BEYOND INTUITION:
THE PURPOSES, PRACTICES, PROBLEMS, AND POSSIBILITIES OF STORY WORK IN EDUCATION, ORGANIZATIONS, AND PEACE AND CONFLICT

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Our daily lives are awash with stories: We tell colleagues at work what happened to us over the weekend. We tell our families about events that happened at work or school. We chat with friends, watch movies, read newspapers, listen to the radio, and read books, encountering story after story, factual or fictitious, realistic or fantastic, as brief as a five minute conversation, as long as a novel.

If stories are so integral to daily life, one might ask, why spend time analyzing and encouraging story work? People seem to use stories fairly well and frequently without giving it much thought. However, it is precisely this prevalence of stories, psychologist Jerome Bruner points out, that makes the study and analysis of them so critical:

> What we know intuitively about stories is enough to get us through the familiar routines, but it serves us much less well when we try to understand or explain what we are doing or try to get it under deliberate control…. To get beyond implicitness and intuition, we seem to need some sort of outside hoist, something to take us up a level. (Bruner, 2002, p. 4)

The Goals of These Papers

This collection of papers aims to "take readers up a level"—to provide a bird's eye view of the landscape of story work in the domains of education, organizations, and peace and conflict work. We hope to capture general features: What, exactly, does it mean to "use stories" in each of these settings? What kinds of approaches are people actually using, and, more importantly, why are they using them? With time and other resources scarce and the needs urgent, why do people choose to use stories rather than other kinds of approaches?

Throughout these papers, we will describe specific programs to give the "landscape" overview more detail and nuance. While these programs are not the only, or even the most exemplary, instances of work in these areas, they do provide illustrative examples of the kinds of story work being carried out in a variety of contexts to serve a variety of purposes.

The need for this comprehensive view of story work becomes increasingly important as story work gains popularity in many domains. With so many fields infamous for their fleeting fads, "story work" could well become the latest in a lamentably long line of "buzz words"—ideas or practices that hold sway for a brief period of time, then get dismissed in favor of the next new thing to emerge. We feel that the summary dismissal of such a potentially powerful tool in education would be a great loss.

One key to giving story work some staying power is to provide a sure and strong foundation for this work—in the form of a more organized, nuanced, and detailed understanding of story work, its purposes, problems, and results. While pockets of successful work with stories exist in many quarters, there is as yet no overview of the many different purposes for which story

work is used in education, organizations, or peace and conflict management. Neither is there a synthesis of the various approaches that people use to achieve those purposes. The aim of these papers is provide such a foundation.

The Partnership

This collection of papers grew out of a partnership among three organizations: The International Storytelling Center, the Krispy Kreme Foundation, and Project Zero at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Each organization brought to the table its own strengths and interests.

The International Storytelling Center, founded and directed by Jimmy Neil Smith, aims to inspire and empower people around the world to capture and tell their stories, listen to the stories of others, and use storytelling to produce positive change. The Krispy Kreme Foundation, established through the vision of Scott Livengood, CEO of Krispy Kreme, is devoted to helping all people reach their full potential. The Foundation views story work as a powerful tool in the service of that goal. Project Zero, an education research group based at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, seeks to understand and enhance learning, thinking, and creativity for individuals and institutions. Building on a long tradition of research in the arts, the Project Zero team, under the direction of Steve Seidel and David Perkins, recognized the need for a more thorough understanding of the purposes and practices of story work.

Together, the three organizations developed the plan for a small research project, the Story Work Project, that would draw on existing literature and interviews with practitioners to develop a broad picture of the many purposes for and practices of story work in the areas of education, organizations, and peace and conflict work.

Organization and Audience

This work consists of five main sections: This introduction, a paper for each of the three key areas explored (education, organizations, and peace and conflict management); and a conclusion summarizing possible future directions.

In each of the three central papers, we address the following key questions:

- Why do people use story work in each of these fields? What are the urgent needs, problems, and puzzles they are trying to address?
- What are the various approaches to story work that people use to address these problems?
- What are the key challenges in applying story work in education, organizations, and peace and conflict management?
- Given the current state of story work in each domain, what are the most fruitful areas for pursuing innovations that will enhance both the quality and quantity of story work being used in various settings?

None of the three central papers is dependent on the other two: After reading this introduction, the reader can turn directly to the paper of greatest interest to her.

These papers are primarily intended for those interested in nurturing the budding fields of story work in education, organizations, and/or peace and conflict management. These papers are not intended to provide "how-to" instructions for those carrying out work in any of these areas (though practitioners may well glean some ideas from the programs and settings surveyed). Rather, these papers offer a "why-to" focus, providing an overview of both the current state of story work in each of these domains, as well as ideas and recommendations about what further work is needed in order to ground and nurture the work effectively.

Definitions and Methods

Defining "Story Work"

Although authors and practitioners often disagree on what counts as a story, for the purposes of these papers, we take a pragmatic and encompassing view of story. Stories are *the narrative accounts of events and experiences, real or fictitious. They can be spoken or written, vary in length, and depict past, present or future events.* This prototypical stance toward story allows us to view an emailed anecdote or hallway gossip as "more story-like" than a drawn diagram or pictures.

We adapted the term "story work" with permission from story practices of Rick Stone (Stone, 1996) and use it to describe *how practitioners use stories to solve problems and meet goals in their contexts.* For example, a CEO may need to convince her board about the downsides of acquiring an up and coming business. A teacher may need to help her students develop a deeper understanding of themselves and one another. A mediator may need to help opposing parties find common ground. Each of these cases illustrates an everyday goal or problem for which story work approaches are invoked.

Why These Three Areas?

In these papers we focus on story work in the areas of education, organizations, and peace and conflict. Important story work is being carried out in many fields and domains, and the focus on these three should not indicate to the reader these three somehow merit more attention than others. Rather, the choice of these three met two criteria. First, taken collectively, they represent a range in the growth of story work, from well-established and well-organized (story work in organizations) to relatively young and unformed (story work in peace and conflict work), with story work in education falling somewhere in between. Second, these three fields represented a productive intersection in the interests, backgrounds, and skills of team members from the three partner organizations: The International Storytelling Center, the Krispy Kreme Foundation, and Project Zero.

How We Gathered Information

To formulate responses to these questions, we consulted books, journal articles, websites, and experienced practitioners. Throughout this paper, we illustrate these various points with brief descriptions of existing programs and sites that employ story work to achieve their goals. Some of these programs or approaches exemplify mature, established work with stories. Others are in the early stages of beginning work with stories but nevertheless provide a useful illustration of the application of story work and its challenges.

The Challenges of an Analytic Approach to a Synthetic Topic

Throughout work on these papers, the authors were conscious of the challenges of using an analytic approach with a subject such as story work that is fundamentally holistic and synthetic. While parsing story work into themes and categories can be illuminating, it also runs the risk of losing the essence of what makes story work so valuable: its capacity to capture and convey experience in all its complex wholeness. We invite readers, in perusing these papers, to join us in reflecting on the challenges of this dilemma.

The Power of Story

In whichever domain or field story is being used, three key features make it a powerful and effective tool for supporting growth, development and change. First, stories fulfill a basic human need to make sense of the apparently chaotic and random events that swirl around us daily (Ochs & Capps, 2002). Stories enable us to make meaning. As Schank (1990) points out, intelligence is, in many ways, like a collection of stories. We think and communicate in terms of stories.

Second, stories are memorable. Good stories engage our senses, invoke our emotions, and connect to our existing memories. This makes them "sticky," in Szulanski's terms (1996), and we are more likely to remember them than we are information encoded in other ways. Finally, perhaps as a result of the previous two qualities, stories are deeply engaging: Most people enjoy listening to and telling them.

These essential qualities of story and storytelling make them powerful tools in almost any domain. In the following papers, we explore more specifically why story work is compelling and effective in the worlds of education, organizations, and peace and conflict management.

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STORY WORK IN EDUCATION[1]

Lia Davis and Tina Blythe

Yana Sherman is a kindergarten teacher in inner city Boston. Every year for thirty years, she has embraced an increasingly diverse group of students each fall. In a recent class of 21 students, nine were African American, six were Hispanic, four were Asian, and two were white. The socio-economic differences have increased as well: For some children—often those from middle class backgrounds—cultural experiences such as visits to museums, libraries, musical performances, and art classes are already part of their daily routines. For other students, such experiences may never be available outside of school.

While literacy and basic skills are a focus of Yana's curriculum, just as important to her is building a sense of community in her diverse groups of young children. To meet both the academic and the social needs, she weaves story throughout the day, using stories to teach not only phonics, writing, math, and history but also day-to-day problem solving and interpersonal understanding. Through stories told in formal and informal settings throughout the day, the children share experiences and express ideas and feelings. They discover what is important to one another, the things they hold in common, and the things that make them different—all critical steps in building community.

The result is both increasingly strong verbal skills among the children, as well as the growth of a powerful empathy among them. Yana describes a little boy named Michael who was normally verbal and outgoing. When his grandfather died, he became quiet and withdrawn. Yana encouraged him to tell stories about his grandfather to her and to the class. Eventually, he did begin telling stories focusing on the many things he loved to do with his grandfather when he was alive. Yana listened; the children listened. It wasn't long before Yana noticed something unusual happening during the children's free play time—a time when they often made up and acted out stories of their own devising: The children were finding ways to do the activities (or to pretend to do the activities) that Michael had loved to do with his grandfather, and they were inviting Michael to join them. Through stories, Michael was able to give voice to his love for his grandfather and his grief over his death. Through his stories and their own, his classmates were able to reach out to him, offering comfort and an opportunity to reconnect with them after his long period of silence. Yana, watching, knew that they had made a powerful step toward understanding and building community.

Throughout the world and throughout time, experienced teachers like Yana have always known and invoked (often intuitively) the power of a good story—and for many different purposes. Stories are part and parcel of traditional schooling: the kindergarten classroom's picture books; the high school classroom's literature books; the school plays; the history texts; the school newspapers. In recent years, other less traditional uses of story have proliferated: oral histories of a community gathered and documented by students on websites; students writing and reflecting on personal stories that help them and others elucidate their growth and development; students and senior citizens exchanging personal stories of school and childhood in order to develop mutual understanding.

In this paper, we offer a framework for considering the breadth of this work with stories. Drawing on both a review of the literature and interviews with teachers, story practitioners, and others knowledgeable about this field of work, we identify a number of purposes and goals for which story is used in educational settings[2] We offer examples drawn from various contexts that illustrate the variety of approaches for achieving these purposes. Finally, we consider the challenges of using story in educational settings, as well as potentially fruitful areas for future exploration and research in educational story work.

Why and How Story Is Used in Education

As we described in the introduction to this collection of papers, stories bear three overarching features that make them powerful in almost any situation: They engage our attention. They are memorable. And they help us make meaning of the world around us. As with story work in the realms of organizations and peace and conflict management, these three qualities are invoked each time story is used. In addition, within the world of educationmay be used to achieve the more specific goals outlined in the following table:

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  Our work included reviewing more than 50 books and journals and 11 websites. In addition, we also conducted interviews with six practitioners and held a day-long meeting with nine teachers who have used story work in their classroom. Drawing together themes from these many sources, we developed the categories of purposes, approaches and challenges identified in this paper.

Purpose	Details of Purpose	Focus of Typical Approaches
Mastering skills and content	Supporting complex, contextualized, and deep learning of particular content areas or skills.	Language and literacy development Disciplinary learning Multicultural knowledge and understanding Learning the art and craft of storytelling
Supporting personal and professional development	Nurturing individual development and growth in ways that typically are not admitted by standard didactic approaches to education.	Self-reflection and self-authorship Moral/character education Professional development strategies
Fostering community and interpersonal relationships	Supporting "group authorship," understanding, and empathy.	Building community relationships and identities Empowering students and building empathy
Assessing and evaluating student work	Documenting and assessing the complexity and evolution of student development through creating narratives that depict student learning.	"Making Learning Visible" (Reggio Emilia approach) Portfolio assessment
Nurturing imagination and creativity	Seamlessly integrating multiple approaches that tap imagination, encourage creative thinking, and support abstract thinking.	A blend of approaches used to address other goals

Figure 1: Purposes for which stories are used in education

In this paper, we describe each of these goals in more details, including prominent subgoals within each category, and provide examples of each.

Mastering Skills and Content

Perhaps the most common use of stories in schools is to help students master certain kinds of content and skills. In approaches related to this goal, the story is a vehicle through which information is shared with students. Alternatively, stories provide opportunities for students to exercise and develop their skills. For example, a math teacher might introduce the topic of geometry by telling her class an anecdote about Euclid's life or work. To understand how to play *Symphonie Fantasique*, music students might read about the life and times of its

composer, Hector Berlioz. Students might write stories from their daily lives to build their grammar skills. And so on.

The effectiveness of story in this realm relies on two basic qualities that story brings to the learning experience. The first is emotional engagement; the second is contextualized information and skills. The importance of both qualities has been well documented in the research about effective learning. Here we briefly discuss in brief the value of each quality and then turn our attention to specific approaches that fall into the "mastering skills and content" category.

Stories have the power to engage students. By appealing to emotions, or by offering the opportunity for what Dewey (1913) called "identification," stories capture students' interest. The relationship between learning and interest is well-established. When a topic under discussion piques students' curiosity, they are more likely to learn deeply; to stick with a course of study over time; and to remember what they learn (Schraw, Bruning, & Svoboda, 1995; Shernoff, et al., 2004; Wiske, 1998). All too often, traditional school subjects in and of themselves fail to spark this curiosity or interest. Story, then, can become a powerful pedagogical tool for engaging students in deep learning.

Stories also present information and ideas in a contextualized, embedded way. Such contextualized learning helps students see the relevance of knowledge to other situations and fosters transfer (Gardner, 1991; Lave, 1988; Perkins, 1992). Stories also engage students cognitively: Good stories allow individuals to make their own meaning of them, and students benefit from being engaged in experiences that enable them to construct their own meaning, rather than being told it (Donovan, Bransford, & Pellegrino, 2000; Duckworth, 1987).

Furthermore, in the case of complex subject matter, stories can be more effective than traditional didactic approaches in conveying the essential qualities of a topic or subject. This is because stories often focus on meanings rather than facts (McAdams, 1997). As Palmer (1998) describes, a story approach counteracts the tendency toward objectivism that dominates most teaching approaches. While such objectivism encourages distance and disconnection from subjects in pursuit of a pure, critical understanding of them, deep understanding is often relational, communal, and transformational, rather than objective. Stories effectively convey connections, relations, the "wholeness" of a subject, its paradoxes, and its layers (Palmer, 1998).

Within this broad category, four sub-categories emerge: language and literacy development; disciplinary learning; multicultural knowledge and understanding; and learning the art and craft of storytelling.

Language and literacy development. Many teachers use stories to support and enrich literacy and language arts instruction because they make language skills both more accessible and more meaningful to students. Stories often engage a broader set of skills than approaches that focus simply on decoding words and sentences. Stories "animate" student's interest and

curiosity and build confidence so that they feel motivated and comfortable to read, write, act, and express themselves more fully (Zipes, 1995). In this way, stories are an engaging entry into language. Many students become motivated to read on their own by a love for the stories they hear from parents and teachers. Additionally, when hearing a story, students are frequently exposed to new vocabulary and new concepts—two key building blocks for developing independent readers. Parent-child or teacher-child routines established around book reading can also offer opportunities for expanding vocabulary, increasing word recognition, and developing story schemes (Snow, 1983).

Many language skills—both basic skills (reading, writing, and listening) as well as more advanced skills (analysis, synthesis, and evaluation)—are difficult to acquire. Learning to read and to talk are complex because they require form to be mapped onto meaning (Snow, 1983). In particular, the development of literacy requires increased skills in the decontextualized use of language (i.e., referential or abstract use of language). Early language use is highly contextualized (i.e., typically about the immediate, concrete surroundings and accompanied by gesture, body language, and facial expression); however, most reading and writing is decontextualized. Story can help link these two worlds by providing a contextualized entry point into literacy.

For similar reasons, stories are powerful tools in English-as-Second-Language (ESL) classes. Using story in this setting can help transcend the focus on vocabulary and comprehension that is common to second language learning. They also provide a personally relevant entry into learning a new language (Merrill, 1994). ESL teachers commonly engage students in keeping personal journals and telling stories from their culture.

Story can also be used to help students become better writers. Kane (1994) uses story to explore and explain writing concepts: Students consider the concept of audience through telling a story to the class, strengthen their argumentative writing by thinking about the everyday persuasive storytelling they do, and strengthen their descriptive writing by writing about what they know well and connecting to the "magic" of their life experiences.

Disciplinary learning. Beyond developing language skills, story is also used to help students grasp the power of particular concepts and ideas in specific disciplines such as mathematics, science, history, and literature. Teaching with and through stories helps take students' understanding beyond isolated facts toward the how, why, and cause-and-effect relationships of various phenomena. Stories can also illustrate the relevance of a concept or idea to a student's life by embedding that concept in a larger, more meaningful context.

For example, Schiro (1997), a mathematics theorist, has developed an approach to helping students learn math through epic stories. In this approach, the teacher reads a piece of an ongoing tale in each math class, ending each installment of the story with a math-related puzzle that students must solve for homework in order to help the protagonists of the story continue on their journey. In a related approach, students read stories with embedded mathematical concepts and then revise the stories, adding in more mathematical concepts and

correcting and enhancing the math already included. Students sometimes follow up by acting out these stories for younger grades.

Another approach, the Storyline method, originally developed in Scotland in the 1970's, uses story as an organizing framework to teach and integrate curricula (Creswell, 1997). Teachers and students work together to create a "storyline" (based on an historical event, scientific topic, or everyday location, for example) with its own setting, characters, plot, and episodes. Topics are organized along a narrative path, and curricular concepts are embedded within the storyline. For example, a storyline about space travel might engage students in math computation, descriptive writing, scientific inquiry / reasoning, and architectural design. The Storyline method supports disciplinary learning through creating a sense of ownership and meaningfulness in the learning process.

History teaching is often enriched through the inclusion of stories, because stories bring relevance, context, and authenticity to past events. Examples of rich historical narrative materials include slave narratives, oral histories from Ellis Island, or diaries from victims of the Holocaust. The History Through Literature Project (Office of Resources for International and Area Studies, n.d.), an integration of history, literature, and the arts, was developed at U.C. Berkeley by middle school teachers, university scholars, and performing artists. The materials produced support teachers in using epic stories from Asia, Africa, and America— specifically, "hero's journey" tales—as vehicles to explore pre-modern history and heroic traditions. In the process, students are introduced to artistic and oral traditions from around the world. They are also engaged in reading challenging literature that helps to build language arts and critical thinking skills.

Multicultural knowledge and understanding. Stories expose students to other cultures, eras, traditions, and ways of life. Story is a powerful tool for this goal because it is an integral part of many cultures. Approaches that promote multicultural understanding may use story to illuminate the inseparability between storytelling and the daily life of some cultures. Students may hear, learn, or act out tales from other cultures. For example, Judith Reagan, a middle school teacher at Duxbury Middle School in Massachusetts, uses an interdisciplinary curriculum unit focused on African folk tales. As part of that unit, she has her seventh grade students write and then perform their own folk tales that bear the characteristics of the traditional ones they have studied.

In a similar vein, students are often invited to compare and contrast folk or fairy tales from different cultures. For example, students might read *Cinderella*, *Mufaro's Beautiful Daughters* (an African tale with a similar theme), and *Yeh Shen* (a Chinese version of the story). Students are then asked to identify the elements that are shared by each tale and the ways in which the tales are different. Finally, students are typically asked to make inferences about the cultures that the tales come from: How are the cultures themselves alike and different?

Learning the art and craft of storytelling. In this approach, the skills and content of storytelling itself are the main focus. Educators who embrace this approach recognize the importance of storytelling as an ancient and universal art form that fulfills basic social and individual needs. They understand that stories nurture the human soul as well as captivate and stimulate imagination. These teachers provide opportunities for students to listen to and tell stories that engage, entertain, and inspire. In the process, they help students refine their skills in the many aspects of storytelling: clear oral communication and presentation, characterization, plot, use of descriptive language and expressive gesture, learning to listen to others' stories, and so on.

For example, The National Storytelling Youth Olympics, originally sponsored by East State Tennessee University, was created to "promote and encourage both the art and science of storytelling" among children through age 18 (n.d., para. 1). Eventually, they hope to encourage all classrooms "to discover (or rediscover) the beauty and value of storytelling and story performance" (n.d., para. 1).

With similar goals, though a different approach, ReadBoston (a Boston-based literacy campaign) operates a "Storymobile" that travels around Boston to summer schools and camps. Local storytellers share stories with groups of school-age, urban students to promote reading, the joy of hearing storytelling, and community building. A strong focus of the organization is promoting reading and reading aloud to students. Reading aloud is used as a springboard to help students create their own stories, which may be written or expressed orally.

Using stories to help students master content and skills is a particularly popular approach to story work in educational settings: Teachers use story to help students develop language and literacy skills; understand specific concepts and ideas in particular disciplines; impart knowledge and understanding of other cultures; and develop skill in the art and craft of storytelling itself. We now turn our attention to a use of story that focuses more on personal growth.

Supporting Personal and Professional Development

Stories mirror our lives. We identify with stories because they reflect the themes, dilemmas, and truths we experience. At an early age, we come to understand story grammar—we expect that stories will have a setting, characters, and episodes that build in tension and are somehow resolved (McAdams, 1997). Because components of stories can be transferred easily to other stories (Propp, 1968), stories act as flexible constructs and tools for reflection and learning. Fairytales, for example, promote psychological growth and adaptation for children (Bettelheim, 1976). They encourage children to face the world with confidence and hope. As Bettelheim asserts, "Fairy tales…direct the child to discover his identity and calling, and they also suggest what experiences are needed to develop his character further" (p. 24).

This encouragement through stories doesn't stop after childhood. As adults, we may also identify with the protagonist of a story, experiencing episodes vicariously and emerging from

a narrative encounter happier or improved in some way (McAdams, 1997). For both children and adults, story work offers an opportunity to cultivate what Gardner (1983) terms "intrapersonal intelligence," the capacity to understanding oneself, one's motivations, needs, and one's own best course of action. Several kinds of story work capitalize on these qualities of story, providing opportunity for individual growth for students and teachers:

Self-reflection and self-authorship. As we develop and grow, we are creating and authoring our own personal myth, shaped by our experiences and our relationships (Keen & Fox, 1989; Mcadams, 1997). Particularly in adolescence, many students face conflicting pressures that inhibit the development of self-knowledge. They may lack opportunities, courage, confidence and/or skills to develop a coherent identity, a central process during this phase of development (McAdams, 1997).

A number of story approaches are intended to foster in students a greater understanding of themselves, as well as an ability to manage proactively their needs and desires. By examining others' stories and casting their own experiences in story form, they learn to identify patterns, dreams, and conflicts in their own lives. Through reflection on these interpretations of their experiences, they become more purposeful in choosing future courses of action.

The Story Seminar at Forsyth Country Day School in Lewisville, NC illustrates this approach. Through studying the Hero's Journey (based on Keen's analysis, 1989) in various forms of story (ranging form Gilgamish to Star Wars), twelfth grade students consider the events of their own lives as a hero's journey, reflect on their dreams and desires, and identify ways they can consciously shape their life's journey to achieve those dreams.

Many digital storytelling programs also focus on providing opportunities for students to discover their own path and explore their identities through creating self-expressive portraits with technology. Technology can enhance the story authoring process by supporting a student in finding their voice and confidence, as well as giving structure to the process (Banaszewski, 2002).

Moral or character education. Stories provide a way to engage students with powerful emotional, moral, and ethical challenges (Rosenblatt, 1995; Tappan, 1989; Winston, 1998). Because stories are complex, they offer students a useful way to explore the complexity of moral issues (Winston, 1998). There are inherent tensions in moral dilemmas that are not easily reduced to universal truths. Addressing such dilemmas means taking into account emotions, context, and relationships, all of which can be represented in stories.

One way to negotiate and explore the themes and meanings of stories is through drama, improvisation, or role playing. Winston argues that participatory, dialogical drama can support the development of ethical and moral understanding. For example, students in grades 8-10 in British Columbian schools participate in courses devoted in part to developing an awareness of moral issues through stories and dramatic works (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 1996). Students are expected to learn how to identify the values, attitudes, and

beliefs of characters, as well as analyze character motivation, tension, or conflict. Students might be asked to improvise a scene in pairs, each student embodying a specific prejudice or moral belief that opposes the other student's belief.

Professional development. For educators, story can offer similar kinds of engagement, and can be a means of connecting with, identifying with, and learning from one another through sharing common experiences. Many teachers have found it invaluable to tell one another stories from their classrooms. Teachers usually teach behind closed doors, separated from colleagues. They can benefit from communities that support risk-taking and learning and invite honest conversation about their practice. These conversations help to break down the isolation that teachers can experience. They can help teachers to grow as professionals, enabling teachers to develop a better understanding of their students, to learn from their own performances, and, ultimately, to improve their practice.

The George Lucas Educational Foundation "documents and disseminates models of the most innovative practices" in American schools (2004, para. 1). These stories, case studies, and teaching modules are made available to educators so that they may enhance their own teaching practice. Accessible through GLEF's website, short documentary videos allow teachers to see innovative techniques being used in schools. Case stories and expert interviews are available on topics such as assessment, project-based learning, ongoing professional development, and community partnerships. Along similar lines, the Carnegie Center for the Advancement of Teaching (2004) hosts an online Knowledge Media Laboratory. This online gallery displays educator-created multimedia stories on topics of teaching and learning, with the goals of transforming teaching and learning, making teaching public, building knowledge, and creating networks.

On a more grassroots level, some teachers meet in formal or informal groups to share their stories about teaching dilemmas, struggles, and triumphs. These groups allow teachers to learn about and better understand their students and their work, relieve tension, and exchange encouragement and wisdom (Sunstein, 1994).

Fostering Community and Interpersonal Relationships

Stories communicate and honor integral information about ourselves and our lives. They describe and illuminate mores, perspectives, traditions, values, where we come from, and who we are. They help us to recognize and respect both our differences from and similarities to one another. This, in turn, can strengthen communities, build relationships, and instill empathy, understanding, and support.

Building community relationships and identities. Increasingly, in our culture, individuals feel less close connection from social groups (families, neighborhoods, work places, and classrooms). In particular, students may be unaware of the larger communities within which they live, as well as their own identities within a community. Story work in this category promotes "group-authorship," enabling group members to connect with other community

members, share and preserve community stories, and celebrate communities and their traditions.

The Montana Heritage Project is an organization that promotes "project-based, community-centered models of education" (Ball, 2003). Since 1995, students at Libby High School in Montana have explored their community, its cultural heritage and history, and the economic, ecological, and political factors that have shaped the community. Students conduct research about their communities using the "ALERT" model, which frames learning as a narrative process. This model includes five stages of learning: Ask (developing questions about the material), Listen (collecting information from the community), Explore (following the paths suggested from the information), Reflect (build understanding, synthesize), and Transform or Tell (share work with others). These stages of inquiry support authentic learning that takes the form of a story. The project promotes strong community involvement and broadened perspectives about the world through encouraging "young people to think clearly and deeply about the world they face" (Montana Heritage Project, 2004).

The Digital Clubhouse Network (2002), with centers in Sunnyvale, CA and New York City, supports young people in connecting with and learning about people in their communities, creating digital stories, and giving voice to people with diverse backgrounds. Their Stories of Service project mobilizes young people to connect with veterans and preserve their personal stories digitally. Students ages 12-18 are trained to create multimedia movies about veterans, which are then shared with the community and archived for future audiences on the Stories of Service website. The Digital Griot program engages students in creating stories about leaders and role models with an emphasis on maintaining one's communal identity through exploring myths and ancestry.

The Louisiana Voices Educator's Guide (2003) is an online collection of lessons focused on local cultural traditions. These lessons, created by the Louisiana Voices Folklife in Education Project, allow students to learn about the cultural expressions within their community, thus connecting the past with the present. Folklife themes are integrated with classroom curricula in mathematics, language arts, science, and the arts.

Empowering students and building empathy. Telling our stories is empowering. Often, by simply listening to students tell their stories, educators and learning communities can create safe places for students to deal with difficult issues and challenges in their lives. On a larger scale, storytelling that is connected to and engaged in the struggles, issues, and conflicts that teachers and students face can help to instill a sense of community for schools in transition or crisis (Zipes, 1995). This kind of story work has the capacity to bring out stories that typically don't get heard, but that need to be heard. These stories can be hopeful and life-changing. Story work in this category builds community in profound ways: It empowers individuals and groups, challenges prejudice, increases understanding and tolerance of differences, supports change in perspectives and behaviors, and gives hope to students.

The Critical Moments Project, based at Seattle Central College, is designed to support and retain students of color, disabled students, ESL students, and other underrepresented populations. "Critical moments" are times that these students felt that their differences set them apart, felt vulnerable, and seriously considered dropping out of school. In-depth interviews with these students identify the factors that contributed to those experiences and the resources that made it possible to overcome the difficulties. These interviews are transformed into case studies, which are discussed among students, faculty, and administrators so that they might respond proactively to difficult events faced by other students.

MY Town (Multicultural Youth Tour of What's Now) is a program in which teens create and lead walking tours in historic Boston neighborhoods (Lombardi, 2000). The objectives of the program are to shift the youths' perceptions of their community and to validate community stories, struggles, and changes. High school students are hired to learn about their neighborhood through researching the neighborhood's history and interviewing important residents. They then give tours to groups of visitors and tell stories about the neighborhood. Through learning history, telling history, and leading tourists through the streets, students are empowered through a sense of ownership of their communities.

Stories can also be used to support at-risk communities in health education efforts. The AIDS Community Demonstration Projects (1999), hosted by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, uses role-model stories in their community-level HIV prevention program. Real stories from community members, published with a photo of the role model, convey the potential risks of unprotected sex and describe how the person had changed or was working to change their behavior. The purposes of the stories are to "model risk-reducing behaviors, suggest solutions to risky situations, and illustrate positive outcomes of taking steps toward protecting oneself" (1999, para. 1).

Assessing and Evaluating Student Work

Story is more than a powerful tool for supporting various kinds of learning: It is also proving to be an important asset in examining the quality and depth of that learning. Using story in the assessment and evaluation process is a small but innovative avenue in education-related story work. Traditional approaches to assessment and evaluation, usually based on test scores and grades, provide ways of gauging the learning of students against particular standards (either implied or explicit). While this is certainly an important goal of assessment, a focus on such end-state products can leave out many important nuances of students' learning: The process by which they learned, the thinking that went into their accomplishments, the growth from one stage of work to another. While few would dispute the value of standards-based assessment, such assessment rarely contributes to improving the teaching and learning processes in the absence of this more complex information.

Story provides a tool for capturing these aspects of learning in a more nuanced way. The most innovative uses of story in assessment go well beyond what has been designated

"narrative assessment," an evaluation strategy that usually involves teachers in writing descriptions of the quality of the students' work, how they have progressed, and what skills they are developing in the process. Rather, a "story" approach to assessment involves going beyond mere description to craft a story line, or a plot, that captures important aspects of the process of students' learning and well as the milestones that they achieve as they work toward particular learning goals. Here we discuss two sub-categories: "Making Learning Visible" (the Reggio Emilia approach) and portfolio assessment.

"Making Learning Visible" (the Reggio Emilia approach). The creation of narratives about student learning is the heart of the approach to early childhood education developed in Reggio Emilia, Italy. The early childhood centers of Reggio Emilia, which serve children ages 18 months through six years, are widely regarded as the best in the world. A central aspect of the teachers' work in these centers is their careful documentation, examination, and then narration of children's learning experiences. With tape recorders and cameras, teachers capture the work of small groups of students as they collaborate on and converse about projects in which they are engaged (for example, creating a map of their city, or devising a fair for birds on the playground). The teachers transcribe the tapes and meet regularly with colleagues to review sections of the transcripts, look at the photographs of the children working, and examine the actual products of the students' efforts. The teachers identify the student learning that is evident in these various data sources. Often, these discussions lead to the careful construction of narratives, illustrated with photographs, that outline the process of the students' work as well as how the students' thinking is evolving through that process. According to educators in the Reggio Emilia programs, this approach to assessment is powerful because " . . . it offers both those who document and those who read the documentation an opportunity for reflection and learning." The process of developing an "interpretive theory, a narration that gives meaning to the events and objects of the world" enables the teachers—and the children themselves—to see more clearly the complexities and nuances of the learning that has occurred (Rinaldi, 2001, p. 86).

Portfolio assessment. Portfolio assessment typically involves both students and teachers in gathering student work over time (over the course of a semester or a year) and periodically examining that work for evidence of the students' evolving thinking. The work collected might be finished products, but it might also be drafts, notes, videotapes and anything else that reveals the students' work and learning. This process of reviewing the portfolio often involves the creation of informal narratives in which the student, or the teacher and student working together, describe the evolution of the student's learning. These opportunities provide students with the chance not only to review their work but to develop their sense of themselves as learners and to draw conclusions about themselves and their learning processes that can serve them in learning other materials (Seidel, et al., 1997).

Nurturing Imagination and Creativity

In the categories of story work we have described so far, story is used in a particular way for specifically articulated goals. However, some educational approaches make story the chief

vehicle for achieving many different goals at once. This happens most often in situations in which educators are committed to the importance of students' developing their creative and imaginative capacities. Especially in the early years, the imagination is the key facility through which children apprehend and respond to the world around them (Egan, 1986). As psychologist McAdams (1997) explains, three-year-old understand the world through images. Thinking for them is "episodic." Imagery connects thoughts and feelings in ways that enable them to make the things and events around them personally meaningful.

Allowing the imagination free reign in these early years, and encouraging its sustenance and development in older children, contrasts with more traditional approaches to education, which focus almost exclusively on developing students' analytic reasoning. Egan (1986) argues that such an exclusive focus on analytical thinking ignores children's "creative intellectual energy." When imaginative thinking is engaged via storytelling, says Egan, young children are capable of dealing with abstract concepts that would be well beyond their analytic capacities were those same concepts to be presented in a context that did not engage their imaginations.

Paley, the renowned author and kindergarten teacher, makes story work of various kinds integral to the daily life of the classroom (Paley, 1991). Students hear stories (both told and read); reenact stories; make up and dictate their own stories; and improvise stories during free play time. As a class, they discuss the stories they have shared with one another and make connections among the various stories that their classmates have told. These many uses of stories are integrated seamlessly into the curriculum throughout the school day. There is no "story unit," for example, and no specially designated "story time": It is always story time in Paley's classroom.

For Paley, like Egan, this holistic approach to story is based on an understanding that young children work primarily out of the imagination. Says Paley (1991): "Play and its necessary core of storytelling are the primary realities in the preschool and kindergarten, and they may well be the prototypes for imaginative endeavors throughout our lives. For younger students, however, it is not too much to claim that play contains the only set of circumstances understandable from beginning to end" (p. 6). Through creating and acting out stories, children examine ideas and explore the meaning of their personal experiences.

The curriculum of the typical Waldorf school provides another example of this integrated approach to nurturing many kinds of learning through story. The first Waldorf School was founded by Rudolf Steiner in the early 20th century. His intention was to provide a holistic education for students—one that focused not only on their intellectual development but on their emotional and physical development as well (Petrash, 2002; Steiner, 1919). The curriculum for each grade is built around the stories that, in terms of their form and content, are developmentally appropriate for children at each age. Fairy tales are the focus of first grade; fables and folk tales in second grade; and so on. While students learn directly about

the cultures of the world from the content of the stories, they are also implicitly provided with themes relevant to their own development.

Stories are used in a variety of other ways: Students perform plays each year as well as make up and write down their own stories. When discipline issues emerge in the class, the teacher often crafts and tells a "pedagogical story," the theme of which relates to the issues with which the students are struggling. Stories in the Waldorf curriculum harness children's imaginations for many purposes: content knowledge, community building, and the development of self-awareness.

We have identified a number of different purposes and practices in the realm of story work in education. The goals for such story work range broadly: mastering content and skills; nurturing personal development; fostering community; assessing and evaluating student work; and nurturing imagination and creativity. While these purposes and attendant approaches have challenges of their own, a number of challenges span all of them. We turn now to a discussion of those challenges.

Challenges of Story Work in Education

Despite the intuitive sense many educators have of the usefulness of story work, significant challenges prevent story work from being used more widely and more effectively. Drawing upon our review of the literature, individual interviews with practitioners, and a group meeting with nine teachers and storytellers, we identify seven challenges that obtain across the various approaches:

Skepticism and Resistance

School administrators and parents may be skeptical about the power of stories in school. Administrators may resist story work because it is not clear if this work raises test scores. Parents may feel that school should look the way it did when they went to school, or see story as a "frill" that doesn't teach basic skills. Given the current focus on testing and coverage, convincing skeptics that stories generate powerful learning can be challenging.

The Uncritical Use of Story

Story, like any other tool, is leveraged in different ways depending on the context and the desired impact. Not all uses of story are productive, and even the ones that are useful will not be equally so in all situations. Some educators may use story uncritically, without a clear sense of the purposes of different kinds of story work.

Pushing Beyond Engagement to Transformation

Stories have transformational power; however, it is often challenging to push beyond engagement and entertainment to deeper and lasting changes in understanding. One challenge lies in managing the complexity and ambiguity of transformational stories and story work. These stories often don't hold the same lessons or create the same experience for every student, since each student makes meaning in a unique way. Additionally, parents may have

strong preferences about what kinds of stories are used in the classroom—they may want "happy stories" only or stories that convey certain values and perspectives. Another challenge arises in dealing with "tough" stories, particularly in story work with goals of personal development or community building. These stories often touch upon deep, emotional issues and hold personal meaning; thus, there is much at stake in sharing these stories.

Scarce Resources

There is a lack of time, funding, and resources to offer teachers either pre-service or in-service training. (Two notable exceptions to this are the East Tennessee State University Masters Degree Program in Storytelling and the Lesley College Creative Arts in Learning Program.) Even when convinced of the importance of stories, some teachers lack comfort with the idea of creating, telling, and listening to stories, or encouraging students to tell and create their own stories. These teachers need support in developing their confidence and skills. Teachers may also feel that they lack the time for story work ("I don't have time to tell stories"), not recognizing that stories are already part of their own and their students' daily lives.

Preconceived Notions

Both teachers and students may hold preconceived notions of "story" or may narrowly define story. They may discount its strengths and misunderstand its potential, believing that stories are only for small children or that folklore belongs to the 19th century. This can lead to teachers' failure to explore multiple uses of stories and to students' initial resistance to "buying in."

Lack of Research

Research on the process and results of story work in educational settings is needed. It is unclear to what degree story work might generate or promote transfer of skills to other areas. It is also challenging to show the results of story work because it does not often generate visible or tangible products. The learning is qualitative. Additionally, it is tricky to research, document, and analyze a holistic approach like story work and its effects without sacrificing its richness.

Work Exists in Pockets

Story work exists in pockets, as largely a grassroots effort in which individuals use story without much support, recognition, or infrastructure for learning with and from one another. There is a scarcity of places and opportunities for people to come together to share experiences, knowledge, and stories about story work in education.

Areas for Future Innovation

Drawing again on the reflections of educators and storytellers as well as on our own analysis of the literature and the challenges, we suggest that further work in the following areas would both promote broader use of stories in education and make that work more effective:

Research and Assessment

More work is needed to design and employ research and assessment strategies that can capture the unique and often intangible results of story work. This effort will involve drawing upon existing documentation techniques and developing new ones. This work will help to answer the following questions, among others: Which kinds of approaches work best for which purposes, which developmental levels, and in which contexts? What results are various kinds of story work most likely to yield, and how can those results be documented and analyzed? How long do the effects of learning through stories last? Developing the methodologies and tools needed to answer these questions will require creativity and persistence.

Professional Development

The field needs a better understanding of the kinds of supports that are most effective in helping educators use story well, and then it needs resources to ensure teachers have access to those supports. Mentoring, modeling, and coaching all hold promise for teachers who want to learn to use story in the classroom. Furthermore, administrative leaders need support in recognizing the power of story work and understanding its guiding principles so that schools and organizations will not only value story work more but also leverage it more effectively.

Recommendations

The International Storytelling Center can serve as a rallying point for setting the research agenda around story work. While the ISC itself might not want to undertake research, it can provide leadership and vision in terms of the kinds of work that need to be done and then can serve as clearinghouse for the knowledge generated by this work when it has been carried out. Whatever steps the ISC takes to support research and development in the area of story work in education, it can plan an immediate role in bringing together those who are already engaging in this work. Offering current practitioners the chance to share with and learn from one another is an essential professional development opportunity for the individual educators/storytellers and for the field as a whole. The ISC might look to convene a group of twenty-five or so educators and practitioners that could meet on an ongoing basis (two or three times a year) in order to identify major questions, share best practice, and conduct collaborative inquiry into the issues that are most challenging.

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STORY WORK IN ORGANIZATIONS[3]

Daniel Gray Wilson

In the 1980's, faced with massive budget cuts, Xerox was desperate for ways to boost productivity of its office-site repairmen. John Seely Brown, Chief Scientist of Xerox, supported a study on how these repairmen actually did their work. Xerox found that these technology specialists went out of their way to gather with each other—whether over a coffee, at a warehouse break room, after work for a drink, or just on the phone. When they were together they would swap stories from the field. In a time of budget cuts, some might see this behavior as a waste of time. But Seely Brown viewed it as the exact opposite. The stories they were telling were an important part of their professional learning. They shared stories of complicated jobs, puzzles they couldn't figure out and tricks of fixing particular models. To boost productivity, Xerox didn't try to cut this important story time. Rather, Xerox gave each repairmen mobile telephones so they could more frequently ask one another for help and listen to stories from the field (Brown & Gray, 1995).

Over the past decade, more and more organizations have followed Xerox's lead. Leaders like Seely Brown are coming to understand the power of story and tapping into it to meet the complex challenges of thriving in fast-changing work environments. The World Bank, NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratories, IBM, Krispy Kreme Doughnuts, Pfizer, and the US Army are just a few examples of the dozens of diverse organizations that are increasingly turning to stories to solve problems in the workplace. Their decision to understand story makes good business sense. Noted economist Donald McCloskey argues that one-quarter of the GDP in the United States involves communicating persuasive points of view (McCloskey & Klamer, 1995). To varying degrees, the revenue produced from all occupations—ranging from lawyers, actors, social workers, reporters, executives to photocopy repairmen—counts on good storytelling. If just half of persuasive talk involves stories, then in the past year alone, stories in U.S. workplaces generated a staggering $1.3 trillion dollars.

Given its prevalence and power, it is surprising how little is known about how and why stories are used in organizations. Practices exist, but in disconnected pockets and for different purposes. Organizations rarely have the time to learn from one another and instead waste money and time in reinventing the wheel. The time is ripe to look across organizations and understand how and why they and their leaders choose a story approach. Without such a study, story in organizations will be relegated to a passing fad, and organizations will continue to stumble in harnessing its power.

In this paper we explore why and how organizations work with stories. Based on the input of experts and practitioners as well as a review of the themes in the literature,[4] we outline the various purposes and practices of story work currently underway in a variety of organizations. We then turn our focus to the practical challenges of conducting story work in organizations and conclude by commenting on areas for future innovation that can enhance the quality of story work in organizational settings.

Why and How Organizations Use Stories

Through a dialectical process of reviewing the literature and interviewing experts, we identified a comprehensive initial list of purposes for which stories are used in organizations. In many cases, practitioners and experts explicitly stated their intentions in using stories. To understand the purpose of story use more generally, we then sought to simplify and classify the initial list. A subsequent analysis focused on generalization and categorization of terms, which yielded the following three categories:

Providing Leadership	Knowledge Sharing & Learning	Fostering Cultural Change
Launching a vision	Exchanging strategies/solutions	Revealing beliefs
Strategic planning	Sharing tacit knowledge	Building trust & commitment
Persuading others	Communicating complex ideas	Conveying values and norms
Communicating identity	Training through simulations	Fostering collaboration
Motivating others	Facilitating unlearning	Reconciling conflict
Controlling rumors	Career development	

Figure 1: Purposes for which organizational practitioners use stories

Providing Leadership

Psychologist and author Howard Gardner argues that the principal way leaders work is through stories. Stories communicate who we are, who we can be, and they work to shape and change people's minds (Gardner & Laskin, 1995). Leaders, whether they are the U S. president or a floor manager at Ford Motor Company, each day face challenges of

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[4]

 In our literature search we selected and reviewed 19 books, 39 journal articles, and seven online web sites (see Appendix A: Bibliography at the end of this collection of papers). Based on prevalence in the literature and through discussions with Jimmy Neil Smith, the founder and director of The International Storytelling Center, we created an initial list of a dozen story work practitioners and experts with whom we could consult. Five practitioners and experts who were most prevalent in the literature were interviewed via email and phone with a protocol tuned to illuminate answers to our research questions (see Appendix B). The remaining seven practitioners and experts were invited to provide feedback to drafts of this document.

communicating identity, persuading others, and articulating new directions. Some of the purposes for which leaders use stories are the following:

Vision launching. Steve Denning, former Knowledge Management Director with the World Bank, recounts how in 1996 the World Bank needed to change its business from banking to knowledge sharing (Denning, 2000). It was investing lots of money on developing countries and gathering large quantities of information. However, there was very little learning from project to project. While working at the World Bank as a high level executive, Denning presented graphs, reports, and numbers with little success at making the case for a new direction toward knowledge sharing. Finally, he stood up at a high pressure board meeting and told a story: In the preceding weeks, the government of Pakistan had asked the World Bank for help on new paving technologies for repairing their rapidly failing highway systems. Rather than drafting a report, which would have taken months, the World Bank team leader in Pakistan had emailed the problem to other highway project leaders around the world. Within forty-eight hours, highway experts from Jordan, South Africa, New Zealand and Argentina had given their advice on new technologies they were using with positive results. The World Bank team leader had shared the practical knowledge with the Pakistani government and had begun discussing how to adapt it to their context. Denning's powerful story convinced the board of the value of making knowledge sharing part of the World Bank's new vision and mission.

Strategic planning. At 3M, business plans are no longer a just a list of bullet points of things to do. With the support of then executive of planning Gordon Shaw, 3M learned that strategic plans are more compelling and coherent when they incorporate narrative (Shaw, Brown, & Bromiley, 1998). Executives at 3M became skilled in "strategic storytelling," which conveys pictures of future markets, competitors, and the strategy needed to succeed. These stories capture the critical relationships that need to occur to achieve the business goals.

Persuading others. Denning and Shaw's experiences also illustrate the power of stories to persuade. In both cases, these leaders used stories to persuade people and organizations to launch a new direction. However, stories can be used persuasively for other ends as well: to encourage others to adopt a point of view or to take a certain path of action, for example (Simmons, 2002). A management team might need to be persuaded to change their support of an executive candidate; a stockholder might need to be convinced not to sell shares; or customers need to know why they should buy one product instead of another. Noted screenplay writer and teacher Robert McKee believes that successful leaders tell persuading stories that aim to capture the attention of an audience and encourage them to change their minds (McKee, 2003). Scott Livengood, CEO of the Krispy Kreme Doughnut Company, believes that telling stories is an integral part of making convincing business arguments. Employees in its Leadership Institute learn to make business cases using narrative instead of statistics and diagrams. The persuasive power of story is also illustrated in research by Daphne Jameson with restaurant managers. Her studies show how narratives about prior

experiences more often convince peers to change their minds than data or abstract policies (Jameson, 2001).

Communicating identity. In his tenure as Principal Manager of IBM consulting services, Larry Prusak witnessed both the successes and failures of many organizations. Prusak believes that stories are a powerful force in the growth process of organizations because they convey a sense of "who we are" across generations within the organization (Denning, 2002). Harley-Davidson, Oxford University, and Walt Disney Company each have powerful stories that feature their historical identity. These stories derive from each organization's past and create future opportunities. For example, Harley-Davidson's patriotic identity, which underscores a commitment to high quality, has enabled it to flourish through partnerships with the U.S. Army in the 1930's, the U. S. Postal Office in the 1950's and U. S. police forces to this day. Stories are excellent conduits for sharing a sense of organizational, group, and individual identity.

Motivating others. When teams are flagging, leaders often choose to tell emotionally engaging stories to inspire and reinvigorate them. Stories that inspire analogies to previous experiences can conjure up the latent emotions associated with those experiences (Simmons, 2002). Stories with unexpected turns of events can invoke surprise or anxiety. Knowledge that is conveyed by such stories becomes "sticky" (Szulanski, 1996)—more easily retained and recalled—because it is associated with these emotions.

Controlling rumors. David Snowden, Director of the U.K.'s Cynefin Centre for Organisational Complexity, argues that successful leaders also harness the power of stories to control rumors and steer away from destructive gossip. Snowden researches narrative patterning in organizations and works with leaders on strategies of employing "anti-stories" and "myth management" to disarm rumors (Snowden, 2001).

In this section we have outlined five overlapping categories of purposes for which organizational practitioners choose stories when facing leadership challenges. Most of these approaches of story work emphasize story *telling*. That is, the strategies focus on how best to tell a story that motivates, persuades, or controls rumors. By contrast, in a few of the cases, such as the work of McKee and Snowden, practitioners work with leaders to dig below the surface of telling and engage in a process of *creating* and *refining* stories before they are shared with others. Let us now turn to a second category of purposes in using story work, that of knowledge sharing and learning.

Knowledge Sharing & Learning

We opened this paper with a story of Xerox copier repairmen, which illustrates how practitioners use stories to share knowledge and insights to improve work performance. Of the three categories of purposes for using stories in organizations, knowledge sharing and learning is the most prevalent in the literature and in reports from practitioners. This category can be broken down into several more specific purposes:

Exchanging strategies and solutions. A popular use of story in organizations is to share strategies and solutions throughout an organization. While Kent Greenes, now CKO of Science Applications International Corporation, was leading knowledge management at British Petroleum, he initiated a program of "peer assists." Before teams began new projects, they would call together other teams who had previously faced similar experiences and listen to their stories in order to glean lessons (Collison & Parcell, 2001). The U. S. Army's Center for Army Lessons Learned uses a similar technique called "after action reviews," through which the key insights from a battlefield event are shared among peers and supervisors (Garvin, 2000). Victor Newman, Chief Knowledge Officer at Pfizer's U. K. Research University has implemented a similar strategy called "baton passing" in which research teams tell stories of their project experiences so newly formed teams can learn from their successes and mistakes when confronting similar project milestones (Newman, 2002). Other organizations such as Jet Propulsions Laboratories and the World Bank are also noted for employing similar knowledge sharing structures. In an analysis of knowledge sharing through storytelling, Deborah Sole and Daniel Wilson (Sole & Wilson, 2002) note that the success of knowledge sharing stories depends largely on communicating the richness of context so that others can adopt and adapt the practical wisdom to their own situations.

Sharing tacit knowledge. Harvard Business School professor Dorothy Leonard and her colleagues study how employees share embedded or tacit knowledge in organizations. Their studies show that much tacit knowledge is transferred through informal storytelling (Swap, Leonard, Shields, & Abrams, 2001). Although the explicit wisdom and knowledge of an organization, such as its policies and standards of practice, are built into its formal processes, many authors note that this formalized structure of knowledge is often insufficient to meet the needs of novel problems that arise. For example, a large segment of Boeing Rocketdyne's engineering force is set to retire in the coming decade. Their traditional document-based knowledge sharing system, though important to the formal structure, is ill equipped to share the vital expertise of these retirees. Boeing has found success using video to capture veteran wisdom and make it accessible to junior engineers (Sohn, 2003).

Communicating complex ideas. While working at Cap Gemini Ernst & Young, Rudy Ruggles noted how many accountants and other professionals in organizations used stories as "idea wrappers" to communicate more complicated knowledge. For example, rather than list all the dizzying loops and detailed codes in the current U. S. tax laws, an accountant might first use scenarios to illustrate fundamental ideas. These scenarios can be, in Ruggles terms, unwrapped to explore the nuances of complex knowledge in more detail. Thus, stories act as entry points to express various complexities of a field of knowledge (Ruggles, 2002).

Learning through simulations. Stories are also used as simulated experiences from which others can learn. The curricula at West Point are centered on debates of the strategies of famous battles and scenarios. Harvard Business School professor David Garvin points out that the Harvard Schools of Medicine, Business and Law use case studies in very different ways to simulate the thinking and complexities of practice in their fields (Garvin, 2003).

Steve Anderson, Storymaster at Krispy Kreme, points to the success of using stories in their training program in which real stories from customers are incorporated into the computer-based components of the training. This enables employees to hear the customer's experience, providing the employees with a picture of the impact that ideas they are learning have on the customer. Captured stories such as these are often used as powerful training tools to engage learners in a simulated experience.

Facilitating unlearning. Xerox's John Seely Brown argues that stories play an important role not just in learning but in unlearning (Denning, 2002). To compete in a constantly changing work environment, organizations and their employees need to change deeply entrenched habits of thinking and acting. Unlearning these practices and mental frames is often not a matter of making a simple New Year's resolution to change. Stories that describe the new practice, tap into the audiences' emotions, persuade and motivate, play a pivotal role in the unlearning process.

Career development. In other instances, organizations use stories as part of workshops or curricula aimed to support the personal and professional development of their employees. Building on the work of Sam Keen, who advocates personal development through articulating one's life story as a personal mythic journey (Keen & Fox, 1989), Krispy Kreme's employee development program engages participants in building self-authorship skills. Employees engage in sessions in which they consider their personal and professional journeys.

Knowledge sharing and learning is the most widely reported purpose for using stories. Similar to the purposes and approaches reported in the "providing leadership" category, these story work approaches also have a strong emphasis on the telling of stories—establishing structures and forums where peers can share their stories and knowledge. A few practices also include explicit strategies for designing stories (such as case studies) to support learning through simulation or to communicate complex knowledge. We now examine a related but distinct category of using story for fostering cultural change.

Fostering Cultural Change

The research by Leonard and Swap suggests the power of stories as a means to share tacit knowledge. Building on this finding, many practitioners turn to stories to understand those values, beliefs, and attitudes that often lie just beneath our awareness yet drive thinking and practice in organizations. These values, beliefs, and attitudes make up an organization's culture (Schein, 1985). Stories are often used to understand a group's culture as well as to support cultural change. From interviews with experts and insights from the literature, we identify the following four related sub-categories:

Revealing beliefs and values. Snowden contends that by listening closely to stories, one can better understand the dominant beliefs, metaphors, and mental models that drive a group culture (Snowden, 2001). Examining the myths of an organization, key events, and central figures can reveal the way in which facts from the past have been interpreted. Snowden also believes that these stories can indicate how entrenched these beliefs are within an organization and how difficult it will be to shape and change these mental models. For example, if a new story conflicts with current organizational myths it may be rejected. If a new story builds on and modifies existing myths, adoption of the new perspective or action is more likely. The work of Yusi Wang underscores this point (Wang, 2002). She studied how employees use stories to reinforce misperceptions of self and the environment in ways that have detrimental effects on decisions. For example, executives may tell stories that reinforce their identity as elite and untouchable; or their stories may cultivate a view of their customers as dim and their competitors as sleazy. Wang argues that such stories lead organizations to miss opportunities in the marketplace.

Building trust and commitment. Stories are also used when it is important to build trust through communicating one's competencies and commitments. Revealing personal stories can expose one's own competence and commitment to issues, as well as signal one's trust in

and willingness to be vulnerable to others. The Public Conversations Project, based on Watertown, Massachusetts, uses story-sharing methods to build trust and understanding between divided groups such as the pro-life and pro-choice leaders (Chasin, Herzig, Roth, Chasin, Becker, & Stains, 1996). At work, stories of commendation or complaint about an organization, office, or a leader convey information about their reliability and trustworthiness. Generating and sustaining trust and commitment is a key part of work life, and stories play a vital role how we do this (Wilkins, 1984).

Fostering collaboration. Stories are also used in team building to create rapport, group familiarity, and a sense of community that facilitates collaboration. Seth Kahan, former senior information officer at the World Bank, works with organizations to tap this power of stories by engaging teams in a technique called "jumpstart storytelling" (Kahan, 2003). This strategy invites members of a working group to share short personal stories connected to a theme. Through telling and listening to these stories, participants build a better understanding of one another. This sense of connection can then elevate the group's ability to work together.

Reconciling conflict. Ben and Rosamund Zander work with organizations to tell "we" stories in order to dissolve the "us/them" or "you/I" attitudes that naturally exist but are often detrimental to organizations, communities, and societies (Zander & Zander, 2000). Built on the principles of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "we" stories point to relationships rather than individuals and aim to counteract individual defensiveness and cultures of revenge and retribution. The research of Jameson points out another way in which managers use stories to reframe and make meaning out of tensions and conflict (Jameson, 2001). For example when arguing the logic of a new rule or regulation, managers communicate by using anecdotes and hypothetical cases to vet and weigh their decisions and resolve conflicting points of view.

In contrast to the approaches listed in the previous purposes, these approaches embody a strong emphasis on listening to and understanding the stories of others. Many practices focused on good listening skills, understanding the meanings of others' stories, and learning how to interact with their stories. As with the previous categories, approaches such as Snowden's myth management, Zander's "we" stories, and Jameson's research on stories to settle conflict also emphasize the telling and designing of stories. However, story work approaches that target cultural change focus on story listening to and the interactions among stories more than the story work approaches aimed at leadership or knowledge issues.

Why do organizations and practitioners choose to work with stories? In this section we reported that organizations and practitioners elect story strategies when there are challenges in providing leadership, knowledge sharing and learning, and fostering cultural change. It is worth repeating that these categories simply outline the general trends identified in our sources. Arguably, some approaches, such as Dave Snowden's "myth management" and the Public Conversations Project, serve more than one of these purposes. Other approaches, such

as McKee's story coaching and the U. S. Army's after-action reviews, align with a single purpose.

It is our expectation that this list of purposes and examples of specific approaches underway in organizations will evolve with further research. Following up with sites, conducting further interviews and future reading of related articles and newly published books will produce an augmented and more complete picture of proven and promising story work approaches. With that caveat in mind, let us turn our attention to the challenges that practitioners report when working with stories in organizations.

Challenges of Story Work in Organizations

In the interviews with story practitioners, we asked them about the challenges they have found in organizational story work. We aggregated this data with our notes from the literature into the following themes:

Dismissed as Soft

Narrative does not and will not appeal in the same way to everyone. We each have different histories and proclivities when it comes to interacting with one another. Our attitudes and preferences vary about what counts as effective communication. And our fields of work value certain forms of communication over others. In the literature, most authors note that many fields are built on non-narrative knowledge—engineers draw on universal principles; marketing teams rely on proven facts and demographic figures; and economists strive for generalized theories. Stories are more contextual, interpretative, and can be told from a variety of perspectives. Many practitioners find that stories are perceived as less rigorous and thus are dismissed as less valuable in organizations.

Met with Cynicism

The literature suggests that when stories seem over-polished and rehearsed an audience will be apt to view the teller as disingenuous. McKee advises leaders that stories with perfect endings of success will be received with harsh skepticism (McKee, 2003). Moreover, Snowden believes that skepticism and cynicism are naturally occurring counter-reactions to an official story of goodness that fails to reflect the reality of the audiences' experiences. To bridge this disconnect, Snowden believes that many construct "anti-stories" that pose a challenge to using stories within organizations (Snowden, 2001).

Difficulty in Recognizing Story Moments

Our analysis of the interview data and literature reveals another challenge: In the everyday flow and stresses of work, it is difficult to recognize moments for telling a story, making a story, or listening to stories. The research on thinking dispositions by David Perkins argues that knowing what to do (e.g., how to tell a story) is often not the biggest challenge (Perkins, 1995). A bigger challenge is being sensitive in-the-moment to opportunities to do it (e.g. when to tell a story). A team might send signs of its flagging energy; a colleague might ask

for some advice; or a client might begin to complain about a recent meeting. Each of these moments presents storytelling or story listening opportunities that could easily be overlooked. A challenge in organizations is developing the sensitivity to recognize opportunities for use of stories in the flow of work.

Overgeneralized Use of Story

It is also a challenge to recognize when not to use story. Given a set of purposes, when are other approaches more effective than story in achieving them? Researchers Deborah Sole and Daniel Wilson at Harvard's Learning Innovations Laboratories argue that although stories are a powerful means to share values and build trust, stories are usually neither effective nor efficient for communicating explicit rules or policies (Sole & Wilson, 2002). Codified resources and symbolic objects, such as an operation manual or traffic signs, are more effective than stories in sharing this sort of information. Moreover, in many contexts, direct modeling may be more effective than stories when seeking to exchange tacit knowledge and facilitate unlearning and change.

Demands Time and Energy

All the practitioners interviewed noted that time and energy are inherent challenges when working with story. Crafting, telling, and listening to stories take time. Identifying, capturing, and then making those stories accessible to others throughout an organization typically demands a small army of highly skilled staff dedicated to this sole purpose. Whether working with stories at the small scale of a single office or across the large-scale divisions in a multi-national organization, practitioners continually struggle with the inherent tensions between the richness of using story and constraints of time and attention in organizations.

Often Conveys a Single Viewpoint

A challenge particular to knowledge-sharing approaches is the singularity of viewpoint that stories often convey (Sole & Wilson, 2002). A scientist tells how his team proved their results or a sergeant debriefs his commander about a skirmish that erupted on a peacekeeping mission. This single point of view is inherently biased. It may overlook events relevant to the audience, or it may simply not capture important details of an experience. Recently, some story practitioners have developed techniques for creating and sharing stories that draw on multiple perspectives (Cohen & Tyson, 2002). An interesting connection to this approach appears in theatre with the popular play *Tamara.* The play puts dozens of characters simultaneously in motion. However, their stories do not occur on a single stage but within a real multistory building. Inside the building the audience breaks into small groups that follow characters from room to room and floor to floor. Audience members can choose to switch groups at anytime and follow a different plot (Boje, 1995). Researchers Roth and Kleiner have a related approach in organizations known as a "learning history," which brings together quotations capturing viewpoints from various organizational employees to make sense of an organizational event (Kleiner & Roth, 1997).Understanding how to work with multiple stories in knowledge sharing and cultural change applications of story is a vital need.

Difficulty in Communicating Evidence of Impact

Demonstrating the effectiveness of using stories can be challenging. Often those who need to be convinced are looking for an impact that can be represented in hard numbers and clear, causal relationships. However, story work and the changes it engenders are qualitative in nature — perspectives shift, engagement increases, trust and empathy grow. Such changes are important, given the purposes for which story is used in organizations. Using stories themselves is often the most effective way to communicate these qualitative changes. That said, practitioners still face the challenges of showing results to a variety of audiences. Many expressed the need to learn more about how others gauge success, use metrics, and generally make the case for the impact story has on the traditional bottom line.

Areas for Future Innovation

Based on our analysis of the patterns of purposes and challenges, we believe that the following two areas hold the most promise of supporting high-quality innovation in the field:

Focusing on Listening to and Understanding the Stories of Others

Many of the organizational story work approaches we encountered, particularly those aiming for providing leadership and knowledge sharing, focus on strategies for designing and telling stories. Unlike story work used for cultural change, there is little or no emphasis in these two categories on listening to and understanding the stories of others. While the names of the categories themselves—"providing leadership" and "knowledge sharing"—suggest a natural leaning toward story telling and designing, the challenges that emerged in our analysis suggests that a broader focus is warranted. The challenges of cynicism, lack of sensitivity, overgeneralization, skepticism, and discounting seem to describe the problems that inhere in how individuals hear and interact with stories. Understanding how leaders and teams develop story listening skills, in combination with story telling and story making approaches, may help to address those challenges and so prove to be a promising area for future innovation.

Understanding Evaluation Strategies and Developing New Ones

Another opportunity for innovation is to understand how various sorts of organizations provide evidence of the success of story work. Gathering and documenting the various evaluation methods and tools that organizations use to show evidence of impact would be highly valuable in building the field. The story work practices of organizations such as 3M, Boeing Rocketdyne, British Petroleum, Harvard Business School, IBM, Jet Propulsions Laboratories, Krispy Kreme, the U. S. Army, Pfizer, Science Applications International Corporation, the World Bank, and Xerox have been highlighted in this paper. Systematic study of their assessments could save other organizations time and energy. Sharing evaluation practices across these and other organizations could help not only to shift beliefs that story is not a useful approach in many professions, but could also secure story work as central method in supporting success in a variety of organizations.

Recommendations

Story work in organizations is in the early stages of field building. Currently there are pockets of proven and promising practices but little coherent and systematic study of the various approaches, challenges, and methods of evaluation across organizations. In our view to best support innovation, the International Storytelling Center (ISC) is uniquely placed to gather together the leading practitioners of story work and build this field. We would recommend selecting six to eight organizations and then systematically studying an testing the purposes, approaches, and challenges noted in this document. A focus on both story listening and evaluating success would be highly valuable to field. We encourage the ISC to work with these leading organizations, as well as with research partners, to document and refine approaches to these two high leverage issues. Finally, given the ISC's reputation as a world-class host of international events, we recommend that the ISC create an annual gathering of story work practitioners who could learn these and other techniques as well as

continue to share insights and challenges. In our view, creating this annual structure will, over time, substantially contribute to building the field of story work in organizations around the globe.

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STORY WORK IN PEACE AND CONFLICT[5]

Teresa Whitehurst

Two decades ago, an Israeli psychologist named Dan Bar-On was troubled by his family's inability to talk about what they had experienced just prior to and during the Holocaust. His parents had fled Germany before Hitler began the worst of the persecution, and because they left in the early 1930's, they were able to settle safely in Israel. They left their friends and family behind, and with that ripping of the communal fabric, they were determined to leave memories behind as well and begin afresh. However, Bar-On was reared with stories that presented Germans as a monolithic, dangerous entity—stories that psychologically established a Jews-versus-Germans dynamic for Bar-On. Given his family's German origins, Bar-On as a youth was perplexed by these warnings. Still, he accepted the popular us/them, good/bad generalities. As a young man, he joined the Israeli army, and his experiences there led him to further identity changes:

> At some point I had to distance myself from that German atmosphere at home in order to become a "real Israeli Sabra" …It took me many years and some personal crisis during the wars of 1967 and 1973, to decide to go to therapy and find a way to reintegrate my earlier years into my current self, thereby also deconstructing some of the initial monolithic Israeli identity. At that stage I started my academic career, first as a therapist, which brought me to learn about the impact of the Holocaust on the families of survivors and later, to learn about the impact of these events on the descendants of the Nazi perpetrators. (Bar-On, 2003, para. 15)

Bar-On began a series of interviews that led to tentative dialogues between the descendents of Nazi perpetrators and Jewish victims, wherein storytelling—personal, not collective or political—was used to bridge the gap between members of antagonistic groups. Bar-On and others began applying the storytelling group methodology to other conflict settings—Northern Ireland, South Africa and Middle East. Eventually, an international storytelling practice and research project, To Reflect and Trust (TRT), was born in partnership with the Frankfurt-based Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME).

Across the world, practitioners of all stripes, from volunteer lay people to mental health practitioners and community organizers, have been inspired by this kind of story work in pursuit of peace at the grassroots level. This work holds tremendous potential, even as the world continues to be immersed in what have come to be called "intractable" conflicts. Some

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uses of story revolve around the need for more fairness in mediation and negotiation, while others center on the need to bring healing or reconciliation to long-divided communities, religious or ethnic groups. Once considered merely a domestic art practiced with children or an antiquated means of handing down knowledge in "primitive" tribes, storytelling has created a stir within the fields of academia, conflict management, peace education, psychology, and psychiatry.

In this paper we explore, through interviews with practitioners and a review of the literature, how story is being used to help resolve conflicts, promote healing from past victimization, and build trust among individuals and groups. We first define conflict and peace, and then examine the variety of purposes, goals, and practices of story work as it is being used by researchers, educators, and practitioners in academic and community settings. Next, we explore the challenges reported by practitioners and researchers in this area, and conclude with recommendations for future innovations and study to make this work more feasible and effective in a variety of settings.

Defining Conflict and Peace

Unlike the fairly well-defined fields of education and organizational effectiveness, the work of managing conflict and promoting peace encompasses wide-ranging research and practices. So it is not surprising that definitions of "conflict" and "peace" vary tremendously. In this variation lies the potential for much confusion. For the sake of clarity in this paper, peace will be defined as the absence or resolution of conflict, and as a culture wherein understanding and conciliation are promoted. However, it is important to note that, in situations of prevailing injustice and grossly unequal power, peace may not be an ideal towards which to strive. In other words, when the slaves are not revolting, the plantation is at peace—but this is hardly an accomplishment about which we can be proud, and it is not the sort of peace to which this document will refer. Furthermore, it is not a stable peace, but contains the seeds of future conflict. We can say, then, that peace based on unjust conditions—wherein a person or group is oppressed and denied the right to protest—is not really peace at all, but the quiet before the storm. This form of peace is more correctly classified as a "quiet" phase of conflict.

Similarly, in some contexts, conflict can provide restoration to victims of injustice and avoid a much more serious conflict later on. For example, when two individuals or groups are harboring resentments for past wrongs, keeping quiet may lead eventually to destructive acting-out. On the other hand, "bringing it to a head"—that is, engaging in conflict—can secure peace if it is pursued with nonviolent means such as mediation, negotiation, arbitration, or litigation. This kind of conflict, then, is more accurately labeled a "noisy" phase of peace.

Both the positive and the negative forms of conflict will be examined in this document. Even positive forms of conflict can lead to injury or death when pursued with violent means; hence any conflict that involves physical violence will be noted as "violent conflict."

Western Views of Conflict

Achieving clarity regarding the kinds of peace or conflict being discussed is important because Western culture assumes that the way to handle or prevent conflicts is simply to solve problems (Cohen, 1991; Dubrow, 1999; Walker, 2003). This problem-solving model is deeply engrained in industrialized societies where individual needs and rights, as opposed to those of the community, are the focus of inquiry and action. In this model, the psychology of the individual, rather than a psychosocial perspective, is the basis for conflict, and addressing individual needs is the object of conflict resolution.

These tacit assumptions about how conflict is understood and resolved reflect only one conceptualization of negotiation or mediation, a conceptualization rooted in a particular context and culture (Cohen, 1991). Conversely, other contexts, cultural and historical, lead to different formulations and different emphases. For example, the emphasis on individual psychological concepts such as needs and interests does not sit well with cultures that emphasize collective responsibility over individual autonomy. Nor does the idea of neutral facilitation and win-win solutions address situations in which the interests of one of the parties are influenced by racism. Hence there is a need for other models on which to base the practice of mediation and negotiation in areas of conflict. The narrative (or "storied") approach avoids many of these cultural constraints and biases.

Why and How Story Is Used in Conflict and Peace Interventions

Through a dialectical process of reviewing the literature and interviewing experts [6], we identified a list of purposes for which stories are used in peace building, peace education, conflict management, and activities aimed at "living with" or "working through" past and present conflicts. A subsequent analysis yielded the following three categories:

Resolving Conflict and its Consequences	Managing Conflict and its Consequences	Building a Culture of Peace

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[6]
Our literature search selected and reviewed more than 40 books and journal articles and seven online web sites. See Appendix A: Bibliography for a full list of these resources. We conducted 45-minute semi-structured telephone interviews with four informants who use story in peace and conflict management work. In addition, another three informants shared their answers to the same questions via a series of email correspondences. The protocol for this interview is detailed in Appendix B.

Conversation	Psychotherapy	Peace education
Mediation and negotiation	Dialogue groups	Ethnographic storytelling
Arbitration and litigation	Witnessing	Media stories: Altering and creating personal stories
Folk/cultural conflict-focused storytelling	Truth and reconciliation commissions	
	Inter-group dialogues	

Figure 1: Purposes for which stories are used in peace and conflict work

Resolving Conflict and its Consequences

Past conflicts, particularly those that have traumatic consequences for those who are involved in or witness them, often take on a life of their own. Without some form of intervention, they continue to interfere in the individual's emotional life and sometimes in his or her daily functioning, as well. In facilitating resolutions to conflict, whether practical or psychological, most practitioners begin by using storytelling, derived from knowledge of narrative therapies, with participants from post-conflict settings, hence posing less risk of the retraumatization that is possible in settings where the conflict is ongoing. Narrative therapies and storytelling approaches help people to loosen, preposition, or dramatically alter their stories—but this occurs (or should occur) organically, as a result of telling one's story, hearing others' stories, and reworking the original story without pressure or externally imposed (however well-intentioned) sanctions.

Conversation. This is the most informal and, in some ways, the foundation, of all the approaches described here. Conversation provides the venue in which personal stories are developed, shared, and revised. Because conversation is part and parcel of our daily lives, we can overlook the fact that it is indeed a powerful tool. It can yield what Stone and his co-authors (Stone, Patton, & Heen, 2000) term an "identity quake": the ways in which another person's story may rock our own personal self-concept by portraying our words or actions in unexpected or highly negative ways.

The way in which we interpret a story depends on our personal lives and roles. Furthermore, when we hear or view the story in the company of others, those relationships and roles (and the comments we hear) affect the ways in which stories influence us. For instance, a story told by one's boss will be interpreted with great attention to the feedback that is expected or the feedback that would make a good impression, while a story told by one's employee may be interpreted with the assumption that the employee is merely sharing information. Georgakopoulou (2002) studied the ways in which interaction details and roles enacted by participants affect and relate to the ongoing production of a story. Georgakopoulou showed that the joint construction of the story at hand rests on the participants' enactment of a set of "discourse identities" that are intertwined with the story's emerging internal structure—particularly the components of complicating action and evaluation. These identities are interrelated to the participants' larger social roles and identities as friends and members of a group who share an interaction history.

Mediation and negotiation. Stories, once considered irrelevant and even a hindrance to the process of helping individuals and groups settle their differences, are now being used in a variety of ways by many practitioners in the fields of mediation and negotiation. Lindsay (1999) offers empirical evidence of the power of stories in the mediation process. Analyzing data from interviews with mediators as well as data derived from videotaped mediation simulations, she found that *story in mediation is the means by which understanding is created both within and between persons*, offering the opportunity for both intrapersonal and interpersonal growth.

Additionally, she found that mediators related past history as story to reframe the understanding of the conflict for their clients. Story completeness, coherence, and clarity, as well as the skill of the storyteller/mediator influenced listening, understanding and relational outcomes.

In mediation and negotiation, storytelling is used to increase each party's understanding of the other's underlying needs and interests with respect to the conflict, rather than merely their stated positions. Positions limit the potential for mutual understanding (and for identifying areas where concessions or win/win resolutions may be possible), while interests expand that potential. For example, Kraybill, Evans, and Evans (2001) describe a process of "storied mediation." In this process, each party tells his or her story, without interruption. Using their own words, the mediators/facilitators summarize each person's story. The mediators listen analytically to the stories, in order to identify the central issues in the conflict and the concerns that the participants have *in common.*

Docherty (1999) offers a contrasting view of the use of story in mediation and negotiation. In her model of "world view conflict," telling stories about the underlying positions, rather than simply focusing on common interests, is key. Worldview conflicts occur when people who do not share a symbolic reality and, consequently, grant authority to competing social institutions, must nevertheless cooperate to accomplish specific tasks. Docherty asserts that needs- or interest-based processes fail in such conflicts because the parties cannot even cooperatively name their conflict, the first step toward resolving any dispute, since their stories about their underlying worldviews haven't been shared with one another. In using her model to analyze the negotiation transcripts from the 1993 standoff between the Branch Davidian sect and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Docherty posits that the FBI negotiators were not trained to recognize or work with worldview conflicts. Hence, they were poorly equipped to negotiate with members of an apocalyptic community. The FBI and the Branch Davidians never cooperatively framed the story of their conflict and, hence, could not design a process for resolving their standoff peacefully.

Arbitration and litigation. In contrast to the story approaches used in mediation and negotiation, story is used in arbitration and litigation to portray a party's experiences through compelling narratives in order to sway those who will ultimately decide how the conflict will be resolved. Storytelling in these contexts is typically not designed to increase deep understanding and arrive at win/win resolutions, but to "win over" the judge, jury, or arbitration officials by creating greater admiration or sympathy than is garnered by the other "side."

Wade (2002) holds that the real power of stories resides in the period before people resort to the courts. In "Race Discrimination and Directorial Duty of Care," she prescribes a storytelling process for a company, Circuit City, to handle problems of race discrimination before they reach problematic levels. Wade notes that the stories of minority employees who allege discrimination are not told in the mandatory disclosure documents, and that

storytelling could play an important role in helping people resolve their conflicts that seem related to race discrimination. She notes the value of this type of storytelling lies in the corporate response it inspires before the employee goes to the courts or the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The power of such stories has to do with the impetus they can provide for corporate managers to carry out monitoring that will expose racism, even its subtle or unconscious forms.

Folk/cultural conflict-focused storytelling. The stories Dan Bar-On heard in his youth reinforced a sense of conflict and distance between Germans and Jews. Such community- and culture-based stories can also be used to help people resolve conflict. For example, from a young age, members of some native cultures are taught about conflict through traditional stories handed down from generation to generation. Unlike the creation myths, these stories provide the developing child with a mental model of the nature and consequences of conflict, and when and how to avoid or participate in it. Duncan, editor of *Living Stories of the Cherokee* (1998) notes that stories about making peace and responding to conflicts continue to be taught to children to show them the proper way to handle arguments, misunderstandings, and other conflicts. Such stories may be told when a child has failed to manage a conflict well, as an alternative to lecturing or punishing the child, which tend to cause embarrassment or shame—emotions that the Cherokee wish to avoid inducing in their young people.

Managing Conflict and its Consequences

In recent years, storytelling has been experimentally used in settings wherein armed conflict and/or violent suppression of one "side" or another is still occurring. Very often, members of oppressed groups, or of those who have experienced a "silencing" trauma, have important stories that are never shared with others. This creates two major problems. For the oppressed or traumatized individual, the story and the ongoing stress it creates by virtue of having to be continually suppressed, creates "secondary trauma." The second problem is the inaccessibility of the person's (or group's) story to society. Many such stories are never revealed to the mass media (or, if they are, they are suppressed because they cast shadows upon powerful individuals, institutions, or widely-held assumptions).

"Working through" and bringing out repressed stories can play an important role in terms of helping the traumatized individual reduce the impact of untold stories and better manage ongoing conflicts as well. Interviews with individuals who have experienced violence must, however, be conducted with great care for the psychological well-being of the storyteller. Silenced stories are in many ways adaptive, allowing the individual to move on, functioning without constant immersion in painful memories. Nonetheless, this remains an important area for storytelling research and practice, because it can reveal the processes through which individuals handle trauma, and the ways in which that trauma, and the person's adaptation to it, affect others in the family or social group.

While post-conflict interventions are still the norm, an increasing number of approaches have invoked story to address ongoing conflicts. We summarize some of these approaches here:

Psychotherapy. Hopkins (1996) analyzes the inner, personal transformation process. She brings together two apparently different activities—managing conflict and telling stories—and shows how the one can enhance the other. Hopkins considers storytelling an important contribution to exploring conflict through an art form that helps people to develop self-esteem, learn how to express needs and feelings confidently, and work cooperatively.

Harvey, Weber, and Orbuch (1990) focus on how people make sense of and cope with major issues in their lives, such as conflict in and dissolution of close relationships; life transitions such as retirement or losing a job; the death of a loved one; and other stressful events and dilemmas. They underscore the meaning-making function of story telling, noting that the human being may be dubbed 'homo narrans,' the story-teller, given the human propensity for telling stories to explain events and frame relationships (Harvey, Weber, & Orbuch, 1990).

Harvey, Carlson, Huff, and Green (2001) consider the construction and confiding of accounts of loss in an affirming interpersonal context. The authors illustrate their thesis with stories told by Holocaust survivors and those who have suffered through a relationship breakdown or social upheaval, demonstrating that "storying" one's experience in the presence of a relevant audience has healing potential, on levels from personal to cultural.

Witnessing. Kelly (n.d.) of Voices in the Wilderness has used this form of storytelling extensively, traveling across the United States and Europe with personal stories of deprivation and war in Afghanistan, Iraq, the Middle East, and areas of "intractable conflict." In this form of witnessing, she and her colleagues display large photographs that supplement the stories, and urge listeners to take action in defense of those who are vulnerable and have no other outlet through which to tell their stories. This form of storytelling seems to exist primarily due to lack of access of the disenfranchised to mainstream media outlets.

Truth and reconciliation commissions. Truth and reconciliation commissions are based on the understanding that individual and societal healing requires as full and complete a picture as possible of the wrongs that were perpetrated in a conflict. Victims and violators (who are granted amnesty in exchange for telling their stories) alike have the opportunity describe in detail what they experienced. Such commissions are not always effective: Honwana (1998) makes the point that, in the case of Mozambique, these commissions have at times been unproductive because many people believe that giving voice to the wrongs of the past risks visiting those evils upon oneself again. Referring to the Alexandra Township, Bozzoli (1998) notes that many testimonies remained private and unforgiving, while several witnesses reject the point of recounting their stories without the guarantee of reparation.

However, in other situations, storytelling has had real effects. In one compelling case, a man named Lucas Baba Sikwepere told his story of being shot in the face by the police when he questioned their right to disperse their small community meeting, leaving him blind. At the

Truth and Reconciliation Commission, after he'd finished telling his story, he was asked how he felt now that he could tell his story about the day he was shot. Baba replied, "But I feel what has been making me sick all the time is the fact that I couldn't tell my story. But now I—it feels like I got my sight back by coming here and telling you the story" (Krog, 1998, p. 31).

Ongoing intergroup dialogues. Several approaches for enhancing dialogue, understanding, and conciliation between members of conflicted groups using a storytelling methodology have evolved in recent years. Examples are the Public Conversations Project (PCP) of Cambridge, To Reflect and Trust (TRT) of Haifa, and the Jewish-Palestinian Living Room Dialogue run by Len and Libby Traubman in California. Common to these groups is a view of storytelling as an essential meaning-making process that requires an atmosphere of trust and safety. Safety rests upon a detailed set of guidelines and ground rules, designed to elicit personal storytelling instead of the usual political or "party line" stories that members of opposing groups tend to tell. These dialogues encourage curiosity rather than certainty, do not allow interpretation, and require facilitators who are trained in the practice of creating a safe environment for the honest sharing of one's experiences and feelings while in the company of the "enemy" (Traubman & Traubman, personal communication, 11/30/03).

Building a Culture of Peace

A community's resources are often so tied up with managing current conflicts and repercussions from unresolved past conflicts that preventive efforts fall last on the list of priorities. While in the midst of conflicts, whether or not they have reached the point of violence, it is difficult to allocated scarce human and economic resources to the cause of preventing future violent conflicts. Peace education, however, may be the best investment of all for the long-term well being of a community or nation. When the young are left to pick up the pieces of past conflicts and the often-flawed responses to those conflicts, it isn't surprising that they tend to simply repeat the same mistakes made by the older generations. Without addressing the pervasive influences in the culture that encourage demonization, over-simplified thinking, and an us/them mentality, efforts to reduce conflict and build peace cannot make much of an impact. As Tyrangiel (2002) notes, our inability to digest the Holocaust continues to influence present-day history in Europe and the Middle East. He discusses how stories, lies, and propaganda can shape our understanding of reality and demonstrates how telling our stories and listening to those of others can enhance understanding and communication.

What is needed, then, is an energetic approach to foster a shift from our cultural norms of violent conflict and war to intelligent dialogue and peace as a worthy, even heroic goal. This is perhaps the most important of all efforts to which storytelling can be employed. Few methods for preventing violent conflict are as low in cost or as transformational as those that revolve around storytelling. Simultaneously, we must recognize and study the ways in which story can serve negative ends as well.

Peace education. Elbaz-Luwisch (2001) describes a course in the teacher education program at the University of Haifa. This course is titled the "Coexistence Workshop." Its purpose is to promote the ability of prospective teachers to educate their pupils for a democratic society in which diversity is honored and coexistence becomes a reality. Teaching the workshop allowed Elbaz-Luwisch to explore the utility of personal storytelling for learning about diversity and enabling students to become "border crossers."

In a peace education and research project currently underway, Bar-On has brought together Israeli and Palestinian teachers, in the midst of violence, to develop a joint school textbook (Adwan & Bar-On, in press):

> For six important dates of the conflict we developed together two
> narratives, a Palestinian and a Jewish-Israeli one. These two narratives
> are now taught by these teachers in their respective classrooms. It is
> not an easy process, especially while the hostility continues outside
> our seminar room, but it gives us hope that this could be a way to learn
> to respect the narrative of the other, instead of delegitimizing it as
> "propaganda" … (Bar-On, 2003, para. 17)

Kaufman (2000) has explored the use of sharing stories in critical reflection and discussion processes within a spiritual development program, held at a Roman Catholic Parish in the Archdiocese of Chicago, Illinois, for cross-faith participants. Kaufman's study describes the design, development, delivery, and evaluation of the four-week program designed to pilot adult education processes specifically for participants from diverse backgrounds. As part of the program, participants shared stories of real-life experiences with everyday spirituality. As Kaufman suggests that encouraging participants to tell stories about turning points in their lives enables them to increase awareness of their shared humanity and to build community.

Ethnographic storytelling. In *The Politics of Storytelling: Violence, Transgression, and Intersubjectivity*, Jackson (2001) examines the terrible suffering of the refugee, for whom storytelling—that vital meaning-making bridge from the private and personal to the public and social—is abruptly interrupted by violence and upheaval too traumatic for the usual coherent narrative. Recognizing the refugee's internal loss of "voice" for telling his or her story, combined with oppressive or threatening external conditions and the lack of access to the larger world, Jackson urges practitioners and researchers to seek out refugees and facilitate the return of their ability to put words to feelings and memories, but to do so with ethnographic methods rather than with psychological approaches that often unwittingly skew the fragile narratives in one direction or another.

Dismissing the idea that anyone can "objectively" hear and communicate the stories of others, Jackson concludes, "Because it entails a direct, intimate and practical engagement with the object of one's understanding, ethnographic judgment abolishes the subject-object split of natural science, and replaces it with an intersubjective model of understanding" (p. 262).

Media stories: Altering and creating personal stories. Kessler (1998) notes that stories have long been used to teach people moral lessons and inspire personal growth. Such stories have been presented via a variety of media over the years, including, more recently, television and motion pictures. To date, only limited energy has been devoted to researching possible therapeutic effects of stories or examples portrayed in these modern media. A qualitative methodology (Kessler, 1998) was used to examine the therapeutic use of such stories drawn from film and television, as reported by fourteen practicing therapists. These therapists' responses to interview questions formed a grounded theory explaining the purpose behind their use of media and which examples they found most helpful.

This form of "manipulated storytelling," not unlike narrative techniques used by psychotherapists, can have positive results when used for the purpose of helping people to shed long-ingrained mental representations of people from the "other side." Kessler's notion of teaching "moral lessons" may be overstretching the concept. While stories can inspire personal growth, it's important to keep in mind the distinction between their capacity for creating opportunities for re-evaluation of one's mental model, and the far more difficult task of shifting one's moral values.

The Internet is emerging as another medium with the power to convey stories that cultivate a peace—or hate. Lee has studied hate groups that make extensive use of storytelling. She found in her analysis (2002) that many hate groups have used the Internet to express their viewpoints, sell their paraphernalia, and recruit new members. Past research has shown that Web sites belonging to hate groups often employ sophisticated persuasive techniques, such as compliance gaining strategies, counterargument approaches, and narrative. Recent inquiries have also found that teenagers remain the primary target of these techniques.

Lee contends that narrative is a persuasive strategy on adolescents in on-line hate over time. She conducted an online experiment that investigated the effects of hate web pages on adolescents. The data revealed that, generally, participants found high narrative (storied) and implicit messages more persuasive and emotionally gratifying than low narrative and explicit messages immediately following exposure. Interestingly, these effects decayed, while low narrative and explicit message effects endured or increased slightly over time. Lee concludes that traditional hate tactics appear to be more effective over time than initially perceived. Although less alarming because of its greater decay rate, the effects of persuasive storytelling should not be discounted. The reported decay rates resulted from only one exposure, and the pattern of influence for greater message repetition remains unknown and requires further investigation.

Challenges of Story Work in Peace and Conflict

Through interviews with experts and surveying the literature, a pattern emerges in the sorts of challenges that peace and reconciliation practitioners are currently facing.

Anxieties About Storytelling with Strangers

Storytelling in the context of therapy, while uncomfortable for some, is often seen as the norm. This is what most people expect when they seek therapy. Storytelling in the presence of others, particularly strangers from antagonistic groups, often arouses significant anxiety. In a Middle Eastern TRT session, one Palestinian participant described her panic on the way to the dialogue group: When a problem with her identification card occurred at the airport, she cheerfully told her husband that they would need to go back home. Eventually she was allowed to board the plane and continue her journey to the dialogue group. But her overwhelming, if momentary, relief had revealed to her just how frightened she was about the prospect of telling her story to strangers—especially to Israeli strangers.

For some people, preparatory cognitive-emotional work and/or extended opportunities to adjust to new faces and settings can do much to overcome these obstacles. The need for strategies that can be used by a wide range of people is one of the most pressing challenges for researchers and practitioners of both narrative therapies and storytelling approaches aimed at (re)conciliation.

Individual Disparities in Interpersonal and Cognitive-Affective Skills

Though some participants in storytelling projects aimed at reducing hostility will have fewer cognitive-affective and/or interpersonal competencies, the facilitator can neither "fix" this nor intervene in order to improve their skills during the storytelling sessions. Hence, another challenge is to develop pre-screening, preparatory, "remedial," and structural/process strategies to help create a more level field for the mutual sharing and understanding of personal stories.

The Disconnect Between Top-Down and Bottom-Up Intergroup Dialogues

Most storytelling practices aimed at increasing cross-group understanding and reducing the hostile thought patterns that lead to violence take place without political support. For example, TRT is a bottom-up process with practitioners at the grassroots level who are usually defined as peace-builders. This is very different from top-down peace making procedures/negotiations in which politicians agree on a formal and legal peace agreement. A peace process between two or more collectives that fails to synchronize the top-down and the bottom-up processes doesn't have a chance to prevail.

In the Palestinian-Israeli case, there was an estrangement of the top-down peace agreement—the Oslo accord—from the bottom-up processes. In such a bitter and long-term conflict, there must be leaders (such as Nelson Mandela in South Africa) capable of synchronizing these two processes. Peace builders who work bottom-up are dependent on the outcomes of the work of peacemakers who work top-down, but the peacemakers who work top-down do not, in many cases, believe they are dependent on bottom-up processes. They may pay lip service to it, but do not feel it is integral to their work. This asymmetry is problematic. Also, peace builders deal with issues that are very complex and difficult to measure in terms of outcomes and their causal explanations.

Areas for Future Innovation

Hinchman and Hinchman (1997) have documented the resurrection, in the last few decades, of the importance of narrative to the study of individuals and groups. They propose that the human sciences are undergoing a paradigm shift away from nomological models and toward a more humanistic language in which narrative plays a complex and controversial role. Narratives, they claim, help to make experience intelligible, to crystallize personal identity, and to constitute and nurture community. Hinchman and Hinchman believe that, because narrative has not been captured by any single academic bloc, it has the potential to become a lingua franca of future debates in the human sciences. In order to make narrative a stronger

and more effective tool in the field of conflict management and peace building, the following areas need further research and development:

Identifying and Publishing Guidelines for Practice and Outcome Research

In any storytelling practice, particularly in the domains of "living with" conflict and peace education, guidelines are essential. Without detailed guidelines, the kinds of stories told can bring up chaotic feelings that participants may not be able to tolerate. Importantly, even if a storytelling practice is successful without published guidelines (due, perhaps, to the merits of its facilitators or members), it cannot be replicated and tested for the benefit of other practitioners in other contexts. Neither can outcome measures be employed to test the effectiveness of the intervention (Albeck, Adwan, & Bar-On, 2002).

Many storytelling approaches seem so particular to their contexts that they do not easily admit the generalizations needed to create helpful guidelines that can be used across contexts. For example, it took 10 years to develop the TRT guidelines that can be used by facilitators in other, sometimes very different, settings (Albeck et al., 2002). The bottom-up, inductive approach is very different from the deductive, top-down processes of formal theorizing

Developing and Testing Theories

In the domain of story work used for the goals of reconciliation and coexistence, theory still lags far behind practice (Moaz, 2001). Lindsay (1999) found a similar lack even in the relatively well-developed sub-field of mediation. Dispute mediation, she found, has developed largely in the absence of theories to corroborate its practices. Mediators are taught techniques during their training to help disputants communicate; however, the kinds, patterns, and evocation of disputant discourse that may further advance the mediation process have received little attention.

Practitioners should try to reduce this gap by generating theories about their work, experimenting with conceptualizations, and testing their generalizibility, applicability, and limitations of these theories and concepts in other contexts. Though each conflict has its own biography that limits the unconditional translation of lessons from one context to another, certain principles can be derived, thus enriching the search for further knowledge.

Recommendations

Story work in the areas of conflict resolution, conflict management or "living with," and peace education has evolved organically to fill specific and quite diverse needs, as evidenced by the broad array of practices and research described in this document. More than anything else, this small but growing field needs a center, an area of focus through which practitioners around the world can offer their experiences, findings, and theories, and seek those of others who are working with story for the same, or different, purposes. The accumulation of data and the cross-pollination of the best thinking, observations, and hunches of practitioners and researchers are vital in order to ratchet this field up to a new level of sophistication and user-friendly practicality.

In no area of human endeavor could our knowledge of storytelling and its power to alter thought, feeling and behavior be more important than in war and peace, hostility and reconciliation. Caren Neile writes,

> If we think of conflict as the clash of divergent stories centering on real or imagined wrong-doing and superiority, then we can take advantage of the ethical underpinning of story, in general, and of storytelling, in particular, to defuse these harmful narratives… The International Storytelling Center is dedicated to promoting the use of storytelling for peace, to determining best practices in the field, to developing a training program for practitioners, and above all, to supporting those who do this vital work. (Neile, n.d., para.1)

The ISC seems ideally positioned to provide a forum and gathering place for scholars, storytellers and dialogue facilitators who are concerned with conflict and peace so that these disparate ideas and practices can begin to enrich and inform each other in this young but important discipline.

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CONCLUSION

In these papers we have summarized surveys of story work in the areas of education, organizations, and peacemaking efforts. While these fields are diverse in the settings they encompass and the specific problems that story work in each tries to address, they also bear important similarities. In concluding this collection of papers, we offer a cross-domain perspective, identifying important themes and opportunities that obtain across these fields and perhaps hold true for other fields as well.

Field-Building

While stories have always played a role in each of these three domains, the conscious, deliberate, and reflective use of story to achieve particular goals is relatively young. In all three domains, story work efforts exist as "pockets" in various parts of the country and the world. In some places, the work thrives and seems effective; in other places, it is virtually unknown. Practitioners and experts in all three domains voiced a need for more opportunities to generate the visibility and understanding that would make story work an effective, powerful, and ubiquitous tool.

Research and Assessment

One key to building the field is to build the knowledge-base upon which practitioners draw. Clear answers to central questions remain elusive: What effects does story work have on how organizations run, how people learn, how progress is made toward peace? How can the learning and growth that story work occasions be documented and assessed? Given the multitude of approaches to story work in each of these domains, which approaches will work best in which contexts? What are the hallmarks of effective versus ineffective story work? While the intuition of those who have experienced the power of stories suggests some answers, the problem of skepticism, the pressures of time, and the limited availability of resources—particularly in the domains of education and peacemaking—call urgently for more definitive and empirical responses to such questions.

Opportunities to Share and Develop Expertise

While story is a natural part of human culture, wielding story effectively in particular contexts to achieve particular goals requires some skill and thoughtfulness. Another essential element in building the field is creating more opportunities for practitioners to come together both to learn from the experiences of others and to share their own experiences. Events that elevate the profile not only of the art of storytelling but of its applied uses in particular fields offer an important opportunity to make story work more visible and to influence broadly the conversation in various domains. Supporting the growth of networks such as the National Storytelling Network and its various interest groups would promote opportunities for both formal and informal sharing of expertise. In addition, sustained, ongoing conversations among small numbers of practitioners and organizations in each of these fields is central to

developing a better understanding of what makes for effective practice and how it is sustained.

Opportunities for Cross-Field Learning

Cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead (Mead 1970) identifies three story-related activities that emerge in cultures around the world:

Story Making: processes through which an individual or group creates, adapts and/or refines a story.
Story Telling: the performance of communicating and sharing a story with others.
Story Listening: the strategies of attending to, understanding, and/or critically interacting with stories of others.

This "story triangle" serves as a useful tool for analyzing story work in various fields. Through the lens of this triangle, domain-wide patterns in the use of story work emerge, shedding light on the ways practitioners in each domain might learn from practitioners in the others.

For example, story work efforts in peacemaking have focused heavily on story listening: How might participants in a peace or conflict-management process be helped to hear and understand the stories of others? How does one take in and make sense of a description of current or historical events that differs radically from one's own? By comparison, the emphasis on story listening in the domains of education and organizations has been relatively light. While this fact in itself does not indicate a weakness in the story work of those domains per se, several challenges that surfaced in those domains are ones that could be addressed through more emphasis on story listening. For example, the problem of the uncritical use of stories as well as its equal-but-opposite problem of entrenched skepticism about story work might each be ameliorated through helping people develop better skills in listening to, understanding, and analyzing stories and the results of sharing them.

Similarly, story work in education, particularly in the area of personal and professional development, has emphasized work in story-making. Techniques and strategies developed in this domain might be adapted to work in organizations and peacemaking in ways that help to address key challenges in those areas. And organizational story work in storytelling might support the deepening of this aspect in peacemaking and education.

Recommendations

All of these needs require dialogue and coordinated effort among story practitioners and other sin the fields in which they work. We believe The International Storytelling Center is well-situated to bring together groups that would enable discussion about these topics and a robust exchange of information that would lead to progress in the field.

APPENDIX A: BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography contains resources on story work arranged by topic. The first category lists resources that deal with story work or storytelling in general. Subsequent categories list story-related resources for education, organizations, and peace and conflict.

Story Work and Storytelling

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APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Semi-structured interview protocol administered to story work experts and practitioners. Each question was follow-up to gather specific examples:

1. What are the ways that you and [organization] are working with stories? Probe for examples of specific strategies and programs.

2. What are you and [organization] doing this? For what purposes?

3. What are some of the difficulties you or [organization] are encountering when working with stories?

4. Who are some other organizations or practitioners that you consider to be doing promising or proven practices with story?