

# Decolonizing methodologies and the reversal of colonial logic: Implications for non-Indigenous nursing lecturers and nursing researchers

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International Journal of Frontiers in Science and Technology Research, 2023, 05(01), 029–038

Publication history: Received on 26 October 2023; revised on 08 December 2023; accepted on 11 December 2023

Article DOI: <https://doi.org/10.53294/ijfstr.2023.5.1.0073>

## Abstract

This article exists as a call for decolonizing methodologies and the reversal of colonial logic. Drawing in part on my own ethnographic research on soccer in the Fiji Islands and popular music and society in Indonesia, I explain how local study participants can and should be encouraged to operate as co-interviewers and co-researchers so that the project has an Indigenous flavour and orientation and functions in terms of Indigenous understandings of relationships, practices, and values. The last section of the article draws out the implications of decolonizing methodologies for nursing lecturers and nursing researchers in the Global South. Based on three short cases, I conclude that decolonizing logic means that, first and foremost, we learn to choose and want to choose the Fiji logic while not necessarily despising the Western logic but putting it below or in parenthesis. We might need to remember it if and when we go home!

**Keywords:** Decolonizing methodologies; European knowledge; Indigenous knowledge; Indigenous understandings; Nursing research

## 1. Introduction

In this article, I set out a perspective and agenda for decolonizing methodologies that draws on my experience as an ethnographer working in the Fiji Islands and Indonesia on soccer history and popular music research. If decolonizing agendas are to have any effect, they require a change of worldview and practices by the researcher and a commitment to empowerment of the Indigenous people. Many of our subconscious beliefs in the superiority of European ways of knowing (primarily positivistic in method and based on the modernist idea of the individual, rational subject detached from community) and Anglo-American institutions, research culture, and research history [1] must be deconstructed [2] and challenged.[3] Challenge can be inspired by sincere and sustained engagement with an Indigenous village or other community and its myriad discourses, values, beliefs, practices, traditions and hierarchies. Many of these aspects of Indigenous social life are remarkably resilient in the face of advancing Westernization and modernization. The last section of this article draws out the implications of decolonizing methodologies for non-Indigenous nursing lecturers and nursing researchers in the Global South.

In the theoretical field, core-periphery logic developed in the following way. The Western concept of liberalism, and much more arguably Marxism, cunningly began by the practice of living through a period when the West was perceived to be making advances of a certain type, then labelling the tendency (liberalism, advanced capitalism), and then building a theory out of it. That at least some of these features might have occurred earlier in other places, or were simultaneously occurring elsewhere, was shut out of the theoretical and historical frame as the initial labelling is what set the whole process in motion.

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As Linda Tuhiwai Smith [4] says, drawing upon Edward Said [5], the global hegemony of Western ideas of the Orient began thriving in a kind of unholy alliance between academic and popular myths, achieved through continual interaction between the two spheres. Core-periphery logic too emerged as points of a consolidated discourse, which self-referentially reified European academic ways of knowing and the knowledge gained about the objects of continued study. The growth of colonialism and global capitalism reinforced these dynamics while disseminators of ideology included the schools, the mass media, the religious organizations, and the business sector, which all breathed in and breathed out what was effectively one consistent message. The message was the superiority of European civilization and its ways of knowing. The West set itself up as the core and this very soon became unchallengeable. In fact, to challenge it was unthinkable. As Tuhiwai Smith [6] explained, about Enlightenment logic, '[d]eeply embedded in these [modernist] constructs are systems of classification and representation, which lend themselves easily to binary oppositions, dualisms, and hierarchical orderings of the world.'

The importance of core-periphery logic to Western understandings of geography and meaning can be seen via the island group called Orkney Islands in Scotland. There is an island called The Mainland, which is only slightly larger and more central within the group compared to a number of other islands.[7] Then the north-south aspect can be seen via two small islands being named South Ronaldsay and North Ronaldsay, although there are a host of other islands in between them. The Mainland is seen as the important core of meaning and ideas, the north and south are the extremes of the periphery, still part of 'us', but only just, and fated to be administered and controlled by the core, the seat of all superior knowledge. So, Orkney has a Mainland, although it is subordinated to other Mainlands, located far away 'down south' in Edinburgh and London.

This article, inspired by Althusserian Marxism, feminism, social anthropology, and cultural criminology [8], aims to highlight problematic areas in the field where the resilience of both European ways of knowing and colonial social hierarchies need to be decolonized. I acknowledge an interesting point made by Moosa-Mitha [9] that a researcher may choose to occupy a position within the normative-critical-mainstream-difference-centred axes different from what the dominant expectation of that researcher's theoretical perspective might suggest, since theories are 'more about movement' than 'rigid classification'. This is an important point in relation to Marxism where a researcher might want to move its ideas more in a difference-centred and/or anthropological direction, where meaning is found embedded within discourses and practices, but still remain open to interpretation. I also note the word of caution expressed by Sullivan [10]: 'We embody the discourses that exist in our culture, our very being is constituted by them, they are a part of us, and thus we cannot simply throw them off'. Clearly, this applies to non-Indigenous white researchers, such as me, who have worked with Indigenous people in places such as South East Asia and Oceania, and their relations with European culture. However, in my view, it also applies, to an extent, to the *interpretations* that these researchers make about the Indigenous cultures studied.

I use Foucault's ideas of 'regimes' of truth and discourse as the foundation for many of my arguments and critiques.[11] Discourse, for Foucault, must be distinguished from language. Language refers to 'the meaning of words, or rather the intention behind the words spoken or written'. [12] Discourse is the commonsense understandings of the world that express themselves through language, which then enforces hegemonic understandings.[12] By continued utterance, these discourses may effectively become materialized practice.[13] As Moosa-Mitha [14] explains, 'we are socially produced by performing our truths in the many ways that we engage and participate in society'. There are competing socially-produced truths, but some will be dominant and others subjugated or marginalized depending on who society awards the right to speak. As Brock [15] writes, 'deviant designation can be used to suppress, contain, and stigmatize difference ... how the rules come to be made and who gets to be "normal."'

Why study practices? Because they embody meaning and assumptions about the world and then, by repetition, they help to reproduce the social world at the level of the everyday. Chambon [16] backs this up by saying: 'By examining concrete practices in their most minute details, we can question institutional mechanisms and gain a new understanding'. Winch's [17] comment adds a link to texts as follows: 'Data' should be 'drawn from "practical texts" that provide rules, opinions, and advice on how to behave in a certain fashion ... texts are themselves objects of a "practice" in that they are designed to underpin everyday conduct'.

The stark reality is that the social hierarchies of the colonial era, embedded deeply in people's subconscious thought through socialization processes, still stay intact into the postcolonial era. As the radical feminist Monique Wittig has said [18], our minds are also colonized territories. Whites tend to be on the top of social hierarchies (although their numbers may be small), with part-whites second (as in Fiji) and the Indigenous people often last or second-last (as in Singapore and Fiji), sometimes situated just above an underclass of foreign workers on short-term visas (as in Singapore and Hong Kong). In richer societies, one might argue that the dominant ethnic group becomes the ruling-class and upper strata of society or, as in exceptional cases, such as Fiji, a third group, such as the Fiji Indians, becomes the new middle or business

class. Whites that stick together in their own small community, and/or those who visit in whatever capacity, often replicate the lifestyle and logic of the colonial era, where the locals continue to be the exotic/patronized Others. Sometimes, local ethnic groups reinforce the social hierarchies of colonialism to their own detriment.[19] Europeans find it hard not to be seen as the leaders of social interaction and taste by themselves and by others.

Before we proceed, a word on my own positionality. I am white British, I grew up in Australia, and I claim Irish descent through my grandmother. I have researched in Indonesia on Indonesian popular music and society since 2011; in Singapore on Singapore opposition politics from 2009-19; and in Fiji on Fiji soccer history and race and class issues (from 2014-present). I lived in Singapore for four years, from 1992-93 and 2001-02, and in Fiji from 2013-15. Interestingly, I have always resided either in Great Britain or former colonies of Britain. I am a business school researcher who has taken an interest in Indigenous and women's issues because of and through my previous research projects and my reading in sociology and criminology.

The remainder of this article is structured as follows. The next section explores issues of Indigenous empowerment within my call to collaborate with Indigenous researchers in the field, rather than just using them as interviewees or sources of data. The third section explores issues relating to differences in discourses and practices that nursing researchers and non-Indigenous nursing lecturers should be aware of between the Global North and the Global South nation of the Fiji Islands where the author lived and worked for three years and conducted fieldwork. I do not want to go beyond my own knowledge base to reference other Global South nations, but readers with such knowledge bases may be able to make their own comparisons. The fourth and last section of the article is a fairly brief Conclusion section.

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## **2. Working together with Indigenous researchers in the field**

Genuine engagement and the desire to empower are the first steps to a decolonizing, antioppressive [20], insurgent [21] methodology. Research participants should be raised to positions such as expert adviser, co-researcher, co-interviewer, and vetter and approver of research product.[22]

The village elders and headmen should know of and support the project and receive the researcher's ongoing respect and recognition, including gifts, that can be seen as a kind of tribute or tax for being on Indigenous land and receiving Indigenous support.

Usually, the researcher (hereafter: the foreign researcher) will require ongoing culturally-specific support to access interviewees and communities.[23] It should be a small step then to allow the local adviser (hereafter: the local researcher) to play a major role in planning, conducting, and evaluating the interviews and participant-observation sessions.[24] They then are not merely an interpreter/translator or even a facilitator but becomes a genuine co-researcher who later on should be awarded with co-authorships.[25] This then begins to Decolonize and Indigenize the research project, at least from the data-collection stage onwards, as Indigenous logic, values, and beliefs begin to imbue, colour, and direct the interview process.

The local person should start each interview as they have the background and cultural knowledge and will be skilled in building rapport, in culturally-specific ways, with the interviewees.[24] The foreign researcher may then become more of a note-taker and speak less in the interview than does the local researcher. The foreign researcher should be listening and watching intently to the discussion, the interaction, and the ambience.[26] They may focus on theoretical questions or global questions rather than culturally-specific ones demanding cultural knowledge, even for proper posing of questions and choosing of words. Sensitive questions too could be handled by the foreign researcher as that person is not so entangled with local cultural obligations and can walk away unscathed. Part of the interview may be conducted in the local language/dialect, with the local researcher translating either at the time or later on. This requires that the foreign researcher trust the local researcher in terms of ability and integrity. However, this relinquishing of temporary control [22] may be a source of worry, anxiety or even socially-learned guilt. But the local researcher will nearly always understand the local context and culture better and deserves a free hand so as to effectively begin to decolonize the methodology.

Choice of interviewees, order of interviews, and place and time/date of interviews could also be primarily decided upon by the local researcher(s) in conjunction with study participants.[27] Etiquette and standard practice, regarding seating positions, interview locations, modes of dress and address, the mood or atmosphere of the interview, and the type of humour that is culturally-acceptable, will be better known and understood by the local researcher(s) and local interviewees than by the foreign researcher(s).[24] The foreign researcher should often keep quiet at the start of and early on in the interview, be quick to adapt, and make sure that they do not violate cultural rules. They can ask questions

to clarify things after the interview is over (with the local researchers), or, better still, ask questions before the interview begins (for example, on the journey to the interview site).

In the field, the foreign researcher(s), almost deliberately, out of necessity, becomes more of a junior partner in the research endeavour [28] although, in the university office setting, that relationship may reverse itself out or become one of effective equality despite the trappings of office. If the local researcher(s) is unsettled by being given so much leeway, this process can be done slowly or subtly so that the local researcher(s) naturally grows into the role. As Potts and Brown [29] explain, 'figuring out how to enable individuals to participate, as they would wish, is challenging'. Local people researching with local people is always a desired outcome, with the foreign researcher operating largely in the note-taker/recorder/observer role, but, of course, after the interview, they can be free to offer interpretations of interview data and ask questions of the local researcher. However, any tendency towards a patronizing attitude is clearly unacceptable within decolonizing methodology, and each researcher and interviewee must be constantly alert to the spirit and tone of all interactions, including interviews and discussions pre- and post-interviews.

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### **3. Implications for non-Indigenous nursing lecturers and nursing researchers**

#### **3.1 Introductory remarks**

This section of the article directly addresses issues relating to decolonizing methodologies in relation to nursing and nursing research. My stories and observations are taken from my three years working in the Fiji Islands from 2013-2015 and fieldwork done on an ethnographic research project on Fiji soccer history which involved extensive collaboration with a number of ex-soccer stars mostly of Indigenous Fijian descent.

I will cover issues under three sub-headings, drawing mostly from my time in the Global South nation of Fiji Islands (5,000/USD *per capita* GDP): (a) social stratification/income inequality and the concepts of private and public money; (b) the brain drain to the Global North; and (c) the concepts of private and public realm (village as intimate but also public realm). All three are interconnected and mutually reinforcing, which is why most conditions and contradictions tend to reproduce social stratification and income inequality over time. As Lenin once said, everything is related to everything else, which requires us to tear down artificial barriers between discipline areas and consider cultural variations in concepts that we perceive are fixed and universal, e.g., nuclear family versus extended family; private versus public space, and private versus public time. These concepts are interpreted differently in the Fiji Islands compared to the Global North; priority rests in different places, and boundaries between realms are much more flexible and malleable.

#### **3.2 Social stratification/income inequality and the concepts of private and public money**

If we look at the case of a Fiji hospital, our four-year-old daughter was treated for a mystery ailment. It was around 8:00 p.m. and stocks of a certain medicine had run out; but the chemist shop in Lautoka (population 60,000) was still open. The Indigenous nurse asked us to go to the chemist shop before it shut, buy some medicine, and bring it back. We were never reimbursed for the money and never expected to be. This was an efficient, pragmatic solution in a country where white and other Global North expatriates are typically on huge salaries compared to locals, and especially younger locals, and the hospital finance system would be slow-moving, inefficient, underfunded and possibly corrupt. This story breaks many accepted preconceptions around ideas pertaining to normal/ethical and abnormal/unethical (at least, as they exist in the Global North, as well as prevailing Western ideas of strict separation between private and public time and private money/public money).

It also throws into confusion, from the viewpoint of the Global North visitor, every idea of standard and acceptable behaviour. In addition, it reveals and promises a utopia that we can't imagine where things can still be done without record-keeping, rules, political correctness, and those two double-edged swords accountability and transparency. Frankfurt School critical theorist Theodor Adorno and Michel Foucault both understood that positive phrases (freedom, impartiality, respect for the other, recognition of the other, and justice) had their negative underside stapled to them as these things must be enforced through social control.[30] In the nurse's pragmatic and utilitarian logic, she was poor, the hospital was relatively poor, or at least supplies and/or money were hard to access at the spur of the moment, and being white expatriates we were perceived to be relatively rich. Resources are transferable and made for sharing, according to Indigenous worldviews. The Indigenous Fijians perceive themselves as moral and legal landowners of the entire Fiji Islands and surrounding seas (except for Rotuma which is morally owned by the ethnic Rotumans who are perceived as ethnically separate). Hence, they perceive that the money for the medicine, for example, is akin to a tribute or a tax since any and all foreigners are implicitly in the country and earning a living only with the implied permission of the Indigenous Fijians. They see themselves as custodians of the land rather than any temporary (secular)

government. The government think that they are in control and hence issue visas to foreigners. The Indigenous people believe otherwise - all foreigners, including Fiji Indians, are only there with the implied permission of the Indigenous Fijians. They can also remove governments at will, either at the ballot box or by military coups.

Regarding social stratification/income inequality and the concepts of private and public money, Western logic says: *This case reveals a breakdown of the required strict ethical distinction between private money and public money and the failure to adhere to the fiduciary duty that a public institution owes to its clients.*

The logic of Fiji says: *You are richer than us so it is naturally your responsibility, and especially as a foreigner, to go and buy the medicine in this situation if asked to by a nurse.*

### 3.3 The brain drain to the Global North

The second aspect to discuss is the brain drain to the Global North both by exiting expatriate professors/lecturers and businesspersons and emigrating locals. Since medical professors at the medical schools, coming into the country from outside, are allocated to work a few days a week at a local hospital, this means that there is a certain amount of practical integration between these two realms. I have seen personally the severe negative effect locally of the brain drain. It means that accumulated knowledge (both theoretical and practical) as well as established social networks, based on trust, that were slowly and painstakingly built up over time, are gone and lost to the country once the professional person exits. There can be months or years with no-one filling a vacated position because there are no qualified applicants ready to fill it. It is hard for residents of nations such as Australia, Canada, France, Germany, New Zealand, UK, and USA to contemplate such situations as they have lived their whole lives under local conditions of mass immigration and rapidly expanding populations. In Global South countries, populations sometimes decline and they can decline for years or decades on end. When a senior- or mid-level person resigns, not only are the knowledge and skills of that person lost totally, and sometimes forever, but often locals of a young age and limited experience have to fill posts effectively that are above their levels of experience. They are probably not officially appointed to those higher positions, but do some of the tasks anyway, in addition to their regular work. Hence, they are burdened by excessive work [31] but receiving low pay. In the culture of the Global South, they will often take on the extra load without grumbling and often do a great job given their abilities. A university may spend 95% of a lecturer's training cost, as that person tackles a Master or PhD thesis, and then the person emigrates to a country such as Australia and gives up both their thesis and their lecturing job. They may go on to work outside the education sector. The students left behind, present and future, are the obvious losers, as is the institution.

Hence, organizations can operate at high levels of efficiency and competence for several years, then a leading figure emigrates, and the competence of the place declines, as the departing leader is literally irreplaceable. Junior staff often share the extra work of the departing person or it is delegated upwards or sideways or it just doesn't get done. So, a journal could start promisingly for a year or two and then just mysteriously (to outsiders) stop production.

This particular problem is not easy to solve as the Global North countries are a continual lure, even for otherwise cynical people. The Global North nations, for centuries in some cases, have promoted positive and idealistic images of themselves overseas, in the colonies, and people have bought into these images and continue to do so.[32] Meanwhile, professors in and from the Global North expect salaries at the same level if they are to work in a Global South nation, and it is usually either unaffordable or affordable only by cutting down expenditures in other important areas. Again, local students, present and future; local lecturers who don't emigrate (or leave the sector as the case may be); and local institutions are the losers.

By dispensing ideology, about their own greatness, for decades, if not centuries, the Global North nations are still today, even when some of these nations are in relative decline, able to attract new immigrants from the Global South in large numbers. To be totally honest, these people can usually make more important and significant contributions to society in their birth nations rather than in the countries to which they want to emigrate where experts are very often a dime a dozen and they may be relegated to perpetual obscurity as a senior lecturer who never wins promotion because there is too much competition.

And I am one of those white expatriates who left Fiji after three years to return to the Global North. I perceive that I have gone from being part of the answer to being part of the problem. I have something like a survivors' guilt on a continual basis.

R.W. Connell [33] talked about the patriarchal dividend which is the benefits a nonsexist man receives because he is a man within the context of patriarchy. Similarly, there is a white dividend in some Global South countries. I would

sometimes drink beer with my part-European and Indigenous friends next to a convenience shop across the road from the university on some weekday afternoons after class. In such cases, it would be unwise to assume that junior local staff members would be able to enjoy the same types of freedom and latitude. It can be an unusual experience when favouritism works in our own favour and we may not know how to react (We should never give into using feudal types of aggression and control in relation to junior staff so that may mean separating yourself, to some extent, from other leaders and their leadership styles and presumptions about honour, respect, obedience, and authority). Raising others up rather than pushing them down is usually the first response that we should put into action and also not showing off our entitlements in front of others who for whatever reason are excluded from them. We drank in a certain place that was invisible from the roadside and from the university campus opposite. It is disingenuous to close one's eyes to seeing the presence of the white dividend in the usual situation where it benefits the white population (or Japanese or Korean person in the Fiji context) and does not include locals.

The local institution pays you the high salary, even though you will probably take your accumulated knowledge away with you after three years, and it pays you yet again in the form of the white dividend. Did someone say that colonialism had ended? There is a certain inherent honesty in the fact that the South Seas Club in Lautoka kept a portrait of the Queen on its wall as late as 2017-2019. Without wanting to digress too far, Salvage [34] points out that conditions for black and Asian nurses in Britain's NHS are not too favourable either. They are clustered in the lower ranks and in less popular areas such as geriatrics and mental health. One study shows that, in a major London hospital, West Indian nurses make up 61% of auxiliaries, 38% of enrolled nurses and pupils, but only 12% of registered nurses and students (cited in [35]). They also tend to be older on average and stay in their jobs longer.

In some cases, a student or worker will leave their course or resign and not inform anyone or serve any notice period. In the case of a student, only when we try to assign grades at the end of the semester, we might hear from another staff member that the student emigrated. This is a common event, if somewhat sad, and people get used to it.

In the case of an employee, they may give no notice or insufficient notice and this increases further the difficulties in finding a suitable replacement candidate who can begin work soon after the old employee has left. Some locals who emigrate view Fiji as part of their old life and happily cut all ties and sever all relationships (except perhaps with family) because they believe that they will never be back, as an employee, and hence will not need these relationships.

Regarding the brain drain, Western logic says: *This situation is unimaginable as we grew up in a world where our country was popular for migrants, job advertisements met with a number of talented applicants and vacancies were filled quickly.*

The logic of Fiji says: *That's life in this part of the world. Money and the prosperous life are attractive prospects. We survive the best we can. We keep rebuilding our knowledge base from scratch when necessary. If people want to emigrate, we can't stop them.*

### **3.4 The concepts of private and public realm (village as intimate but also public realm).**

This last part of this section provides a brief look into a complex topic - the different understandings of time, space, private realm, and public realm, found in the Global South compared to the Global North. The difference emerges in Fiji because the Indigenous village is considered to be part of the public realm, but it viewed by everyone as a separate system from the town system (town space), which is where non-Indigenous people live and mainstream institutions, including the secular government, reside. The village is a holy space, halfway between private and public realms, or perhaps part of both realms simultaneously, but always 'less public' than town space. Town space is viewed as neutral as between the ethnic groups, whereas village space is obviously Indigenous space. An Indigenous village comprises essentially an extended family, including those connected by marriage, or a tribe. Each village has a headman, assistant headman, and each village belongs within one *vanua*. There is only one Paramount Chief per *vanua* to whom the village headmen are accountable. This separate system of government exists alongside the mainstream town-based system, which includes the criminal law's creation, regulation, and enforcement over all bodies, including Indigenous bodies so that they be rendered docile and obedient.

For non-Indigenous people going to a village, they might be monitored. They should act with decorum and restraint, and they should go only there for a specific purpose, even if that purpose is just socializing with a particular individual. It is not culturally acceptable for non-Indigenous people to just hang out in or meander about in village space.

In one case, a village assistant headman (one of my research participants and an ex-soccer star) accompanied a young village man to Lautoka Hospital for an emergency operation. Since a village is an independent, self-sustaining entity, accountable only to the Paramount Chief within Indigenous society, the village headman/assistant has authority to

perform a range of tasks and so he may function in a variety of capacities, including, to use the Global North terms, social worker, priest, mayor, counselor, psychiatrist, grandfather/uncle, and friend. He may be able to trace his blood connection to any particular villager or he may not be able to. In Indigenous terms, he operates as an authority figure of a (customary) kind that may not be fully appreciated or understood by expatriate nurses, doctors, or researchers.

In the Global North, the distinction between nuclear family and everybody else is crucial and ingrained within every nurse, doctor and educator through socialization processes. The nurse or doctor will only communicate key information about the patient's condition to a nuclear family member or next-of-kin and only they can make requests or give instructions to the hospital staff regarding a patient's ongoing care. Yet, in the Fiji context, that village headman or assistant headman is acting in the capacity of a grandfather/father/uncle and those hospital staff that grew up in Fiji, even Fiji Indians, Chinese, and others, would normally be aware of this situation. In that particular context, the village headman or assistant headman *is* the nuclear family and next-of-kin (and extended family) all rolled into one, and I don't mean to suggest that this is a simplistic social system because it isn't. The combining of various diverse statuses or roles, from the Western perspective, demonstrates the power, resilience, and internal integrity of the Indigenous village system that had its roots and origins obviously in precolonial society. Village hierarchies are sacrosanct and rigid, so that a Foucauldian analysis (e.g., [36]) makes some sense, despite the premodern origins of the village system. Each person has a place and each villager knows their place - as part of extended family, village, and *vanua*, and beyond that every person and village acknowledges the sacred ties back to the first Fijians who arrived in Fiji at Vuda Point on the main island Viti Levu (the sacred myth of the Vuda Point landing).

If we look at things unkindly, say, from an Althusserian Marxist perspective, the entire village is ideological [37] because it puts 'villager' status as the primary form of one's identity (e.g., Johnny is a villager from Village X within the Nadi *vanua*) rather than, as Stalin [38] maintained should happen, putting everyone's maximum energy into the fullest and most rapid development possible of the productive forces. Althusserian Marxism would classify the village as superstructure, since most paid employment takes place outside of village boundaries. The whole village system is seen as ideological from this perspective. By identifying, first and foremost, as Indigenous villager and subsistence farmer, the villager does not acknowledge his unemployed or underemployed status. Thus, he may not feel any necessity or social pressure to work in the wage-economy outside of village boundaries. Hence, village identification is ideological, according to Stalinism, if not Althusserian Marxism, by holding back the full development of the productive forces. Rules such as not being able to sell one's village house or land separately, according to Althusserian Marxism, are feudal remnants that hold back economic progress and hence the cultural logic that sustains them would be considered to be ideology.

Such an approach, however, is not a workable one in a country like Fiji even if kept purely within the imagination of the visiting researcher. The village system provides dignity, identity, self-respect, a past, a present, a future, and a clear idea of one's position in the world. Hence, it is an anchor for the collective and individual soul that is vital for the continuing welfare of the Indigenous people and for those that share their land and social world. If a person admitted their unemployed status then they would be defining themselves purely in individual terms and according to the logic of capitalist modernity. All these three things are foreign impositions.

The discussion here reflects a country in transition from the feudal to the modern. Marx and Engels [39] wrote in *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* in 1848 how the industrial bourgeoisie, a power then for only a hundred years, had created cities out of the desert (think of Dubai) and rebuilt whole continents in their image. The 'feudal, patriarchal, idyllic' [40] feudal social relations were being replaced by 'callous "cash payment"' [40] or 'cash nexus' where, outside the nuclear family, cash payment or exchange value defines and structures all social relationships, including perhaps even sociability. The village embraces aspects of modernity (mobile phone technology, social media, motor vehicles, wage-labour in the tourist resorts) while rejecting others steadfastly (such as cash payment and secular individualism replacing village hierarchies, order, meanings, customs, traditions, and values). Both village (superstructure) and town (economic base) could be said to operate in dialectical relationship with each other.

Regarding private and public realm, Western logic says: *Decisions can only be given to the nuclear family or next-of-kin. The village headman concept is not understood. Is he family or isn't he?*

The logic of Fiji says: *Village hierarchies are resilient, backed by God's authority and power, and have existed since time immemorial. The village headman represents customary authority and of course he can represent a villager. In any context, village logic and rhythms are paramount in Fiji. It is a traditional accountability system. The village changes for no-one unless we choose to incorporate your logic within our system as with Christianity.*

Decolonizing logic means that, first and foremost, we learn to choose and want to choose the Fiji logic while not necessarily despising the Western logic but putting it below it or in parenthesis. We might need to remember it if and when we go home!

### 3.5 Emotional labour

Pam Smith [41] wrote about the emotional labour of nursing. This type of labour is very important in Fiji too. There are factors making this requirement both easier and harder. Firstly, as a response to poverty, people value more highly and put more effort into building and maintaining relationships and showing care because there can be little prospects of amassing material goods. People can thus be more responsive to others' needs and feelings and more aware of the importance of emotional labour in delivering a service. However, needs for emotional support can be more intense due to poverty and a hierarchical and traditional culture where emotional and even physical abuse of spouses, children, and employees may be an accepted element of discourse with fewer routes available for these abuses to be challenged.

Nursing patients who have experienced emotional and/or physical abuse may be a more serious and frequent event. Abused people are often shy to speak and hence confidence-building may be an important aspect of any nurse, social worker, teacher or priest's daily work. So, potentially, the job in Fiji may offer more rewards (non-financial) as well as more acute challenges that are within the realm of emotional labour rather than within the realm of the treatment of physical conditions using standard techniques.

Being multiethnic and multicultural, it is important for nurses and researchers in Fiji to learn how to function effectively within both Fiji Indian and Indigenous Fijian cultural settings.

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## 4. Conclusion

This article, written by a non-Indigenous ethnographer with experience working with Indigenous people in the Fiji Islands and Indonesia, aims to provide some thoughts and insights into decolonizing methodologies. I start, in the Introduction, with reflections on the importance of empowering Indigenous participants to take on the role of co-researcher and co-interviewer so that rapport can be established with Indigenous interviewees and a dialogue between locals can emerge which trades on and raises to the surface culturally-based knowledge and interpretations. The foreign researcher becomes largely a note-taker and observer of interactions, body language, and atmosphere. Later on, the researchers can discuss the interview, and provide a mixture of observation and interpretations, but ideally they will both come to see these through the lens of the local researcher. The last section of the article draws out the implications of decolonizing methodologies for nursing and nursing research in the Global South.

The non-Indigenous researcher must learn to build sincere long-term relationships with not only research participants but their extended families and friends and identify completely with their struggles to such an extent that 'us' is all-inclusive and 'here' becomes 'there' and 'there' becomes 'here'. There may then be an ache in your soul that is never filled once you leave the fieldwork country. People must not be used in an instrumental fashion, meaning that one must not operate with the intention of sucking the knowledge out of them and then casting them aside. As they are custodians of the land, we are only in the country with the Indigenous people's implied permission. And, after colonialism, the moral debts are all ours to repay. *The researcher does not get the permission to walk away at any time*, where 'walking away' takes on the meaning implied in Anglo-American ethics approval forms, i.e., the willful cutting off of ties.

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