Sexuality and Sexual Health of African-Australian Men with Refugee Backgrounds from the Horn of Africa: The Need for a New Research Agenda[1]

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Abstract

The population of African-Australians with refugee backgrounds from the Horn of Africa has increased significantly over the last ten years to constitute the largest group of migrants from Africa in Australia today. Upon resettlement, these migrants find themselves in new sexual cultures—which often varies considerably with their own—in which they must negotiate with little, if any, assistance. In the process of navigating settlement in the host society, the migrants may modify their sexual practices in ways that could impact on their sexual health. This article reviews past studies on this migrant group and argues that until now, the way that they engage with the sexual cultures in the host society remains largely unexplored and unknown. Whilst the article acknowledges that the sexuality of women may also be affected by migration, it focuses on men because little studies have been done to explore their sexual experiences within the migration trajectory. The article calls for more research that will show how forced migration and resettlement may affect the sexual lives of the men and, subsequently, that of the women. Findings from such studies would be useful in devising well-informed services to promote the sexual health of migrants.

Introduction

Forced displacement of people in Africa has been well documented over the past four decades. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR),[2] Africa has been home to some of the world's most intractable and complex conflicts that have resulted in the displacement of millions of people. As early as the 1960s, the rise in the number of refugees had been identified as one of the biggest

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[2] UNHCR, "Unhcr Global Appeal 2010-2011: Finding Durable Solutions," 2009b, http://www.unhcr.org/4b03ca759.html (accessed 5 October 2010).

challenges facing the continent.[3] By 1980, it was estimated that Africa had about three million refugees;[4] half the world's refugees at the time.[5] This number continued to increase throughout the 1980s and 1990s[6] and by the end 2000, Africa (excluding North Africa) had about three and a half million refugees.[7] Over the last two decades, the largest concentration of refugees in Africa has been in the Horn of Africa region,[8] with millions of people displaced by civil wars, military coup and ecological disasters[9] particularly in Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan.[10] This human catastrophe in the 'Horn' has led to various interventions by humanitarian organizations led by the UNHCR.

Durable Solutions
The UNHCR has attempted to solve the global refugee problem by putting forward three durable solutions: voluntary repatriation; local integration into the country of first asylum; or resettlement to a third country.[11] Although resettlement has only benefited a very small number of refugees directly—only about one per cent[12]—it remains the only

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[3] Aderanti Adepoju, "The Dimension of the Refugee Problem in Africa," *African Affairs* 81: 322 (1982): 21-35.

[4] Jonathan Bascom, "The New Nomads: An Overview of Involuntary Migration in Africa," in in Jonathan Baker, and Tade Akin Aina, eds. *The Migration Experience in Africa*. Baker and T. A. Aina (eds), (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1995): 197-219

[5] Michael. J. Schultheis, "Refugees in Africa: The Geopolitics of Forced Displacement," *African Studies Review* 32:1 (1989): 3-29.

[6] Aderanti Adepoju, "The Migration Experience in Africa: An Overview," in Jonathan Baker and Tade Akin Aina, eds. *The Migration Experience in Africa*, (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1995), 5.

[7] UNHCR, "2008 Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-Seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons," (2009a), http://www.unhcr.org/4a375c426.html (accessed 20th October 2010).

[8] Wondem Asres Degu, *The State, the Crisis of State Institutions, and Refugee Migration in the Horn of Africa: The Cases of Ethiopia, Sudan, and Somalia* (New Jersey: Red Sea Press, 2007); Peter Woodward, *The Horn of Africa: Politics and International Relations* (London: I.B. Tauris and Company, 2003).

[9] Fukui Katsuyoshi and John Markakis, eds., *Ethnicity & Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (Oxford: James Currey Publishers,1994); Leenco Lata, *The Horn of Africa as Common Homeland: The State and Self-Determination in the Era of Heightened Globalization* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004); Terrence Lyons, *Avoiding Conflict in the Horn of Africa: Us Policy toward Ethiopia and Eritrea* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2006).

[10] Adepoju.

[11] UNHCR, 2009b.

[12] UNHCR, "2009 Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-Seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons,"(2010), http://www.unhcr.org/4c11f0be9.html

possible durable solution for those whose lives or liberty may continue to be at risk in their country of first asylum and whose return to the country of origin may not be possible.[13] Nonetheless, the UNHCR presents cases to various developed countries, including Australia, for resettlement consideration every year; although the capacity to admit these refugees depends on an individual Nation's resettlement policies and quotas.[14]

In Australia, refugees are admitted through the Humanitarian Program which constitutes onshore protection and offshore resettlement.[15] In the last decade, the majority of refugees from the Horn of Africa came into Australia through the offshore program. From the 2003-04 to the 2006-07 financial years, for example, over 50% of all offshore humanitarian entrants to Australia came from Africa.[16] Priority during this period was given to those Horn of African countries[17] that were experiencing renewed political unrest and civil wars.[18] Consequently, a new and emerging community of migrants with refugee backgrounds from the Horn of Africa region has formed over the past ten years to constitute the largest community[19] of African-Australians[20] in Australia.[21]

(accessed 5 October 2010); UNHCR, "UNHCR Projected Global Resettlement Needs 2011 (2010), www.unhcr.org/4c31e3716.html (accessed 30 September 2010).

[13] UNHCR, "2006 Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-Seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons," (2007), www.mercyworld.org/projects /mgc/pdf/.../Special_Report_July07_3.pdf (accessed 26 May 2010).

[14] UNHCR, 2010.

[15] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, "Australia's Refugee and Humanitarian Program- Fact Sheet 60," (2010) http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/60refugee.htm (accessed 15 August, 2010).

[16] Department of Immigration and Citizenship, "Refugee and Humanitarian Issues: Australia's Response," (2009a), www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/publication05. htm (accessed 2nd March 2010).

[17] Henceforth refers to Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea.

[18] Assefaw Bariagaber, "Ethnicity and Constitutionalism in Ethiopia," in Cris E. Toffolo, ed., *Emancipating Cultural Pluralism*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003), 12; Tony Barnett and Piers. M. Blaikie, *Aids in Africa: Its Present and Future Impact* (New York: Guilford, 1992); Bascom.

[19] It should be noted that the word community does not indicate homogeneity of these migrants.

[20] Though the term is used to refer to all people with an African descent, the term will be used, henceforth to refer to migrants with refugee backgrounds from the Horn of Africa.

[21] Eileen Pittaway and Chrisanta Muli, "We Have a Voice, Hear Us: Settlement Experiences of Refugees and Migrants from the Horn of Africa," (2009), http://www.crr.unsw.edu.au/news-and-events/new-report-on-horn-of-africa-refugees-102.html (accessed 3 August 2010).

Why sexuality and sexual health?

Sexuality and sexual health can be complex to define. This is because it varies from culture to culture and it is shaped by a variety of human experiences of what it represents; and these change over time. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines sexuality as, "a central aspect of being human throughout life and encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction." The organization defines sexual health as, "a state of physical, emotional, mental and social well-being in relation to sexuality; it is not merely the absence of disease, dysfunction or infirmity." [22] This article adopts these working definitions to develop its argument.

Past studies have shown a connection between migration and increased sexual health risk highlighting that in the process of adjusting to the new environment, migrants risk contracting or transmitting HIV and other sexually transmitted infections due to the acquisition of new high-risk behaviours especially among men;[23] issues that could have an adverse impact on people's health, well-being, economic productivity and quality of life.[24] Importantly, unlike other migrants who determine when and where to move, individuals with refugee backgrounds have limited choices as to their country of resettlement; their immediate concern being to find a safe place in which to live and rebuild their lives. Consequently, they barely have time to contemplate the migration process, let alone plan for the demands of life in their host country.

While further research is required to determine the extent of the following generalisation, it could be expected that upon arrival in Australia, men with refugee backgrounds from the Horn of Africa are introduced to new 'sexual cultures' - that is, shared meanings, knowledge, beliefs and

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[22] World Health Organization (WHO), "Defining sexual health: Report of a technical consultation on sexual health," (2002): 5, http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/ publications/sexual_health/defining_sexual_health.pdf (accessed 29 September 2010).
[23] Manuel Carballo and Mourtala Mboup, "International Migration and Health," *Paper* prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on *International Migration* (2005), www.gcim.org/attachements/ TP13.pdf (accessed 3 June 2010); Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, "Population, Development and Hiv/Aids with Particular Emphasis on Poverty," (2005), www.un.org/esa/population/publications/.../PopdevHIVAIDS.pdf (accessed 7 June 2010); Felicity Thomas, Mary Haour-Knipe, and Peter Aggleton, eds., *Mobility, Sexuality and Aids* (London: Routledge, 2010).
[24] Mereditg Temple-Smith and Sandra Gifford, eds., *Sexual Health: An Australian Perspective,* (Melbourne: IP communications, 2005).

practices that structure sexuality[25] - in Australian society. Some of the features of this host sexual culture could be considered to include easier access to sexually explicit materials,[26] sexual services, such as in brothels, massage parlours and phone-in services,[27] a variety of sexual relationships, for example more open same-sex relations,[28] women's mode of dressing that is often considered (by men from other cultures) as sexually provocative,[29] and women in Australia being more direct and assertive about sexual relationships.[30]

At the same time, these men bring with them their understandings of sexuality, which may vary significantly from that of their host society. One of the characteristic features of many African communities is that sexuality is a taboo topic and therefore, it is marked by a culture of silence,[31] as in many other cultures.[32] Therefore, and as proposed by Arnfred, if we are to understand sexualities in such communities, it is essential to identify how silences are represented and performed.[33]

Research has shown that various factors, among them increased mobility and access to money, put men at heightened risk of contracting and

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[25] Richard G. Parker, Gilbert Herdt and Manuel Carballo, "Sexual Culture, HIV Transmission, and AIDS Research," *The Journal of Sex Research* 28 (1991): 77-98.

[26] Hugh Potter, *Pornography: Group Pressures and Individual Rights* (Sydney: The Federation Press, 1996).

[27] Barbara Ann Sullivan, *The Politics of Sex: Prostitution and Pornography in Australia since 1945* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[28] David de Vaus, *Diversity and Change in Australian Families: Statistical Profiles* (Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2004).

[29] Nicolette Macdougall, "Getting to Know You: The Journey from African Refugee to African-Australian: Insights into the life and times of African refugee women settling in Perth," Doctor of Philosophy, Murdoch University, 2008, researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/697/2/02Whole.pdf (accessed 12th November 2010) ; Peter Wakholi, "African Cultural Education: A Dialogue with African Migrant Youth in Western Australia," Masters of Education, Murdoch University, 2005, http://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/383/ (accessed 12th November 2010).

[30] Bettina Arndt, *The sex diaries: Why Women Go Off Sex and Other Bedroom Battles* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2009).

[31] Geeta R. Gupta, "Gender, Sexuality, and Hiv/Aids: The What, the Why, and the How." (2000), https://www.eclatllc.com/HEART/030106/Gender,Sexuality,andHIV.pdf (accessed 2nd October 2010)

[32] See, Maria Teresa Dawson and Sandra M. Gifford, "Narratives, culture and Sexual health: Personal life experiences of Salvadorean and Chilean women living in Melbourne, Australia," Health 5 (2001): 403-423

[33] Signe Arnfred, "'African Sexuality'/Sexuality in Africa: Tales and Silences," in *Re-Thinking Sexualities in Africa*, Signe Arnfred, ed. (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2004) 2.

transmitting sexually transmissible diseases.[34]   In addition, changes in expected gender roles upon arrival in their country of resettlement, has been linked to conflict among married couples, often affecting their sex lives. For example, a study conducted by Rees and Pease[35] revealed that men with refugee backgrounds who had resettled in Australia felt a loss of their traditional social roles and status over women. This is in contrast to women who feel more empowered.[36] Such a situation may impact on the sexual health of some men. For example, a study conducted in South Africa associated a loss of self-esteem among migrant men, to an increase in violence against women, and having extramarital affairs.[37] Studies are needed in Australia to determine whether migrant men with refugee backgrounds from the Horn of Africa have experienced similar losses of self-esteem, and a propensity towards violence or extramarital affairs, or indeed other impacts on their sexual lives and those of their partners.

Methodology
The purpose of this article is to review and evaluate the existing literature on African-Australians with refugee backgrounds from the Horn of Africa, and identify the existing gaps for future research consideration. While there are many areas that need attention, the focus of this paper is around the theme of sexuality and sexual health.[38]   As shown in the

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[34] See Felicity, Haour-Knipe, and Aggleton.

[35] Susan Rees and Bob Pease, "Refugee Settlement, Safety and Wellbeing: Exploring Domestic and Family Violence in Refugee Communities: Paper Four of the Violence against Women Community Attitudes Project" (2006), www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/.../ DiscriminationandViolence/ViolenceAgainstWomen/CAS_Paper4_Refugee.ashx (Accessed 27th September 2010).

[36] Melinda Mcpherson, "I Integrate, Therefore I Am: Contesting the Normalizing Discourse of Integrationism through Conversations with Refugee Women," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23: 4 (2010): 546-70.

[37] Robert Morrell and Sandra Swart, "Men in the Third World: Postcolonial Perspectives on Masculinity," in Michael S. Kimmel and Jeff Hearn, eds., *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities,* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2005), 6.

[38] A note on methodology: a search was conducted using 32 Australian databases accessed via LaTrobe University Library between August and October, 2010. The choice of these Australian databases was informed by the fact that any published work in the country would be easily accessible through them. The Search strategies included using single and combinations of the following key words: Horn of Africa, African-Australian, Eritrean, Sudanese, Ethiopia, Somali, health and sexuality. Each search revealed peer-reviewed articles, book chapters, conference proceedings, research reports, projects reports, discussion papers and newspaper articles. Electronic articles were downloaded and sorted to eliminate newspaper articles, publications that appeared more than once and those not based on Horn of African community in Australia. Where articles were in the form of book chapters, they were sourced from libraries around Australia. A total of 122 articles were identified for content analysis.

Table below, the majority of the articles were published within the last 10 years and in peer-reviewed journals.

Type of article and year published

Year/articles	1990-1994	1995-2000	2001-2004	2005-2010	Total
Peer-reviewed	0	2	9	40	51
Research reports	1	0	3	17	21
Book chapters	1	3	6	3	13
Project reports	0	0	3	10	13
Conference papers	0	0	2	4	6
Discussion papers	0	0	1	3	4
Total	2	5	24	79	108

This indicates that scholarship on the Horn of Africa communities is relatively new, and has correspondingly developed with the rapid increase in Humanitarian Entrants from the Horn of Africa into Australia.

There has been significant research conducted during this time which has aimed to investigate integration and resettlement issues facing African-Australians with refugee backgrounds. These findings are discussed under three key themes that emerged from the literature: 1) history of resettlement; 2) working with the African-Australian community; and 3) experiences of resettlement.

History of resettlement
Six articles gave a brief resettlement history of the Horn of African community in Australia, including migration trends and places of settlement,[39] their demographic characteristics,[40] and the challenges of

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However 14 of these articles were not available for review either because they could only be accessed after paying a subscription fee to the publisher or the full text could not be accessed electronically. Consequently, only 108 articles were subjected to analysis. The articles were sorted with the aid of Excel spreadsheet into six groups: peer-reviewed, research reports, book chapters, project reports, conference papers and discussion papers.

[39] James Jupp, *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[40] David Lucas, "Demographic Trends in Humanitarian Arrivals 2001/2 to 2005/6," *Australasian Review of African Studies 28: 1&2* (2006-7): 153-167; Office of Multicultural Interests, "Western Australian Community Profiles 2001 Census: Horn of Africa-Born (Somalia, Sudan, Eritrea and Ethiopia Born)," (2001), www.omi.wa. gov.au/publications/community_profiles/Horn_of_Africa.pdf (accessed 20 October 2010).

relocating from metropolitan to regional areas within Australia.[41] Under this theme, however, further research needs to be done to identify the places that these migrants had settled before displacement; whether it was in a rural or an urban setting. This will inform policies and service providers on the best places (whether regional or metropolitan) to relocate these migrants in an effort to bring some form of normality to their former habitual way of life; a process that would ease their integration.

Working with the African-Australian community
Fourteen articles were based on the strategies adopted to assist in the successful integration of these migrants; strategies addressing challenges of unemployment, housing, language,[42] access to legal services,[43] crime[44] and education.[45] However, there is still a need for further research to identify any initiatives undertaken by the Africa-Australian communities themselves to address the challenges they encounter in the process of resettlement. Findings from such studies are more likely to inform service providers on ways to improve their services by adopting any lessons learnt and best practices from the perspective of the people they are working for.

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[41] Robyn Broadbent, Marcelle Cacciattolo, and Cathryn Carpenter, "A Tale of Two Communities: Refugee Relocation in Australia," *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 42: 4 (2007): 581-601; Janet Taylor and Dayane Stanovic, "Refugees and Regional Settlement: Balancing Priorities," (2005), www.bsl.org.au/pdfs/refugees_ and_regional_settlement.pdf (accessed 12 August 2010).

[42] Queensland Government Department of Communities, "New Futures: The Queensland Government's Engagement with African Refugees," (2008), www.multi cultural.qld.gov.au/publications/reports/new-futures.pdf (accessed 16 March 2010).

[43] Katie Fraser, "Out of Africa and into Court: The Legal Problems of African Refugees" (2009), http://www.vlaf.org.au/docs/African%20Legal%20service%20Re port%20Final.pdf (accessed 2nd September 2010).

[44] Danielle Campbell and Roberta Julian, "Final Report Australian Research Council Linkage Project," (2009), www.utas.edu.au/tiles/...and.../A%20Conversation %20on%20Trust.pdf (accessed 23 June 2010); Netzach Goren. "Prevention, Newly Arrived Refugees and Substance Misuse," (2006) http://www.druginfo.adf.org.au/ attachments/351_PRQJune06_final.pdf (accessed 28th June 2010); Paul Jensen and Peter Westoby, "Restorative Justice: An Integrated Model for Resettling Young Sudanese," *New Community Quarterly,* 6:3 (2010): 13-19.

[45] Loshini Naidoo, "Developing Social Inclusion through after-School Homework Tutoring: A Study of African Refugee Students in Greater Western Sydney," *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 30: 3 (2009): 261-73; Margaret Vickers, "Developing University-Community Partnerships to Support African Refugees in Greater Western Sydney," *Australasian Journal of University Community Engagement* 2: 1 (2007): 211-217.

Experiences of resettlement
The vast majority of the articles (88) were based on the resettlement experience of the migrants. These articles captured a range of issues including employment, housing, education, and general health[46] as well as focusing on more specific experiences around racism and discrimination.[47] Some articles focused on mental health challenges,[48] barriers to accessing health services[49] and common health issues that have been diagnosed by general practitioners among newly arrived migrants from the Horn of Africa.[50]

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[46] Australian Human Rights Commission, "In Our Own Words: African Australians: A Review of Human Rights and Social Inclusion Issues," (2010), http://www. humanrights.gov.au/africanaus/review/index.html (accessed 3 August, 2010); Pittaway and Muli; Jane Shakespeare-Finch and Kylie Wickham, "Adaptation of Sudanese Refugees in an Australian Context: Investigating Helps and Hindrances," *International Migration* 48: 1 (2010): 23-46.

[47] Paul Foley and Andrew Beer, "Housing Need and Provision for Recently Arrived Refugees in Australia," (2003), ahuri.ddsn.net/publications/download/40048_pp (accessed 28 September, 2010); Ndungi Mungai, "Young Sudanese Men Experiences of Racism in Melbourne," *New Community Quarterly* 7: 1 (2009): 56-60.

[48] Mark Brough, Don Gorman, Elvie Ramirez, and Peter Westoby, "Young Refugees Talk About Well-Being: A Qualitative Analysis of Refugee Youth Mental Health from Three States," *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 38: 2 (2003): 193-209; Abdulkadir Gedi, "Young Somalians in New South Wales", in Bashi Marie and David Bennett, eds. *Deeper Dimensions: Culture, Youth and Mental Health* (Diversity Health Insitute, Parramatta, New South Wales: Transcultural Mental Health Centre, 2001) 7; Celia McMichael and Lenore Manderson, "Somali Women and Well-Being: Social Networks and Social Capital among Immigrant Women in Australia," *Human Organization* 63: 1 (2004): 88-89; Robert Schweitzer, Jaimi Greenslade, and Ashraf Kagee, "Coping and Resilience in Refugees from the Sudan: A Narrative Account," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry* 41: 3 (2007): 282-288; Faradi Tilbury and Mark Rapley, "There Are Orphans in Africa Still Looking for My Hands: African Women Refugees and the Sources of Emotional Distress," *Health Sociology Review* 13 (2004): 54-64.

[49] Cara Brough. "Language Services in Victoria's Health System: Perspectives of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Consumers," (2006), http://www.ceh.org.au/ downloads/final_report.pdf (accessed 14th March 2010); Campbell and Julian; Regina cooke, Sally Murray, Jonathan Carapetis, James Rice, Nigisti Mulholland, and Susan Skull, "Demographics and Utilisation of Health Services by Paediatric Refugees from East Africa: Implications for Service Planning and Provision," *Australian Health Review* 27: 2 (2004): 40-45; Andrea Neale, Joanne Y.Y. Ngeow, Susan Skull, and Beverey Anna Biggs, "Health Services Utilisation and Barriers for Settlers from the Horn of Africa," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health* 31: 4 (2007): 333-335.

[50] Cate Burns, Kim Webster, Pat Crotty, Megan Ballinger, Rocco Vincenzo, and Margaret Rozman, "Easing the Transition: Food and Nutrition Issues of New Arrivals," *Health Promotion Journal of Australia* 10: 3 (2000): 230-236; S. A Skull, J. Y. Ngeow, B. A Biggs, A. Street, and P. R Ebeling, "Vitamin D Deficiency Is

A few articles examined the resettlement experience of migrant women from these communities, including their access and use of reproductive health services,[51] access to education[52] and experiences of domestic violence.[53] Only one article[54] explored how masculinity and change in gender roles influence men (Sudanese men in particular) adjustment to the Australia lifestyle.[55] This indicates that further research needs to be carried out to explore how gender roles and masculinity may be affected by resettlement.

Of the 108 articles reviewed, only four mentioned sexuality and sexual health as issues requiring attention in these communities. The Australian

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Common and Unrecognized among Recently Arrived Adult Immigrants from the Horn of Africa," *Internal Medicine Journal* 33: 12 (2003): 47-51; Albert C. D. Tiong, Mahomed S. Patel, Joanne Gardiner, Rowena Ryan, Karen S. Linton, Kate A. Walker, John Scopel, and Beverley-Ann Biggs, "Health Issues in Newly Arrived African Refugees Attending General Practice Clinics in Melbourne," *The Medical Journal of Australia* 185: 11-12 (2006): 602-606.

[51] Pascale Allotey, Lenore Manderson, Samia Baho, and Lourice Demian, "Reproductive Health for Resettling Refugee and Migrant Women?," *Health Issues* 78 (2004): 12-17.

[52] Anikó Hatoss and Henk Huijser, "Gendered Barriers to Educational Opportunities: Resettlement of Sudanese Refugees in Australia," *Gender and Education* 22: 2 (2010): 147-60; Susana A. Saffu, "Adult Education and Community Capacity Building: The Case of African-Australian Women in the Northern Territory," *Australasian Review of African Studies* 31: 1(2010): 15-36.

[53] Department of Community Development, "A Review of Literature Relating to Family and Domestic Violence in Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Communities in Australia," (2006), www.community.wa.gov.au/NR/.../0/CaLDliteraturereview.pdf (accessed 27th September 2010); Ruth Gordon and Munila Adam. "Family Harmony: Understanding Family Violence in Somali and Eritrean Communities in the Western Region of Melbourne," (2005) http://www.whwest.org.au/research/familyharmony .php (accessed 12th December 2010); Josephine (Nina) Jurak, "Preventing Family Disintegration in Cald Communities: A Partnership Approach," (2004), www.edac.org.au/mwas_report.pdf (accessed 27th September, 2010); Rees and Pease; Victorian Health Promotion Foundation, "National Survey on Community Attitudes to Violence against Women 2009: Changing Cultures, Changing Attitudes – Preventing Violence against Women,"(2010), www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/.../ NCAS_CommunityAttitudes_report_2010.ashx (accessed on 20th September 2010);

[54] The Vol. 32 No 2 December 2011 issue of ARAS journal was published after this research was conducted and may indeed offer some articles addressing the change in gender roles.

[55] Ndungi Mungai and Bob Pease, "Rethinking Masculinities in the African Diaspora," in Mike Donaldson, Raymond Hibbins, Richard Howson and Bob Pease, eds.*Migrant Men: Critical Studies of Masculinities and the Migration Experience*, (New York: Routledge, 2009), 6.

Human Rights Commission[56] reported that many African-Australian women were concerned about unplanned pregnancies of newly-arrived young women. In this report, the young people also cited access to reliable advice on sexual health as very important in their lives. Rees and Pease's article[57] reported that since arriving in Australia some men from the Horn of Africa reported a troubled sex life, including reduced sexual desire and sexual intercourse with their partners due to the change of lifestyle in Australia. McMichael and Gifford's article,[58] addressed the sexual health of recently arrived young people with refugee backgrounds, including those from Sudan and Ethiopia. The article revealed that young people were disadvantaged in accessing sexual health information; they had little knowledge of sexually transmitted infections with the exception of HIV/AIDS, and were confronted with specific barriers to acquiring sexual health information including concerns about confidentiality, and the shame and embarrassment associated with discussing sexual health. Consequently, the two authors recommended promotion of sexual health in the early resettlement stage in addition to the development of sexual health education programs targeting young people from refugee backgrounds. Finally Lemoh's[59] article focused primarily on the risk of transmission of HIV/AIDS in African and Arabic-speaking communities in the Victoria. He noted that African migrants are more likely to be exposed to HIV/AIDS due to various factors, among them unprotected sex due to the belief that there is little or no HIV/AIDS in Australia, especially within their own communities. He recommended awareness of HIV/AIDS as something that needs to be promoted within these communities.

A new research agenda
Evidence from this literature review reveals that much detail on the experiences of men with refugee backgrounds from the Horn of Africa regarding sexuality and sexual health in Australia remains largely under-explored. Although the four articles cited in the section above go some way to point out some of the sexuality and sexual health issues facing these men, there still remains scarcity of data on how they connect with

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[56] Australian Human Rights Commission.
[57] Rees and Pease.
[58] Celia McMichael and Sandra Gifford, ""It Is Good to Know Now… before It's Too Late": Promoting Sexual Health Literacy Amongst Resettled Young People with Refugee Backgrounds," *Sexuality and Culture* 13 (2009): 1-19.
[59] Chris Lemoh, "Reducing the risk of transmission of HIV/AIDS in African and Arabic-speaking communities in Victoria" (2006), http://www.cmy.net.au/Assets/226/1/DHS_HIVAIDSinVictoria_CommunityReport.pdf (accessed 1 September 2010).

the sexual cultures in their new home. As Castro and Murray[60] noted, the most challenging life event that a migrant encounters upon resettlement is learning the host culture. Therefore, more research is needed to deepen our understanding on how resettlement is likely to impact upon the sexuality and sexual health of this migrant group. As Thomas and colleagues have argued, "services to promote migrant health and well-being need to be informed by far greater understanding of the ways people from different cultures and backgrounds perceive their health, sexuality and their self in relation to others, in their immediate community and beyond." [61]   It is the findings from such studies that can provide the basis for designing programs and services that are geared to promote the sexual health of African-Australians; an important endeavour that will facilitate a better integration process and provide data that would be useful in improving resettlement policies. As Drummond, Mizan and Wright[62] observed, African women feel less empowered than men when it comes to making decisions regarding sexual practices. Consequently, the way the men enact their sexuality in Australia may impact on the sexual health of the women. Therefore, research should be designed to actively involve men in order to understand the diversity of their sexual experiences and inform policies and programs on ways to promote the sexual health of migrants.

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[60] Felipe G. Castro and Kate E. Murray, "Cultural Adaptation and Resilience," in Reich John W., Alex J. Zautra, and John Stuart Hall, eds., *Handbook of Adult Resilience*, (New York: The Guilford Press, 2010), 18.

[61] Felicity, Haour-Knipe, and Aggleton, 5.

[62] Peter D. Drummond, Ayse Mizan, and Bernadette Wright, "Hiv/Aids Knowledge and Attitudes among West African Immigrant Women in Western Australia," *Sexual Health* 5 (2008): 251-259.

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