Received: 11 February 2019 | Revised: 4 May 2019 | Accepted: 15 May 2019

DOI: 10.1111/gwao.12386

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

WILEY

Even when those struggles are not our own: Storytelling and solidarity in a feminist social justice organization

Ruth Weatherall

Department of Management, University of Technology Sydney, Australia

Correspondence
Ruth Weatherall, Department of Management, University of Technology Sydney, UTS Business School (Building 8), 14-28 Ultimo Rd, Ultimo, Sydney NSW, 2007, Australia.
Email: ruth.weatherall@uts.edu.au

This article draws on an eight-month ethnography in a feminist social justice organization that supports survivors of domestic violence and shares the storytelling practices that fostered solidarity. These storytelling practices stemmed from decades of decolonizing work undertaken by Māori women to have their knowledge and ways of being equally integrated into the organization. The storytelling practices, grounded in Māori knowledge, emphasized that the land is actively productive of our identity and knowledge; our actions and beliefs are part of a non-chronological intergenerational inheritance; the personal is collective. I contend that these practices fostered solidarity and situated feminism in a collective history of localized struggle. Accordingly, this article expands our imaginative capacity for how solidarity can be thought of and fostered between feminists in different contexts.

KEYWORDS
decolonizing, domestic violence, feminism, mātauranga Māori, solidarity, storytelling

1 | INTRODUCTION

I am a feminist. A good feminist. A bad feminist. A Pākehā[1] feminist. A doc-martin-wearing-bit-of-a-kill-joy-with-a-wry-smile feminist. I am a feminist who wants to protest oppression in the streets. And I am a feminist who wants to curl up quietly and read books about feminist philosophy in bed (see also Sinclair, 2019). The multiple iterations of my identity as a feminist resonate with the overlapping and divergent trajectories of feminism. Being a feminist is never only one thing, because feminism is never only one thing. The reverse is also true. Feminism is never only one

thing, because being a feminist is never only one thing. Feminism must be understood as an evolving, (occasionally) overlapping, and diverse collection of voices and politics that ultimately aims for justice, particularly for women (Beasley, 1999; Evans, 2015). Feminism can inform our understanding of our gendered experiences, our relationships with one another, and our practices which attempt to bring about a more just and equal world (Ahmed, 2017). In the sense of a movement, feminism is shaped by each individual's understanding of feminism as it intersects with various aspects of our lives; such as our ethnicity or our geographical location. Feminism is, accordingly, plural, multifaceted and nebulous.

As there are many permutations of feminism, there are also a wide variety of material effects. Although feminism has been influential in shaping the extent and type of social justice achieved for women (Beasley, 1999), certain forms of feminism have also undeniably perpetuated — even inadvertently — hierarchies of inequality. 'White feminism', for instance, excludes the experiences and needs of women of colour by focusing only on white women's needs and struggles, and overlooks the implications of the intersections of race and gender for the pursuit of justice (Ahmed, 2017; hooks, 2014; Lorde, 2007). Accordingly, if feminists are to organize together to improve the lives of all women, they must acknowledge and grapple with the complex and multifaceted nature of divergences in experience (Ahmed, 2017; Irwin, 1990). Feminists are, then, creating ways to work with differences and divergences in understandings and experiences of feminism to make progress toward large-scale emancipatory projects in solidarity with one another (Vachhani & Pullen, 2019). In order to organize for and with solidarity, feminists must develop and share ways to both oppose systemic injustices *and* to develop feminist alternatives (Ahmed, 2017; hooks, 1986).

In order to develop practices for organizing for and with feminist solidarity, scholars and activists alike can learn from organizations that have made an explicit commitment to feminism and have been established to dismantle sexism. I describe these organizations collectively here as feminist social justice organizations. In different periods of history and in various geographical locations, such organizations have taken many forms (Ewig & Ferree, 2013), including social movement organizations (Vachhani & Pullen, 2019), conscious-raising groups (hooks, 2014), NGOs (non-governmental organizations) (Bernal & Grewal, 2014), collectives (Bordt, 1997), coalitions (Arnold, 1995) and voluntary associations (Else, 1993), to name a few. At the core, feminist social justice organizations are characterized by a collective commitment to achieving change. In such organizations, feminists work together in regard to social and political issues facing women and commit to practices that involve collective decision-making and the empowerment of women (Ferree & Martin, 1995). Research involving feminist organizations has been beneficial for understanding the possibilities and limitations of specific feminist practices in organizations for achieving social justice and solidarity (cf. Bernal & Grewal, 2014; Ferree & Martin, 1995). For example, Freeman (2013) influentially explored the possibilities and limitations of feminist leaderless and non-hierarchical organizing for achieving change. Scholars can share the practices from feminist social justice organizations to develop imaginative capacity for how feminist organizing may be carried out in ways that promote social justice for women in different contexts.

Through this article, I share the practices of fostering feminist solidarity from the members of one particular feminist social justice organization: a feminist organization supporting survivors of domestic violence[2] in Aotearoa New Zealand.[3] The women in this organization collectively work together to oppose the ongoing subjugation of women through domestic violence. The socio-political context in Aotearoa New Zealand was immensely influential for both the feminist practices of the organization and their desire to foster feminist solidarity. In particular, the relationships between Māori (the indigenous people of Aotearoa) and Pākehā (the white European settlers of New Zealand) in the postcolonial context of Aotearoa New Zealand compelled the negotiation of different understandings of feminism to create solidarity. Māori members of the organization had struggled for decades to decolonize the organization's practices in order to dismantle the ongoing injustice of colonialism. One salient dimension of this struggle involved distinctive storytelling practices which were shaped by the decolonizing efforts. The storytelling practices were grounded in mātauranga Māori[4] (Māori knowledge) and involved first situating the storyteller in relation to their (geographical) location and worldview; then reflecting on the intergenerational inheritance of their knowledge and practices; and finally situating these personal reflections in relation to collective struggles. These

storytelling practices were mobilized to share divergent understandings of feminism between women on the basis of their experience and to thereby foster solidarity toward disparate but interconnected social justice goals.

In writing this article, I have infused the text with similar storytelling practices in order to deepen my understanding, and the reader's understanding, of solidarity, feminism and storytelling. Accordingly, I first reflect on my place as a Pākehā woman working with indigenous women in a feminist organization. I discuss the importance of this location for my understanding of feminism and the style of this article. Subsequently, I situate my personal position as a feminist in relation to feminist thought on solidarity. I trace some of the history of the concept of solidarity and consider solidarity in relation to feminist opposition to domestic violence. I then move to sharing the storytelling practices of my colleagues embedded in mātauranga Māori and discuss what I learnt, and others could learn, through engaging with these practices. Ultimately, I argue that through specific storytelling practices, my colleagues conceptualized solidarity as an act of embedding women in their land, history and community with the purpose of fostering compassion and understanding about how feminists can collectively address localized struggles with violence, even when those struggles are not their own.

2 | A DECOLONIZING FEMINIST APPROACH

Before I move to explicating the practices which sit at the heart of this article, I first must consider and acknowledge my identity as a Pākehā feminist working with Tangata Whenua[5] (Huygens, 2011) and offer a roadmap of my methodology as an ethnographer in engaging with indigenous knowledge. For my research project about identity and change in community organizations, I became a volunteer ethnographer — an ethnographer who is simultaneously a formal volunteer for the organization (Garthwaite, 2016) — in a feminist organization that supports survivors of domestic violence in my home country of Aotearoa New Zealand. This organization, like many other organizations that grew out of the women's liberation movements in Aotearoa New Zealand, was a site of debate over the exclusion or marginalization of Māori wāhine[6] (Māori women) and mātauranga wāhine[7] (women's knowledge) in feminist organizations (Else, 1993; Huygens, 2001). Such debates about exclusion of Māori wāhine were situated in the broader context of Aotearoa New Zealand as a postcolonial nation in which Māori struggle against the legacy of colonialism for justice, equality and self-determination (Irwin, 1990; Walker, 2004). Māori wāhine in the organization continue to struggle and work with Pākehā feminists to disrupt colonial thinking and to decolonize organizational practices in order to share power equally between Pākehā and Māori women and foster solidarity (Huygens, 2001) for their divergent but interconnected struggles for social justice.

My official voluntary engagement with the organization lasted for eight months and involved a range of ethnographic methods including participant observation and formal interviews with my colleagues. I initially got in touch with a senior member of the organization through a phone call and during a face-to-face meeting a week later, I was offered access as a volunteer ethnographer on the basis that I would engage in work to support the social justice objectives of the organization. I then began working as a volunteer for an average of 15 hours a week. I was a 'participant-as-observer' meaning that I participated fully in the ongoing activities of the organization and all my colleagues knew my identity as a researcher (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 206). Over my time volunteering with the organization I became increasingly aware of my place as a Pākehā working with indigenous women in a postcolonial context. My reading before, and in the early stages of, fieldwork had made me aware that ethnography is situated firmly in a legacy of imperialism and colonialism (Smith, 2012; Thomas, 1994) and the use of ethnography has perpetuated harmful stereotypes and systems of oppression of non-Western peoples (Krumer-Nevo & Sidi, 2012). However, it was through engaging with the decolonizing efforts of my colleagues during my voluntary work that I began to more significantly deconstruct my identity as a Pākehā feminist and to *feel* as well as acknowledge why the word 'research' has become one of the dirtiest in the indigenous vocabulary (Smith, 2012).

Thus, through my simultaneous ethnographic and voluntary engagement with my colleagues, I came to understand that the decolonizing efforts of my colleagues were a significant part of the labour involved in identifying and

deconstructing sexist, racist, and classist practices and ideas, and the labour in constructing and disseminating new (feminist) ones. In other words, these decolonizing efforts were part of the work involved in fostering feminist solidarity (Ahmed, 2017; Mohanty, 2003). An important part of my process of recognizing these decolonizing efforts occurred through my practices of writing and reflecting on my field notes. I recorded my observations and conversations in a hard-copy notebook on the day, and then wrote these notes up electronically into extended field notes the same day or the day after. Additionally, I merged together my notes in the field with personal reflections on emotions and experiences related to my voluntary work that occurred outside of the time I was physically in the field. This process was foundational to continually reflecting on and deconstructing how I was thinking about myself in relation to my colleagues (Gilmore & Kenny, 2015). This article is a continuation of this process, sparked by my fieldwork, to disrupt my own sexist, racist and classist practices, and develop new feminist ones. Accordingly, I recognize that any ethnographic representation of my Māori colleagues (in particular) and engagement with mātauranga Māori impels me to continue engaging with a decolonizing feminist approach in order to dismantle the ongoing inequalities which my work could (even inadvertently) perpetuate.

I take my lead from other feminist ethnographers such as Manning (2016) and Girei (2017) who have developed decolonizing approaches to feminist organizational scholarship in order to negotiate the tensions of being a white woman working with non-Western women and knowledge. Manning and Girei build from the rich basis of thought underpinning feminist ethnography that has long grappled with issues of power, representation and voice in ethnographic work (Behar & Gordon, 1995; Skeggs, 2001). As well as these issues, feminist decolonizing ethnographers also take into consideration the legacy of a Western focus of knowledge in academia (Girei, 2017). A feminist decolonizing approach recognizes that the knowledge scholars construct is connected to our geographical location/s and the (colonial) histories of those location/s (Lugones, 2010; Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012). In order to develop a decolonial feminist approach to ethnography, an ethnographer must centre issues of positionality and representation (Manning, 2018). Importantly, a decolonial feminist scholar must ground all their work in an ethical commitment to decolonizing the seeing, doing and writing of their research (Manning, 2018; Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012). A decolonizing approach therefore requires the researcher to prioritize localized consideration of the legacy of struggle of colonized people across individual, organizational and social levels (Girei, 2017; Manning, 2016). In short, in adopting a feminist decolonial ethnographic position, I argue that I have an ethical commitment to deconstruct the role of the researcher in perpetuating West/Other asymmetries and an imperative to develop ways to counter epistemic violence.

Part of this commitment involves undertaking analysis of the empirical material from my ethnography in a way that helps to counter epistemic violence. My analysis of my empirical material was non-linear (Ashcraft & Ashcraft, 2014) and involved both spontaneous interpretation of material while in the field and a more reflective interpretation of the empirical material outside of the field. I employed a mix of analytical practices, two of which are particularly relevant for this article. I used a narrative analysis to look across my empirical material as well as examining the interviews as specific examples of narrative texts (Riessman, 2008). I considered storytelling and narrative broadly as connections of events that have consequences and meanings implicated through their telling (Riessman, 2008). I followed Atkinson and Delamont's (2008) series of intertwined steps which seek to: understand what form of social interaction narratives accomplish, examine their common properties and features, look at any recurrent structures and explore what cultural conventions they construct (p. 290). I then extended this narrative analysis through a mix of creative analytical writing practices (Richardson & Pierre, 2017). I wrote my empirical material in different ways including a mix of poetry, academic articles, vignettes, descriptive pieces, and stories about my colleagues and participants. I also experimented with writing narratives from my point of view and from the point of view of my colleagues. As Richardson and Pierre suggest, this form of analysis is extremely useful to

> *situate your work in contexts, tying what can be a lonely and seemingly separate task to the ebbs and flows of your life and your self. Writing these stories reminds us of the continual co-creation of the self and social science.* (p. 975)

These two intertwined analytic practices were fundamental for my understanding of how my struggles to make sense of my colleagues' stories were embedded in their struggles to tell their stories in our differing experiences of our particular historical and cultural context.

In writing this article, I understand myself as continuing those same struggles. Accordingly, my writing and analysis here must continue to be embedded in a decolonial feminist approach. I consequently respect the position of Simmonds (2011) who argues that: 'Pākehā feminism, while able to support us [Māori wāhine], can never fully account for us' (p. 21). Accordingly, I write this article with the intent to contribute to opening spaces to acknowledge and respect the immense value that mātauranga Māori (particularly mātauranga wāhine) has to disrupt and reconstitute (white/Pākehā) feminist knowledge. In line with Simmonds, however, I acknowledge that my engagement with mātauranga Māori and mātauranga wāhine can never fully account for the richness and distinctiveness of these worldviews. Therefore, as Manning (2016) also acknowledges, I do not claim to have complete knowledge of my colleagues or their worldviews but recognize them as complex and multifaceted people of whom I can never give a full account. Alternatively, I write to explore how Pākehā and other (white) feminists, including myself, can learn from indigenous knowledges without (re)colonizing their distinctiveness or claiming sovereignty over the knowledge shared.

3 | FEMINIST SOLIDARITY AND THE ISSUE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The negotiation of my decolonizing feminist approach above refracts wider debates about the importance of the intersection of ethnicity and gender for feminist organizing. Feminism became a particularly influential way of thinking about the fight for social justice during the women's liberation movement in the Global North during the 1960s and 1970s. During this time, one of the aims and desires of many feminist organizations was to act as a unified voice for all women (Jefferys, 1991). The assumption was that women were (or could be) united by the experience of a common oppression, and that by organizing together they could use this basis to oppose their oppression (Hanisch, 1970). Although the claims to a universal oppression were beneficial for catalysing some forms of social change, other feminists argued such claims marginalized the differences of experiences of oppression *between* women (hooks, 1986; Irwin, 1990; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015). Moreover, feminists from non-Western contexts argued that feminism must be recognized as one way of thinking about women's empowerment and situation in society among many different ways which refract differing socio-political, historical and cultural contexts of women globally (cf. Ferree & Tripp, 2006; Green, 2007; Roces & Edwards, 2010). The absence of such considerations of difference, as Lorde (1983) argued, 'means that only the most narrow perimeters of change are possible and allowable' (p. 98). Without acknowledging or embracing the differences between women, feminists can only address particular concerns and consequently certain hierarchies of inequality are perpetuated, even while others are dismantled.

In response to ongoing inequality *between* women, some feminists proposed an alternative to universalism for collectively working for justice: solidarity. The notion of solidarity refers to a connection and identification in shared concerns that relate to social and gender injustices (Cornwall, 2007). Solidarity has the potential to provide a means to cultivate identification and action in relation to 'common differences' that are part of an *interconnected* (rather than universal) struggle for justice (Mohanty, 2003). Solidarity recasts the place and importance of differences between women for achieving change. Lorde (1983) beautifully captured this way of thinking: 'difference must not merely be tolerated but seen as a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like a dialectic' (p. 99). Feminism, then, becomes a complex weave of our different experiences, identities and contexts which shape our pursuit of justice (Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011). Feminists must embrace and engage with different 'weaves' of feminism to address our interconnected concerns (Irwin, 1990). In the wake of contemporary resurgence of feminist activism, solidarity has again become an explicit point of interest for scholars and seen as vital to feminist organizing (Bell, Meriläinen, Taylor, & Tienari, 2019; Ozkazanc-Pan, 2018; Vachhani & Pullen, 2019). Solidarity can

aid feminists in the ongoing opposition of widespread forms of gendered inequality, and in acknowledging the uneven distribution of these inequalities between women.

Domestic violence is one such issue that is both a brutal reality for all women (UN Women, 2018), and an issue where the impact and experience varies widely between women. Violence against women manifests in emotional, psychological, economic, spiritual, sexual and physical abuse that is gendered in nature (Nichols, 2014). There are many different perspectives on the causes of domestic violence (see Ali & Naylor, 2013, for an overview of key perspectives). Feminist analyses of domestic violence have demonstrated that it is a gendered phenomenon, which forms part of the systematic devaluation and subjugation of women, their needs and experiences (Nichols, 2014). Accordingly, feminists have formed a range of types of organizations (including collectives and coalitions) to address and alleviate violence against women (McMillan, 2007; Nichols, 2014). Such organizations have been a catalyst for women to develop democratic and empowering ways of organizing; particularly ways that attempted to be non-violent (Reinelt, 1994; Rodriguez, 1988). Thus, these organizations were both influential in shifting attitudes and practices of governments and society toward women victims of domestic violence (Connolly, 2004; McMillan, 2007), and in establishing and disseminating more just ways of organizing that opposed those same gendered inequalities.

Despite the justice achieved as a result of this collective action, feminist domestic violence organizations have only variably addressed issues and manifestations of violence resulting from differences between women (Arnold & Ake, 2013). In Aotearoa New Zealand, for example, the ongoing effects of colonization contribute to Māori women being twice as likely to be subjected to gendered violence than their Pākehā counterparts (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). Yet in domestic violence activism in Aotearoa New Zealand, colonialism and racism have been unevenly addressed by feminist social justice organizations (Else, 1993; Huygens, 2001). Māori wāhine have engaged in prolonged struggles to have their distinctive experiences of domestic violence and the violence of colonization recognized by Pākehā (Huygens, 2001). Thus, while violence against women is gendered and is a significant issue for all women, the opposition of domestic violence is embedded in a range of other inequalities and experiences. In spite of the complexity, feminist scholars remain adamant that feminism is fundamental to social justice efforts pertaining to domestic violence (Arnold & Ake, 2013; Nichols, 2011). Nevertheless, if feminist collective action is to continue to oppose domestic violence, such action must take into account the differences and divergences in women's experiences.

Solidarity, then, is an important concept for feminists working together to oppose violence against women. Yet, as with all feminist organizing, solidarity is difficult to foster. Myths that women are inherently cooperative and should not engage in conflict with one another (Cornwall, 2007), the uneven distribution of power between women (Mohanty, 2003; Simmonds, 2011) and prejudice between women who are different (hooks, 1986; Lorde, 1983) make solidarity difficult to achieve. Furthermore, forms of neoliberal and post-feminist ideologies influential in contemporary organizational life (Liu, 2019; Rottenberg, 2018), also contribute to difficulties in fostering solidarity. Neoliberal forms of feminism promote advancement based on individual achievement through marketing oneself as human capital (Rottenberg, 2013, 2018), and post-feminist ideologies encourage women to focus on self-empowerment and individual choice (Lewis, Benschop, & Simpson, 2017; Liu, 2019). Such contemporary ideologies work against the intention of feminists to practice solidarity, since both neoliberal and post-feminism downplay structural inequalities in favour of 'individual merit' and exclude the acknowledgement and incorporation of the struggles of others into one's own.

Nevertheless, feminists continue to negotiate the challenge posed by such individualist ideologies and develop creative practices for collectively addressing gendered inequalities within their unique socio-political and cultural contexts (Grosser & McCarthy, 2018; Roces & Edwards, 2010). Such practices are (always) imperfect and contested, but can aid feminists in imagining and working towards a better world in solidarity with one another (Connell, 2019). Storytelling, as one such practice, has long been significant to feminism and attempts to achieve gender-based justice in and through organizations (cf. Gherardi & Poggio, 2007; hooks, 1986; Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Srigley, Zembrzycki, & Iacovetta, 2018). Storytelling is argued to be important for fostering solidarity as it helps to form emotional and ethical connections between women who are different (Vachhani & Pullen, 2019). Accordingly, in order to support feminists in fostering and maintaining solidarity, feminists must continue to share creative practices and to

ask: how can feminists foster solidarity in contemporary socio-political environments? The question is a blend of a practical problem — what are the practices that can promote feminist solidarity in different circumstances — and a theoretical problem — how is it that we can think about solidarity and the conditions under which it is produced.

4 | STORYTELLING PRACTICES AND SOLIDARITY IN A FEMINIST ORGANIZATION

In order to develop thinking about feminist solidarity, scholars and activists alike can turn to examples of the practices and ideas of solidarity from feminist social justice organizations. I initially became interested in the storytelling practices of my colleagues as one such example of practices for feminist solidarity during a two-day induction session a few weeks into my ethnography. Part of the induction session involved a discussion between the facilitators, who work on the frontline, and the participants, mainly 'backstage' workers, about the importance of feminism to opposing gendered violence. During this session, I was struck by the storytelling practices fostered by our facilitators.

To summarize, the session was structured so that we all (facilitators included) respectively gave an introduction about ourselves, reflected on our connection to the land, gave an account of the 'worst things' and the 'best things' about being a woman, and concluded with an account of our understanding and (potential) commitment to feminism in relation to those things. Importantly, these storytelling practices appeared to be an attempt to foster solidarity between my colleagues and an awareness that feminism was embedded in a range of life experiences. In the subsequent months as I engaged and reflected on formal interviews with six of my colleagues, I was struck by how similar storytelling practices were suffused through their individual stories. In a similar way, when my colleagues would speak of their feminisms, they would give an account of their personal history with an emphasis on their connection to place, tell stories of gendered violence, and explain how their life experience and understanding of violence shaped their approach to feminism.

The attention given to place and land in relation to feminism stuck out to me as something thought-provoking from my Pākehā standpoint. My prior interest in feminist solidarity had already made me aware that learning from the practices of cultures different to one's own was an essential dimension of fostering solidarity (hooks, 1986). From this starting point, then, I began to consider how the decolonizing efforts of Māori wāhine in the organization influenced the storytelling practices and how the shape and form of these practices were fostering solidarity. To explicate the storytelling practices of the organization in relation to Māori storytelling, I will share a vignette from my field notes about the training where I first came into contact with them:

> *Our first activity of the day was to talk to the group about who we are. Sefina*[8] *and Jules were facilitating the session. Jules is a Māori frontline worker who has been part of our organisation for nearly 40 years. She bursts with down-to-earth, dark humour. Sefina is a young Samoan woman; warm and friendly. Sefina stuck three maps — two of Aotearoa New Zealand (one small; one large) and one of Oceania — on the board and handed small stickers to us. She told us that we would place the stickers on where we and our family came from. Sefina said that we were to tell the group 'who you are and what replenishes you'. Sefina explained that this exercise was to show that our work should be 'founded in compassion' and explained that prejudices we hold mean that we often don't see clients as people with a history and community or with interests, beliefs, and loves. She went first, telling us how moving to Wellington had an impact on her Samoan identity because she felt out of place when she discovered how white Wellington was. The place that replenished her was the East Coast as it reminded her of Samoa, and standing facing the ocean in quiet contemplation made her feel whole again. Each person in turn stood up and gave a short history of their lives. Influenced by Sefina's example, we told stories of how our families came to Aotearoa*

New Zealand, what religions they held, how our families had moved across the land, and the importance of family to our identity.

On the second day we picked up our discussion about feminism. Jules asked us to start by thinking about something we love about being a woman, then think about something we hated about being a woman, and then think about the first time we realised that being a girl was different to being a boy. We all shared our stories, often relating back to our discussion about place and family from the day before. Esther, for example, told us about being in the United States with her strict religious parents and that when she had come out as bisexual to her parents their community had rejected her. Helen told us a story of when she was thirteen and being raised in a small town on the South Island that a teacher stood in front of the class and told them they would all be married one day. Helen stuck up her hand and said loudly 'I'm not. I'm going to have a career.' The rest of the girls in the class tried to get her to put her hand down. Jules laughed and said: 'Oh that feminist mother of yours.'

Sefina then suggested we talk through how we understand our feminism. She started by sharing the story of being caught between cultures. Her Samoan grandmother had once said to her that Samoans couldn't be feminists, to which Sefina had responded 'Oh, but I'm Samoan. And a feminist.' She expanded on her contradiction saying that in order to negotiate the tension she realised that her 'first identity was being a Samoan' and the second was being a feminist. (vignette based on field notes written December 2016)

At the outset of the training, Sefina justifies the approach taken by her and Jules as one 'founded in compassion' that would help us, as domestic violence workers, to understand women (particularly victims of violence) as embedded in history, place and community rather than as disembodied individuals. Sefina and Jules' approach, then, can be described as one attempting to foster solidarity between women, as well as involving identity work. Specifically, their approach to compassion and contextualization can be understood as an attempt to identify shared concerns related to gender and violence which we could (and should) collectively address (Cornwall, 2007). Solidarity can be seen in a number of ways throughout the training. Considerations of difference (Irwin, 1990; Lorde, 2007) were at the heart of the storytelling in which we engaged. Our histories and communities, for instance, were positioned as foundational to how each of us approached justice. These differences were, additionally, variably positioned as part of an interconnected (Mohanty, 2003) and collective (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2018) struggle for justice. Overall, Sefina and Jules positioned our storytelling as assisting us in working alongside other women to alleviate localized experiences of violence in a broader context of unevenly distributed inequality, even when those struggles did not resemble our own (i.e., fostering solidarity).

The storytelling practices were suffused throughout the induction training, but several elements are repeated in each more discrete instance of storytelling. The three practices that appear most salient are the importance of weaving land, family and personal experience into the stories we tell and using these as a foundation to give an account of our own understanding of feminism. I contend that these practices are founded in mātauranga Māori. Storytelling is suffused through Māori culture and knowledge (Smith, 2012). Traditional forms and features of storytelling, despite the violence of colonization, continue to be significant in many dimensions of life (Lee, 2009; Smith, 2012), including organizations (Forster, Palmer, & Barnett, 2016). Māori storytelling is embedded in kaupapa Māori[9] (Māori worldview) and forms part of a holistic and complex approach to the world. In the following analysis, I engage with three concepts of this worldview here which are influential to the storytelling practices: connection to the land, whakapapa (genealogy) and personal experience, and explore how these supported the development of solidarity.

5 | LEARNING FROM MĀORI STORYTELLING PRACTICES FOR FEMINIST SOLIDARITY

The storytelling practices fostered in the organization that I first encountered during the training session were also evident in the individual stories told by my colleagues when they were sharing their understanding of feminism in formal interviews. The formal interviews were an important part of my ethnography and aimed to understand, in depth, the worldviews of my colleagues (Madison, 2005). I interviewed six of my colleagues, three of whom identified as Māori, two as Pākehā and one as other white. My interviews involved a series of three conversations, across a period of six months, that covered life history, contemporary experiences related to working life, and future goals, dreams and aspirations (Suárez-Ortega, 2013). I share extracts of the stories from two of my colleagues, Tia and Evelyn, to give a sense of how the storytelling practices were woven into individual stories. Tia and Evelyn both identified as Māori, and I chose to share their stories in order to deepen the analysis of how these practices stemmed from kaupapa Māori. These practices were also woven into the stories of Pākehā women. The storytelling practices were interconnected within the individual stories, in that they were not always discrete, but they followed a similar pattern to those in the induction training.

The most striking aspect of the storytelling, for me as a Pākehā, was the centrality of the land. Māori understand that people are deeply connected to the land; the land is a source of unity and identity. The land provides knowledge and understanding to us. People have tūrangawaewae (a place to stand), which is our foundation and our place in the world where we feel empowered, connected and replenished (Royal, 2007). In storytelling practices broadly, then, the land is both a salient feature; in that people explicitly refer to their connection to the land, and an implicit feature that always informs our approach to the world. Jules and Sefina foster a localized version of these broader practices in the training, by positioning our movements across the land as being fundamental to our worldview and our feminist practice. For fostering solidarity, the politics of location are brought to the forefront through this practice. Sefina, for instance, refers to her Samoan identity as being the foremost aspect of her approach to justice, and connects this to her movement from Samoa to Wellington and her corresponding experience of being marginalized by whiteness.

In the interviews, all my colleagues began by telling stories of where they came from and an account of their movements across Aotearoa New Zealand and beyond, as well as the movements of their whānau[10] (family). As an exemplary, Tia described her foundational connection to the land:

> *[Being Māori] was how I was raised. Mum always instilled our culture within us. Although our tribal affiliations are from the East Coast of the North Island, obviously we weren't raised or born there. But she made sure we were taught all about it. We knew exactly where we were from and who our ancestors were … we would go home and feel like we own it because we were part of it. Mum always kept it alive in us.*

In her story Tia pays specific attention to the importance of the land in shaping her sense of self and her worldview. As I describe later, Tia's connection to the land is fundamental to her approach to feminism. Through sharing her connection to the land, Tia locates her approach to justice within a broader social context. Accordingly, the storytelling practice about land encourages other feminists to acknowledge and reflect on the importance of our location as a foundation for how we approach achieving gender-based justice.

The quote from Tia also embeds another practice: the emphasis on intergenerational connections and the significance of those who came before (i.e., ancestors) to our practices and beliefs. In the vignette, the intergenerational connection is exemplified by Jules. In responding to Helen's story about the gendered expectations of her childhood, Jules highlights how Helen's mother was speaking through her. Rather than individualizing by focusing on Helen's act of resistance, this practice collectivizes resistance and agency (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2018). This storytelling practice can be understood through the concept of whakapapa. The concept of whakapapa is central to a Māori worldview,

and involves the recitation and understanding of genealogy related to kinship, land and leadership. In terms of storytelling practices, stories are embedded in the interactions across multiple generations where different generations speak to each other, without a discrete sense of chronology (Metge, 1999). In the context of our organization, a story embedded in whakapapa became about how we each understood our gendered experiences based on intergenerational relationships which shaped our practices and beliefs.

The significance whakapapa was foundational to the stories my colleagues told. Whakapapa had an inescapable influence on our approach to the world and to feminism, as Evelyn exemplifies:

> *I have real issues around colonization. Knowing what I know now, I'm really not proud of my English heritage.... I know my Mum has Māori heritage ... She was bought up thinking that it was dirty. And the same with my grandmother.... But the Māori side of me really comes through and is a huge part of who I am ... I can see things from a [Māori] perspective and probably more so than I do the English side.*

In outlining her whakapapa, Evelyn articulates her particular struggle: colonization. Evelyn is half English, half Māori; the struggle of colonization is felt deeply in her sense of self. Her struggle is embedded in the struggles of her mother and grandmother to overcome harm of colonization that positioned being Māori as 'dirty'. For solidarity then, the integration of whakapapa into storytelling develops a sense of collective endeavour. In order to understand how feminism might help us to dismantle these intergenerational injustices, whakapapa highlights that feminists must understand how each of us came to be engaged in certain struggles. Through sharing this inheritance with each other, we can better acknowledge and respond to the interconnectedness of our struggles and the struggles of others.

The third storytelling practice suffused throughout the sessions was the place of personal experience to our feminisms. The 'personal is political' has long been an important concept for feminism connected to storytelling (Hanisch, 1970). As Irwin (2007) explains, however, 'the slogan for feminism "the personal is political", becomes something else for Maori women: "the personal is political, the personal is collective, the collective is political"' (p. 182). The collective conceptualization of the 'personal' is embedded in storytelling practice. Personal stories are always situated in relation to broad cultural roles, values and traditions (Forster et al., 2016; Metge & Witehira, 2015); thereby highlighting how personal stories are also embedded in interconnected and enduring struggles. Importantly, the purpose of sharing a personal story is not to tell the listener an answer, but instead to challenge the listener to work out the answers for themselves; creating a strong and interdependent relationship between the storyteller and the listener of the story (Metge & Witehira, 2015). Or to put it another way, to foster a sense that the collective is political.

The storytelling practices fostered by Jules and Sefina refract this conceptualization of the 'personal as collective'. Our personal experiences about the 'best' and 'worst' things about being a woman were embedded in collective endeavours through being founded in our understanding of feminism *and* our sense of place in the world. Additionally, the purpose of sharing our stories was not positioned as finding the 'one best way' to dismantle gender inequalities, but as a method of learning how each woman had localized knowledge of her own struggles and how these were interconnected to enduring patterns of inequality. Through this storytelling practice, the listener is thereby challenged to consider how both storyteller and listener are interconnected in their struggles with gender-based violence and how they can collectively address the issues raised. From the foundations of the land and their whakapapa, Evelyn and Tia moved to explaining their own conceptualizations of feminism. Tia explained:

> *Feminism is quite a western concept. Which I am not. [Instead I probably would identify with] Mana wāhine [or] wāhine toa.*[11] *Like you can probably say, yeah you are a feminist, but no. I don't carry that mantle. Absolutely independent. Yep, not scared to give my opinion if I think it matters. So yeah. Those are probably all traits that Western concepts say 'yeah that's feminism' but to me? Nah, I don't like the term.*

The connection to the land and whakapapa in Tia's stories formed the grounds for the rejection of the term 'feminist' as a 'Western concept'. Through her stories Tia demonstrates she is part of the collective of Māoridom[12] which forms part of her localized struggle to the enduring equalities between the 'West' and indigenous peoples. Tia thereby challenges the listener to consider whether or not 'feminism' is the only way to achieve gender-based justice through emphasizing that for her, the personal is part of a collective struggle against colonization. Evelyn likewise challenged Western conceptualizations of feminism:

> *I identify with feminism being equality. I know there are different perceptions out there about what [feminism] is. To me that is equality. That is why, as a feminist, I am very passionate about men and all the changes and stuff that they have, and the equality issues they face … There is a bit of a misbalance obviously, which is where the equality comes in. I'm just as passionate for both. I know there are two sides to every story.*

Evelyn goes on to emphasize that in her view feminist practice would benefit from understanding 'equality' along the lines of Māori perspectives on gender equality and gender roles. Mikaere (1994) explains that in Māori society:

> *Both men and women were essential parts of the collective whole, formed of the whakapapa that linked Maori people back to the beginning of the world, and women in particular played a key role in linking the past with the present and the future.* (p. 125)

Evelyn's understanding of equality is imbued with this understanding: that feminist efforts to achieve gender-based justice for victims of violence needs to pay attention to the collective whole and the differences in understandings of gendered roles in society. Like Tia, Evelyn challenges the listener to reconsider how 'feminism' conceives gender-based justice and positions her understanding of feminism in relation to a collective struggle.

Ultimately, Tia and Evelyn draw on their stories to support a position of how feminists could approach achieving justice for victims of violence:

> *[Different perspectives on feminism] isn't about anything else but about the way that they practice. Using Māori models of practice as opposed to Western or whatever. I'm a big believer in by Māori, for Māori, if the woman wants it. Not imposing it on them like this is how we roll.* (Tia)

> *Every situation is different…. I'm really glad that [some parts of our organization] have been a lot more inclusive and treating the family as a whole, including the men. Rather than ostracizing the men and being horrible and man bashing, or man hating, or whatever. To be more inclusive and realize that it is all part of the one problem. That is where it comes back to me being a feminist and my view of feminism.* (Evelyn)

These quotes highlight that Tia and Evelyn both emphasize the importance of not imposing their ideas or practices of feminism on other women. Alternatively, they both propose that we can collectively respond to interconnected struggles. The storytelling practices support this approach to solidarity by conceptualizing our relationships with one another in relation to our connection to the land, our intergenerational inheritance, and our embeddedness in ongoing and interconnected struggles. The practices encouraged in the training and woven through the individual stories told by my colleagues offered me, as a Pākehā researcher, a challenge to reconsider how solidarity might unfold in feminist social justice organizations. These storytelling practices, grounded in mātauranga Māori, reposition our connection to the land as the source of our worldview and our ancestors as continuing to speak through us as part of our ongoing struggles. These foundations foster a sense that the personal is collective and the collective is political.

6 | FINAL REMARKS

Gendered violence continues to be an immediate and lethal reality for women in my home country of Aotearoa New Zealand, as it is for women across the world. The scale of the problem has recently received heightened attention, particularly through resurgences in the #metoo movement (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2018) and other global feminist movements such as the women's march or #TimesUp (Bell et al., 2019). I write this article at a time when other feminist scholars have, in this context, reanimated the call for feminists to develop novel ways they can work collectively in order to provide alternatives to individualizing, hierarchical, sexist, and/or racially discriminatory organizations and forms of organizing which perpetuate this violence (Bell et al., 2019; Ozkazanc-Pan, 2018; Vachhani & Pullen, 2019). In spite of the widespread issue of violence against women, however, it would be unwise to see the experiences of this violence as universal. To do so would overlook the centrality of difference which feminists of colour and non-Western feminists have demonstrated is vital to solidarity and social change (e.g., Green, 2007; hooks, 1986; Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Roces & Edwards, 2010). The differences in women's experiences must form the foundations from which feminists find ways of collectively addressing widespread forms of inequality (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2018). Part of the effort of resisting violence and creating a more just world therefore involves work to identify and dismantle sexist and racist practices and ideas and to foster new feminist ones in solidarity.

I focused on storytelling as a form of this work for fostering solidarity. The storytelling practices of my colleagues can be placed within the feminist storytelling tradition (e.g., Srigley et al., 2018) but offer distinctive ways of thinking about storytelling as a dimension of the work needed to foster solidarity. I argued that the distinctiveness of these practices derives from the decolonizing work that my colleagues undertook. However, in the social sciences, non-Western and indigenous intellectual perspectives and traditions remain marginal (Connell, 2014). In organizational studies feminist and decolonial scholars have made compelling calls to challenge the dominance and limitations of Western thought by unfolding what scholars can learn from these traditions (Contu, 2017; Henry & Pene, 2001; Mir & Mir, 2013). Inspired by the decolonial practices of my colleagues, the broader debates about decolonial scholarship and the practices of Māori feminists (Henry & Pene, 2001; Irwin, 1990, 2007; Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Simmonds, 2011), I explored the storytelling practices of my colleagues within the framework of mātauranga Māori. The storytelling practices respectively considered the land as actively productive of our identities and knowledge; positioned individual actions and beliefs as part of a non-chronological intergenerational inheritance; and conceptualized the personal as collective.

Although I have proposed that these storytelling practices are beneficial for fostering and thinking about feminist solidarity, I do not wish to paint an idealistic picture. The stories shared by my colleagues were marked by *struggle* and *work*. The need to articulate, share and substantiate our individual approaches to feminism was grounded in contentious social issues including sexism, racism and colonialism which continue to be salient in Aotearoa New Zealand. The storytelling practices themselves stemmed from decades of struggle from Māori wāhine to have their concerns, voices and ways of being acknowledged, respected and equally integrated into organizational practice. The struggle is continuous in contemporary organizational life. I suggest, then, that these storytelling practices are beneficial for feminist solidarity *because* they are a dimension of the labour needed to identify and deconstruct racist and sexist practices *and* a basis from which to create and disseminate new feminist ones which foster solidarity. This work is far from a utopian ideal of cooperation free from conflict. Alternatively, these storytelling practices form part of a necessary pain if feminists working for social justice are to address social inequalities (Ahmed, 2017; Irwin, 1990). The practices integrate the awareness of struggle and work; situating each account in a collective history of localized struggle.

Although these practices may be of use to feminists and scholars in a variety of ways, the foundation of these concepts in mātauranga Māori must continue to be acknowledged and respected; not least because of the possibility of (re)colonization or appropriation of Māori concepts. Importantly, these practices are one iteration of many interconnected possible iterations for fostering solidarity. What is interesting about these practices, then, is that they

develop our imaginative capacity for how solidarity can be thought of and fostered between feminists in different contexts. Feminist and other scholars can learn from and incorporate similar practices into organizing processes if they are considered appropriate for addressing a particular issue and social context (hooks, 1986; Jenkins & Pihama, 2001; Roces & Edwards, 2010). The latter point is echoed in the conceptual approach to solidarity that I argued the storytelling practices foster. A Māori worldview is grounded in the knowledge that the personal is collective and the collective is political. Differences in localized experience are intimately and irrevocably tied to collective struggle. Feminist solidarity must be connected to how our ways of thinking about and doing feminism are grounded in our connection to the land, to the collective, and to the past, current and future inheritance of our practices.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My unending gratitude to the women who shared their working lives with me for so many months and who form the heart and soul of this work. I would like to thank Lara Owen, Stefanie Ruel and Natalie Thorburn for their helpful comments on various versions of this article, and the members of the feminist solidarity stream at GWO 2018 for their interest and helpful feedback.

DECLARATION OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS

I declare that to my knowledge I have no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the authorship and/or publication of this article.

ENDNOTES

[1] Pākehā describes the white European settlers of Aotearoa New Zealand and their ancestors. As a white New Zealander of Dutch and English descent, I identify as Pākehā.

[2] My colleagues asked for the description of the organization not to be identifiable. As the community sector in Aotearoa New Zealand is small and others with some knowledge may be able to guess the identity of the organization, I keep description of their activities and history to a minimum.

[3] Using the name 'Aotearoa New Zealand' is a political position. My choice to use this name attempts to emphasize the bi-cultural origin of our contemporary nation.

[4] Mātauranga means knowledge, wisdom, understanding or skill. It can be singular or plural.

[5] Tangata Whenua literally means 'the people of the land'. It is a collective term for Māori people and can be used to emphasize their special status and connection to the land, water and air.

[6] Wāhine means something akin to the English word 'woman'. As Pihama (cited in Simmonds, 2011) points out: 'The term Wāhine designates a certain time and space for Maori women but is by no means a universal term like the term woman in English. There are many times and spaces Maori women move through in our lives, Wahine is one of those. There are others.' Wahine is the singular. It has many other meanings including female, wife or feminine.

[7] Mātauranga wahine refers to a woman's specific knowledge, wisdom or skills.

[8] All names are pseudonyms. I use a pseudonym to retain the sense that my colleagues are whole and complex people.

[9] A philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society. It also refers to doing things 'in a Māori way' and within in Māori worldview.

[10] The Māori concept whānau refers to: extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people. In the modern context, the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members. It is commonly used by Pākehā as well as Māori.

[11] Māori concepts about women and their power. See Simmonds (2011) for an overview of both the concept 'mana wāhine' and 'wāhine toa'.

[12] Refers to the complex and nebulous space of Māori thought, practices, values and relations in a way that is distinct from Pākehā.

ORCID

Ruth Weatherall https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7398-5275

REFERENCES

Ahmed, S. (2017). *Living a feminist life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822373377

Ali, P. A., & Naylor, P. B. (2013). Intimate partner violence: A narrative review of the feminist, social and ecological explanations for its causation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *18*(6), 611–619. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2013.07.009

Arnold, G. (1995). Dilemmas in feminist coalitions: Collective identity and strategic effectiveness in the battered women's movement. In M. M. Ferree, & P. Martin (Eds.), *Feminist organizations: Harvest from the new women's movement* (pp. 276–290). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Arnold, G., & Ake, J. (2013). Reframing the narrative of the battered women's movement. *Violence Against Women*, *19*(5), 557–578. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801213490508

Ashcraft, K. L., & Ashcraft, C. S. (2014). Motifs in the methods section: Representing the qualitative research process. In E. Jeanes, & T. Huzzard (Eds.), *Critical management research: Reflections from the field* (pp. 155–172). London, UK: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446288610.n9

Atkinson, P., & Delamont, S. (2008). Analytic perspectives. In N. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (3rd ed.) (pp. 285–311). London, UK: Sage.

Beasley, C. (1999). *What is feminism? An introduction to feminist theory*. London, UK: Sage.

Behar, R., & Gordon, D. A. (1995). *Women writing culture*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Bell, E., Meriläinen, S., Taylor, S., & Tienari, J. (2019). Time's up! Feminist theory and activism meets organization studies. *Human Relations*, *72*(1), 4–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726718790067

Bernal, V., & Grewal, I. (Eds.) (2014). *Theorizing NGOs: States, feminisms, and neoliberalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822377191

Bordt, R. L. (1997). How alternative ideas become institutions: The case of feminist collectives. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *26*(2), 132–155. https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764097262003

Connell, R. (2014). The sociology of gender in Southern perspective [Abstract]. *Current Sociology*, *62*(4), 550–567. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392114524510

Connell, R. (2019). New maps of struggle for gender justice: Rethinking feminist research on organizations and work. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *26*(1), 54–63. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12332

Connolly, M. (2004). *Violence in society: New Zealand perspectives*. Christchurch, New Zealand: Te Awatea Press.

Contu, A. (2017). '… The point is to change it' — Yes, but in what direction and how? Intellectual activism as a way of 'walking the talk' of critical work in business schools. *Organization*, *25*(2), 282–293. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508417740589

Cornwall, A. (2007). Myths to live by? Female solidarity and female autonomy reconsidered. *Development and Change*, *38*(1), 149–168. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2007.00407.x

Else, A. (Ed.) (1993). *Women together: A history of women's organisations in New Zealand/Nga ropu wahine o te motu*. Wellington, New Zealand: Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs and Daphne Brasell Associates Press.

Evans, E. (2015). *The politics of third wave feminisms: Neoliberalism, intersectionality, and the state in Britain and the US*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ewig, C., & Ferree, M. M. (2013). Feminist organizing: What's old, what's new? History, trends, and issues. In G. Waylen, K. Celis, J. Kantola, & L. Weldon (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of gender and politics* (pp. 437–461). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Ferree, M. M., & Martin, P. Y. (Eds.) (1995). *Feminist organizations: Harvest of the new women's movement*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Ferree, M. M., & Tripp, A. M. (Eds.) (2006). *Global feminism: Transnational women's activism, organizing, and human rights*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Forster, M. E., Palmer, F., & Barnett, S. (2016). Karanga mai ra: Stories of Māori women as leaders. *Leadership*, *12*(3), 324–345. https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715015608681

Freeman, J. (2013). The tyranny of structurelessness. *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly*, *41*(3), 231–246. https://doi.org/10.1353/wsq.2013.0072

Garthwaite, K. (2016). The perfect fit? Being both volunteer and ethnographer in a UK foodbank. *Journal of Organizational Ethnography*, *5*(1), 60–71. https://doi.org/10.1108/JOE-01-2015-0009

Gherardi, S., & Poggio, B. (2007). *Gendertelling in organizations: Narratives from male-dominated environments*. Frederiksberg, Denmark: Samfundslitteratur.

Gilmore, S., & Kenny, K. (2015). Work-worlds colliding: Self-reflexivity, power and emotion in organizational ethnography. *Human Relations*, *68*(1), 55–78. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726714531998

Girei, E. (2017). Decolonising management knowledge: A reflexive journey as practitioner and researcher in Uganda. *Management Learning*, *48*(4), 453–470. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350507617697867

Green, J. A. (Ed.) (2007). *Making space for Indigenous feminism*. Black Point, Canada: Fernwood.

Grosser, K., & McCarthy, L. (2018). Imagining new feminist futures: How feminist social movements contest the neoliberalization of feminism in an increasingly corporate-dominated world. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12267

Hanisch, C. (1970). The personal is political. *Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation*.

Henry, E., & Pene, H. (2001). Kaupapa Māori: Locating indigenous ontology, epistemology and methodology in the academy. *Organization*, *8*(2), 234–242. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508401082009

Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2011). *The practice of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

hooks, b. (1986). Sisterhood: Political solidarity between women. *Feminist Review*, *23*(1), 293–315.

hooks, b. (2014). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315743189

Huygens, I. (2001). Feminist attempts at power sharing in Aotearoa: Embracing herstory or significant learning towards treaty-based structures. *Feminism & Psychology*, *11*(3), 393–400. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353501011003010

Huygens, I. (2011). Developing a decolonisation practice for settler colonisers: A case study from Aotearoa New Zealand. *Settler Colonial Studies*, *1*(2), 53–81. https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2011.10648812

Irwin, K. (1990). 'Challenges' to Maori feminists. *Broadsheet*, *182*, 20–24.

Irwin, K. (2007). Maori women and leadership in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In J. Green (Ed.), *Making space for indigenous feminism* (pp. 174–186). London, UK: Zed Books.

Jefferys, E. (1991). What is 'difference' in feminist theory and practice? *Australian Feminist Studies*, *6*(14), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/08164649.1991.9994624

Jenkins, K., & Pihama, L. (2001). Matauranga Wahine: Teaching Maori women's knowledge alongside feminism. *Feminism & Psychology*, *11*(3), 293–303. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353501011003003

Krumer-Nevo, M., & Sidi, M. (2012). Writing against othering. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *18*(4), 299–309. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800411433546

Lee, J. (2009). Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method. *MAI Review (Online)*, *2*(3), 1–12.

Lewis, P., Benschop, Y., & Simpson, R. (2017). Postfeminism, gender and organization. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *24*(3), 213–225. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12175

Liu, H. (2019). An embarrassment of riches: The seduction of postfeminism in the academy. *Organization*, *26*(1), 20–37. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508418763980

Lorde, A. (1983). The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. In C. E. Moraga, & G. Anzaldúa (Eds.), *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of colour* (pp. 98–101). New York, NY: Kitchen Table: Women of Colour Press.

Lorde, A. (2007). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press.

Lugones, M. (2010). Toward a decolonial feminism. *Hypatia*, *25*(4), 742–759. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2010.01137.x

Madison, D. S. (2005). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Manning, J. (2016). Constructing a postcolonial feminist ethnography. *Journal of Organizational Ethnography*, *5*(2), 90–105. https://doi.org/10.1108/JOE-01-2016-0002

Manning, J. (2018). Becoming a decolonial feminist ethnographer: Addressing the complexities of positionality and representation. *Management Learning*, *49*(3), 311–326. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350507617745275

McMillan, L. (2007). *Feminists organising against gendered violence*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230592247

Metge, J. (1999). Time & the art of Maori storytelling. *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, *8*(1), 3–9.

Metge, J., & Witehira, J. (2015). *Tauira: Māori methods of learning and teaching*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Mikaere, A. (1994). Māori women: Caught in the contradictions of a colonised reality. *Waikato Law Review*, *2*(1), 125–149.

Mir, R., & Mir, A. (2013). The colony writes back: *Organization* as an early champion of non-Western organizational theory. *Organization*, *20*(1), 91–101. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508412461003

Mohanty, C. T. (2003). 'Under Western Eyes' revisited: Feminist solidarity through anticapitalist struggles. *Signs*, *28*(2), 499–535. https://doi.org/10.1086/342914

Moraga, C. E., & Anzaldúa, G. (Eds.) (2015). *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color* (4th ed.). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Nichols, A. J. (2011). Gendered organizations: Challenges for domestic violence victim advocates and feminist advocacy. *Feminist Criminology*, *6*(2), 111–131. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085111398117

Nichols, A. J. (2014). *Feminist advocacy: Gendered organizations in community-based responses to domestic violence*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
Ozkazanc-Pan, B. (2012). Postcolonial feminist research: Challenges and complexities. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *31*(5–6), 573–591. https://doi.org/10.1108/02610151211235532
Ozkazanc-Pan, B. (2018). On agency and empowerment in a #MeToo world. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 1–9.
Reinelt, C. (1994). Fostering empowerment, building community: The challenge for state-funded feminist organizations. *Human Relations*, *47*(6), 685–705. https://doi.org/10.1177/001872679404700606
Richardson, L., & Pierre, S. E. A. (2017). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 818–838). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
Roces, M., & Edwards, L. (Eds.) (2010). *Women's movements in Asia: Feminisms and transnational activism*. New York, NY: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203851234
Rodriguez, N. M. (1988). Transcending bureaucracy: Feminist politics at a shelter for battered women. *Gender & Society*, *2*(2), 214–227. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124388002002006
Rottenberg, C. (2013). The rise of neoliberal feminism. *Cultural Studies*, *28*(3), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2013.857361
Rottenberg, C. (2018). Women who work: The limits of the neoliberal feminist paradigm. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 1–10.
Royal, T. A. C. (2007). Tūrangawaewae — A place to stand. *Te Ara: The encyclopedia of New Zealand*. Retrieved from https://teara.govt.nz/en/papatuanuku-the-land/page-5
Simmonds, N. (2011). Mana wahine: Decolonising politics. *Women's Studies Journal*, *25*(2), 11–25.
Sinclair, A. (2019). Five movements in embodied feminism: A memoir. *Human Relations*, *72*(1), 144–158. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726718765625
Skeggs, B. (2001). Feminist ethnography. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Loftland, & L. Loftland (Eds.), *Handbook of ethnography* (pp. 426–442). London, UK: Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848608337.n29
Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Zed Books.
Srigley, K., Zembrzycki, S., & Iacovetta, F. (Eds.) (2018). *Beyond women's words: Feminisms and the practices of oral history in the twenty-first century*. New York, NY: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351123822
Suárez-Ortega, M. (2013). Performance, reflexivity, and learning through biographical-narrative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *19*(3), 189–200. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800412466223
Te Puni Kōkiri. (2010). *Arotake tūkino whānau: Literature review on family violence*. Retrieved from http://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/a-matou-mohiotanga/health
Thomas, N. (1994). *Colonialism's culture: Anthropology, travel and government*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press in association with Blackwell.
UN Women. (2018). *Ending violence against women*. Retrieved from http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/facts-and-figures
Vachhani, S. J., & Pullen, A. (2019). Ethics, politics, and feminist organizing: Writing feminist infrapolitics and affective solidarity into everyday sexism. *Human Relations*, *72*(1), 23–47. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726718780988
Walker, R. (2004). *Ka whawhai tonu mātou: Struggle without end* (rev. ed.). Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Ruth Weatherall is a Lecturer in Not-for-Profit and Social Enterprise Management at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS). Her research uses feminist, queer, and ethical perspectives and is broadly concerned with how social justice, particularly related to gender equality, is achieved in and through community organisations.

How to cite this article: Weatherall R. Even when those struggles are not our own: Storytelling and solidarity in a feminist social justice organization. *Gender Work Organ*. 2019;1–16. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12386