle. Australians don't travel
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> that much, they just go to Malaysia, Indonesia…Bali. So never been exposed to darker
>
> skin other than indigenous and their experience with indigenous is different with
>
> politics. (AA 2).

Below is another quote illustrating AAs attempt at empathy as a course of action or strategy in response to non-AAs bias or prejudice against them.

> Because you can just conclude for yourself, this person is not good. I hate what she is
>
> doing. Maybe she is doing something according to their culture. Like me, I dress
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> according to my culture. I do this according to my culture. But if you understand my
>
> way, you will not hate my culture, you will see that that is my culture and you abide by

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> [that one]. But if you don't understand me, you will feel that what I am doing is not a
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> right thing and to me I am doing the right thing. So, if we respect one another, then at
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> least you will be able to understand what the person is trying to do but if we can't
>
> respect one another then [unclear] people will not be understanding what we are doing.
>
> (AA 3)

The quotes above emphasise how AAs see a need for non-AAs to develop what we describe as 'cosmopolitan dispositions' of empathy (Authors C and D). This is different from ethnocentric discourses of difference (for example, us versus them), and conflict between 'oppressed' and 'oppressor'. The AAs also appear to have a sense that for some non-AAs, their 'toolbox' is less sensitised and equipped to deal with encounters with diversity (Appiah 1997). Therefore combined, our participants are practising a process we describe as 'minority cosmopolitanism'. This builds on the idea of cosmopolitanism as an everyday practice and outlook of openness able to emerge in all actors, not just elites or the majority population. [Indi check cosmopolitanism from below]

AAs as Ambassadors and Hosts

In this section, we argue AAs act as agents of change through performing the symbolic role of 'ambassadors' to non-AA visitors and local others in Moorooka. In our conversations and interviews, AAs viewed themselves as being seen as representative of, and to some capacity, also able to actively represent aspects of AA identity in three main ways. First, as ambassadors of the continent of Africa, second, as representative of their respective countries of origin (for example, Somalia, Ethiopia, South Africa and so on), and lastly, as Africans who are Australians (AAs). Sometimes these ambassadorial roles were reified or rejected by non-AAs, for instance seeing

'Africa' the continent as a country or seeing being 'African' as mutually exclusive from being Australian. This caused frustration. AAs were keen to explain the importance of adjustment whilst still retaining their African heritage. Their understanding is in line with that of Shadid (1991: 362) who defined integration as 'the participation of ethnic and religious minorities, individually and as groups, in the social structure of the host society while having possibilities to retain the distinctive aspects of their culture and identity'. AAs conceptualisation of integration is linked not only their willingness to participate in the social and economic fabric of society but how much the wider society accepts and willingness to participate.

Further confusion in the scholarly literature is the difference in what 'integration' means from one group to another (Author A). Furthermore, Mogahed and Nyiri (2007: 2) in their article *Reinventing Integration* proposed redefining integration as less about cultural conformity, and more about having shared goals and commitment.

> You can get experience from them (white shoppers) because [unclear] we come from
> Africa, we don't know about white people so if we mix with them then we can learn
> how they're doing. (AA 5).

AAs expressed being eager to share their culture with everyone who interacted with Moorooka and their community. They unanimously expressed a sense of pride in sharing their culture with wider society.

> I feel good about myself when I talk about my culture. I tell people where we're from,
> … the cultures that we have. Sometimes I tell them about our history. (AA 6)

> Every time I am working, I am sharing my culture. Every time that I am talking to
> someone, I am sharing my culture. Every time that someone comes to my office —

okay — without disrespecting who they are or their beliefs and everything, I'm sharing

my culture. I'm a walking example of my culture. (AA 6)

Impression of Moorooka to outsiders and non-visitors is that they see as a small village

of Africa, a place if you drive your car through Moorooka on Beaudesert Road, a place

that most of the people that you can see are from Africa. So, the impression is that it

become a small African town, a small African village, that's the impression from

outsiders and people who do not usually come quite frequently in Moorooka. They see

as an African shop, village. (AA 7).

I feel whenever there is an opportunity as a person [to share their culture]. I feel I'm not

talking for myself here, I'm talking for the wider community. Whenever there's an

opportunity presented, people are in Moorooka here — the African people — are more

than willing to participate whenever the opportunity is presented. (AA 6).

The comments above reflect the cosmopolitanism seen in locals taking on the

role of hosts seen in tourist studies such as Salazar's (2005) and also as part of the

conviviality diverse populations show towards each other in everyday encounters (Wise,

Velayutham.and Vogl, G., 2010). However, it is also important to consider how AAs

may engage in self-censorship and try to avoid falling into stereotypes about Africa

African people *as minorities*. In our observations and conversations, most in their

informal 'ambassadorial' roles appeared to incorporate an exemplary or 'normative'

behaviour to fit in and be thought of in positive ways. As such, the cosmopolitanism we

observe with its ambassadorial aspects is from a vantage point of countering

marginalization as well as from any dispositions of openness.

While the cultural work we observe might be strategic only in terms of self-

interest and self-image, nuances we observed lead us to think more is at play. For

instance, there was an attempt to modify their behaviour to make others feel welcome

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for reasons of business but also for the well-being and a sense of joy in sharing for all

involved, which we will discuss in depth below. As the comments show, some acts are

about reducing social awkwardness while others are about educating visitors and having

a sense of agency in the process.

> As the business owner to showcase my culture and to my customers I say that's the way
>
> we eat, and we use our finger and the injera bread and you have to wash your hand.
>
> (AA 10).
>
> I think the wider society could be more exposed to the different cultures — like African
>
> cultures — and if there's an information brochure, if there's a study is conducted like
>
> this, which will go a long way to eradicate some problems and issues. (AA 6)
>
> So, in some ways, Moorooka's very centralising and you have a feeling of belonging
>
> and you can feel like you're showcasing your culture and you're shop owners. (AA 9)
>
> Like if they come to my restaurant, I tell them the food or sometimes if I make a new
>
> menu [unclear] I stop here and then tell I've got a new menu, come and try. Like that,
>
> yeah. (AA 5).

Such insights assist with not only supporting but also elaborating on tourism

studies such as in Salazar (2005: 57) who describes how individuals such as tourism

guides can perform 'cosmopolitan enhancing experiences'. Positionality is important, as

our study examines how a marginalised minority in Australia performs

cosmopolitanism from the AA perspective. AAs in Moorooka reported that there have

been efforts by the business owners to make:

> 'Little Africa' a friendly communal space for all and not only for Africans.
>
> This is one of the things that the owners when they have a meeting, things that they talk
>
> about and said how we can attract the wider community to come and feel happy and
>
> safe in Moorooka. So one of the things that came up is to have every few months a late

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night where all the shops are open and wider societies are informed to come in to talk to

the people, to see their food, to see their culture, to see their — and feel free to ask any

questions, anything that they want to know and cruise around Moorooka and feel that

they belong and it's a place that they can come and shop. (AA 7).

Other participants also talk about how AAs openness to others can have positive
impacts on others, while also doing the double-work of reducing fear against them and
also lifting their status as minorities:

We had a night, festival night, where we send the pamphlets to neighbouring residents,

people that live in around Moorooka and ask them to come. There was a music festival

even on that night, African music. The restaurants were open so that they can come and

test the food. The shops were open. People who came from the wider societies and

participated, that showed they're positive of what they have seen and what they have

realised and that, in the long term will create an interaction and then feeling happy and

safe to come to Moorooka for the shopping or for the food or for staying and hanging

around. (AA 7).

There's a different culture and because there's too many Africans in there, too many

people walking around. They might feel unsafe for them to come and interact. Second

is that their own food, I think that they usually know, it's not in these shops. So it's not

appealing to them but what possibly could be appealing to them is if we explain

different cultural food is — to introduce the different food is that they might like

different restaurants, Ethiopian, Somali and Sudan, Eritrea. Different foods that might

attract to them to come if they feel happy and safe to interact. (AA 7).

There was a 'tour in Moorooka' event. That was really good opportunity for us and for
Australian [unclear] to come and mix with us. Some of them are, this is on the business

perspective, and the tour was organised by Multicultural Development Association

(MDA) and the City Council. So, they go Sudanese restaurant, to our restaurant and to

Somalian restaurant and few of clothes shop, hairdressing salons. It's like a tour, with a

tour guide. (AA 10)

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In Salazar's (2005: 57) study of tourism guides in Indonesia and Tanzania he also draws attention to how 'the ambassadorial role is based on the is based on the assumption that there exists a genius loci, a static and unchanging 'spirit' emanating from a place or from the people living there'. Salazar (2005: 57) adds 'The qualifier "local" does not necessarily imply that tour guides are natives of the place where they operate (although they are habitually perceived as such by foreign tourists)'. We are not saying Moorooka is a tourist attraction; rather we are drawing insights from the concept of 'ambassadors'. Moorooka too is not just representative of just one monolithic culture and it is also a suburb that is continuously open to transforming its image and atmosphere. Furthermore, as the following comments explain, African Australians who work and socialise in the area may not even live there, further disrupting the idea of places being 'static' and having an 'authentic' world of differences for outsiders to discover, or conversely, fear due to negative stereotypes.

> Many of them mainly elderly [non-AAs] used to live there. Even though they still live in there, it looks like there is a barrier of not coming and shopping in Moorooka. Many reasons. Number one, the Africans have got their own culture of walking in groups and talking in groups, talking loud voice, very loudly talking, that discourage white Australians to interact. The second thing is that no one explains to them the different cultures and different foods that's available in Moorooka. So, no one gave them an education about the food, about different foods, different cultures, so that they can come and taste and see that something good to try. (AA 7).

We find that AAs displayed cosmopolitan intentions to play hosts to members of wider society. They felt that sharing a cultural experience such as food might create

opportunities for them to encourage wider society to interact with them and see

Moorooka centre a safe place to visit and shop.

Conclusion

Whilst facing this discrimination and marginalisation AAs still display and

perform a form of cosmopolitanism which is unique to their social and cultural context.

One that is informed by their experience as mostly individuals and families that

experienced civil conflict and economic and social dislocation back home, and then as

targets of discrimination and stereotyping upon migrating to a predominantly white,

Western nation built on British colonialism. The examination of cosmopolitan

engagement of AA business owners and visitors in Moorooka is important as it sheds a

light the identity of black African Australians within a dominant white Australian

culture. Given the increasing presence and establishment of black AAs in Australia and

across the non-African world, it is crucial not just to understand how such populations

are 'received' and 'settled' but also how they actually take up the role of 'hosts' and

locals themselves in certain contexts. Our article relied on interviews and observations

with AA who are Moorooka locals comprising regular visitors and business owners. We

explored the questions: How do AAs in Moorooka perform openness towards non-

Africans who visit or live in the area? And, what types of openness must the AA

community also perform amongst this diaspora given the multiple ethnic and cultural

diversity within this community? And, in what ways might these forms of openness be

understood as types of cosmopolitanism?

We believe that our findings shed light on distinct forms of what we call

'minority cosmopolitanism' and 'Afro-cosmopolitanism' which they perform in the role

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of ambassadors and hosts to non-AAs. We argued that cosmopolitanism should not be

seen as a one-way street or 'gift' bestowed from the mainstream to those on the

margins, newcomers or other. Rather, we build on insights from studies of ordinary,

everyday and working-class cosmopolitanism and tourist studies that push open

conceptualisations of cosmopolitanism and identify and examine forms of cosmopolitan

openness in overlooked places, spaces and populations.

Limitations

Whilst the extent to which members of wider society positively responded to

AA hospitality and felt welcomed to Moorooka was beyond the scope of this paper. The

paper also acknowledges that there were themes that were to be explored in depth in this

paper including those of fraternity, diasporic and homology. Direction for future studies

may include more of the heterogeneity of Africa as a continent and the rich diversity of

African people. Despite these limitations, we feel future directions for research could

include exploring if AAs in Moorooka may have developed a transnational form of

identity in which researchers termed as 'Afro-politanism' (Balakrishnan 2017; Ede

2016; Fasselt 2015; Gehrmann 2016; Toivanen 2017). In its simplest definition,

Afropolitan is 'cosmopolitanism with African roots' (Gehrmann 2016: 61).

At a broader, community level, the strong presence of AAs who engage as hosts

to non-Africans, and especially White Australians, deserves attention from relevant

social agencies (social workers, policy makers, government, and so on.) including from

those working with Africans in Moorooka and similar communities across Australia and

where migrants from Africa settle abroad in countries with traditionally non-African

cultural heritages. Indeed, a national research project with a larger sample of African

refugees and migrants might show if the findings of this small-scale study will hold.

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Minority cosmopolitanism: Afro-cosmopolitan engagement displayed by

African Australians in Moorooka

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Abstract

Research on cosmopolitan practices and non-white refugee and migrant populations in Western nations often concentrates on how the mainstream 'host' culture practices openness and hospitality towards 'new' and minority populations. Reflecting the relationality at the heart of cosmopolitanism's conceptual promise, this research reverses the gaze back by exploring how minority populations who are 'locals' in ethnic hubs or enclaves practice openness towards 'non-locals' who otherwise constitute a dominant group nationally. Our article focuses on the black African Australian (AA) community in the suburb of Moorooka, known as a 'little Africa'. Moorooka's main strip is lined with various AA owned shops and restaurants, and with AAs going about their everyday lives. The suburb attracts negative news stories and is stereotyped as an undesirable ethnic enclave marred by crime, social problems and unemployment. Yet, Moorooka is also becoming a cosmopolitan destination for visitors to shop, explore and dine. We thematically analyse qualitative interviews with AAs to understand how they interact with non-AAs and why. Our research sheds new light on forms of openness and hospitality we call 'minority cosmopolitanism' that arises from the AA experience. Accordingly, we also highlight forms of Afro-cosmopolitanism that assists with a deeper understanding of the African diaspora.

Keywords

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Minority cosmopolitanism: Afro-cosmopolitan engagement displayed by African Australians in Moorooka

Introduction

Moorooka is an inner suburb of Brisbane and is about nine kilometres from this capital city's central business district in South East Queensland, Australia. Known as 'little Africa', it is the fastest growing metropolitan region in the state (Storey, Muhidin and Westoby 2010). The main street or 'strip' takes barely ten minutes to walk down but is where the action is. Due to its vibrancy in terms of encounters between regular and occasional visitors, local residents and business owners, and between African Australians (AAs) and non-African Australians, it offers a rich site for investigating processes of cosmopolitanisation. The street is lined with food and grocery shops displaying African imported goods from Ethiopian coffee to items from Sudan, Somalia and some West African nations. There are hairdressers promoting African hair and beauty products. There are multiple businesses with signs in various different national languages from the continent. Many men, women and teenagers who are Black Africans can be seen strolling, chatting, shopping, eating, working, or in transit. Some are dressed in Western-style formal outfits, some dressed casually in American influenced styles, some in traditional Muslim attire and others in clothes strongly reflecting different African ethnicities. The sounds of people talking on the street include a noticeable mix of various languages spoken in African nations, from Amharic, Arabic, Swahili, and more.

The milieu in Moorooka just described above marks a stark contrast to nearby areas, which display many of the traits typical to suburbs with predominantly Anglo-

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Australian residents, and those with influences from Mediterranean and Asian migrants

whose markers of multiculturalism are no longer remarkable but seen as an 'everyday'

(Wise, Velayutham and Vogl 2010) and mundane part of the mainstream Australian life

(Edensor 2007; Molz 2011; ~~Skrbis~~Skrbiš, Kendall and Woodward 2004). As such,

people from non-African and particularly Anglo-White backgrounds are the majority

elsewhere, but become a minority upon entering the active, busy and bustling main strip

in Moorooka. This is an important point of perspective for us as researchers of African,

Asian and Anglo backgrounds. Rather than looking at Anglo-Australians as the 'locals'

and 'hosts' who are called upon to accommodate the differences of African Australians

our article turns the gaze around to ask questions of what negotiations, understandings,

and practices are used by African Australians who are performing cosmopolitan

openness to outsiders and those who are 'different' in the specific African 'hub' of

Moorooka. In doing so, we believe our approach allows us to empirically explore

cosmopolitanism as a contextualised, relational process (see Delanty, 2011): we study

plurality, but more importantly we try to account for the multiple perspectives and

understandings differently actors must apply in order to navigate socio-culturally

diverse settings such as Moorooka.

Background

In terms of location and demographics, Moorooka is part of South East

Queensland and according to the latest official statistics, it has a population of 10,368

(ABS 2016). Historically, until the 1990s, the residents of Moorooka were mainly

'Australians of Anglo-Saxon background (Storey et al. 2010: 147). Since 1990s,

Australians of white European backgrounds continued to be largely the residents of

Moorooka. The latest official census data reveals that top five ancestral places of people

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living in Moorooka are English, Australian, Irish, Scottish and German (ABS 2016).

Despite these statistics and historical facts, today, the business centre of Moorooka discernably paints a different picture. Research into urban planning and social inclusion noted the recent rapid social and demographic changes that are taking place in Moorooka (Storey et al. 2010). Noticeably, black African immigrants are establishing elementary businesses including ethnic stores, barbers and restaurants. Moorooka has undoubtedly become a 'cosmopolitan space' or an enlarged 'canopy (Anderson, 2011; Rumford, 2008) where black African Australian immigrants run businesses, meet and socialise. The earliest presence of African Australians in Moorooka started in the form of temporary accommodation provided to African refugees by settlement services providers (Harte, Childs and Hastings 2009).

Historically, Australia has a long history of migration from different parts of the globe but groups from Africa constitute a comparatively recent group. Amongst the many immigrant groups that Australia has accepted over the years include 'several waves of African migrations' (Jakubowicz 2010: 4). The past two decades in particular saw an increase of the number of African refugees and humanitarian entrants resettling in Australia, (Fozdar and Hartley 2013; Jakubowicz 2010; Pittaway, Muli and Shteir, 2009). However, before 1976, most African migrants in Australia were white South Africans (Jakubowicz 2010). Here, we are deliberately using the black African Australian label as 'nearly half of all Australians of African origin are white, skilled migrants from South Africa' (Phillips 2011: 65)

It is important to avoid the common stereotype of imagined false homogeneity of Africans and acknowledge that African migrants in Australia (including participants of this study) hail are from diverse nationalities, ethnicities, languages, cultural and

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religious backgrounds. The migration of African refugees into Australia has been

controversial as sections of wider society claim their integration into Australia has been

difficult. Fears include that immigrants from African conflict zones Sudan, Somalia,

Sierra Leone and Liberia would increase local crime and be culturally too foreign to the

dominant culture so as to threaten social cohesion.

Issues of discrimination and stereotyping can be significant in contributing to the

marginalisation of African migrants and refugees (Mergia, 2005; Renzaho, Polonsky,

McQuilten and Waters 2013). For instance, qualified black African nurses experience

discrimination in certain workplaces (Mapedzahama, Rudge, West and Perron 2012).

African refugees are also labelled negatively and stereotyped as being involved in gang

and violence culture and increasing criminality in their localities (Horyniak, Lim and

Higgs 2016). For example, the South Sudanese refugees in Australia were referred to as

being 'disproportionally violent and unable to settle in Australia' (Phillips 2011: 48).

The representation of Africans as a group involved in alleged gang-related activities

certainly stigmatises them (Nunn 2010). These misrepresentations may have significant

policy ramifications for African Australians as former federal government minister

Kevin Andrews called for cutting African refugee intake, citing their lack of integration

into Australia (Farouque, Petrie, and Miletic 2007). Similarly, the New South Wales

regional city of Tamworth council refused to accept the resettlement of South Sudanese

African refugees in Tamworth (Kwansah-Aidoo and Mapedzahama 2015).

The complex constructions of identity and belonging for AAs is also inseparable

from Australia's efforts of colonisation, assimilation and multiculturalism, which have

been played out within a broader nation-building project that scholars such as Hage

(2002) argue promotes and privileges white settler culture as the norm. This means

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groups like African Australians are seen as 'visitors' and 'outsiders' to their own nation

of Australia. Absent from scholarly literature and general public discussions are

accounts of the contributions they make to their newly adopted country Australia. Most

literature critically lacks any fleshing out of the variety of educational, occupational,

artistic, community-organisational, and other demographic traits that counter negative

ideas and feelings towards AAs. One noteworthy piece of research (Skrbiš and Chiment

2011) attempts to reframe the debate and argues that pre-migration and settlement

experience of AAs could be the stimulus for success and achievement of this group.

In an attempt to address apparent limitations in literature and a lack of

sociological research into the everyday experiences and strategies of this group, this

article aims to bring about fresh pathways of understanding of this comparatively

overlooked population by focusing our research on their performance as 'hosts' to other

Africans and the non-Africans in Moorooka and elsewhere. Unlike previous studies that

mainly focused on how Africans adapt to the national space as 'non-locals' in Australia,

this research reverses that approach and evaluates how African Australians are willing

to perform the role of 'hosts' and practice openness to others who are different to them.

As we shall demonstrate later in this paper, they can take up the role of 'givers' of

openness and hospitality. This counters numerous stereotypes about AAs as deviant and

culturally incommensurable to wider Australian society. Research shows that 'further

openness is achieved through a cosmopolitan 'ethics of sharing' rather than giving,

which arises from cosmopolitan reflexivity' (Plage, Willing, Skrbiš and Woodward

2017b: 17). But before we discuss the openness or its lack of it of AAs, we present in

the next section a contextual outline of cosmopolitanism as it is related to AAs.

Cosmopolitanism

This paper draws on research from a larger project funded by an Australian

Research Council grant titled: XXXX. The project used a framework for understanding

cosmopolitanism not as an abstract ideal but as a sharper conceptual and theoretical tool

for identifying the complexity of practices of openness see (Plage, Willing, Skrbiš, et al.

2017a; Skrbiš and Woodward 2013). Researchers from the project argue for an ethics of

sharing, not just giving or merely tolerating, and surrender rather than control in relation

to individual understandings of the social context of encounters with culturally different

people and settings. The idea of surrender draws and extends on the work of Hannerz

(1990) who argued that cosmopolitanism is otherwise superficial if one chooses to 'exit'

when their sense of mastery of the situation is threatened. The encounter is not

cosmopolitan if there is an effort to maintain control and there is only an act of 'giving'

which is conditional. Sharing on the other hand, is a strategy that practically opens the

possibility for reciprocal and respectful mutual exchange.

However, this conceptual framework has mostly been studied in social situations

where it is the dominant population describing their encounters with diversity. More

specifically, cosmopolitan encounters have mostly been studied through analysing how

White individuals talk about encounters. In their paper, Plage, Willing, Woodward, and

Skrbiš (2017b) draw a line, arguing encounters cannot be cosmopolitan if they only take

up the role as 'hosts' who give hospitality (thus maintaining a position of ownership and

control). Instead, encounters where these individuals surrender the position of control,

and where their comparative power is acknowledged as problematic, constitutes a

reflexive process that can open up a willingness not just to be 'open' but rather the will,

however painful or intimidating, to share.

Importantly, as discussed in the previous section, this article reverses the focus

from how mainstream populations perform openness to minorities to explore the

experiences and viewpoint of those who are seen as 'perpetual foreigners', othered as

visible migrants or refugees in the context of particular suburbs and spaces where they

are compelled to assume the role of hosts. Few other studies do this, with tourism

studies of guides (Salazar 2005), black/white relations in working class settings

(Lamont and Aksartova 2002) and migrants in working class settings abroad (Datta

2009) being examples. Salazar's study reveals that the guides perform ambassadorial

roles of cosmopolitanism without possessing a comparatively great degree of mobility.

Although some of the motivations are orientated for profit and business, other

motivations also include pride in being able to represent and act as hosts in their area.

For foreign/global others they become cultural ambassadors and educators of the areas

that they are locals in.

Lamont and Aksartova (2002) study highlights how cosmopolitanism can be a

tool for combatting racism in blue-collar environments and argue is not just an idealistic

project of identity for the middle-class and elite. Interestingly, they also found distinct

differences between how Americans and French defined 'openness' and anti-racism. In

the former, it was discourses of individualism and upward mobility (becoming president

to owning expensive items) that were seen as equalisers, while for the latter anti-racist

views were based on ideas of egalitarianism, fraternity and 'brotherhood' drawn from

French socialist and nationalist discourses for instance.

The study by Datta (2009: 2) investigates the experiences of migrants in

working-class occupations abroad, such as in construction, and argues that forms of

cosmopolitanism can emerge from people who work together or find themselves in

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situations requiring 'a strategic engagement with others through coerced choices in

order to survive in new environments'. Werbner (1999) similarly looked at highway

workers who are migrants and argued that cosmopolitanism is an active process of

getting along rather than just a matter of identity construction for middle-class elites.

Datta (2009: 3) argues that: 'cosmopolitanism is neither an ethico-political cultural

project, nor just a survival strategy but a complex mixture of cultural, ordinary, banal,

coerced, and 'glocalised' cosmopolitanisms that are enacted under different spatial

circumstances of interaction, subjective positioning, and physical proximity'.

Cosmopolitanism also is processes that exists in uneven power relations globally and

within the shadow of colonialism (see Mignolo, 2010).

Methods and Case Study: African Australians (AAs) in Moorooka

In our research of Moorooka, we examine how African Australians (AAs)

perform openness to others and also in the diverse ethnic communities within the

African diaspora. This approach is inspired by the assessments that cosmopolitanism

and openness towards others is 'produced from everyday practices in localised context'

(Datta 2009: 26). Our fieldwork in Moorooka, also known as 'Little Africa', was carried

out by a multicultural team of researchers in Griffith university, led by a member from

the African Australian community of Somalia born, a Vietnamese Australian female and

a white Australian male. We focused our research on the diasporic hub of Moorooka,

where AAs work, frequently visit and socialise. Importantly, we are interested in how

AAs act as 'locals' who host visitors to the area yet they are othered in terms of being

outside mainstream Australia. AAs are also visibly dominant within the area, which

may be viewed as an 'ethnic enclave', but it is here that they also play the role of

'hosts'. Hence, as residents in the area they negotiate multiple identity statuses

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including that of minorities and mostly new comers from various cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds.

The study initially conducted an ethnographic research involving visits to shops, streets and businesses run by AAs. Ethnography is a 'systematic approach to learning about the social and cultural life of communities, institutions and other settings' (LeCompte and Schensul 2010: 1). Observations and interviews were conducted and this paper draws on narratives from interviews with the AA about their community and visitors within the hub of Moorooka. Between 2014 and 2015 four focus groups were then conducted with 26 black AAs in Moorooka, Brisbane. 31 people participated in four focus groups consisting of 20 men and 11 women aged over 18 years, with various occupational and educational backgrounds. The median group size was seven participants per focus group. According to Morgan (1996: 130), a focus group is, 'A research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher'. The advantage of focus group methodology is to capture practices of inter-group negotiation, and to comparatively observe the reasoning strategies of participants as they provide confirming or contrasting viewpoints. Researchers observed a common rule of thumb for qualitative research which is to have between four and six participants in a focus group (Morgan 1996: 144). The data became saturated at the end of the fourth group discussion but we highlight other interesting themes for future research that fell outside the scope of this project in our conclusion. Saturation is a methodological principle for qualitative research and is defined by Morse (1995) as the 'data adequacy', meaning that data needs to be continually collected until no new information is obtained. In order to maximise group discussions and interactions, a schedule of questions was developed and photo elicitation exercise was used.

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The researchers acknowledge that no generalisations could be made about the views of the small sample of African Australians. However, the diversity found in this small sample is illustrative of issues and themes relevant to African Australians in Queensland only and the focus group participants reflect the ethnic and nationality diversity that is apparent in this community. This small sample included African Australians who resided in Australia for several decades and newly arrived migrants including people who were special humanitarian visa entrants. Ethical considerations include that the participation was voluntary, information about the research was given using an information sheet and pre-talk before the interviews, which were then only conducted after signed consent forms were completed. The data has been anonymised as a further step. Recruitment, rapport during interviews and development the coding and themes from the data was assisted through insights by the lead author being part of the community under investigation. This includes distinguishing nuances in how cosmopolitanism is performed by minorities, for instance.

Thematic analysis is a qualitative analysis tool that helps the researcher to identify, analyse and report patterns or themes within data (Braun and Clarke 2006: 79). The analysis focused on the patterned responses participants provided to the focus group research questions. According to Braun and Clarke (2006: 82), 'A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set'. Intercoder reliability was ensured through emerging codes and themes checked by the other authors and compared to relevant literature.

Results and Discussion

The main patterned responses the study looked for were what forms of cosmopolitan engagement exist within this group, referring to the encounters with culturally different people, places, and things that may have cosmopolitan consequences (Delanty 2011). The study reveals two main forms of cosmopolitan encounters that black African Australians displayed. These are what we call 'minority cosmopolitanism and 'ambassadorial/host' cosmopolitanism. These insights draw on the three following main insights generated from the broader study we conducted on AAs. First, an ethical orientation and duty to humanity was apparent in all stages of the research where participants' responded to photo elicitations. Looking at an image of a natural disaster, for instance, they generally reflected a connectedness to a global human society and they specifically showed willingness of sharing and caring towards fellow human beings depicted in the image. Second, there was a strategic orientation and willingness to show off their cultures in the interviews, which manifested in things such as performing cosmopolitan hospitality as part of how they do business with non-Africans in their local environment. As they are from diverse nationalities and ethnicities, African Australians equally performed playing hosts to each other and were generally positive about sharing their diverse cultures and openness within each other. While these types of cosmopolitanism are identified in other studies (Datta,2009, Lamont and Askartova, 2002), it is important to note these specific background contexts of the AA community in Moorooka and nuances and modifications distinct to black AAs which we conceptualise as both 'minority cosmopolitanism' and 'Afro-cosmopolitanism'.

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Minorities as Cosmopolitans

> Racism is something that exists. Unfortunately, it will exist for a long time to come. It
> has many faces…For example, when you're qualified and you're from an African
> background and you apply for a job. You are suited for that job — you have the skills
> — you don't get that job. Not only that job, but you apply for 150 jobs within two
> months and you don't get nothing — no response — while other people are getting the
> job. You feel isolated, you feel like you're not valued. That is I think the hardest to —
> that most difficult racism. (AA6).

Two main themes emerge from the data analysed: first, minorities as
marginalised cosmopolitans, referring to their status as sometimes being socially
marginalised whilst also embodying aspects of the cosmopolitan ideal. Minority
positionality in terms of cosmopolitan gestures, convivial acts and motivations is rarely
considered or studied. Minorities are usually seen as recipients and not the givers or
sharers. Secondly, as ambassadors of their cultural heritage and as hosts to the wider
society in Australia. These themes are inter-related and cosmopolitanism in AAs cannot
be understood without exploring their minority experience of marginalisation. This
marginalisation is multilayered and complex and is partly informed by the historical
problems of colonisation of Africa by the Western European countries known as the
scramble of Africa (Pakenham 1992). It is also the marginalisation from mainstream
Australian media outlets that stereotype and misrepresent them as a problem group (Han
and Budarick 2018). They also include the prejudices they encounter in Australia as
new migrants from certain politicians who link them with criminal gang activities
(Ferguson 2018). Some of the comments below explain the prejudices and stereotypes
they face in their new adopted homeland Australia.

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A xenophobic message at that time … I think it say 'African go back' something like

that, go back to your country. Yeah, so that is amazing message. It is very xenophobic

and I think the council has responded quickly. Then I think on the same time we, he

took on newspaper as well and he respond to quickly… (AA1 commenting on graffiti in

Moorooka)

We are going to shop — close the shops around five o'clock. Obviously, building at the

top someone wrote, [nigger] go home. (AA1 commenting on graffiti in Moorooka)

The AAs we interviewed were also concerned about how sometimes non-

African members of society make assumptions about their employment status, assuming

they are unemployed and not working hard. Another common misconception

compounded by the first is that they are loitering rather than legitimately socialising in

Moorooka's public spaces. For instance, one participant reveals:

Yes, and then that goes back to cultural differences. Those people that you see standing

there, it does not mean they are jobless. Most — some of them work night shifts and

they come here about 1 pm to stay there for a few hours. Some of them drive taxis.

Some of them are elderly who retired — are not required to work. But then again, you

don't get that feeling — or you don't see that — somewhere else. So, I can understand

someone from an Australian background — an Anglo-Sax background — when they're

passing by and they see this number of people sitting there having coffee together. They

might — that question will cross their mind, definitely. But the picture doesn't tell the
story, it's not like that. (AA 6)

Other participants we spoke to further elaborate on forms of cultural stereotyping and

misconceptions below.

The only negative stereotype is that when you get there and you are from outside or

different culture, the first impression that you will have is are the people crazy [and

that], the way they talk, they happy, they talk loudly which is very different than

Australian culture. They talk and stay as groups rather than individuals, they cross the

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lights as groups. So, it's about the way that they present themselves which is naturally

cultural rather than bad thing that people could see as a negative. (AA 7)

If you are from outside African community or if you're from white Australian and you

came in Moorooka, you might feel that you're alone, you're being surrounded by all of

these tall African people. (AA 7)

You know how there are, some of them instead of coming into the shop, or stay in the

shop get the service, and then go where they have to go. But they hang around on the

street. I think that's really, I don't like that… they sit down. That's the part I don't like.

I think even for my experience, for my clients. Even having, you know how the

pavement is just for walking, so for other customers it's really annoying as well. (AA

10).

Our ethnographic observations and conversations with local AAs reveal that

many of the male adults congregating in parks and the streets of Moorooka work shifts,

drive taxis at night, and eat, drink and socialise until their next taxi shift starts at late

afternoon. There were no incidents of public mishap or crime, and especially none

started by AAs with non-AAs. People were, apparently, just going about their day. In

other words, what we observed supports the participants' quotes above about being

stereotyped based on misunderstandings or assumptions. Our data also supports other

research that argues minorities such as AAs in Australia are subject to stereotypes as

being under-skilled and contributing to unemployment (Abdelkerim and Grace, 2012).

The feelings of discrimination reported by the participants above also confirm theories

about broader societal racism operating in suburban spaces like Moorooka, where non-

Whites are othered as perpetual foreigners and as possibly 'sinister' or deviant (Baas

2015; Hage 2002; Lobo 2016). Both structural and 'on the ground' encounters of

discrimination clearly situates AAs as minorities in the broader society.

However, we argue that this marginal positioning or liminality shapes AAs in particular ways that include a sense of cosmopolitan empathy. While this research can only shed light on AAs in a 'little Africa' type hub in a small suburb in Australia, we were still able explore strategies they used to suspend and transcend 'local' specific loyalties and biases over to 'universal' ones and cosmopolitan forms of sharing the space and cultural experiences, even towards those who marginalise them. For example, participants admire the richness of Australian society's cultural diversity. At the same time, AAs we spoke to felt many Anglo Australians can be uncosmopolitan.

However, some participants also expressed they felt this was due to their lack of offshore contact with people and cultures who are different to them, and from lack of experience being a minority. The comments below highlight a common view amongst interviewees that overseas travel is important, and how that may help White Australians in particular develop more openness and acceptance of others.

> I think the fear within Australia, stems because they have never been exposed to other
>
> cultures, [unclear] different … background, different lifestyle. Australians don't travel
>
> that much, they just go to Malaysia, Indonesia…Bali. So never been exposed to darker
>
> skin other than indigenous and their experience with indigenous is different with
>
> politics. (AA 2).

Below is another quote illustrating AAs attempt at empathy as a course of action or strategy in response to non-AAs bias or prejudice against them.

> Because you can just conclude for yourself, this person is not good. I hate what she is
>
> doing. Maybe she is doing something according to their culture. Like me, I dress
>
> according to my culture. I do this according to my culture. But if you understand my
>
> way, you will not hate my culture, you will see that that is my culture and you abide by

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[that one]. But if you don't understand me, you will feel that what I am doing is not a

right thing and to me I am doing the right thing. So, if we respect one another, then at

least you will be able to understand what the person is trying to do but if we can't

respect one another then [unclear] people will not be understanding what we are doing.

(AA 3)

The quotes above emphasise how AAs see a need for non-AAs to develop what

we describe as 'cosmopolitan dispositions' of empathy (Skrbiš, Woodward and Bean

2014). This is different from ethnocentric discourses of difference (for example, us

versus them), and conflict between 'oppressed' and 'oppressor'. The AAs also appear to

have a sense that for some non-AAs, their 'toolbox' is less sensitised and equipped to

deal with encounters with diversity (Appiah 1997). Therefore combined, our

participants are practising a process we describe as 'minority cosmopolitanism'. This

builds on the idea of cosmopolitanism as an everyday practice and outlook of openness

able to emerge in all actors, not just elites or the majority population. [Indi check

cosmopolitanism from below]

AAs as Ambassadors and Hosts

In this section, we argue AAs act as agents of change through performing the

symbolic role of 'ambassadors' to non-AA visitors and local others in Moorooka. In

our conversations and interviews, AAs viewed themselves as being seen as

representative of, and to some capacity, also able to actively represent aspects of AA

identity in three main ways. First, as ambassadors of the continent of Africa, second, as

representative of their respective countries of origin (for example, Somalia, Ethiopia,

South Africa and so on), and lastly, as Africans who are Australians (AAs). Sometimes

these ambassadorial roles were reified or rejected by non-AAs, for instance seeing

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'Africa' the continent as a country or seeing being 'African' as mutually exclusive from

being Australian. This caused frustration. AAs were keen to explain the importance of

adjustment whilst still retaining their African heritage. Their understanding is in line

with that of Shadid (1991: 362) who defined integration as 'the participation of ethnic

and religious minorities, individually and as groups, in the social structure of the host

society while having possibilities to retain the distinctive aspects of their culture and

identity'. AAs conceptualisation of integration is linked not only their willingness to

participate in the social and economic fabric of society but how much the wider society

accepts and willingness to participate.

Further confusion in the scholarly literature is the difference in what

'integration' means from one group to another (Hersi, 2018). Furthermore, Mogahed

and Nyiri (2007: 2) in their article *Reinventing Integration* proposed redefining

integration as less about cultural conformity, and more about having shared goals and

commitment.

> You can get experience from them (white shoppers) because [unclear] we come from
>
> Africa, we don't know about white people so if we mix with them then we can learn
>
> how they're doing. (AA 5).

AAs expressed being eager to share their culture with everyone who interacted

with Moorooka and their community. They unanimously expressed a sense of pride in

sharing their culture with wider society.

> I feel good about myself when I talk about my culture. I tell people where we're from,
>
> … the cultures that we have. Sometimes I tell them about our history. (AA 6)
>
> Every time I am working, I am sharing my culture. Every time that I am talking to
>
> someone, I am sharing my culture. Every time that someone comes to my office —

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okay — without disrespecting who they are or their beliefs and everything, I'm sharing

my culture. I'm a walking example of my culture. (AA 6)

Impression of Moorooka to outsiders and non-visitors is that they see as a small village

of Africa, a place if you drive your car through Moorooka on Beaudesert Road, a place

that most of the people that you can see are from Africa. So, the impression is that it

become a small African town, a small African village, that's the impression from

outsiders and people who do not usually come quite frequently in Moorooka. They see

as an African shop, village. (AA 7).

I feel whenever there is an opportunity as a person [to share their culture]. I feel I'm not

talking for myself here, I'm talking for the wider community. Whenever there's an

opportunity presented, people are in Moorooka here — the African people — are more

than willing to participate whenever the opportunity is presented. (AA 6).

The comments above reflect the cosmopolitanism seen in locals taking on the

role of hosts seen in tourist studies such as Salazar's (2005) and also as part of the

conviviality diverse populations show towards each other in everyday encounters (Wise,

Velayutham.and Vogl, G., 2010). However, it is also important to consider how AAs

may engage in self-censorship and try to avoid falling into stereotypes about Africa

African people *as minorities*. In our observations and conversations, most in their

informal 'ambassadorial' roles appeared to incorporate an exemplary or 'normative'

behaviour to fit in and be thought of in positive ways. As such, the cosmopolitanism we

observe with its ambassadorial aspects is from a vantage point of countering

marginalization as well as from any dispositions of openness.

While the cultural work we observe might be strategic only in terms of self-

interest and self-image, nuances we observed lead us to think more is at play. For

instance, there was an attempt to modify their behaviour to make others feel welcome

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for reasons of business but also for the well-being and a sense of joy in sharing for all

involved, which we will discuss in depth below. As the comments show, some acts are

about reducing social awkwardness while others are about educating visitors and having

a sense of agency in the process.

> As the business owner to showcase my culture and to my customers I say that's the way
>
> we eat, and we use our finger and the injera bread and you have to wash your hand.
>
> (AA 10).
>
> I think the wider society could be more exposed to the different cultures — like African
>
> cultures — and if there's an information brochure, if there's a study is conducted like
>
> this, which will go a long way to eradicate some problems and issues. (AA 6)
>
> So, in some ways, Moorooka's very centralising and you have a feeling of belonging
>
> and you can feel like you're showcasing your culture and you're shop owners. (AA 9)
>
> Like if they come to my restaurant, I tell them the food or sometimes if I make a new
>
> menu [unclear] I stop here and then tell I've got a new menu, come and try. Like that,
>
> yeah. (AA 5).

Such insights assist with not only supporting but also elaborating on tourism

studies such as in Salazar (2005: 57) who describes how individuals such as tourism

guides can perform 'cosmopolitan enhancing experiences'. Positionality is important, as

our study examines how a marginalised minority in Australia performs

cosmopolitanism from the AA perspective. AAs in Moorooka reported that there have

been efforts by the business owners to make:

> 'Little Africa' a friendly communal space for all and not only for Africans.
>
> This is one of the things that the owners when they have a meeting, things that they talk
>
> about and said how we can attract the wider community to come and feel happy and
>
> safe in Moorooka. So one of the things that came up is to have every few months a late

night where all the shops are open and wider societies are informed to come in to talk to

the people, to see their food, to see their culture, to see their — and feel free to ask any

questions, anything that they want to know and cruise around Moorooka and feel that

they belong and it's a place that they can come and shop. (AA 7).

Other participants also talk about how AAs openness to others can have positive impacts on others, while also doing the double-work of reducing fear against them and also lifting their status as minorities:

We had a night, festival night, where we send the pamphlets to neighbouring residents,

people that live in around Moorooka and ask them to come. There was a music festival

even on that night, African music. The restaurants were open so that they can come and

test the food. The shops were open. People who came from the wider societies and

participated, that showed they're positive of what they have seen and what they have

realised and that, in the long term will create an interaction and then feeling happy and

safe to come to Moorooka for the shopping or for the food or for staying and hanging

around. (AA 7).

There's a different culture and because there's too many Africans in there, too many

people walking around. They might feel unsafe for them to come and interact. Second

is that their own food, I think that they usually know, it's not in these shops. So it's not

appealing to them but what possibly could be appealing to them is if we explain

different cultural food is — to introduce the different food is that they might like

different restaurants, Ethiopian, Somali and Sudan, Eritrea. Different foods that might

attract to them to come if they feel happy and safe to interact. (AA 7).

There was a 'tour in Moorooka' event. That was really good opportunity for us and for Australian [unclear] to come and mix with us. Some of them are, this is on the business

perspective, and the tour was organised by Multicultural Development Association

(MDA) and the City Council. So, they go Sudanese restaurant, to our restaurant and to

Somalian restaurant and few of clothes shop, hairdressing salons. It's like a tour, with a

tour guide. (AA 10)

In Salazar's (2005: 57) study of tourism guides in Indonesia and Tanzania he

also draws attention to how 'the ambassadorial role is based on the is based on the

assumption that there exists a genius loci, a static and unchanging 'spirit' emanating

from a place or from the people living there'. Salazar (2005: 57) adds 'The qualifier

"local" does not necessarily imply that tour guides are natives of the place where they

operate (although they are habitually perceived as such by foreign tourists)'. We are not

saying Moorooka is a tourist attraction; rather we are drawing insights from the concept

of 'ambassadors'. Moorooka too is not just representative of just one monolithic culture

and it is also a suburb that is continuously open to transforming its image and

atmosphere. Furthermore, as the following comments explain, African Australians who

work and socialise in the area may not even live there, further disrupting the idea of

places being 'static' and having an 'authentic' world of differences for outsiders to

discover, or conversely, fear due to negative stereotypes.

> Many of them mainly elderly [non-AAs] used to live there. Even though they still live
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> in there, it looks like there is a barrier of not coming and shopping in Moorooka. Many
>
> reasons. Number one, the Africans have got their own culture of walking in groups and
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> talking in groups, talking loud voice, very loudly talking, that discourage white
> Australians to interact. The second thing is that no one explains to them the different
>
> cultures and different foods that's available in Moorooka. So, no one gave them an
>
> education about the food, about different foods, different cultures, so that they can
>
> come and taste and see that something good to try. (AA 7).

We find that AAs displayed cosmopolitan intentions to play hosts to members of

wider society. They felt that sharing a cultural experience such as food might create

opportunities for them to encourage wider society to interact with them and see

Moorooka centre a safe place to visit and shop.

Conclusion

Whilst facing this discrimination and marginalisation AAs still display and

perform a form of cosmopolitanism which is unique to their social and cultural context.

One that is informed by their experience as mostly individuals and families that

experienced civil conflict and economic and social dislocation back home, and then as

targets of discrimination and stereotyping upon migrating to a predominantly white,

Western nation built on British colonialism. The examination of cosmopolitan

engagement of AA business owners and visitors in Moorooka is important as it sheds a

light the identity of black African Australians within a dominant white Australian

culture. Given the increasing presence and establishment of black AAs in Australia and

across the non-African world, it is crucial not just to understand how such populations

are 'received' and 'settled' but also how they actually take up the role of 'hosts' and

locals themselves in certain contexts. Our article relied on interviews and observations

with AA who are Moorooka locals comprising regular visitors and business owners. We

explored the questions: How do AAs in Moorooka perform openness towards non-

Africans who visit or live in the area? And, what types of openness must the AA

community also perform amongst this diaspora given the multiple ethnic and cultural

diversity within this community? And, in what ways might these forms of openness be

understood as types of cosmopolitanism?

We believe that our findings shed light on distinct forms of what we call

'minority cosmopolitanism' and 'Afro-cosmopolitanism' which they perform in the role

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of ambassadors and hosts to non-AAs. We argued that cosmopolitanism should not be

seen as a one-way street or 'gift' bestowed from the mainstream to those on the

margins, newcomers or other. Rather, we build on insights from studies of ordinary,

everyday and working-class cosmopolitanism and tourist studies that push open

conceptualisations of cosmopolitanism and identify and examine forms of cosmopolitan

openness in overlooked places, spaces and populations.

Limitations

Whilst the extent to which members of wider society positively responded to

AA hospitality and felt welcomed to Moorooka was beyond the scope of this paper. The

paper also acknowledges that there were themes that were to be explored in depth in this

paper including those of fraternity, diasporic and homology. Direction for future studies

may include more of the heterogeneity of Africa as a continent and the rich diversity of

African people. Despite these limitations, we feel future directions for research could

include exploring if AAs in Moorooka may have developed a transnational form of

identity in which researchers termed as 'Afro-politanism' (Balakrishnan 2017; Ede

2016; Fasselt 2015; Gehrmann 2016; Toivanen 2017). In its simplest definition,

Afropolitan is 'cosmopolitanism with African roots' (Gehrmann 2016: 61).

At a broader, community level, the strong presence of AAs who engage as hosts

to non-Africans, and especially White Australians, deserves attention from relevant

social agencies (social workers, policy makers, government, and so on.) including from

those working with Africans in Moorooka and similar communities across Australia and

where migrants from Africa settle abroad in countries with traditionally non-African

cultural heritages. Indeed, a national research project with a larger sample of African

refugees and migrants might show if the findings of this small-scale study will hold.

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