MENTAL HEALTH & WELLBEING

CULTURALLY & LINGUISTICALLY DIVERSE

MEN IN FARMING

RESEARCH REPORT

University of South Australia

NATIONAL ENTERPRISE FOR RURAL COMMUNITY WELLBEING

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Executive Summary

This report focuses on the mental health and wellbeing of Australian farmers by specifically focusing on cultural and linguistic diversity in the context of horticulture and viticulture. Migrants from countries across Europe, Central, South and Southeast Asia and elsewhere have a long history of significant and ongoing investment and contributions to Australian agriculture. Over that history, there have been specific policy initiatives designed to attract migrants and address agricultural sector shortages, both in terms of what is considered skilled and unskilled labour (Kerrigan & Lima, 2023). These policies are complemented by additional incentives and policy directives that encourage or require resettlement in rural and regional places such that migrants take up employment opportunities presented by the agricultural sector. Research and practice in farmer mental health and suicide prevention has tended to overlook the culturally and linguistically diverse sector within Australian agriculture due to traditional representations of farmers as broadacre and livestock producers.

By engaging men working in horticulture and viticulture from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds, this project sought to explore their perceptions and experiences of challenges to mental health, wellbeing and support. The mental health and wellbeing of migrant CALD farmers and farm workers is likely to be influenced by a confluence of intersecting factors connected to their occupation and employment, their migration and resettlement experiences, potential trauma histories and their culturally informed understandings of mental health and wellbeing, family, work, agriculture and community. This research was designed to explore the intersections between farm work and migration for CALD men in farming as they pertain to mental health and wellbeing in two South Australian case study regions.

Two research sites were selected for their migrant communities in regions associated with horticulture and viticulture production: the Limestone Coast and the Riverland regions of South Australia. The Limestone Coast is located in the Southeast of the state and is a highly productive region for forestry, viticulture, agriculture, dairy, potatoes and aquaculture (Landscape Management, 2024). The highest proportion of recent migrants to the region are Afghans who have resettled in Australia through humanitarian-refugee pathways. The Riverland is located in the central eastern part of South Australia, covering the Murray River corridor which allows for irrigation, and produces 60% of the State's wine grapes and over 90% of the State's citrus and almonds (PIRSA, 2023). The Riverland has established migrant populations from European countries and more recent arrivals from South Asia.

A participatory action research co-design methodology was adopted for the study that comprised of six stages:

Engagement – Recruitment – Interviews – Analysis – Codesign - Outputs

Across the two sites, a total of 13 in-depth in-person interviews were conducted with CALD men in farming including six in the Limestone Coast and seven in the Riverland. In the Limestone Coast region, the majority of interview participants were first-generation migrants from Afghanistan (n = 4), there was one first-generation migrant from Malaysia (n = 1) and an interview with a key stakeholder working in mental health with CALD migrants in the region. These men were employed in farm work, largely in viticulture. Riverland participants were horticultural and viticultural producers and first

and second generation settlers from Indian (n = 5), Greek (n = 1), and Italian (n = 1) cultural backgrounds.

In-depth semi-structured interviews focused on participant's farming context, perspective and experiences of challenges to wellbeing, means of coping with those challenges, and perspective on how men in farming could be supported when distressed, recovering and maintaining wellbeing.

The interview analysis for the Limestone Coast data produced three themes connected to wellbeing which were:

A life in limbo: Resettlement without family.

People that I know they aren't good condition, most of them suffering because they are away from their families, they don't have exact vision about the future, about their visa; so many things that suffering for … that affecting their mental health … the whole time there … I know some people have been working on the farm for 10-15 years, so that's not easy for a person being away from his family members for 15 years, that is very difficult condition

The Afghani men interviewed were living and working in viticulture in the Limestone Coast region. For many, their resettlement remained 'in limbo' due to uncertainty regarding permanent residency/ citizenship and/or due to family remaining in refuge in countries like Pakistan while they waited for family reunification visas. Many of the men interviewed had been separated from their families for approximately 10-15 years. The uncertainty of reunification, lengthy separation and absence of family support in Australia was seen to underpin much emotional and psychological suffering in themselves, and their Afghan community.

Precarious employment amid pressure to provide.

when there's a lot of pressure on them to support the family overseas, work is crucial, the farm work is crucial, and they will work and forego other appointments to get money in the bank to support their family… so, they're working all the time, and if they're offered a bit of overtime, they're there and they're going for it…But it opens them up to vulnerability from employers, and work conditions – they don't care if they don't get a lunch break today, I'll come and I don't care if there's holes in my gloves, I'll work for you.

Refugee-humanitarian migrants to Australia are faced with challenges to securing employment. Men interviewed for the study reported financial pressure to pay their bills in Australia (rent, food, migration lawyers etc) as well as pressure connected to family obligation and responsibility to provide financial support to family members overseas. The pressure to attain employment prompts these migrants to seek alternative occupations outside their areas of expertise which tend to be classed as lower-skilled and less secure. A lack of employment security and this pressure to provide meant that the Afghani men were limited in their autonomy to advocate for fairer employment conditions.

That's why I try to make myself busy. Go to soccer. Do the training, do this, make myself a lot – do things. Otherwise, if I stay home, you know, I have to think about a lot of other stuff, what's going on in the life, you know?...that's why I've tried to make myself busy, so I don't think about that stuff.

It's helps a lot when you talk to someone, when you feel your – when you're sharing your feeling with someone it's, it's feel good. It's …, you know, it's someone hearing your story or someone hearing – it's, it's very good. It's very good for us as well.

[volunteering] To make relation, you know, like with people, it's good to have relation and good to be part of that wider community, and be accepted…I strongly believe it helps…they are openly meeting different people and people from different background and different ethnicities. It does help you build better relation.

Resettlement in Australia without their immediate family and with limited return visits, means that these men are disconnected from their primary source of social support, and this impacts their wellbeing placing these Afghani men as significantly vulnerable to social isolation and loneliness. Whilst the farm workers have access to an Afghani community in the region, the stakeholder we interviewed explained that men who were waiting for family reunification often did not socialise with Afghani families in the community. The majority of men did not connect their experience of distress with a conceptualisation of mental health that would indicate action towards seeking out professional assistance. Rather, many of the men interviewed described deliberate and concerted efforts to socially connect with community to reduce social isolation and support their wellbeing through sport and volunteering.

The interview analysis for the Riverland data produced three themes connected to wellbeing:

Situational stress: Mental health and the cyclical economy of farming

Mental health, it's directly related to how the industry's going. If the industry is going well, there's no mental health…if the industry is in the doldrums and it can be five years or four years, no income, and the family suffers and the mental health increases. That's all I know…I know that you're going to get good years and then it's going to cycle, and then unexpectedly it's going to cycle down the bottom and go back up the top and make a lot of money and back down to nothing again. Famine or feast, famine or feast, famine or feast.

Men in farming in the Riverland regarded mental health as fundamentally enmeshed with the cyclical economic fluctuations of farming in terms of commodity prices and financial stress. Men spoke of a pattern of 'good years' and 'bad years' as being the nature of farming enterprise. Participants pointed to the 'hidden' nature of mental health issues in their community, which seems connected to a culture of accepted and socially sanctioned discourse in which 'bad' years can be lamented by the psychologically hardy and resilient farmer whose emotions and internal experience of distress remain stoically unexpressed. The projection of this masculine farming culture can create a barrier for those who wish to share their mental health challenges or seek emotional and psychological support.

Everyone is in the same boat

I don't think growers judge each other because you know, we're all in the same boat. It's the good thing, we all get in the same boat. If things get bad, we're all in the same boat. And then things pick up, we're still in the same boat but off we go. It's good actually.

I don't think it's the, the educated providers of health, mental health they're going to be able to assist in these areas. It's like they have to be people that are from our community who have grown up in this system [culture and religious].

The perspective that mental health and wellbeing vary in accordance with the economy of farming provides a sense of solidarity among male farmers in the Riverland captured metaphorically by farmers as 'everyone is in the same boat'. This perception is misaligned in relation to a whole of community approach. There is diversity of scale and economy of enterprises in the region enabling some producers more than others to withstand poor seasons. Among interviewees however, this view of collective economic positioning was buttressed by both their historical cultural context in farming in other countries as well as by neoliberal agricultural values of perseverance through hard work and tolerance for poverty in farming. Being in the 'same boat' meant that many of the men described the farming, cultural and broader communities of the Riverland as their preferred source of support during challenging times.

Problem solving and solving 'nothing' through peer support

> And we were just talking about how bad the industry was. And he still, he reminds me about that chat. So it has sort of, well it was beneficial for me, the chat, plus for him too. We chatted about this problem we were having, young family, no income. So after, many years later, he sort of reminded, keeps reminding me of the chat we had down the shed on a cold morning. It does linger, this warm glow, it lingers for years because you remember… I was quite surprised when he mentioned it. We solved nothing.

Given their perspective on the nature of mental health as fundamentally enmeshed within the economy of farming, the men interviewed did not consider mental health services in response to their experiences of situational stress and distress. Rather, during challenging times many of the men described focusing attention on the situational issues and solving practical problems of farming as a means of alleviating stress. However, there were also farmers who recognise that whilst social support may not solve the farming or financial issues, it can help alleviate experiences of distress. Some participants spoke to the idea of having 'confidants' in the community where experiences could be shared with confidentiality.

The themes from the interview data in each of the study sites share some commonalities with existing understandings of mental health for men in farming in Australia and their preferences for wellbeing support (Bryant et al., 2022). However, there are also differences and nuances in each of the case studies particular to cultural background and migration experiences.

Cultural understandings of 'mental health' among men in farming

The accounts of mental health from men across the study sites, whilst different in substantive context, share an understanding of mental health that is situational and responsive to life events and circumstances. This finding is in alignment with men in farming generally (Bryant et al., 2022) but is nuanced according to cultural understandings of mental health. These understandings may preclude men in farming from seeking support from health-based mental health services. CALD Men in farming from both study sites indicated that experiences of 'mental ill health' are not explicitly discussed or shared among men in the community. However, they also revealed their awareness of suffering connected to mental health amongst men in their community.

Preference for community-based informal peer support

The interview narratives from men in farming across both study sites revealed a preference for receiving support through farming, cultural and wider community connections and the majority did not consider professional mental health services when asked about experiences or perceptions of support. Men in farming more broadly, express a preference for peer support (Bryant et al., 2022). What varies, is how that peer support is contextualised by place, agricultural commodity and culture.

Men in both study sites provided examples of the significance of social connection for wellbeing and described sharing their experience and stories with others as a valued source of support. However, whilst it was acceptable to bemoan 'bad seasons' and ruminate on the challenges of farming, sharing emotional or psychological experiences of distress and being open about difficulty coping, were not expected. Men who are struggling and experiencing distress would potentially feel pressure to withhold their experience and are likely to be unsupported in the community.

Belonging and inclusion in rural and agricultural communities

Men across both study sites spoke about feeling socially connected to their farming and cultural communities and the broader community of the region but there were a minority that expressed a lack of social support in the community. Some men had witnessed racially motivated aggression in the community and others perceived differential treatment in terms of farm work expectations according to cultural background. Multi-generational farmers or those from Anglo Australian heritage are unlikely to experience the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion that CALD migrant men in farming experience. It is therefore significant to raise awareness of these dynamics and the ways in which rural and agricultural communities can be sources of support and distress.

Community-based participatory research has traditionally been employed in collaboration with culturally and linguistically diverse communities to optimise inclusion and privilege the knowledges and values held in those communities (O'Brien et al., 2021). In this study this approach was combined with co-design with the intention of co-producing a community-led and based resource to support the wellbeing of CALD men in farming (as per previous research with men in farming, see Bryant et al., 2022).

The approach to co-design in the Limestone Coast region embraced the social and cultural capital held by two key stakeholders connected to the men in farming in the region. These stakeholders were central to the methods undertaken to recruit men to participate in the co-design workshop and for facilitating the co-design processes during the workshop. Ten men participated in the workshop, the majority of whom were Hazaras originally from Afghanistan and one participant originally from Malaysia. Overall, the discussion between participants was engaged and focused on potential co-design strategies. However, there was some dissent in the group with disagreement about the direction of the co-design. At the conclusion of the workshop there appeared to be consensus in terms of collaborating to write a co-authored letter to the town council asking for stronger support and advocacy for their precarious and insecure visa/work situations and working with the local Council to support the Hazara Afghan community towards creating a space for Sangi Rag, an Afghani cultural sport (see Appendix A for an example where this occurred in another region). Over the months following the co-design workshop, the research team followed up to determine the next steps towards and was advised that tensions and disagreements had arisen within the group and between participants with a few of the participants deciding to pursue an entirely different outcome from those agreed at the workshop. Ultimately, given the internal fragmentation of the co-design group and the timeline constraints of the project, it was determined that a consensus and timely action were unlikely to be achievable.

The research team were unable to garner community support and participation among the men in farming in the Riverland for the co-design phase of the project. Drawing on previous co-design work with men in farming, the team decided to utilize the interview data to create a media article that

presents some of themes through a composite narrative. The team drafted the media article and shared it with one of the men who had been interviewed and who we felt would be receptive towards providing feedback and advice regarding how such a piece might be received by the farming community. The article was used as the basis for a local radio interview and will be shared on the farmer resource site Takingstock.community.

The collaborative codesign methodology was crucial for establishing engagement of CALD men in farming. Moreover, it was significant in terms of establishing future parameters for research and for longer projects that work alongside the community to enable time to take into account and create diverse resources to build mental health among CALD populations.

Recommendations

The findings and conclusions of this report lend themselves to the following recommendations:

1. **Culturally and linguistically diverse farmers and farm workers need to be recognised and represented in mental health initiatives designed to support men in farming.**
2. **Tailor culturally sensitive mental health and wellbeing initiatives to specific cultural populations of men in farming that encompass culturally appropriate representations of mental health and wellbeing.**
3. **Empower place-based community initiatives to encourage social inclusion of culturally diverse new arrivals to support wellbeing. For example, create opportunities for culturally diverse men in farming to share their migration stories and cultures in the community.**
4. **Further co-design research to co-produce resources that support men in farming on humanitarian visas.**
5. **Further co-design research to create resources targeted to farmers from first or second generation culturally diverse families.**
6. **Provide funding and training for culturally attuned peer support through outreach programs tailored to culturally diverse men in farming.**
7. **Target community spaces such as sports venues and cultural groups to provide targeted and tailored information about mental health and wellbeing and available supports.**

Contents

Background

Farmer mental health and wellbeing are of ongoing concern in Australia given the disproportionately elevated risk of suicide for men in farming (Bryant & Garnham, 2015, 2017; Judd et al., 2006). There has been much media coverage and academic attention oriented to understanding the issues driving poor mental health and suicide risk for farmers. The dominant picture created around these issues depicts farmers in terms of broadacre and livestock farming and as owning the farming enterprise or in-line for succession. In addition, this picture tends to focus on farmers with an Anglo-Australian cultural lineage. When it comes to mental health and wellbeing, the dominant picture of Australian farmers therefore tends to disregard diversity in terms of agricultural occupations and ethnicity.

Thirteen percent of the Australian agricultural workforce derives from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds as first or second generation migrants (ABARES, 2023). Historically, Australia's migration policies have supported movement of CALD migrant populations into agriculture in order to fill labour shortages (Kerrigan & Lima, 2023). Given the substantial and continually rising investment required for property ownership in broadacre and livestock industries, as well as traditions of patrilineal farm succession that limits opportunities for migrants, horticulture and viticulture present more attainable entry points into owner-operator primary production and seasonal farm work employment opportunities. 77% of CALD workers in agriculture are employed as farm labourers and are most highly represented in horticulture and viticulture industries (ABARES, 2023). In these industries, migrant farm workers are typically relied upon to undertake seasonal and contract labour including picking and packing fruits and vegetables and pruning trees and vines (Klocker et al., 2020). The contribution of migrant workers is of critical significance with the National Farmers Federation (2016, p. 8) declaring that Australian agriculture would 'grind to a halt' without their occupational labour.

Areas of intersection, that occur due to the migration into or out from agriculture, are referred to as the 'agricultural-migration nexus' (Akeju, 2013). As Kerrigan and Lima (2023, p. 8) explain, 'rural migration is still largely rooted in, and a direct response to, the dynamics of globalised food production and wider agribusiness systems, which often rely on having access to cheap and flexible migrant labour'. Migration policies reflect this imperative. Some CALD migrant farm workers settle in Australia via visas intended to directly address agricultural labour shortages whilst others arrive as 'unlinked migrants', who are largely refugee-humanitarian settlers, to be resettled in regional locations where employment opportunities are presented by farm work (McDonald-Wilmsen et al., 2009).

The knowledge about migrant farm workers' lived experience of mental health and wellbeing in Australia is limited. There is some evidence to suggest a higher prevalence of mental health issues among farm workers (Daghagh Yazd et al., 2019). Further, first generation migrants experience psycho-social challenges to wellbeing associated with the migration experience that impact mental health (Mucci et al., 2020; Sulaiman-Hill & Thompson, 2012). Among refugee-humanitarian migrants these challenges are frequently preceded by traumatic experiences associated with war, forced displacement and detention followed by resettlement issues connected to permanent residency and reunification with family. Other research work, focused on migrant farm workers and framed by political economy, has drawn attention to the vulnerability of this population to exploitation through illegal and unethical work practices (Binford, 2013; Venkatesh et al., 2023).

Migrant farmers and farm workers in Australia are culturally and linguistically diverse. The most common languages spoken by CALD farm workers are Mandarin, Vietnamese, Punjabi, Italian and Khmer (ABARES, 2023). CALD communities vary according to region and according to settlement

policies (Bakshi et al., 2024). Communities also vary in terms of length of settlement with some regions having well established CALD communities (Italian, Greek, Chinese, Vietnamese) and others with more recent arrival populations (e.g. Afghani, Sudanese, Mayama). Cultural diversity combined with length of time in Australia will impact the way in which mental health and wellbeing is understood within the community. Traditionally, Western biomedical models of mental health and illness have differed to understandings of mental health in non-western cultures, which generally have more in common with more recent psychosocial understandings of distress and recovery in the west (Simich et al., 2009).

This review suggests that the mental health and wellbeing of migrant CALD farmers and farm workers is likely to be influenced by a confluence of intersecting factors connected to their occupation and employment, their migration and resettlement experiences, potential trauma histories and their cultural lineage. This research was designed to explore the intersections between farm work and migration for CALD men in farming as they pertain to mental health and wellbeing in two case study farming communities – the Riverland region and the Limestone Coast region in South Australia. The Riverland has a well-established migrant CALD community as well as more recent arrivals. The Limestone coast has recently participated in resettlement programs for refugee-humanitarian migrants and thus has more newly established CALD populations.

Aim

To understand the experiences and needs of men in farming from migrant and culturally diverse backgrounds in relation to their mental health and wellbeing.

Research design, processes and findings

Human Research Ethics approval was sought and granted by the University of South Australia Human Research Ethics Committee.

The participatory action research design of the study comprised of the following stages:

Engagement – Recruitment – Interviews – Analysis - Co-design – Outcomes

Community-based participatory research has traditionally been employed in collaboration with culturally and linguistically diverse communities to optimise inclusion and privilege the knowledges and values held in those communities (O'Brien et al., 2021). Co-designing through collaborative teams enables shared ownership or a common goal, builds on knowledge held within communities and contributes to place-based sustainability of strategies and resources (Leavy, 2017). Incorporating principles of co-design and participatory research frameworks and translating the findings from culturally diverse men in farming into immediately usable intervention strategies and resources were integral aspects of the research design.

Study Sites

The research was conducted in two case study regions in South Australia: Limestone Coast (Naracoorte and surrounds) and the Riverland.

The Limestone Coast is an area of 28,000 square kilometres in the Southeastern part of the State. The region is highly productive with agriculture contributing 30% to the States GDP. Key industries include forestry, viticulture, agriculture, dairy, potatoes and aquaculture (Landscape Management, 2024). The population in the Limestone coast is predominantly Australian born with an established history of post-war settlement. Through national migration policies that have sought to settle refugee-humanitarian and skilled migrants in regional areas, there have been planned and unplanned settlements in the Limestone Coast region. Migrants have settled in the region from Myanmar, Afghanistan, Philippines and Pakistan (Regional Australia Institute, 2020). The highest proportion of migrants in the Naracoorte surrounding area are from Afghanistan.

The Riverland is in the central eastern part of South Australia and covers the Murray River corridor. Primary production in the region is supported from irrigation from the river. The region produces over 60% of the State's wine grapes and is the largest producer, by volume, in Australia contributing $400 million value to the national. It also accounts for over 90% of the State's citrus and almond production (PIRSA, 2023). At the time of the research the wine industry was experiencing a significant economic downturn due to a wine glut and trade freeze with China as well as environmental challenges including flooding and fruit fly outbreaks. The downturn was the worst since 2006-2007 during the apex of the millennium drought (The Australian Wine: Production, Sales and Inventory Report, 2023). In the 1950's and 60's large numbers of migrants settled in the Riverland, particularly from Italy and Greece. More recently, migrants have arrived with Indian ancestry.

Interview Participants

Across the two sites, a total of 13 interviews were conducted with CALD men in farming including six in the Limestone Coast and seven in the Riverland. Recruitment was challenging and took several months to accomplish (see Appendix A for research materials).

The research team visited the Southeast to meet with a key stakeholder and other potential participants to introduce the researchers and describe the intent and purpose of the research. To foster engagement and relationships with the community it was important for in-person connections and to build on pre-existing trusted relationships.

Limestone Coast participants were farm workers primarily employed in vineyard work such as pruning, picking grapes, and building and maintaining fences in vineyards. To assist in recruitment, we liaised with a stakeholder providing therapeutic services to migrant CALD communities in the region. Given his situated knowledge of issues experienced by CALD men in farming, we also interviewed this stakeholder. The majority of interview participants were first-generation migrants from Afghanistan (n = 4) and there was one first-generation migrant from Malaysia (n = 1). Interviews were conducted via a translator where necessary.

Riverland participants were horticultural and viticultural producers and first and second generation migrants from India (Punjabi migrants) (n = 5), Greece (n = 1), and Italy (n = 1). Community engagement occurred through several visits by the research team to the region to discuss the

research. Through these visits the team were introduced to a leader in the Punjab community who was willing to support recruitment. Working with this key contact, a snowball method of sampling (Sadler et al., 2010) was employed until no further leads were converted into interviews.

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants that focused on:

- Background and involvement in farming;
- Demographic and contextual information;
- Experiences of challenges to wellbeing;
- Any experiences of support during challenging circumstances;
- Means of coping with challenges;
- Perspective on how to support men in farming when distressed, recovering and maintaining wellbeing;
- Perspective on community groups and peer support and how these might support CALD men in farming.

Key Interview themes by study site

Limestone Coast

The majority of interview participants were refugee-humanitarian migrants from Afghanistan who had settled in the Limestone Coast region due to the availability of employment in farm work. There was also one Malaysian interview participant who had resettled in Australia with his wife and planned to remain in the Limestone Coast region.

Globally, Afghanistan is among the top three refugee producing countries due to ongoing geo-political conflicts and humanitarian crisis with the majority of refugees fleeing persecution by the Taliban (Vergani et al., 2021). Currently, there are over 2.6 million Afghan refugees living in Iran and Pakistan (Rezaei et al., 2021) and since 2013 Australia has received 23,000 settlers (Refugee Council of Australia, 2023). Given their pre-migration context, refugee-humanitarian migrants from Afghanistan are likely to have experienced trauma before and whilst leaving their home country that has impacted their mental health (Copolov & Knowles, 2023). In addition, as Alemi et al (2023, p. 3) explain, 'mental health issues do not arise from only war-related violence. They arise from everyday stressors related to human insecurity, in the wake of poverty, forced displacement, the disruption of family and community support, and the loss of housing and livelihoods'. In addition to pre-migration stressors, Afghani refugee-humanitarian migrants are also exposed to post-resettlement issues in the host country. These may include a 'state of precarity with regards to residence status, loneliness, acculturation difficulties, unemployment, intergenerational conflicts, gender role changes, discrimination, education and inclusion' (Alemi et al., 2023).

Research indicates moderate to high levels of depression and post-traumatic stress among Afghani refugees settled in Australia (Copolov & Knowles, 2023; Hamrah et al., 2021). However, a survey (Hamrah et al., 2021) found that 81.2% of the respondents with probable PTSD did not consider themselves as having a 'mental health problem'. This finding might be explained by ethno-cultural differences in understandings of mental health and illness and specifically, the distinction between psychosocial distress and medicalised forms of mental disorder (see Alemi et al., 2023). Many non-Western cultures conceptualise mental illness through discourses rooted in expressions of psychosis and associated with deeply stigmatizing idioms such as 'crazy', 'insane', 'deranged', or 'mad' (Simich

et al., 2009). Specifically, Afghans differentiate mental disorders of this nature from distress arising from adverse life experiences (Bragin et al., 2022). In addition, for Afghans psychosocial distress is often expressed through somatic complaints (including headaches, red eyes, disturbed or excessive sleeping), social withdrawal, ruminative sadness (described as thinking too much) and stress-induced reactivity (e.g. irritability and quarrelling with family) (Alemi et al., 2016).

Understandings of psychosocial distress connected to experiences of trauma and stressful and distressing situational life circumstances are therefore not necessarily connected to discourses of mental health, illness or disorders. Cultural sensitivity was required to explore mental health and wellbeing according to the perspective and the terms of reference expressed by interview participants. The interview data in this study revealed three themes connected to wellbeing. These were:

A life in limbo: Resettlement without family
Precarious employment amid pressure to provide.
Mental health: Loneliness, social isolation and social engagement for wellbeing

A life in limbo: Resettlement without family

The principal issue impacting the wellbeing of Afghani men in farming from the Limestone Coast region was characterised as a life 'in limbo'. In the context of geopolitical displacement, these Afghani men arrived as refugees in Australia via detention centres and had left their families residing in countries like Pakistan and Iran. The men we interviewed were either on Temporary Protection Visas (TPV), Safe Haven Enterprise Visas (SHEV) or had received permanent residency (PR) but were still awaiting citizenship and therefore not able to travel with ease and freedom. Navigating visas was typically a protracted and uncertain process.

> [interpreter] to just explain, he came from the country that was his place, civil war for years. Then he left the country, he went to Pakistan, Pakistan wasn't safe and couldn't save his family life and then he came to Australia. When he came first to Australia also he find no sort of support so he tried to work, he hasn't anyone to support him. Now he's away from his family, his visa condition is unclear; so too many complicated things coming are facing him and other people that are same condition.

> [interpreter] he came with a number 20. Often he, to know a few people asked later on, they came by boat, for example number 23, 22, some of them granted their visa but he don't know why he's still waiting because he never rejected, he never had any problems. But he didn't hear from immigration and his application, waiting there for 11 years.

Whilst the Afghani men interviewed had gained entry to Australia and were living and working on viticulture in the Limestone Coast region, for many, their resettlement remained 'in limbo' due to uncertainty regarding permanent residency/ citizenship and/or due to family remaining overseas. Rather than an individual experience, this issue impacted across the Afghan community in the region.

Many of the men we interviewed had been separated from their families for approximately 10-15 years as they were waiting for visas to be granted for reunification in Australia. The therapeutic stakeholder interviewed in the study described it thus:

> Some of these men have been experiencing this for a long time, so there's a relentlessness to it, and there's also a limbo-ishness to it, of a not knowing, and there's a lot of not knowing, because they are told by Home Affairs that your stuff is processing, it might be tomorrow or it might be in five years, like there's no indication really, of how long, so there's this real unknown stuff, limbo, sort of thing… And this has been over a course of 10-plus years, so that the longevity of it is, and the relentless nature of it is important.

The stakeholder drew attention to the relentless nature of living in 'limbo' for such a lengthy period of uncertainty separated from family. In addition, during this time of separation, the men are trying to navigate the bureaucracy associated with visas which also contributes significantly to emotional stress.

> There is also this emotional stress of a man who tries to describe to his family, who are overseas, why things aren't being processed, what the bureaucratic life, navigating systems and the bureaucracy of life here and how you have to wait for that, or how you engage with that… So, explaining how we operate here to their family overseas is really difficult for them. And the family sometimes can – not all families, but they can start to blame the man for not doing enough, so this adds to the stress. And then that man is also trying to explain to people like myself, or Home Affairs, or others, what life is like for his family in the other country where they need to get out of because it's dangerous, and how they try to convince us of that. So, this man is always in this situation of I have to describe to one person what the culture's like here, and then to another one what the culture's like where my family are from. They're never quite – never quite managing it, never quite getting it.

This narrative reveals that the Afghani men are caught in a stressful place of limbo having to navigate between the authorities in Australia and their family. For some men, the lengthy separation from family during resettlement in Australia meant that they had left young children behind who were now becoming grown up.

> [interpreter] It is an issue for migrants because for example, he saw his family just two or three times during these 11 years. The problem is …, I was talking to my lawyer, he said because your children grows up and you can't apply for them because they are not under age to bring them here. And because he is the same as many of the refugee there, the asylum seekers there, they are on bridging visa. They're facing the very big issue for their families. Because when he came to Australia, his children were really young. But now, after 11 years, they growing up and now he can't apply for them to bring them here. It's very difficult for him. And that is another issue for him, for all the refugees there.

Family reunification is complicated as time passes, as children become older and may no longer meet visa conditions. In addition, interviewees shared examples of other families that were unable to withstand the lengthy separation.

> Many people, many providences broke this year, many the woman left their husbands, many families destroyed.

These narratives provide some insight into the stress and fears surrounding family separation and reunification experienced by these men and the possibility of ongoing family separation or the ending of marriages and relationships.

The uncertainty of reunification, lengthy separation and absence of family support in Australia was seen to underpin much emotional and psychological suffering in themselves, and their Afghan community.

> At the moment, I'm little bit struggling without family because last time I went to overseas, that was 2016. Now at the moment, Pakistan go 'we're not giving visa to Afghani people'. So, I apply for my citizenship in 2015 and I'm still waiting to get my citizen… it's 8 years I applied for my citizen. I'm still waiting for my citizen. So, I can't go back to Pakistan. So, I don't know how long I have to wait more to go back to see my family.
>
> People that I know they aren't good condition, most of them suffering because they are away from their families, they don't have exact vision about the future, about their visa; so many things that suffering … that affecting their mental health … the whole time there … I know some people have been working on the farm for 10-15 years, so that's not easy for a person being away from his family members for 15 years, that is very difficult condition.
>
> Some people don't have, they don't have families here. They're suffering mentally.

From his perspective, the therapeutic stakeholder observed the impact that this separation and uncertainty had on the men in the region:

> So, there is this sense of hopelessness, I'm stuck in this rut, and I don't know how I'm going to get out of it, but because I'm at the mercy of someone else to get me out, and that's the government granting this permission of family to come …. So, there are senses of hopelessness, tears I will get, there's a lot of tiredness. You know, there's emotional and physical tiredness, definitely you will – I will see that.

Another of the interviewees pointed to the physical changes that he had witnessed in these men due to stress.

> A lot of these workers, they have been doing farm work, vineyard job, and they are here alone by themselves, some of them, they don't have visa. They don't have permanent visa. I have seen some people, they, everything changes very quickly now, two to three years … not like – like two years ago, if you have a look at their image or photo, and then their mouth, very huge difference, you know, all the grey and things- Why, because they are in severe stress.

The interviews suggest that length of family separation, the uncertainty and emotional stress connected to visas and the lack of control over outcomes contributes to a sense of hopelessness and fatigue that profoundly impacts wellbeing for these men.

A survey of Afghani humanitarian migrants in regional Australia indicated that probable PTSD diagnosis was strongly associated with family separation (Hamrah et al., 2021). In addition, those issued TPV (Temporary Protection Visas) typically experience persistently higher levels of distress and PTSD and social isolation than those issued permanent visas and more difficulty with resettlement issues (Steel et al., 2011). Afghans associate wellbeing with peace of mind and the conditions of having security, justice, economic security that allows men to provide for family, strong family relations, authority and friendships outside family (Bragin et al., 2022). The

impermanence of residential status and ongoing separation from family overseas creates uncertainty and a life 'in limbo' that therefore erodes and undermines wellbeing for these men.

Precarious employment amid pressure to provide.

Refugee-humanitarian migrants to Australia are faced with challenges to securing employment. Many are unable to obtain employment in their areas of experience and interests and in alignment with their skills and qualifications (Rezaei et al., 2021). The pressure to attain employment prompts these migrants to seek alternative occupations outside their areas of expertise which tend to be classed as lower-skilled and less secure. Amongst the interview participants who were working in vineyards, prior occupations included teachers, assistant manger in telecommunications, farmer (from multiple generations) and those with administrative and hospitality experience and skills. Interview participants described the delimited employment opportunities and the need to obtain employment in the absence of social welfare support.

> [interpreter] because he don't have any other opportunity, he couldn't work for example, in any other place or industry or anywhere, so he couldn't have any other choice to find any other job.

> because we have bills to pay, and because we need to support our wellbeing as well. So we will have to look for a job that is pretty much guaranteed, because we have tried applying at the supermarkets, in the stores, and things like that. But we have not received any response. Tried following up a couple of times. And we don't have the benefit of Australians of receiving Centrelink, and things like that. We don't have that. So we have to work as much as we can.

Men reported financial pressure to pay their bills in Australia (rent, food, migration lawyers etc) in addition to pressure and responsibility for providing financial support to family members overseas.

> We came Australia to work. So, it doesn't matter, any sort of work, we have to work because we have to look after our family we left back home.

> In Pakistan, Afghanistan, there is no job, all their families will send their brother, or their father here, expecting to support them… This is Australia, but in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and some other countries, one person is working and ten people are supported by that one person.

> A lot of their salary will be sent to support their family, which they see as their role as a father.

The pressure to provide financial assistance to family still residing in Afghanistan or Pakistan was connected to an imperative to work as much as possible that was seen to create vulnerability towards accepting less desirable work conditions.

> [stakeholder] when there's a lot of pressure on them to support the family overseas, work is crucial, the farm work is crucial, and they will work and forego other appointments to get money in the bank to support their family, and it makes them more – so, they're working all the time, and if they're offered a bit of overtime, they're there and they're going for it, they'll be there, yeah. But it opens them up to vulnerability from employers, and work conditions, yeah – they don't care if they don't get a lunch break today, I'll come and I don't care if there's holes in my gloves, I'll work for you.

> like … so, safety all, so sometimes like because during pruning it is … everyone is thinking to make an extra dollar, like I have seen some people cutting their finger with the electric snip, and when you tell them to use gloves or anything, they would say that … because usually what happens, the gloves are very expensive, they're maybe 200 a pair or something, and it doesn't last very long, because you're, you know, like pulling and things, on the … and it tears up or gets torn, and you have to get a new one.

In addition, the nature of the industry and the role encompasses a degree of employment instability and lack of long-term security.

> And always no security, you know, like … job…it is in the back of their mind, they might get fired or anything. So, they have to work very hard.
>
> The pruning in all other jobs are done by the migrants, now they have also this fear in their mind that [vineyard] which employed 30-40 people for like, three months, they don't have their job anymore, and there is less job. And then some of the, you know, farmers, they wouldn't – they wouldn't be pruning this year, maybe they would, but the budget is too tight, because they said they didn't get anything.

Employment insecurity and the pressure to provide for family also delimits the capacity of refugee-humanitarian migrants to advocate for themselves and improvement to work conditions.

> we are not in the position to go and question anyone.
>
> [stakeholder] I do believe that some of them do have a bit of an insight into maybe the employers aren't treating them as well as the laws say here, and they have a bit of an idea that they're probably not, but they don't really know what the laws are or how they would go about changing it, and if they did go about changing it, how it would put their job at risk, so they shut-up.
>
> [stakeholder] I've had a couple of cases where they have been a bit of a dispute with the contractor, and any invitation from the work Ombudsman to get involved and to help has largely been resisted, because I'm going to lose my job if I do that. So, they're stuck.

Under-employment, employment insecurity and vulnerability to exploitation in the workplace are challenges that Afghani refugee-humanitarian migrants experience post-resettlement that impact on mental health (Rezaei et al., 2021; Sulaiman-Hill & Thompson, 2012). A lack of employment security and pressure to provide for family means that the Afghani men were limited in their autonomy to advocate for fairer employment conditions. Employment status is of particular significance for predicting mental distress for resettled refugees (Sulaiman-Hill & Thompson, 2012). In this study, participants were unable to obtain employment in other industries and were drawn to farm work in the Limestone Coast due to the significant migrant population in that region employed in seasonal and contract agriculture. As contractors, the men were required to purchase their own equipment such as electric shearers and protective clothing. However, these were described as expensive and expendable in the context of financial pressure to provide for themselves and their family members overseas.

Mental health: Loneliness, social isolation, and social engagement for wellbeing

Pre-migration experiences of social erosion in Afghanistan mean that Afghani people often came to rely on family and community as the only social support available (Alemi et al., 2023). Resettlement in Australia without their immediate family and with limited return visits, means that these men are disconnected from their primary source of social support, and this impacts their wellbeing placing these Afghani men as significantly vulnerable to social isolation and loneliness.

The overall employment insecurity experienced by the Afghani men we interviewed meant that they were restricted in terms of overseas travel to visit family because they were unable to negotiate leave from their current roles and the high risk of being unable to secure employment upon their return to Australia.

> I ask him, for example, my job provider, I want to go for three months. He said he didn't accept that. He said you can go for just forty days and it's not easy to get day off or just can leave the job. Because also I'm worried if I leave the job then when I come back, it will be no job here. So, during these 11 years, I went to visit my family just three times.
>
> Yes, there is no guarantee when I come back also can find same job, because maybe when I come back, they say no, you are, we don't need you. We don't need you. So that's also another challenge. So, when I'm away, I'm worried about my job, if I get back, maybe can't find same job.

To maintain employment in a precarious occupational context restricts opportunity to visit with family remaining overseas and therefore contributes to the emotional impacts of lengthy separation. Whilst the farm workers have access to an Afghani community in the region, the stakeholder we interviewed explained that men who were waiting for family reunification often did not socialise with Afghani families in the community.

> Individual men, they don't necessarily have social connections with the family groups, and that's a cultural thing, they generally only communicate amongst themselves, but they're all under different stresses, and they all generally keep their stresses to themselves. So, there's quite a sense of loneliness on different levels, loneliness with their own concerns and troubles, loneliness in a physical sense, sometimes, and separation from family.

In addition to preventing return visits to family, the pressure to maintain employment and work hard to financially support family contributes to social isolation through restricted leisure and recreational time.

> There's only job and only work, you have to keep working like five days, six days, or seven days. And there's not a lot of meeting, greetings, except for Eid al-Adha [celebration/ holiday] or something, and the people, they just stay in their rooms, go back, go work.

The majority of men did not connect their experience of distress with a conceptualisation of mental health that would indicate action towards seeking out professional assistance. Only one interview participant shared that he was on a waiting list to see a mental health professional. In the context of managing the safety of his family and financially supporting himself as well as his family the idea of seeing a mental health professional did not figure for this participant.

> The main issues are as I say, my families safety, they are in danger, my visa condition and that is the main issue that I'm thinking about; at the moment that is the main issue that I'm thinking, not thinking about going to see psychologist/psychiatrist because at the moment I have to cover protect my family, I have to feed them and I have to pay for the expenses, there is expenses; that issue is important. The main thing is my visa condition, my families condition.

One participant spoke to the conceptual distinction between western and non-western ideas about mental health when he stated:

> in our culture, mental health is – we don't have mental health, like, we have mental health but when we say mental health, they think like they're getting crazy… they don't know what's the mental health is and that's the problem. They – the stress in here, it's big, big concerned in Australia's mental health-… They don't know what's the mental health is. Whatever they have, they have inside in their heart. But if someone's go there, talk to them, you know, they will tell you what they, what they feel, how they feel.

This participant indicates that there is no reluctance preventing Afghan men from sharing what they feel and their experience, but rather there is a cultural disconnect in terms of ideas about mental health that isolates men from this form of support. This participant also spoke about how a personable invitation to share stories would be well received by Afghan men as a means of support as opposed to a 'mental health' approach.

> It's helps a lot when you talk to someone, when you feel your – when you're sharing your feeling with someone it's, it's feel good. It's …, you know, it's someone hearing your story or someone hearing – it's, it's very good. It's very good for us as well.

Indeed, many of the men pointed to the crucial role of informal social and emotional support provided by family and friends and spoke of traveling to access that support.

> But it's community, you know – I have friends here, if I feel alone, I go see my friends. Go to the, you know, go to see my other Aussie friends, you know, go see them as well.
>
> Here, people are busy but when we have time, we try to talk to each other, chat to each other best we can do… just my friends, from Iran or from Afghanistan.
>
> Every two months or three months I go to Melbourne for two or three days, and then I meet all my friends, all my family members, along with my partner, we go, like stay there maybe one week or three day – every, like every three month, at least, we go.

In the Afghani culture the idea of too much time spent in introspection and rumination, or 'thinking too much', is associated with poor mental health (Alemi et al., 2023; Simich et al., 2009; Sulaiman-Hill & Thompson, 2012) . This state of being is linked to psychosocial adversity derived from experiences with war, unemployment, loneliness, separation from family and inability to support family (Eggerman & Panter-Brick, 2010) thus demonstrating the social embeddedness of psychosocial distress in Afghani culture.

In light of their current context and cultural understandings, many of the men interviewed described deliberate and concerted efforts to socially connect with community to reduce social isolation and support their wellbeing.

> That's why I try to make myself busy. Go to soccer. Do the training, do this, make myself a lot – do things. Otherwise, if I stay home, you know, I have to think about a lot of other

> stuff, what's going on in the life, you know?...that's why I've tried to make myself busy, so I don't think about that stuff.

Sport and sporting clubs occupy a privileged and valued social space in Australian rural communities. Australian rules football tends to be ubiquitous in winter months, but rural communities also embrace other codes of football as a space for participation, family social connection and broader social inclusion. Traditionally, sporting participation in all football codes has been masculinised and offers a space for male social bonding and cultures of mateship (Frost et al., 2013). Soccer is no exception. In Australia's history, Soccer has offered a significant conduit to social and community life for migrants (Lock et al., 2008). Many of the men in faming that we interviewed sought social connection through the local community soccer club and described how it offered a social hub for individuals and families to connect to community.

> the only successful thing, I would say, is like Naracoorte Soccer Club. From there, we got a lot of friends in different culture and background. I have friends from Greek background, like they have been living in Australia for a long, long time, and from another, like Scottish family, they have been living here, but now their family, there is family, going visit each other.

> the soccer club is not family. It's, it's my second family now. So, like, some of players, it's nearly 12 years we're playing with each other. So, we are really good friends. Like a family friend. Now its club is – this club is a family, so, when you go there you feel, feel like a family. So, it's a lot of – it's, it's helps, it's helps a lot.

Likened to an extended family by one participant, the men found long-standing social connections and relationships with other Afghani people, migrants from other CALD communities and the broader local community. In addition to providing a social hub for players, soccer games also provided a space for other men and families to connect with each other.

> A lot of Afghan women, and a lot of women, like they bring their children on Sunday, especially home games they are there, you'll see a lot of Afghan and like, either women sitting, bringing their tea, talking, and some men also come and watch the game, and it is good entertainment… Soccer has been, for Afghan community, very good, yeah.

As the interviews reveal, the local soccer club in Naracoorte provided the migrant men in farming with a significant space for recreation, entertainment, social connection and a sense of belonging within their rural community that was highly supportive to their wellbeing.

In addition to soccer, many of the men sought out and participated in volunteer roles in their local community. One participant talked about his own volunteering and his observation about the way it helped others to create relationships and connect with community.

> To make relation, you know, like with people, it's good to have relation and good to be part of that wider community, and be accepted…I strongly believe it helps. Because when they are volunteering, they are openly meeting different people and people from different background and different ethnicities. It does help you build better relation.

The stakeholder interviewed described the significance of offering volunteer opportunities to the migrant men:

> Sometimes that can be hard to ask them, because you feel like, how can I ask someone who's struggling so much to help. Well, we know these are one of the keys to healing is to feel of use, to feel like you're contributing. So, opportunities to do that, I think they really,

> really like them, and fundraising, the migrants have done fundraising for Blaze Aid here, for the bushfires, the farm community, you know, and they speak very proudly of that, and the farmers in the area speak quite fondly of that to see them come out, you know, they don't even know them – you know, see them come onto their property – these sorts of initiatives – they go beyond the act of helping, they're healing for everyone.

The insights offered by the stakeholder point to volunteer work that brings migrants into relationship with the agricultural community through fundraising for Blaze Aid, which offers practical assistance to farmers after bushfire events. He also points to the reciprocity in acts of helping which contribute to the wellbeing of those involved. Volunteer opportunities are valuable sites of intercultural encounters and connection (Radford, 2016) with a positive impact on wellbeing for humanitarian migrants (Wood et al., 2019).

Riverland

The Riverland has attracted migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds since the 1950's and 60's, mostly from Italian and Greek ancestry. From the 1980's, an Indian migrant community has grown in the region and invested in irrigated horticulture. The majority of interview participants in this study were from the Punjab region in India, with many identifying as intergenerational farmers. Indians are one of the oldest non-European settlers in Australia and migrants from Punjab have long contributed to Australian agriculture (Voigt-Graf, 2003). The majority of Punjabis have resettled in Australia through skilled migration pathways including those driven by agricultural sector demand. Punjab is a national 'bread basket' for India, producing wheat, rice and other crops. However, escalating overheads and depleted incomes are impacting economic sustainability of farming in the region. Tragically, India has experienced an ongoing high rate of farmer suicides in regions like Maharashtra and Punjab for decades (Kaur et al., 2019; Kaushal, 2015). These suicides are seen to be connected to the escalating debt farmers are accumulating and political protest amid the agrarian crisis.

In Punjabi culture, mental health is typically described in terms of personal functioning according to social norms and expectations (Simich et al., 2009). Sikhism is an integral part of Punjabi culture and so religious and spiritual perspectives shape conceptualisations of mental health and illness (Jhutti-Johal, 2012). In brief, according to the Sikh worldview, afflictions of the mind (material attachment, lust, anger, pride and greed) lead to a spiritual imbalance and despair which can trigger mental illness (Jhutti-Johal, 2012). Religious guidance and spiritual counselling therefore offer the cultural container for supporting those experiencing distress and mental ill-health whilst spiritual practices such as prayer, meditation and yoga are considered a foundation for psychological wellbeing (Ruprai, 2016; Singh, 2008).

The Riverland participants were landowners and primary producers in horticulture and viticulture. Participants represented a variety of cultural backgrounds that produce diversity in terms of ideas and cultural conceptions of mental health that both accord and deviate from Western cultural understandings. The interviews produced three themes in relation to mental health challenges of farming and support for wellbeing.

Situational stress: Mental health and the cyclical economy of farming
Everyone is in the same boat
Problem solving and solving 'nothing' through peer support

Situational stress: Mental health enmeshed in the cyclical economy of farming

Men in farming in the Riverland regarded mental health as fundamentally enmeshed with the cyclical economic fluctuations of farming in terms of commodity prices and financial stress.

> Mental health, it's directly related to how the industry's going. If the industry is going well, there's no mental health…if the industry is in the doldrums and it can be five years or four years, no income, and the family suffers and the mental health increases. That's all I know…I know that you're going to get good years and then it's going to cycle, and then unexpectedly it's going to cycle down the bottom and go back up the top and make a lot of money and back down to nothing again. Famine or feast, famine or feast, famine or feast.

> Problem starts with finances. The men they get depressed and get mentally …, after that family, domestic issue but their wellbeing start to go down, but their self-esteem goes very weak you know and confidence goes weak.

Men spoke of a pattern of 'good years' and 'bad years' as being the nature of farming enterprise. These narratives capture the unpredictability and lack of control that farmers have over their income, since whether a year is 'good' or 'bad' is only determined after harvest once all the overheads of growing have been committed. Farmers also shared that whilst the expense of overheads in terms of farming inputs has increased, commodity prices have fluctuated. The irrigated horticulture and viticulture of the Riverland means that water costs are a significant overhead and that farmers in the region are heavily impacted during times of drought.

> When the COVID start, grape prices nearly three hundred dollar tonne and fertiliser going three time higher. Spray, seed, everything goes three, four time higher, diesel. And now more difficulty because everything goes up, they just going up and grape prices are a hundred fifty dollar a tonne. Very difficult time.

> The droughts and no water. Most difficult time I spend in my life was the last drought, the high price of the water and the low price of the crop, very low price on the crop. Sometimes the price of water is up and the price of crop is up then it should go little bit alright, but when you see the price of the water goes up and then all inputs and goods goes up and price of the crop go down, that was a difficult time and at the moment it's playing on in the Riverland again. But last drought was the worst one I think and there was no water to give to a dog last time, but this time water is plenty; but no price [for grapes].

In addition to the financial overheads associated with farm inputs, the men also described environmental challenges associated with unpredictable impacts on commodity production and harvest yields.

> other thing is farm is always affected by the nature, you know like natural disasters. It could be hailing, it could be drought, it could be flood, it could happen anything you know? Sometimes the fruit fly issue is also … is start by the disease fruit fly you know like they can't stop it.

Reduced yields due to disease, pests and adverse growing conditions can have a profound impact on grower's annual income and farmers are exposed to this high level of risk every year. As one farmer described, economic recovery from a bad year or series of bad years can be lengthy.

> Things go bad, but things don't right themselves in a year. It might take two, three years or longer to right themselves, right itself, and then the family can move on and do something else. It takes a while. It's not something that's sort of tomorrow I'll go do something else and happy again.

It was evident from the interviews that for these men, mental health is almost solely contextualised within situational financial risk tied to necessary expenditure of growing overheads and the uncertainty of commodity income. There are high levels of stress associated with this risk and financial outcomes are seen to be in symbiosis with mental health outcomes. Research that supports this finding reveals horticulturalists experience the highest levels of distress among farmers and this is linked to financial difficulties and particularly the ongoing threat of water scarcity (Wheeler et al., 2018).

Within the Riverland farming community, fluctuations in wellbeing in synchronicity with the economy of farming were entirely normalised and taken for granted. For farming men we interviewed, it was evident that a culture of hardy stoicism and demonstrations of resilience were marshalled in response to challenges.

> I mean when things are bad, we talk over the fence and say bad year this year and it's going to be another bad year next year and the year after that. We all acknowledge it and accept it, but that's as far as it goes. We don't sort of hold hands and hug each other. That doesn't happen.
>
> You just cop it on the chin and just accept it.
>
> Sometime we talk to the next door neighbour or any other friend, just discuss what you do next. Grape prices lower now and what do they do, …, what do they do … and talk each other. Then more pressure down because discuss each other because some people, sometime, I'm not understand and next person is good understanding. We talk each other and what we do next, when we going to sell, good time now for selling block [land] or not. That discussion.

As these narratives indicate, whilst the current economic condition of the industry could be a topic of discussion by neighbouring farmers 'over the fence', emotional consolation and support were off the table. Indeed, two farmers stated that those who could not mentally cope with the stress of farming should exit farming.

> I say, if you can't do, just leave it – the job – you know, find something else. You don't take any stress, don't worry about it.
>
> Sometime they come and talk each other then everybody explain what you going to do, go this way or maybe sell the block, pay off the loan, then you have less stress and just find a job somewhere else.

The idea that farmers who reveal they are mentally or emotionally impacted by farming should quit and exit farming serves to further reinforce the dominant masculine ideal that farmers should demonstrate stoicism and resilience despite the challenges (Bryant & Garnham, 2015). This idea was also evident in narratives that point to an acceptability granted to bemoaning 'bad years' with other farmers but any internal experience of stress and distress remain hidden from community discourse.

> So addressing these mental health issues, again, it's probably a taboo subject in a lot of in our community. People don't talk about it.
>
> This year's going to be a difficult year for a lot of men, a lot of families in this area because of the forecast price drop, drop on commodities, grapes I suppose, wine grapes. I think it's going to be a big impact. But I don't think people sort of – it's hidden.
>
> People are not going to come out and say I feel stressed. Unless you ask, well, they'll say to you that they are stressed or they're not happy with the situation, but they're not going to – that's as far as they'll go. They're not going to say any more.

These farmers all pointed to the 'hidden' nature of mental health issues in their community, which seems connected to a culture of accepted and socially sanctioned discourse in which 'bad' years can be lamented by the psychologically hardy and resilient farmer whose emotions and internal experience of distress remain stoically unexpressed. The projection of this masculine farming culture can create a barrier for those who wish to share their mental health challenges or seek emotional and psychological support (Bryant & Garnham, 2015; Firnhaber et al., 2024).

Everyone is in the same boat

The normalised perspective that mental health and wellbeing vary in accordance with the economy of farming provides a sense of solidarity among male farmers in the Riverland through challenging times that was captured metaphorically as 'everyone is in the same boat'. Everyone being in the same boat suggests that the 'waves' of economic upturn and downturn are experienced as a collective.

> I don't think growers judge each other because you know, we're all in the same boat. It's the good thing, we all get in the same boat. If things get bad, we're all in the same boat. And then things pick up, we're still in the same boat but off we go. It's good actually.
>
> He [father and farmer] never he never took it upon himself, if it was a stressful time he said look everybody's in the same boat.

The prevailing view among farmers was that challenging periods could be weathered until the next upturn. Among interviewees, this view was buttressed by a migrant sensibility that values perseverance through hard work and tolerance for poverty in farming. This tolerance for poverty is contextualised by a history of peasant farming within the country of origin that becomes transplanted in Australia via cultural norms and values connected to farming as a way of life that is inherently financially poor.

> My family wasn't rich so I used to go to school in second-hand clothes, parents' old clothes and pointy shoes. So I have experienced bad times. ..there was probably four or five, all the generations were farmers… And farming was, it was always poor, poor industry to be in. Even back then, my parents, it wasn't a rich industry.

A number of the men spoke of arriving in the Riverland with very little, 'starting from scratch' and the desire to achieve in farming through hard work and passion for farming as a way of life.

> When we are starting – every immigrant has same problem when he came in the – another country then he has not big pocket money and not built anything there and just we have two briefcase and nearly 40kg weight we can allow to bring with us. So, I started my life as well with a 40 kilo weight and with a $127 American dollars in my pocket at that time.

> There's no money. You're starting from scratch… Delay having kids, you can do all that, no kids for a while and work and try and improve yourself. The more you can do yourself, the cheaper and the quicker you can move up the ladder, I suppose.
>
> Farming is my passion and it is in my blood. That's why I'm doing farming, but farming is not a profitable business – the same thing I'm listening from my grandparents in India as well and same thing is happening in Australia as well.

The commitment to farming as a passion provides a foundation for hard work with little financial incentive. Indeed, many of the men interviewed had taken up 'off farm' employment or businesses in other sectors to sustain their income.

> Monday to Friday work in [winery] then two days after, when we finish over there, start the job until ten o'clock night. I do very hard job.
>
> I know from plenty of Indian people and everyone has extra or second business with the farming. Normally people is doing jobs in the other sector as well. Lots of people is driving trucks. Lots of people is doing the paperwork with the winery now. So, they are doing job 5 days and then on the weekends they are looking after their blocks and that way they are surviving.

The perspective of farming men that they are part of a community where 'everyone is in the same boat' provides a sense of belonging and solidarity that contextualises and normalises the financial struggle and hard work of farmers to maintain farming despite ongoing and periodic downturns.

Being in the 'same boat' meant that many of the men described the farming, cultural and broader communities of the Riverland as their preferred source of support during challenging times.

> We support each other. We do support each other, but we don't go out seeking external support
>
> I've been through a few bad years, a few periods where things were bad. We'd get together and talk. We'd have a discussion. And sometimes we have a long discussion because things are bad. Sort of what do we do and try to work out a solution.

The tendency to seek support from within the community was expressed by many of the Punjabi farmers we interviewed, in accordance with their religious and cultural values.

> [During challenging times] So that's where the community played a, played a big role. In the Punjabi or the Sikh community here, and these, back then there was only probably 10 or 15 families, and what they would do back then to help each other out if there was any sort of short fallen funds they would help each other. So, they would either lend money or they come and offer their services or their equipment, so they share the equipment around amongst the community just so things could get done, and that was the way it was done nobody had a lot of money to their names.
>
> Our community try to talk amongst themselves first, talk to the elders first and try to get some resolutions there and help them out sort of thing, if they're open up to do that.

Several of the men described how the Sikh temple is a place of cultural community connection and support. Specifically, the temple offered a hub where people would be provided with a meal and an opportunity to receive support from other men and families.

> Golden Temple is the holy place of the Sikhism, and every day people is surviving with the free food there. So, that … is not doing just giving food. They are counselling the people. They are solving the problems. If one family is struggling with a problem and other family's helping them.
>
> You know you can go to Sikh temple anywhere in the world and you get a meal. And you don't have to pay for it it's just part of the deal. And that, I think, the meal is a good place to start because you can sit around have a conversation
>
> You go to church you know a place of worship quite often, you know, whatever's on your mind whether it's from the prayers or the hymns to know if you're attuned that your answers will come to you anyway. But sitting in the congregation helps a bit. You know you can hear okay that person going through the same problem, they're not. They're still laughing and carrying on and then having a good time and whether it's externally or internally we don't know, but at the end of the day less they've got the same issues I've got. Maybe I can talk talk to that person about it.

In alignment with the perspective that values community solidarity in farming and through religion and culture, men did not typically consider external sources as pathways to support.

> I don't think it's the, the educated providers of health, mental health they're going to be able to assist in these areas. It's like they have to be people that are from our community who have grown up in this system [culture and religious].
>
> We support each other. We do support each other, but we don't go out seeking external support.

However, whilst community support was preferred, some men talked about how agricultural and mental health support services had sought engagement with men in farming through the temple.

> So we've got a temple here and a lot of good [rural financial] counselling people come there and help … we talk … with them.
>
> And sometime from PIRSA [Department of Primary Industries and Regions], the people come and just they discuss do you have any problem, mental or anything, tell us now, I can do something or and they going to send sometime people at home, they talk each other. What do you do next, do this, do this, then they have help, sometime helpful…Sometime they send people like a health and mental health officer and they tell you just do this exercise, do yoga. You know yoga? Do yoga, then relieve the pressure from the mind.

The tendency to look to community to provide support is anchored by the perception that when everyone is in the same boat there is a common understanding of the context for issues in farming and a shared culture of identity and norms about how support is offered and received.

> Maybe if the other guy that I'm having a chat with is in the industry for a long time and can relate.
>
> I don't know if I go into have a chat with somebody to solve a problem, I don't know how you can, because it's – okay, I come to you and have a chat about a problem. I have a problem. The problem is, it's not with me, it's the industry is sort of poor income. The commodity prices are down. You can't help me… I can't go to somebody, if I have a mental problem, alright, bad day I suppose, things aren't going my way. I can't go and see

> a doctor because I'm stressed out. I'm stressed out because there's something wrong. Does that make sense?

A common understanding creates a sense of safety that it is the external conditions of farming that are the issue on the table as the problem and that 'help' must address the practical and financial issues that arise from those conditions (also see Hammersley et al., 2024). Everyone being in 'the same boat' is a social equalizer despite differences in scale and economies of enterprises that potentially eliminates judgement, and also means that shared cultures, norms and identities are brought to the provision of support in ways that are understood and accepted.

Problem solving and solving 'nothing' through peer support

Given their perspective on the nature of mental health as fundamentally enmeshed within the economy of farming, the men interviewed did not consider mental health services in response to their experiences of situational stress and distress. Rather, during challenging times men would focus attention on addressing the situational issues and solving practical problems of farming as a means of alleviating stress.

> Or like maybe if the other guy that I'm having a chat with is in the industry for a long time and can relate. But then the grower knows that I can have this chat, but it's not going to, it might not solve the problem. Because you can't solve the problem. The problem's external.
>
> you nit-pick the problem, where did I go wrong? And then try and then try and make sure it doesn't happen again.
>
> We talk the same, all have similar problems. The same problems, just – so or the same technique problem and we try and work out, nut it out, trying to work it out. But no, we don't go into, no. We're just trying to, the technical side, trying to help each other on the technical side. That's all.

When asked about the provision of support for farmers, the majority of men emphasized that support needed to address the situational issues and have a focus on problem solving. One farmer questioned the utility to seeing a mental health professional to have a 'chat' or seeing a GP.

> I don't know if I go into have a chat with somebody to solve a problem, I don't know how you can, because it's – okay, I come to you and have a chat about a problem. I have a problem. The problem is, it's not with me, it's the industry is sort of poor income. The commodity prices are down. You can't help me.
>
> I can't go to somebody, if I have a mental problem, alright, bad day I suppose, things aren't going my way. I can't go and see a doctor because I'm stressed out. I'm stressed out because there's something wrong. Does that make sense?

This farmer suggests that since a mental health professional cannot address the industry issues then they 'can't help me' and that his stress response can only be alleviated by solving the farming problem giving rise to the stress.

In accordance with this perspective, interviewees typically pointed to financial income support from the Government and practical support focused on alleviating financial issues as appropriate forms of support for farmers.

> In 2019 when they have hail damage, farm lost everything and then Centrelink can help me.

> Practical help, but I think that's the best way to- I think to help people that's the best way… Because they've got a rural … I think they … they counsel people and when they see their problem and … they come to the home … and when we attend to the bank we go with them to attend the bank.

One farmer also directed his perspective on farmer support associated with the political economy and specifically, government agricultural policies as the focus for addressing the issues impacting upon on the wellbeing of farmers.

> legislation of the government, they should regulate regular income for the farming community, a regular income means their crop like for example, if we go to buy a car manufacturer tell us how much the car will and we buy … and vice versa the rural community the buyers tell what they're going to buy from … so that is a – I try to go through many forms and ridicule people to regulate the sort of minimum, that's what I call minimum, I don't say they give them big money to make them rich here for our farmer community, they should setup something minimum for what they produce … so the family can … around their table, live a good life; but legislature always talking about the free market and the free market killing farmers.

Commodity price regulation by governments was abandoned in Australian policy in favour of deregulated markets during the 1980's and 90's and Australian farmers are among the least subsidised in the world (Bryant & Garnham, 2013). Australian farmers are typically aware of this and cite it as the reason for their economic struggles.

One of the farmers interviewed maintained a position throughout three quarters of the interview that farmer support needed to focus on practical problem solving. However, towards the conclusion of the interview he was subtly guided to reflect on how he has previously provided support to neighbouring farmers in his community. By sharing narratives of his experience during the interview, he was able to reflect on the value of simply sharing stories and experiences and providing a listening ear to others.

> And we were just talking about how bad the industry was. And he still, he reminds me about that chat. So it has sort of, well it was beneficial for me, the chat, plus for him too. We chatted about this problem we were having, young family, no income. So after, many years later, he sort of reminded, keeps reminding me of the chat we had down the shed on a cold morning. It does linger, this warm glow, it lingers for years because you remember… I was quite surprised when he mentioned it. We solved nothing.

Whilst he concludes that the conversation 'solved nothing', the frequent reminder from his colleague about the shared conversation led to the realisation that peer connection can help alleviate stress and support mental health and wellbeing. Another farmer, who also occupies a role providing support to other farmers, expressed the value and impact of holding space through deep listening and supporting people to connect to additional support.

> Listening is a big skill. It's usually what I do because I sit here and listen to clients, but it it's just listening to them. And sometimes it's just listening lets that person release what they've got. You know and doesn't mean you have to find a solution for that person as the advisor, yes that's the issue, now we can say okay this person needs to get involved

> with this person, or this organization this may help you, you know, build some bridges here or get to the next level sort of thing. I mean we don't need to move them too far we just need to help them get it out first, and once it's out, that's probably going to release, 50% of the problem is getting it out, and then the other 50 is working on how we how we go through it.

This farmer points to the value of 'release' that accompanies expressing the problem to another and then being able to help 'build bridges' to other forms of support according to the nature of the issues. Another farmer described the nature of peer support through the idea of providing 'moral support' in response to distress among farmers.

> Actually, I'm thinking moral support is the very big support at that time because no one can solve a problem in the minute. If a problem is in your life, it is not solving in a minute, it takes time. But there is a one moment when you can bring, bring up that person from that bad moment. If you bring up person with a bad … moment, then I don't think so any problem will be there because that is the – moral support can be – do these things.

This farmer recognises that whilst social support may not solve the farming or financial issues, it can help alleviate experiences of distress. One farmer described how a physically proximal and socially connected rural community like the Riverland does not guarantee that farmers feel they can reach out for support (Bryant, 2016).

> There's never an issue, you know, not being surrounded by people that you know or are close to you. whether you feel like you can reach out to those people or not is another matter, but you have that sense of community, you know, people doing the same thing as you and being physically close to you and being able to talk to them when you see them.

The idea of having 'confidants' in the community where experiences can be shared with confidentiality was raised by two of the men interviewed.

> Actually I'm thinking normally people is not telling – they are not sharing their problems with anyone but sometime friends can judge them and they can judge this behaviour, this behaviour is not normal..you can say … (Unable to understand) and then tell them, I don't explain or don't talk to anyone – not about this problem to anyone, so please let me know when I can help you. Need to get in the confidence.
>
> The person they're going to has got to be a trusted person, like a confidential person they feel comfortable talking, you know they can say whatever this person and they'll just be like a blank sheet I'll just take it and move on for it and then the advice they'll give will 100 percent right. So, I think where we're lacking in our community we don't have those people.

A trusted confidant can provide the safety needed for men in farming to express their experiences of stress and distress without fear of judgement or becoming subject to broader community speculation and discussion. Some of the men interviewed explicitly connected mental health with social connection and engagement and poor mental health with social disconnection.

> Mental health/wellbeing is always will be … for people engage with each other.
>
> Mental health issues are talking to you, by yourself… that's what I think; but main difficulty people talking to themselves and don't talk [to each other].

Some interviewees lamented a perceived decline in social opportunities in their community and recalled a time when community events brought people together and created opportunities for social connection. Others spoke to a generational shift, whereby the younger generation are

becoming disconnected from tradition al social supports such as the temple and elders of the religious community.

Discussion

The aim of the study was to understand the experiences and support needs of men in farming from migrant and culturally diverse backgrounds in relation to their mental health and wellbeing. The themes from the interview data share some commonalities with existing understandings of farmer mental health and preferences for wellbeing support as documented in existing Australian studies of farmer mental health. However, there are also differences and nuances in each of the case studies particular to cultural background and migration experiences.

Cultural understandings of 'mental health' among men in farming

It has been widely established that research on lived experience for men in farming that male farmers' understanding of mental distress is deeply contextualised by cultures of farming and masculinity enmeshed within the political economy of agriculture and economic adversity (Bryant & Garnham, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2017; Bryant et al., 2022). Men in farming may not associate their experience of distress with traditional western health and medical representations of mental illness. This lack of association may prevent men from identifying their experience with a mental health lens and prevent them from seeking mental health support. Our previous report *Tailoring Suicide to Men in Farming Occupations* (Bryant et al., 2022) found that mental health and mental health supports were most effective when they were attuned to place and agriculture. Farmers reported the need to be able to relate to messages associated with mental health and wellbeing to utilise available supports and create new effective ways of engaging farmers. This current report draws attention to specific cultural understandings within agriculture of mental health and wellbeing held by culturally diverse men in farming. It shows that culturally diverse men in farming share similarly experiences across the cohort of Australian farmers but also bring different understandings and experiences of mental health.

It was clear from interviews with Afghani men that there was divergence between what they understood as 'mental illness' and their contextualised experience of distress associated with migration and resettlement for long periods without family. Men in farming from the Riverland contextualised and located their understanding of mental health as experienced in synchronicity with economic downturn in farming. These accounts, whilst different in substantive contexts, share across these regions and population an understanding of mental health that is situational and responsive to life events and circumstances.

Men in farming from both study sites indicated that experiences of 'mental health' are not explicitly discussed or shared among men in the community and therefore constitute a 'taboo' or 'hidden' phenomena. Equally however, men revealed their awareness of suffering connected to mental health amongst men in their community, either in the context of financial stress during economic downturn, or associated with resettlement issues. Farmers in the Riverland shared a normalised expectation that farming challenges be met with resilience and stoicism focused on solving problems and that men suffering stress should exit farming for another occupation. This mindset was not evident among the men interviewed in the Limestone Coast, perhaps due to their employment as farm workers offering a different relationship to agriculture.

For both study sites, men were attracted to horticulture and viticulture for their livelihoods despite recognition that growing produce and employment in these sectors would not offer easy financial attainment and thus financial stress would impact their wellbeing. A tolerance for hard work and low financial income was evident across the narratives which may be associated with a migrant sensibility oriented towards establishing in a new country and accomplishing a better life for future generations or with a particular view of farming as a non-profitable industry.

Preference for community-based informal peer support

The interview narratives from men in farming across both study sites revealed a preference for receiving support through farming, cultural and wider community connections. Given their understandings of mental health, as contextualised within farming and situational stressors, it follows that the majority did not consider professional mental health services when asked about experiences or perceptions of support. Men in both study sites provided examples of the significance of social connection for wellbeing and described sharing their experience and stories with others as a valued source of support. From their accounts, the support from other farming men and the community more broadly is highly valued. It is valued because it is also deeply contextualised by the norms, values and understandings embedded in place by farming and culture. This shared context seemingly allows men to feel they will be understood and provides a shared sense of solidarity and camaraderie.

Whilst these shared contextual understandings allow some men to feel connected and supported, it is likely that this experience is not shared for all men. For example, it was evident in the Riverland interviews that whilst it was acceptable to bemoan 'bad seasons' and ruminate on the challenges of farming, sharing emotional or psychological experiences of distress and being open about difficulty coping, were not expected. Men who are struggling and experiencing distress would potentially feel pressure to maintain a stoic and resilient social presence and thus silenced, excluded and isolated with no opportunity to confide their experience to other men in farming.

The finding that CALD men in farming expressed a preference for community-based informal peer support is in alignment with men in farming more broadly (Bryant et al., 2022). Peer support is valued by men in farming because it is contextualised within region and agriculture, is accessible within the community and offers a relatable and personable approach to mental health support.

Belonging and inclusion in rural and agricultural communities

Men across both study sites spoke to feeling socially connected to their farming and cultural communities and the broader community of the region. Farm workers in the Limestone Coast described how the region and their occupation bring together migrants from a diverse range of cultural backgrounds and how diverse men connect through their occupation and form long-term supportive relationships and friendships across cultures. Similarly, the majority of the Punjabi men in the Riverland described close community connection and social support.

Whilst the majority of men expressed satisfaction with their social connection to community, there were a minority that held an alternative view. One Riverland farmer expressed his perspective that the industry is individualistic, every farmer only has his own self-interest in mind and there is no support. There were also experiences where racially motivated aggression was witnessed in the

community and perceived differential treatment by employers for farm workers according to cultural background.

A sense of belonging and community connection is important for wellbeing and associated with reduced risk of psychological distress (Longman et al., 2023; Matthews et al., 2020). Multi-generational farming families and those from Anglo-Australian backgrounds are unlikely to experience the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion that CALD migrant men in farming experience. It is therefore significant to raise awareness of these issues and the ways in which rural and agricultural communities can be sources of support and distress.

Co-designing engagement & resources

Co-design is a collaborative approach to innovation that draws on design-led processes and uses visual and creative participatory methods (McKercher, 2020). Design thinking is typically understood in terms of phases of activity through which problems and solutions co-evolve (Oswald et al., 2023). Whilst the primary focus of the co-design team concerns the object of innovation, there is also an intention to build the capability of those participating in the design process (McKercher, 2020). Co-designing through collaborative teams enables shared ownership or a common goal, builds on knowledge held within communities and contributes to place-based sustainability of strategies and resources (Leavy, 2017). Incorporating principles of co-design and participatory research frameworks, and translating the findings from culturally diverse men in farming into immediately usable intervention strategies and resources were integral aspects of the research design.

Community-based participatory research has traditionally been employed in collaboration with culturally and linguistically diverse communities to optimise inclusion and privilege the knowledges and values held in those communities (O'Brien et al., 2021). Participatory approaches, as O'Brien et al (2021, p. 2) state, 'aim to shift the philosophical approach in research, recognising the need for the community whom the research is focused on to fully participate in all aspects of the research, and to exercise power and control in identifying solutions that lead to sustainability'. The collaborative codesign methodology was crucial for establishing engagement of CALD men in farming. Moreover, it was significant in terms of establishing future parameters for research and for longer projects that work alongside the community to enable time to take into account and create diverse resources to build mental health among CALD populations.

Co-design with men in farming in the Limestone Coast region.

The approach to co-design in the Limestone Coast region embraced the social and cultural capital held by two key stakeholders connected to the men in farming in the region. These stakeholders were central to the methods undertaken to recruit men to participate in the co-design workshop and for facilitating the co-design processes during the workshop. One of the stakeholders was recognised as a respected and trusted leader and advocate by the community and the other was a service provider who had worked closely with the migrant community for several years. Importantly, the community leader was invited to chair and facilitate the co-design workshop in the Hazaragi language with support from the research team. We provided this stakeholder with a summary of the initial findings from the interviews (Appendix B) and held a discussion over the phone. Before the co-

design workshop we met informally and talked about the structure and objectives for the co-design workshop.

The co-design workshop took place at the Australian Migrant Resource Centre in the regional town of Naracoorte as this was identified a location and social space that was familiar and trusted by the community. Ten men participated in the workshop, the majority of whom were Hazaras originally from Afghanistan and one participant originally from Malaysia.

The community stakeholder chaired the session providing a welcome introduction. A research team member also spoke briefly about the project which was translated. The planned translator pulled out just prior to the workshop and the community stakeholder agreed to also step into this role. A few of the Hazara men could speak English and a couple of them were happy to do so. The one Malaysian farm worker communicated in English.

Most of the men contributed to the workshop discussion. Although the community stakeholder did his best to translate there were time when natural discussion and interaction only in Hazaragi took place. The one Malaysian participant appeared very comfortable with the situation and was also comfortable to share his own views and ideas. The team later discovered that he was learning Hazaragi/Dari (also a Persian language) to better communicate with the Hazaras he was meeting in and around Naracoorte and at work on the farm.

The workshop discussion was generally respectful and relevant. However, it became heated when one of the Afghani men was persistent in advocating for a direction that was out of alignment with the scope of the co-design session. At one point one other participant spoke strongly to him telling him that he kept changing the topic and direction of the group discussion. Following this encounter the man soon got up and departed from the workshop.

After much discussion, the co-design group finally agreed on a few potential directions. One was to write a co-authored letter to the town council to express the need of their community and asking for stronger support and advocacy for their precarious and insecure visa/work situations. The other was to ask the local Council to support the Hazara Afghan community towards building/playing a cultural sport called Sangi Rag (see Appendix C). The sport involves two teams of four to five players who compete by throwing stones at a target. Each player gets ten throws and the player that throws the closest to the target wins the round. The group identified a multicultural sports day planned for later in the year and suggested that they could ask if they would be able to play Sangi Rag as a demonstration. There was also a suggestion that they could possibly ask the council for some land to develop for the sport on an ongoing basis.

Over the months following the co-design workshop, the research team followed up with both stakeholders to determine the next steps towards supporting the group with their intended outcomes. The professional stakeholder advised the team that tensions and disagreements has arisen within the group and between participants. Some of the tension was directed towards the community stakeholder. It was disclosed that a few of the participants had communicated their own decision to pursue an entirely different outcome from those agreed at the workshop. The research team followed up with the professional stakeholder to ascertain the status of the project and receive guidance on next steps towards a resolution, both relationally and with an agreed co-designed resource. However, given the internal fragmentation of the co-design group and the timeline constraints of the project, it was determined that a consensus and timely action were unlikely to be achievable.

Co-design with men in farming in the Riverland

The research team were unable to garner community support and participation among the men in farming in the Riverland for the co-design phase of the project. Drawing on previous co-design work with men in farming, the team decided to utilize the interview data to create a media article (Appendix D) that presents some of themes through a composite narrative. The team drafted the media article and shared it with one of the men who had been interviewed and who we felt would be receptive towards providing feedback and advice regarding how such a piece might be received by the farming community. The article was used as the basis for a local radio interview and will be shared on the farmer resource site Takingstock.community.

Conclusion

By engaging men working in horticulture and viticulture from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds, this project revealed how their understandings of mental health and wellbeing are influenced by a confluence of intersecting factors connected to their occupation and employment, their migration and resettlement experiences, potential trauma histories and their culturally informed understandings of mental health and wellbeing, family, work, agriculture and community. In some respects, the findings are aligned with what is understood about men in farming more broadly (Bryant et al., 2022) but the findings also reveal the importance of culture, place and context for understanding and responding to mental health and wellbeing for CALD men in farming.

Like other men in farming, the accounts of mental health from men across both study sites demonstrate an understanding of mental health that is situational and responsive to events and circumstances. However, the interviews showed that these understandings are nuanced according to cultural understandings of mental health and the life histories that have brought the men into farming. It is significant to note that for all men in farming, to be effective, mental health initiatives need to be tailored to place and culturally sensitive representations of mental health.

The finding that CALD men in farming expressed a preference for community-based informal peer support is in alignment with men in farming more broadly (Bryant et al., 2022). Peer support is valued by men in farming because it is contextualised within region and agriculture, is accessible within the community and offers a relatable and personable approach to mental health support. What varies, is how that peer support is contextualised by place, agricultural commodity and culture.

Men across both study sites spoke to feeling socially connected to their farming and cultural communities and the broader community of the region and emphasized the importance of this to mental health and wellbeing. Whilst the majority of men described inclusion and belonging across and within cultures in the community, there were some accounts of witnessing intolerance and perceived discrimination on the basis of culture and it is therefore significant to account for the ways in which rural and agricultural communities are nuanced spaces in terms of support and distress.

Recommendations

The findings and conclusions of this report lend themselves to the following recommendations:

1. **Culturally and linguistically diverse farmers and farm workers need to be recognised and represented in mental health initiatives designed to support men in farming.**
2. **Tailor culturally sensitive mental health and wellbeing initiatives to specific cultural populations of men in farming that encompass culturally appropriate representations of mental health and wellbeing.**
3. **Place-based community initiatives to encourage social inclusion of culturally diverse new arrivals to support wellbeing. For example, create opportunities for culturally diverse men in farming to share their migration stories and cultures in the community.**
4. **Further co-design research to co-produce resources that support men in farming on humanitarian visas.**
5. **Further co-design research to create resources targeted to farmers from first or second generation culturally diverse families.**
6. **Provide funding and training for culturally attuned peer support through outreach programs tailored to culturally diverse men in farming.**
7. **Target community spaces such as sports venues and cultural groups to provide targeted and tailored information about mental health and wellbeing and available supports.**

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Appendix A: Recruitment materials


NATIONAL
ENTERPRISE
FOR RURAL
COMMUNITY
WELLBEING
Wellbeing among Farmers
Are you a farmer or farm worker from a migrant background or family?
We are looking to interview farmers or farm workers from diverse cultural backgrounds in the Riverland (Greek, Italian, Turkish, Indian, Afghani, Filipino etc). We want to hear your stories and learn about the challenges and positives - the good and the bad of living on the land. This is part of a project we are undertaking producing community-based strategies for wellbeing that are specifically designed for men and women in farming occupations. We have carried out many interviews with farmers across Australia and would like to ensure our findings include migrant background or culturally diverse farmers.
1 hour: Interviews are less than one hour & can be conducted over Zoom, phone, or in the Riverland.
$50 compensation: Interview participants receive $50 shopping vouchers as compensation for their time.
To participate or for more information, please contact Miriam at Miriam.Posselt@unisa.edu.au or Ph 0432 856 348

NATIONAL ENTERPRISE FOR RURAL COMMUNITY WELLBEING

Men in farming occupations: Co-designing for Wellbeing

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Our research will produce community-based strategies for wellbeing that are specifically designed for men in farming occupations (farmers, farm labourers, stockmen, tractor drivers etc.). We are working alongside rural based Suicide Prevention Networks and organisations to make sure that the resources we co-design are driven and supported by rural communities.

We would like to speak to men in farming occupations who are willing to tell us about their own or others' experiences of farming/ working on a farm, experiences of wellbeing and mental health, and to give us their perspective on what local communities can do to support and increase the wellbeing of men in farming.

Participation will involve a one-to-one confidential interview (about 1 hour) by phone or in person (your choice). During the interview you will be asked about what it's like to work in farming, your experiences of wellbeing, times of distress, any experiences of community-based support or services, and your thoughts on what communities need or could do to better support men in farming.

Interviews will be audio-recorded and then typed up. Your responses will be kept confidential by the researcher. We will remove any identifying information (e.g. your name, place of work) from the interview notes or any research report, to ensure your privacy and anonymity. Only the researchers will have access to the interview data and no information which could lead to the identification of any individual will be released, unless as required by law.

Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time without consequence and without affecting your position now or in the future. Should you wish to withdraw, the information collected from you can be excluded from the study up until two weeks after the interview date. If you choose to participate, the interview data we collect from you will be stored as an audio-file on a university secured server for the period of seven years required by Human Research Ethics. Only members of the research team and a professional transcriber will have access to the interview audio-file.

Because we're interested in talking about mental health and wellbeing & past experiences of distress, if you are currently experiencing heightened distress, participation in this project may not be advisable at this time. It is not anticipated that there are any risks to participation in this study beyond those encountered during everyday life. Should you feel distressed at any point, you may like to discuss these feelings with one of the following supports:

- Your general practitioner (GP doctor)

National Enterprise for Rural Community Wellbeing

UniSA Creative
Adelaide
South Australia 5000

GPO Box 2471
Adelaide
South Australia 5001
Australia

unisa.edu.au

CRICOS Provider Number 00121B

- Lifeline - 13 11 14) or https://www.lifeline.org.au
- Beyond Blue - 1300 22 4636 or https://www.beyondblue.org.au
- Saregionalaccess.org.au or Call 1300 032 186 for free professional counselling

The project team conducting this research:

Professor Lia Bryant, Director: National Enterprise for Rural Community Wellbeing, University of South Australia.

Dr David Radford, National Enterprise for Rural Community Wellbeing, University of South Australia.

Dr Rosie Roberts, National Enterprise for Rural Community Wellbeing, University of South Australia.

Dr Jeanne-Marie Viljoen, National Enterprise for Rural Community Wellbeing, University of South Australia.

Dr Doreen Donovan, National Enterprise for Rural Community Wellbeing, University of South Australia.

This project has been funded by the following Partner Organisation collaborating in this research:

Wellbeing SA

A copy of the final research report can be requested by contacting Professor Lia Bryant (Lia.Bryant@unisa.edu.au).

This project has been approved by the University of South Australia's Human Research Ethics Committee (Protocol No. 202120). If you have any ethical concerns about the project or questions about your rights as a participant, or should you or any third parties wish to lodge a complaint about either the study or the way it is being conducted, please contact the Executive Officer of this Committee (tel: +61 8 8302 6330; email: humanethics@unisa.edu.au).

For further information about the project and/or to participate please contact:

Dr Miriam Posselt (Research Fellow, University of South Australia)

Ph: 0432 856 348

Miriam.posselt@unisa.edu.au

Saregionalaccess.org.au
Call 1300 032 186 for free professional counselling

UniSA Research and Innovation Services

Human Research Ethics Committee

CONSENT FORM

This project has been approved by the University of South Australia's Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any ethical concerns about the project or questions about your rights as a participant please contact

the Executive Officer of this Committee, Tel: +61 8 8302 3118; Email: humanethics@unisa.edu.au

SECTION 1: CONTACT AND PROJECT DETAILS

Researcher's Full Name:	Professor Lia Bryant
Contact Details:	8302 4363 | Lia.Bryant@unisa.edu.au
Protocol Number:	202120
Project Title:	Tailoring rural community based suicide prevention to men in farming occupations

SECTION 2: CERTIFICATION

Participant Certification

In signing this form, I confirm that:

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.
- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.
- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.
- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential, unless required by law.
- I understand that I will be audio-recorded during the interview.
- I understand that the recording will be saved on a UniSA secure server and only the research team will have access to the file.

Participant Signature	*Printed Name*	*Date*

Researcher Certification		
I have explained the study to subject and consider that he/she understands what is involved.		
Researcher Signature	*Printed Name*	*Date*

Men in Farming from Migrant and Culturally Diverse Backgrounds: Summary of Key Findings

Our project:

To understand the experiences and needs of men in farming from migrant and culturally diverse backgrounds in relation to their wellbeing, we interviewed 14 men. Seven men were from the South East (Naracoorte) and were farm workers, primarily on vineyards. In the Riverland region, most men had worked for one or more generations as horticulturalists and/or viticulturalists.

Cultural groups represented in the study included Afghan, Indian, Greek, Italian and Malaysian.

Key issues identified by men in farming to inform co-design of wellbeing resources.

There were 7 key issues raised by men in farming from migrant backgrounds in the South East. The questions under each finding are to help you consider what resources might be created.

Co-design:

Thank you for coming to this workshop. Medhi will facilitate this workshop with David's assistance. Our first task in the workshop will be to prioritise what key finding you would like to work with us on and then brainstorm ways that we can start to address this finding.

1. Language difficulties as barrier to interacting at work and with local community.

Men reported that language difficulties created challenges communicating on the job with employers and other workers or understanding instructions. Language difficulties also acted as a barrier for interacting with the local community or attending community events and that this in turn, impacted their wellbeing by leading to reduced social interaction and sense of belonging.

> ***How might we create a resource or strategy to assist with learning communications and conversations in English?***

2. Visa insecurity and separation from family.

Insecure visas and ongoing separation from families were the most commonly reported challenges for men. This included being on Temporary Protection Visas (TPV), Safe Haven Enterprise Visas (SHEV) or having received permanent residency (PR) but still awaiting citizenship and therefore not being able to travel with ease and freedom. This ongoing, indefinite separation from family members, often for up to ten or more years was spoken about as the biggest factor facing the men's mental health and wellbeing.

What strategies, resources, or ways of connecting men with other men in similar situations would help men's wellbeing while waiting for citizenship and separation from families?

3. Financial stress, feeling they have no choice in relation to engaging in farm work and pressure of supporting family overseas.

Men reported the financial pressure to pay their bills in Australia (rent, food, migration lawyers etc) in addition to sending money to their family was a significant issue for their wellbeing. Men reported feeling that they had no choice but to work as much as possible and to accept whatever farm work was available in order to support their family overseas. Men reported prioritising working and sending money to family over attending or spending money on events and entertainment for themselves, attending health or counselling appointments, or creating time for rest or recreation.

What can we do to help men attend events or entertainment for themselves?

4. Job insecurity and working conditions.

Men reported that the need for workers fluctuates based on the season and that this uncertainty and insecurity of how much work is available and for how long, contributed to their stress.

Men feared losing work or not being given more work if they did not work additional hours and with increased effort. Men reported feeling they were unable to say no to requests or take holidays for fear of repercussions from employer (i.e. being fired or not given future work).

Some men perceived differential treatment towards migrant farm workers as well as a perception that farm owners had different and increased expectations of them. Some men had the perception of receiving less pay than other non-migrant workers. Men spoke about fearing the consequences (such as losing job) if they confronted employers and questioned them regarding pay, conditions, and expectations of migrant farm workers.

How might we communicate men's experiences of concern about getting future work, saying no to requests for long hours and need for holidays to employers?

How might we work with employers to ensure men receive the same rights and treatment including equal pay to non-migrant workers? E.g. for facilitator would life stories and experiences via written stories (without names – composite stories) presented in a workshop setting with farmers help? What creative strategy might help?

5. Limited resources and options for coping with distress.

Men reported shame and stigma surrounding poor mental health and wellbeing which then prevented them seeking support or sharing their distress with others. Men reported that due to the hard physical work and the pressure to work more to support their family, men felt they had little or no time for recreation and leisure which might help them better cope with their stress. Likewise, they also acknowledged that there were limited opportunities for entertainment in the region and that there were many barriers (such as financial, travel including not having a driving licence, language, no knowledge of events etc) to participating in community events that might otherwise enable an increased sense of belonging and wellbeing.

How might we create opportunities for funded entertainment events and ways to travel to these for migrant men?

How might we increase opportunities for men to attend or create events for the whole community?

6. Belonging, racism, isolation, and distress.

Some men reported that a sense of not belonging, not being able to attend rural community events and feel part of the community, ongoing separation from families, and not sharing or talking about their experiences of sadness and distress with others all contributed to a reported sense of loneliness and isolation. Perceived experiences of racism (both in the community and on the job) were also reported to contribute to the sense of not belonging and negatively impact wellbeing.

What resources, strategies or events could we create to increase belonging in the community?

What strategies would help men to be able to talk to other men about loneliness, sadness, and distress?

7. Limited awareness of and/ or support options for mental health and distress, particularly for migrant farm workers.

Most men were not able to identify local or potential services where they could access support for mental health and wellbeing issues. One man spoke about knowledge of an online counselling service in their country of origin and reported he would feel comfortable accessing this but did not know whether there were similar services in Australia. One man reported the only support option he had was being on a long waitlist to see a counsellor in person in the closest regional hub to the area (1 hour away). Shame and stigma, time, and language/ need for interpreters were other barriers mentioned that limited support options for these men.

What resources or strategies can we help create to make the pathway easier for men to attend or receive counselling or health advice?

How might we start to address feelings of shame and stigma about mental health for male farm workers?

Facilitators of wellbeing: Suggestions for what community needs are or what resources are needed or of benefit.

Below is a summarised list of the co-design suggestions reported by men in the SE during the interviews to help with brainstorming ideas for resources.

1. Community and social activities
    - Providing opportunities for social interaction between migrant community and locals to facilitate integration, acceptance from community and reduce feelings of isolation and increase sense of belonging.
    - Entertainment involving migrant communities. Harmony Day was reported as successful.
    - Migrant Resource Centre running events.
    - Traditional recreational games within community groups e.g. Hazara community
    - Information sharing (about social events etc) using both social media and public notice boards outside shops in order to make information accessible for all age groups.
    - Capitalising on the social aspect to farm work and encouraging more celebrations, conversations and interactions with others employed in farm work.
    - Network to support migrants such as the Limestone Coast Multicultural Network- creating events and opportunities for social connection.
    - Volunteering to connect with community and form relationships. Creating and encouraging volunteering efforts to facilitate social connections.
    - Sports and exercise clubs (for physical and social reasons)

2. Opportunities for sharing between men, sharing stories, stress, reducing stigma. Mens groups.
3. Videos/ films to help with language barriers. This idea was in relation to explaining the farm work to new workers and could be expanded on to be relevant to other areas also, given the preference for visual and audio information over written material.
4. Important that the local community understand the challenges that the migrant men face e.g., insecure visas, family separation.
5. Information and awareness about support options for community.
6. Information for support services on how to work more effectively with migrant communities. E.g. Support and mental health professionals introducing themselves during community events, showing they are there and approachable, practicing a gentle approach to service engagement.
7. Training opportunities such as English classes at more appropriate times for farm workers.

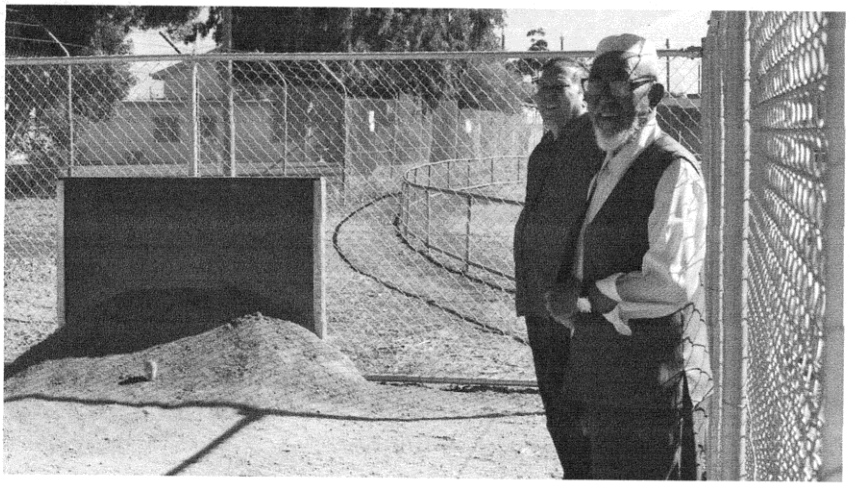
Appendix C: Newspaper article describing sangi rag

ABC NEWS

How reviving a game from childhood is helping Afghan men in Shepparton

ABC Shepparton / By Rosa Ritchie

Posted Tue 28 Feb 2023 at 10:26am



A new sangi rag pitch in Shepparton is believed to be the second of its kind in Australia.
(ABC Shepparton: Rosa Ritchie)

Just about every day of the week, as the light fades, Afghan men gather next to an oval in Shepparton in northern Victoria.

They meet to play "sangi rag".

It's a traditional Afghan game drawing eager crowds to a newly built pitch beside the Victory Park sports ground.

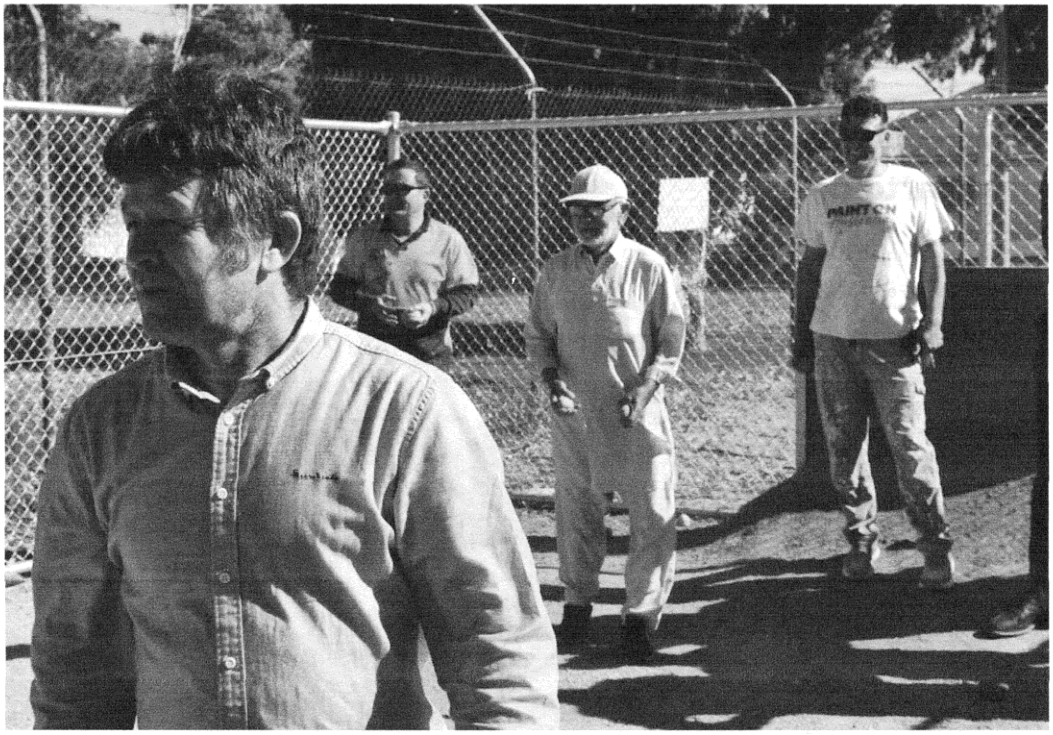
Most of the players come from refugee backgrounds.

They left family and belongings behind when they left Afghanistan in search of safety.

Many live in limbo on temporary protection visas.

Hazara community leader Abdullah Naveed said the game was something from home they could take anywhere.

Players just need a few stones that fit in the palm of a hand, a mound of dirt and something to use as a target — in this case, empty chilli sauce bottles.



ams take turns bowling a stone at a target. *(ABC Shepparton: Rosa Ritchie)*

Before the pandemic, the men were playing in a patch of bush between residential streets.

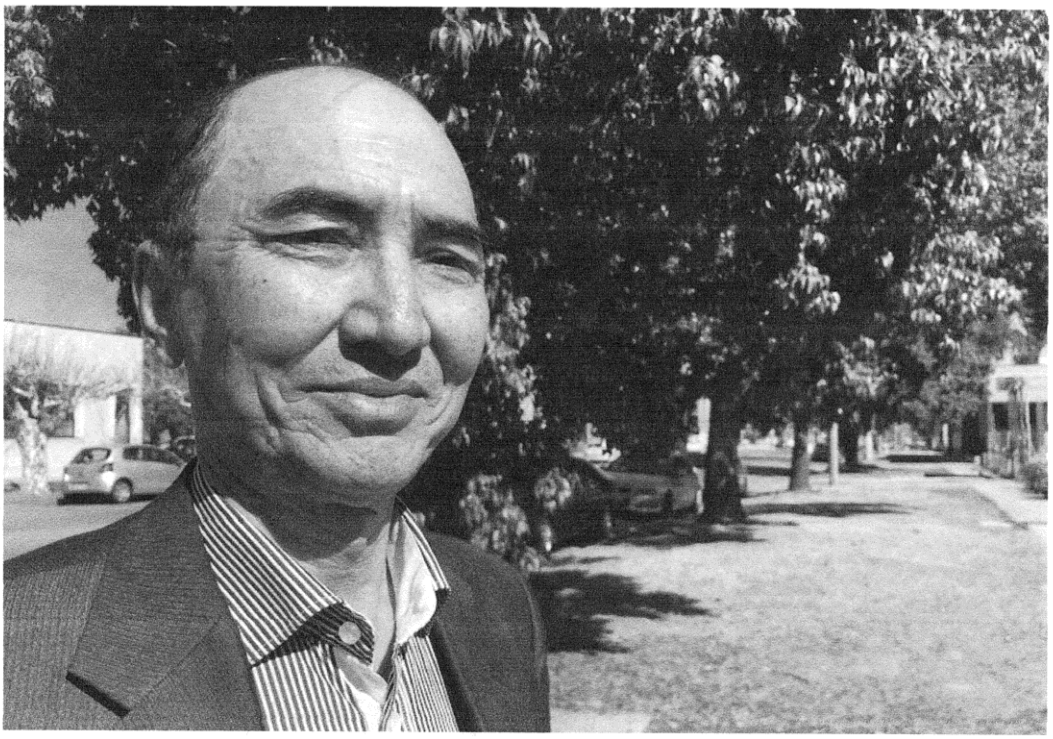
They regularly spotted snakes around their makeshift pitch.

Mr Naveed said the players feared it was a matter of time until someone got hurt — or worse.

But if they stopped playing altogether, their mental health would suffer.

> "Many times they came to my home, they called me, and they were saying 'one day, one of us will lose our life due to a snake bite'," he said.

"'Please do something for us. If we stay at home we will get sick'."



dullah Naveed says the nightly games are a lifeline for Afghan men. *(ABC Goulburn Murray: Rhiannon Tuffield)*

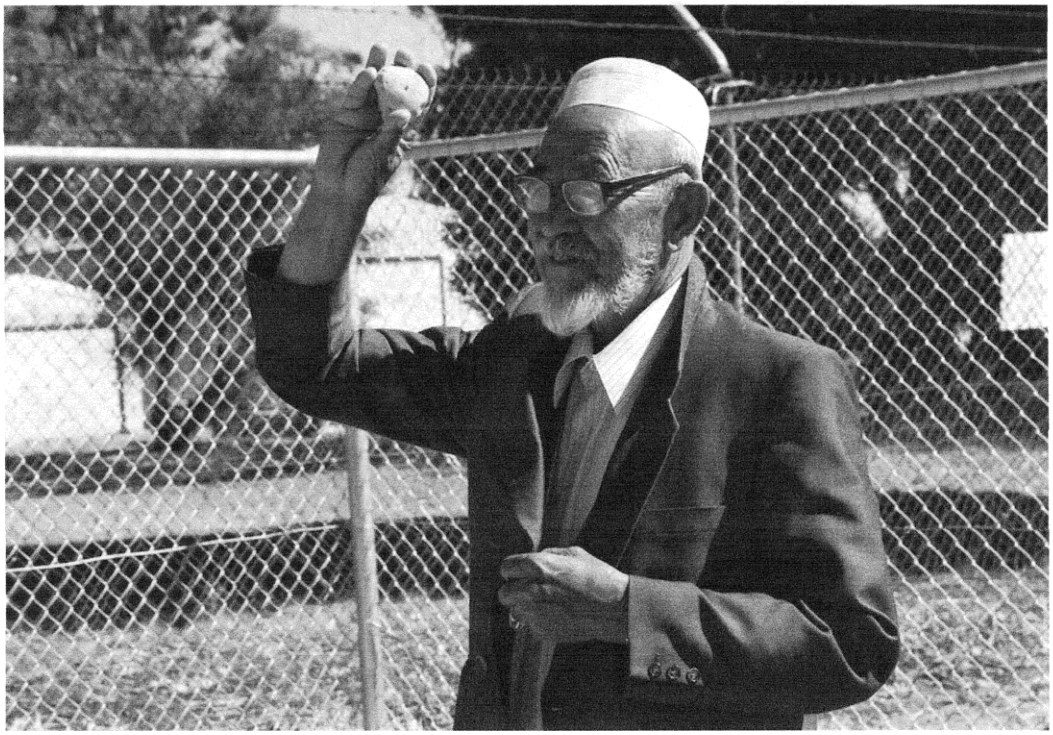
Health benefit

Mr Naveed, who is a community development officer at the Ethnic Council of Shepparton and District, said he started making calls.

He said an article in the local newspaper, Shepparton News, got the ball rolling.

Three years later — after the onset of a pandemic, the 2021 Taliban offensive and a city-wide flood in Shepparton — a pitch funded by Greater Shepparton City Council was opened.

Mr Naveed said it was the second pitch of its kind in Australia, after the Afghan community in Dandenong established the first.



ba Ali aims his throw at the target. *(ABC Shepparton: Rosa Ritchie)*

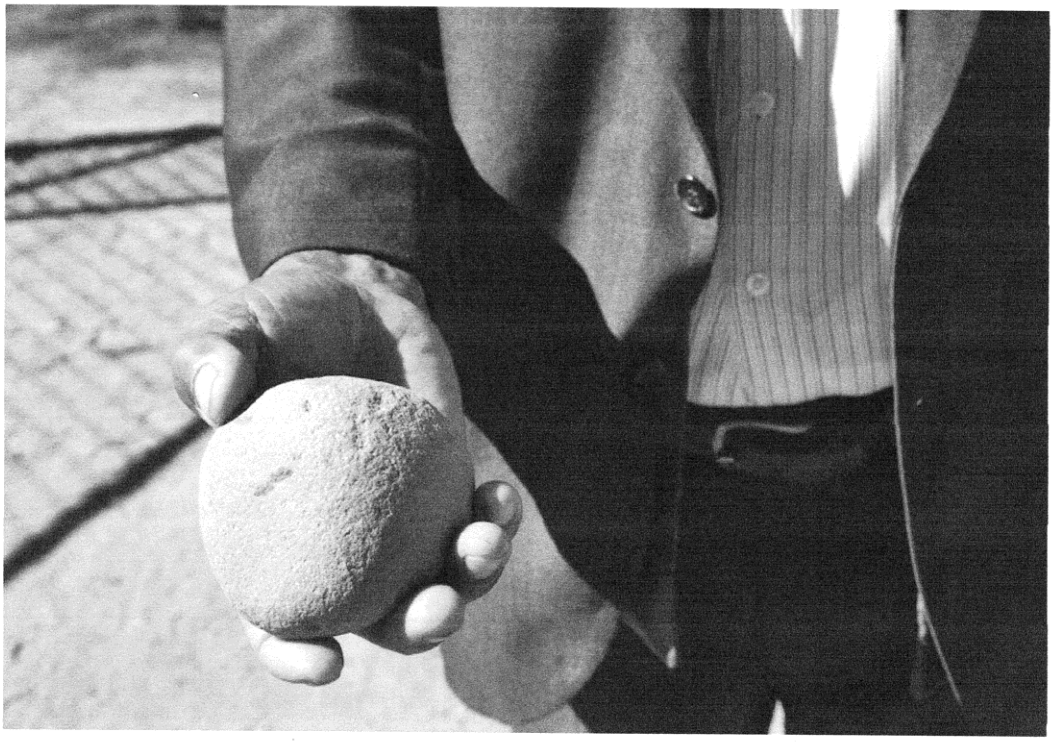
Nasim Gulzari, who joins a game whenever he can find the time, said gathering to play the ancient game was good for mental and physical health.

"It can get emotional. It's very competitive," he said, laughing.

Some come to the pitch as spectators, to cheer, swap stories or quietly observe.

Mr Naveed said up to 70 people gathered on the busiest nights, and there were four core players who showed up for every game.

"When I see them happy, I am happy," he said.



ngi rag requires a target and a few smooth, round stones. *(ABC Shepparton: Rosa Ritchie)*

How to play

Two teams of four or five compete by throwing rocks at a target from a distance.

Each player gets 10 throws, and whoever is closest to the target in each of the 10 rounds wins that round for their team.

Hitting the target directly earns double points and the team that reaches 10 points first is the winner.

Find more local news

Browse for your location and find more local ABC News and information

Appendix D: Media article from Riverland interviews

‘It’s a taboo subject in a lot of our community’: Cultural experiences of mental health among migrant Riverland growers.

The growers and farmers of the Riverland are a culturally diverse group. The 2021 census found that around 45 percent of growers speak a language other than English at home.[i] Many of the grape growers from the region are first- or second-generation migrants from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) backgrounds, including families from the Punjab region of India, and Greek and Italian farmers. Lots of these growers come from a rich legacy of family farming, seeing it as a fundamental part of their identity. There is a tendency to believe in the innate strength and toughness of migrants, who often come to Australia with almost nothing to start a new life.

The recent state of the horticultural and viticultural industries, however, has negatively impacted many CALD growers from the Riverland region. Some properties have been abandoned and other growers have been forced to let their grapes fall to the ground. Unmanaged vineyards raise the risk of diseases such as mildew spreading. Diseases have contributed to the 2023 vintage in the Riverland being the lowest recorded harvest in Australia since 2000.[ii] And the Riverland has been battling Queensland fruit fly since 2020, with rising costs of fumigation potentially pushing out small and family growers.[iii] With cabernet and shiraz wine grapes in an international oversupply, some growers have been told to mothball their red grapes and replace them with white, a costly and time-consuming process.[iv]

Recent research by UniSA’s National Enterprise for Rural Community Wellbeing led by Professor Lia Bryant sought to understand mental health and wellbeing from the perspective of CALD growers and farmers in the Riverland. All the participants interviewed in the research emphasised the strong connection experienced between their financial situation and the state of their mental health. The study found that pride in their work and belief in the resilience of migrant families may actually prevent them from seeking help for issues around mental health. Carlo, a second-generation Italian migrant and grower from the Riverland, says, ‘I think it’s hidden. People are not going to come out and say, “I feel stressed.”’ ‘When things are bad, we talk over the fence and say, “Bad year this year,” and it’s going to be another bad year next year, and the year after that. We all acknowledge it and accept it, but that’s as far as it goes,’ says Carlo.

Addressing these mental health issues, it's probably a taboo subject in a lot of our community. People don't talk about it.'

Participants identified the erosion of significant cultural traditions as a major instigator of isolation for growers in the community and spoke about the lack of social groups as a result of modern society's reliance on new technologies like social media. 'People should know each other more and engage with each other's problems more. Nowadays, you don't know what's happening with your next-door neighbour,' says Kiran, a migrant and grape grower from the Punjab region of India. Daksh is also worried about cultural traditions disappearing as migrants' children leave to go to university in the city. Without the Punjabi language being passed down through families, less people are able to participate in Sikh services and rituals. Safeguarding their cultural heritage is important for the preservation of a strong community.

Many interviewees spoke about the importance of the local Sikh temple as a stronghold of community for the Indian diaspora in the Riverland, where community elders dispense advice and congregants gather to worship and pray. 'They are counselling the people,' Daksh says. 'They are solving the problems. If one family is struggling with a problem, another family helps them.' Being strong in his faith and using prayer and meditation keeps Daksh afloat during difficult times, and participating in the Sikh temple's free kitchen gives him a boost each week: 'Everybody gives donations and prepares in the kitchen to serve the community.'

'Farming is my passion and it is in my blood but farming is not a profitable business' says Amar, a citrus and grape grower who works hard across multiple businesses to make ends meet. Even amid industry-wide financial stress, Amar observes that mental health issues are not discussed freely among the community. 'That thing is very bad thing in my community. They are not expressing their problems to each other. They are thinking this is the privacy. They are not talking much about these things'. However, many in his community approach Amar as a confidant to share their concerns privately and he emphasizes the importance of providing moral support in the face of challenges that have no practical solution. For those who don't know who to reach out to for confidential support, Amar encourages talking to a GP as this can prevent issues from getting worse. He also suggests reaching out to friends, colleagues or any person in the community when their manner or behaviour changes, to check in with them and offer confidential support.

[i] Ward, A. 2023. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-06-27/punjabi-growers-access-information-in-their-own-language/102520136

[ii] Berlage, E. & Landau, S. 2023. https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-07-14/wine-grapes-biosecurity-concerns-riverland/102582384

[iii] Berlage, E. 2023. https://www.abc.net.au/news/rural/2023-07-27/riverland-fruit-fly-outbreak-extra-protocols-high-costs-growers/102639604

[iv] Berlage, E. 2023. https://www.abc.net.au/news/rural/2023-06-16/ccw-legal-push-for-accolade-grape-prices/102487356