

Social perspectives on farmer suicide CC and rural health in Australia

National Centre for Farmer Health – October 12, 2010

Anthony Hogan
National Centre for
Epidemiology &
Population Health



While the act of suicide may be an individual one, the pathway to suicide is inherently socially constructed



Hegemonic masculinity as central issues

- Identity narrowly defined (Lankester 2011)
- Performative in nature (Moore 1994)
- Psychologically inflexible (Hayes et al 1999)
- Precipitating destabilisation thru dissonance (Barr 2009 & Alston 2010)
- Evidenced in uncertainty and anxiety (Giddens 1991, Erickson 1965 & Hogan 2001)
- Durkheim (2002) why some suicide but not others
- Convergence (Hogan 2001)



Farmers and hegemonic masculinity

- head of the family
- responsible for the continuance of the farming family dynasty.
- self worth centred on ability to do
- rugged individualist, tough and uncompromising
- in control
- a knowledgeable outdoor farm labourer

- having control over land and stock
- stoic and tenacious in the face of challenges
- caretaker of the land
- a big deal in town, council boards etc



Farmers and hegemonic masculinity



Being a successful man is about successful farming (Alston 2010)



Precipitating destabilisation – losing of the legitimacy and the capacity to do

- Too many small farms
- FTA/Deregulation/globalisation
- Rising costs; falling prices
- 'Oversupply' of food in western economies
- Compressing terms of trade 3% p.a.
- Getting big or getting out
- Contested social licence
- Drought, drying and climate change
- The Basin Plan



The incentives to stay

- Age
- Investment economic and skills
- The farm as super fund
- The cost to retool
- The cost to retrain
- Loss of social status





Barriers to change

- Psychological inflexibility
- Cognitive fusion
- Experiential avoidance
- Excessive goals



Psychological inflexibility

- Not connected with the current realities (worrying, ruminating, preoccupied, auto-pilot, going thru the emotions)
- Experiential avoidance
 - Avoidance of unpleasant emotions
 - Not addressing key issues & experiences
 - Use of alcohol/self harm



Psychological inflexibility

- Cognitive fusion rigid rules, self limiting beliefs, unrealistic expectations; harsh judgments, reasongiving, being right
- Fused with strong but narrowly defined self image



Excessive goals

- Personal perceptions of viability
- Episodic hope





Fusion

- You emotionally connect with the many thoughts running thru your head and FEAR results
- **F**usion (stuff your mind tells you that gets in the way when you get emotionally caught up in it)
- Excessive goals (your goal is too big, or you lack the skills, or you lack the resources)
- <u>A</u>voidance of discomfort (unwillingness to make room for the discomfort this challenge brings)
- Remoteness from values (losing touch with or forgetting what is important or meaningful about this or my life)

FEAR



Tri-Level reaction

Emotions

- · Shame, sadness or grief
- · Fear of failure/rejection/stupidity
- Flight/fight
- · Anger, Impatience or hate
- · Embarrassment & Isolation
- · Personal Invalidation
- Stigma/prejudice
- · Worry & anxiety what's my future?

_

FUSION

Lots of Physical Reactions

- Pupils dilate
- · Saliva flow inhibited
- · Heart beats faster
- · Blood pressure may increase
- Bronchi dilates
- Adrenal gland secretes
- · Digestion slows
- · Liver puts sugar into the system
- More sweat
- · Kidneys inhibited
- · Peripheral blood vessels constrict
- · Increased strength to muscles





Which we see manifest in everyday behaviours and reactions

Continuums in identity

Predicability Uncertainty Seeking to control Flexible Role confusion **Identity** \Leftrightarrow **Broadly based Fused with ideal types** Competent **Incompetent/inferior** $\langle \neg \rangle$ Proud **Controlling/Passing/bluffing** Intimacy **⇔ Isolation** Connected Disconnected Self worth **⇔** Shame Internal control **Avoidance behaviours Getting on** $\langle \neg \rangle$ **Stagnation Bonsai-ed Real participation Despair** Integrity \Leftrightarrow Grounded Fused/stuck

Dynamic personal reactions



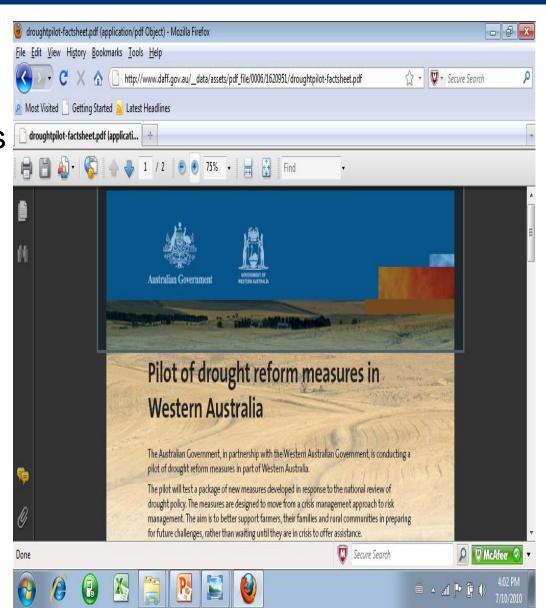
Farmer suicide is real

- At least 50% higher than urban male suicide
- 8% increase in suicide related to each loss of 300mm of rain



Kenny Report

- Community distress associated
- Less time for community
- Gradual process of disconnecting
- Distress related to farm and livestock losses
- Misperception and reluctance





The will to suicide

- Egoistic tendencies:
 - Self possessed in thoughts lost in dreams
 - Strong narrow sense of personal identity
 - Social role gives life purpose and meaning
- Anomic tendencies:
 - Life is boundless can live outside the usual rules
 - Lived out passions beyond every day structures of social life
 - Pursued aspirations as they wanted to unregulated life
 - Difficult to deal with everyday frustrations



Arising risk of suicide

- Foundations of firmly but narrowly held identity and meaning collapse
- Personal script of how they saw themselves in the world no longer works
- Social values change
- Events intersect & destabilisation occurs
- Experience fall from grace/shame/loss of status
- Sense of injustice



Entering the anomic state

- Tipping point the breach
- Normlessness
- Enduring sense of uncertainty lost predictability
- Fear of social interactions
- Hypersensitivity to difficult situations
- Loss of self confidence
- Shock paralysis response



Will to suicide

- Realities of the everyday make personal fulfilment seem impossible
- No satisfaction can be found in pursuing the unobtainable
 - Life doesn't meet my needs
- Increasing effort only produces further losses
- No purpose to justify life's trials
- See no value in the life one could live
 - How could the will to live not be weakened under such conditions (Durkheim) ???



Distinct social pressures

Predisposing

- · Strong personal identity
- Distinct social role underpinned by strong folk lore
- · Role specific social connectivity
- · Live outside the rules of dominant society
- Unregulated life
- Passions for life lived outside ready restrictions of social structure

Precipitating

- Collapse of meaning system shift in social values
- · Loss of status or social position of the threat of
- Shame associated with the self perceived/ actual fall from grace
- · Sense of injustice
- · Feeling invalidated
- · Thwarted aspirations

Mediating

- Increasing uncertainty and its cumulative impact on ego integrity
- Fear
- · Increasing sense of embarrassment
- Hypersensitivity to specific issues or situations
- · Socially withdrawing disconnecting
- · Reluctance and misperception



Triggering Event



Means of Suicide



Insights for prevention

- Learning to be affected
 - Maieutic process
 - Recognising what has been happening
 - Defusing
- Recognising unworkability of the farm in a constructive way
 - It's the farm not me
 - Letting go of control OK not knowing what comes next
 - Prepared to try other peoples' ideas
- Identity based change
 - Finding new ways of valid living being successful



Insights for prevention

- Engaging programs
- Three step sensitization program
 - Recognising being affected gradual defusion
 - Understanding being affected
 - Planning for gradual change
 - Small realistic steps
 - Living with the limits of structured life



