

East Tennessee State University

Digital Commons @ East Tennessee State University

Undergraduate Honors Theses

Student Works

5-2021

The Search for Truth: Legal Storytelling from the Psychological Perspective

Chloe Graves

Follow this and additional works at: <https://dc.etsu.edu/honors>



Part of the [Law and Psychology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Graves, Chloe, "The Search for Truth: Legal Storytelling from the Psychological Perspective" (2021).
Undergraduate Honors Theses. Paper 736. <https://dc.etsu.edu/honors/736>

This Honors Thesis - Withheld is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Works at Digital Commons @ East Tennessee State University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Undergraduate Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ East Tennessee State University. For more information, please contact digilib@etsu.edu.

**The Search for Truth:
Legal Storytelling from the Psychological Perspective**

Chloe Graves

Department of Psychology, East Tennessee State University

PSYC 4900-949/950

Dr. Chroust

April 30, 2021

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my original mentor Dr. Robin Leonard, whose memory we shall cherish and whose legacy will live on through her students, and through all who were blessed enough to meet her.

It is dedicated also to my parents, Jesse Graves and Melissa Graves, my grandparents, in memory of Hugh L. Graves and Joyce Graves, my honors advisor, Dr. Karen Kornweibel, my reader, Dr. Ian Hensley, and my mentor, Dr. Alyson Chroust.

Abstract

This thesis explored the roles of trust, bias, and narrative in legal storytelling and made suggestions for improving legal storytelling and avoiding bias and mistrust when telling and analyzing legal stories. This study was a background and literature review and synthesis of the role of narrative, trust and bias in both general and legal presentation. The current thesis integrated many diverse sources to create an overview of the development of these psychological aspects in the legal field and in legal presentation. The most relevant studies to the legal field and legal presentation were included for integration and synthesis. From the sources and data synthesized, the researcher gives recommendations on how to improve legal presentation using narrative, with a focus on increasing trust and reducing bias among audience members and decision makers in legal proceedings. There was a significant focus on the role of narrative, and how it must be used to convey truth. This study demonstrated that while narrative is important in the legal field, it is even more critical that it is used ethically, and reflects the truth as clearly as the attorneys understand it.

The Search for Truth: Legal Storytelling from the Psychological Perspective

When the earliest people first emerged from the forests and the fields, they began to create stories to describe and identify the world around them, and themselves. These stories and their use of narrative are what define our world. The effective use of narrative can create or destroy trust and bias from a psychological perspective. This thesis focuses on tracing the roots of narrative, looking at our attachment formations and the development of language, and applies these concepts to our legal system. Narrative must be used honestly and convey truth in order to increase trust and reduce bias in legal presentation, and there are ways to teach and apply this proper use of narrative. As students and practitioners of the law, how can we use these three concepts to improve our legal presentation?

Human beings became extremely sophisticated as our brains developed to become very large and complex. Human brains are by far the largest in the animal kingdom relative to body size. The human brain has an incredible 16 billion cortical neurons, while, for instance, a monkey has 2 billion cortical neurons (Churchland, 2019). Human beings have developed to be highly social mammals which form strong attachments to mothers, fathers, kin, and friends. It is believed that our attachments to others due to this high sociality is the basis for both empathy and empathetic behaviors, and for morality and moral behaviors (Churchland, 2019). We first started developing these larger brains, and thus, larger capacities to learn about the world, after we began to consume more nutrient dense food when we first learned to cook our food over a fire (Churchland, 2019).

Over time, we became more advanced and intelligent. Our brains grew larger, and with this, our capabilities. Humans learned how to shelter together against the cold and learned how to delegate tasks among members of a group. We began to build, to farm, and to form communities.

Living in such communities greatly raised our chances of both surviving and thriving. Humans formed traditions and customs, postulated gods and demons, and saw the rise and fall of religions and great kingdoms and countries. As our species advanced, we created and discovered the sciences, the arts, mathematics, architecture, medicine, currency, trade, law, and so on. One thing connected all of humankind during these incredible transitions from the wilderness to the great societies we see today. Language.

Language

Human language, like any communication between members of any species, can consist of audible sounds, physical movements, or visual symbols. However, unlike the other members of the animal kingdom, human communication is essentially boundless in terms of what it can convey. The Encyclopedia Britannica defines language as “...a system of conventional spoken, manual (signed), or written symbols by means of which human beings, as members of a social group and participants in its culture, express themselves. The functions of language include communication, the expression of identity, play, imaginative expression, and emotional release” (Robins & Crystal, 2021).

The Encyclopedia Britannica goes on to say that “Language, as described above, is species-specific to human beings. Other members of the animal kingdom have the ability to communicate, through vocal noises or by other means, but the most important single feature characterizing human language (that is, every individual language), against every known mode of animal communication, is its infinite productivity and creativity. Human beings are unrestricted in what they can communicate; no area of experience is accepted as necessarily incommunicable, though it may be necessary to adapt one’s language in order to cope with new discoveries or new modes of thought. Animal communication systems are by contrast very

tightly circumscribed in what may be communicated.” (Robins & Crystal, 2021). There is clearly far more to human language than basic communication. People, with their astounding number of cortical neurons, have evolved a system of diverse languages which are incredibly complex. Human communication stretches far, far beyond anything of any other mammalian and all animalia counterparts.

As W.J.T. Mitchell says in the “Foreword” to his edited collection, *On Narrative*, “The idea of narrative seems... a mode of knowledge emerging from action, a knowledge which is embedded not just in the stories we tell our children or to while away our leisure, but in the orders by which we live our lives” (Mitchell, 1981). Narrative plays an absolutely crucial role in human lives, and as demonstrated later, in the creation of trust and reduction of bias in legal presentation. From this incredible network of complex language, combined with human beings’ strong senses of attachment and thus empathy and morality, an innumerable number of stories have arisen throughout the ages of human time. These stories have shaped and guided people. Stories have led humankind into peace and into war. They have created and destroyed great religions and traditions. They have led to the rise and fall of great kingdoms. These stories have led people from birth, throughout life, and on into death. Stories have indeed been a great pillar of society. As the description on the back of the book by Dr. Jerome Bruner, *Making Stories: Law, Literature, Life*, says, “Stories pervade our daily lives, from the human interest stories on the news, to the business strategy described to a colleague, to the daydreams in between chores. Stories are what we use to make sense of the world” (Bruner, 2002).

Evolution of Law

There is another great pillar of human society. One that has been present in every community ever seen. This pillar can trace its roots back into our stories, which have stemmed

from our empathy and morality, and thus from our large brains and intelligence capacities. Law. From the humble beginnings of our ancestor's small hunting and gathering groups, to the magnificent ancient societies of every country and continent, to the highly advanced global society we see today; all have had one common feature. The upholding of their laws. Without this upholding, society would surely crumble. All human accomplishment would be for naught without the law.

Humans have developed to be highly social mammals. Due to the make-up of the human brain and the way in which it formed to allow for such strong attachments to others, people have come to the realization that they need other people. Humans developed a capacity for empathy and morality, and with these came the development of laws in order to try and protect people and stabilize society. Human beings "...tend not only to live, but indeed to stand or to fall, together" (Hockett, 2009). According to Dr. Robert Hockett, the Edward Cornell Professor of Law at Cornell University, the laws of a society are different from social norms in the sense that laws are "regularities *deliberately chosen*." These laws are designed by people, enacted by people, and enforced by people.

The law is chiefly concerned with making society more stable and with enabling the people within it to flourish. (Honore, 1995). They are enforced by political authority and give the power to people to decide how they will live. These enforced laws give people the power to decide, which can be a "...a great blessing, and a great curse." In order to function at all, and certainly to function well enough to allow for human flourishing, all societies need law. In their pursuit of happiness and societal perfection (what the researcher will call "human flourishing"), people must have protections and rights so that they may live their lives to the best of their ability without being harmed, or harming others. Should they willfully harm others, they will be

punished for hindering another's pursuit of happiness (or flourishing). These punishments, called sanctions, are expected to be dealt morally and righteously, and much evidence must be gathered beforehand.

Rule of Law

One massively influential thought about how the law should work has pervaded the entire globe and has been found in nearly every major society. The Greeks called it "Logos," which later found its way into Roman law and along with its complement from the Hebraic traditions (God's Torah), found its way into the European natural law tradition. This same thought arose in the Confucian traditions stemming from the Chinese concept of Tao which influenced the East Asian legal concept of Li. This common idea was also found in ancient India, in the concept of Dharma (Hockett, 2009). The idea has come to be known as the "Rule of Law."

The Rule of Law essentially states that "the law is a system of principles or rules to which all individuals- including those who govern- are subject" (Hockett, 2009). This idea maintains that the *law* itself governs, not the *people* governing, so that there is a check on power and all members of a society are subject to the laws, even those people who write and enforce them. This idea, at least in theory, because it is not always successful due to human corruption, is an excellent approach to ensuring that all human beings are equal before the law.

Structure of Law

These laws needed a system of ratification, of enforcement, and of review. Thus, legal systems were created in order to create, maintain, and change or revoke the laws that gave society stability and guaranteed safety. Perhaps the earliest and most impressive ancient legal systems was that of Hammurabi, who was the sixth king of the ancient Mesopotamian city of

Babylon, and the first emperor of the Babylonian Empire. Some aspects of his highly sophisticated legal system survive to this day. It was the ancient Romans who had the first official law specialists, who are considered as some of the world's earliest attorneys (Hockett, 2009).

The legal system in the United States has developed as a common law structure. Common law, as opposed to the other major tradition, civil law, was developed in England in the Middle Ages, and has come to be dominantly used in most English-speaking countries. Its counterpart, civil law, was developed in Rome originally, and is practiced dominantly in many non-English speaking countries, mainly in continental Europe, South America, and most of Asia. Civil law adheres strictly to written codes, which apply broadly to all cases concerning them, and are not altered lightly. Common law leaves much of the law for the courts to develop as they decide on each individual case (Honore, 1995). One could say that in this regard common law is much more flexible than civil law. This is why, in a common law system, it is so important to develop excellent narrative, while increasing trust and reducing bias against oneself within one's audience.

Defenders and Challengers of Law

The laws created by a country, consisting of constitutionally arrangements and officially-backed rules, do not always provide a clear answer for the infinite ways the world can turn (Honore, 1995). When the law does not give a clear answer, and often they do not, they must be treated as general rules to apply to a vast array of potential scenarios in human lives. This creativity in thought and narrative is why the opinions of practicing attorneys are held in such high regard in the common law systems, and why proper use of narrative is so significant.

The laws then, need their own scholars to be able to defend, apply, and sometimes, repeal them. This is where attorneys, or as they are sometimes better known, lawyers, come into play. The opinions of practicing attorneys are held in very high regard in the common law systems. It is the duty of the attorney to figure out how to best apply the law to situations, while simultaneously respecting authority. To do this, attorneys employ learning, wisdom, and restraint, in order to find the best solution for the problem while maintaining consistency with the authority of the constitution (Honore, 1995). These four principles ensure that the best solution will be found.

Attorneys can advise regulators, serve as judges, or teach law. However, most attorneys advise private clients or organizations about the rules that apply to them in their particular cases. If it is necessary, attorneys will argue their client's case in court (Honore, 1995). These arguments are incredibly important, and it is of utmost important they be conveyed properly and well. Close attention to narrative, increasing trust, and reducing bias against you can mean the difference between a win or a loss in the courtroom, and have a great effect (wonderful or catastrophic) on your reputation as an attorney.

Narrative

The American Psychological Association (APA) defines “narrative psychology” as “a field in psychology that investigates the value of stories and storytelling in giving meaning to individuals’ experiences—shaping their memory of past events, their understanding of the present, and their projections of future events—and in defining themselves and their lives. The term was introduced by Theodore R. Sarbin, whose edited volume *Narrative Psychology: The Storied Nature of Human Conduct* (1986) defined narrative as an integral feature in the scientific enterprise; he referred to narrative as a “root metaphor” for psychology—that is, a metaphor for

examining and interpreting human behavior. Numerous other people in personality and social psychology, memory research, and other areas of inquiry have subsequently contributed to this field.” (American Psychological Association, 2020). One particularly renowned psychologist studied this narrative in psychology.

Dr. Jerome Bruner, born on October 1st, 1915 and passed away on June 5th, 2016, was a famous and very influential American psychologist whose works partially focused on narrative in both psychology and law (Harvard, 2021). Dr. Bruner studied at Duke University, Harvard University, and later became a professor at Harvard University, Oxford University, and the New York University School of Law, as well as teaching and studying at several other prominent universities. Dr. Bruner’s work first focused on psychological warfare, then on developmental stages of cognition (he followed Jean Piaget’s model), and perceptions in children (Britannica, 2020). Jerome Bruner is listed at number 28 on the American Psychological Association’s list of the 100 most eminent psychologists of the 20th century.

Jerome Bruner is quite respected for his work on narrative. One of his books from later in his career, *Making Stories: Law, Literature, Life*, contains some of his greatest work on the subject and can greatly aid both attorneys and laypersons in developing their personal narrative in storytelling and presentation. The book introduces how humans have used storytelling and narrative since the beginning of our time, then goes onto explain how we use it in the legal field and in literary works. The book ends by asserting why narrative is so important. Throughout the book, Bruner asserts several key points about narrative.

One key point about narrative is that we use it to construct, to reconstruct, and sometimes reinvent the past, present, and future. Memory and imagination come together in this process, and thus it is imperative that when using narrative in the legal field that people present cases to

reflect the truth. He maintains that opposing adversarial narratives which are constructed by strict court procedures, must reflect the real world as truthfully as possible, along with the deviation that occurred to bring the parties to court. He maintains that narrative must be carefully crafted, because cases are not decided by their legal merits alone, but also by the artfulness of the attorney's narrative (Bruner, 2002). This point demonstrates why it is extremely important for narrative to be taught and used correctly in legal education and presentation.

Bruner distinguishes between fictional (stories in literature) and non-fictional (legal presentation) narration. He argues fiercely that the latter should not be taken lightly by any means. Bruner maintains that we often distort reality in our narratives in all forms, and that this is a very bad practice. Throughout the book, Bruner asserts that this nonfictional narrative is a truly meaningful creation. Attorneys especially need to take it very seriously in legal matters and make their narrative so that it reflects the real world as it exists. In other words, their narrative must reflect the truth. Bruner pleads that we need more truthful exemplars and stories in general and warns against trusting stories that sound too good to be true (Bruner, 2002). These reflections on narrative show why it is of utmost importance it be used correctly in legal presentation.

A study published by the University of Minnesota Law School, found that there has been a failure to address deception used in legal practices. The author of the study analyzed narrative in legal practice and found that while attorneys are expected to convey the truth in their client's favor, they can often use deception too much and actually alter the truth. A quote from the study reads: "Narrative plays a key role in common law legal reasoning and legal practice. When competently inserted into legal argument, narrative is compelling because it appears to be the truth—regardless of what events might have actually occurred. The practice of legal narrative

has an unavoidable ethical component, one which should be explored in scholarship and education” (Whalen-Bridge, 2010). The author of this study recommends making all students take a class on legal ethics (which is not currently required everywhere, surprisingly), along with a narrative class. This study demonstrates the crucial role of narrative in legal presentation and reveals that it is not always taught to students of the law to be used correctly.

Trust

The definition of trust, as proposed by the APA, is “1. n. reliance on or confidence in the dependability of someone or something. In interpersonal relationships, trust refers to the confidence that a person or group of people has in the reliability of another person or group; specifically, it is the degree to which each party feels that they can depend on the other party to do what they say they will do. The key factor is not the intrinsic honesty of the other people but their predictability. Trust is considered by most psychologists to be a primary component in mature relationships with others, whether intimate, social, or therapeutic. (see basic trust versus mistrust; security. 2. vb. “to have trust in someone or something”; American Psychological Association, 2020).

In a study conducted by a graduate student at Iowa State University (Kane, 2021), misinformation and the spread of it via social media platforms were researched, as well as the effect of the credentials and relatability of the speaker to their audience. Although this study looked at social media stories rather than in-person legal stories, it is an important study because it demonstrates many significant insights about how audiences and speakers interact psychologically. Furthermore, as society makes more and more advances, people are becoming more and more dependent on technology, and our lives and these technological advancements will be ever more intertwined. This concept is especially critical during the time of the global

Covid-19 pandemic during which traditional legal argumentation often occurred via online platforms. Thus, it is beneficial to look at these topics through the lens of a technological landscape as well.

This research focused on two studies analyzing the effectiveness of news stories. The first study found that stories that had both high-credibility authors and high-credibility characters created greater trust in the story from its audience. The second study found that stories with high ego involvement or protagonist similarity to the audience, and the narrative transportation and perceptions of the protagonist from the audience lead to greater trust in them. These two studies demonstrate that the more the audience perceives the speaker or “main character/protagonist” of a story as trustworthy, and the more similar they perceive themselves to be to this protagonist, the more likely they are to trust the speaker and the story (Kane, 2021). This study provided significant insights about how audiences and speakers interact psychologically.

Bias

The definition of bias, as proposed by the APA, is “bias n. 1. partiality: an inclination or predisposition for or against something. See also prejudice. 2. any tendency or preference, such as a response bias or test bias. 3. systematic error arising during sampling, data collection, or data analysis. See biased estimator; biased sampling. 4. any deviation of a measured or calculated quantity from its actual (true) value, such that the measurement or calculation is unrepresentative of the item of interest. —biased adj” (American Psychological Association, 2020). The researcher included the entire definition of bias as defined by the APA, but for the purposes of this study the focus was on the first and partly on the second definition.

A cross-disciplinary experiment in psychology and law, conducted by psychologists and published by the Harvard Law Review, found that adversarial presentation, in which parties (prosecution and defense) come together to present legal arguments, can counteract bias in decisionmakers (judges, etc.), as opposed to inquisitorial presentation, in which the judge more actively reviews the evidence available and decides without defense and prosecution (Thibaut, Walker, & Lind, 1972). Engaging in adversarial presentation reduces bias in decision makers in a case. The authors of this study concluded that an adversarial presentation is better at reducing bias than inquisitorial presentation in the legal field. This study demonstrates how crucial narrative is in reducing bias in legal presentation, and why it must be employed correctly.

The researcher also looked at several studies on reducing bias in general outside of the legal field. Two studies, the first done on empowering women and reducing bias against women (Beaman, et al, 2009), and the second empowering and reducing bias in adolescents (Ma, et al., 2019). The first study found that providing positive exemplars reduced bias against the outgroup, and the second study found that having a positive contact with a member of the outgroup reduced bias. These studies essentially have one conclusion for reducing bias, and that is that positive exemplars work to reduce bias.

Findings

This thesis served as a gathering of background information and literature review to create a map of how attorneys can better use narrative to increase trust and reduce bias in legal presentations. This research was conducted on a fairly novel topic. In the future, researchers may consider testing biases towards and mistrust of legal arguments and attorneys. The researcher of this project had initially planned to conduct a survey study rather than a literature review and analysis study before the Covid-19 global pandemic hit. In the future, the researcher plans to

continue work on this topic in depth. Limitations to this study included the pandemic that derailed plans of an in-person survey and experiment, and the tragic loss of the student researcher's mentor during the project. Despite limitations, this thesis aided in gathering background information and analyzing that information to analyze and make recommendations which can be used in future studies.

In terms of improving narrative, Bruner's work suggests that narrative should be treated extremely seriously, and that it needs to be used ethically. Further, the studies the researcher looked at indicated that ethics courses should be taught to all law students during their time in law school. The researcher of this study recommends that all students of the law and practicing attorneys use narrative to convey only the truth, and further, recommends that a course be created and required of all law students which combines the teaching of narrative with legal ethics. This course should be taught at all schools of law and should strive to train students to be more in tune to methods of deception both in their own narrative and in others and provide them ways to combat it truthfully. The course should also strive to better inform students and future attorneys and lawmakers the importance of the ethical use of narrative and of truth.

In terms of increasing trust, the study that the researcher analyzed for this paper indicated that speaker relatability to audience, speaker values and audience values, and audience perceptions of the speaker had profound effects on how much trust was placed into the speaker. Essentially, the more similar the speaker is or is perceived to be like the audience (their backgrounds, values, and beliefs), the greater the trust the audience places onto the speaker. From the information gathered from these studies, this research highly recommends that the speaker do background research on the audience to the degree that this is possible. The researcher also recommends that the speaker convey themselves (using their own narrative) to be

as relatable as possible to their audience by pointing out any similarities in background, values, and beliefs.

In terms of decreasing bias, the studies that the researcher examined found that in legal presentations, it is best to engage in adversarial rather than inquisitorial. This reduces bias on behalf of the decision makers, and thus allows for a more fair and truth-preserving trial. The researcher also looked at several studies on reducing bias outside of the legal field, which could be applied to legal presentation. The studies analyzed show that providing positive role models of outgroups reduces bias among ingroup peers. Generally, people respond positively to having positive role models presented. This could be applied more specifically to the legal field by presenting positive models of attorneys more generally in society and through media, and by individual attorneys presenting themselves well and in positive ways. Although some of these aspects may be less controllable by an individual, such as media representation and type of legal process, the individual aspect of presenting oneself well can be achieved by attorneys and law students as they move their use of narrative away from deception and towards truth. Taking these steps may help to reduce bias during legal presentation.

This thesis took information from many sources to create a synthesis of the evolution of legal storytelling and from these sources made recommendations about how to improve it. The thesis begins with human evolution, language evolution, and delves into legal evolution and the roles that, narrative especially, trust, and bias play psychologically in legal presentation and the legal system. This study has found that while narrative is very significant in the legal field, and narratives can be used to achieve ends such as increasing trust in the presenter and reducing bias against the presenter, it is even more imperative that narratives are used ethically, and reflect the truth as clearly as the attorneys understand it.

“You should not honor men more than truth” (Bloom, 1968). This profound insight was said many centuries ago by the very wise ancient Greek philosopher, Plato. Plato’s idea echoes a call to the modern-day legal system and offers a model of integrity and honesty to the attorneys of today. Our legal system should be as search for truth, aimed at finding the truth in all matters. Students of the law need to be taught how to use narrative ethically. An attorney’s opinion is very respected and held in high regard in a common law system. One may essentially be “writing the law” as one investigates, and if necessary, argues for, each individual case, especially if that case is novel.

As students of the law and as upholders of the law, as defenders of the law, and as challengers to the law, people should make every effort to strive towards truth. Teaching the proper ways to use narrative, so that it reflects the truth, and avoids deception when being used, will bring us ever closer to the goal of our legal proceedings - to find the truth. For the legal system to work, it must be focused on finding the truth, “the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.” The disciplines of psychology, philosophy, law, and truly, all disciplines, relentlessly pursue one thing. It is what all humans crave to know and is perhaps the reason we engage in persistent scholarship at all. It is the search for the truth.

References

- American Psychological Association. (2020). *Bias*. APA Dictionary of Psychology. Retrieved from <https://dictionary.apa.org/bias>
- American Psychological Association. (2020). *Narrative psychology*. APA Dictionary of Psychology. Retrieved from <https://dictionary.apa.org/narrative-psychology>
- American Psychological Association. (2020). *Trust*. APA Dictionary of Psychology. Retrieved from <https://dictionary.apa.org/trust>
- Beaman, L., Chattopadhyay, R., Duflo, E., Pande, R., & Topalova, P. (2009). Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias? *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 124(4), 1497–1540. <https://doi.org/10.1162/qjec.2009.124.4.1497>
- Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia (2020, September 27). *Jerome Bruner*. Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jerome-Bruner>
- Bruner, J. (2002). *Making stories: Law, literature, life*. Harvard University Press.
- Churchland, P. (2019). *Conscience*. W.W. Norton & Company.
- Harvard Department of Psychology. (2021). *Jerome Bruner*. Harvard University. Retrieved from <https://psychology.fas.harvard.edu/people/jerome-bruner>
- Hockett, R. (2009). *Little book of big ideas: Law*. Chicago Review Press.
- Honore, T. (1995). *About law*. Oxford University Press.
- Kane, K. A. (2021). *Don't let the truth get in the way of a good story: Persuasive influences in narrative misinformation* (Publication No. AAI27955749). [Ph.D. Dissertation, Iowa

State University]. In *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering* (Vol. 82, Issue 1–B). US: ProQuest Information & Learning.

Ma, W., Feng, R., Lu, B., Xie, Q., Jiang, L., & Liu, X. (2019). The reducing effect of positive imagined intergroup contact on intergroup attributional bias. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 49(3), 168–177. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12573>

Mitchell, W.J.T. (ed.). (1981). *On narrative*. University of Chicago Press.

Plato (1968). *The republic*. (A. Bloom, Trans.). Library of Congress. (Original work published ca. 375 BCE).

Robins, R. H. & Crystal, D. (2021, March 9). *Language*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/language>

Thibaut, J., Walker, L., & Lind, E., A. (1972). Adversary presentation and bias in legal decisionmaking. *Harvard Law Review*, 86(2), 386–401. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1339895>

Whalen-Bridge, H. (2010). The lost narrative: the connection between legal narrative and legal ethics. *Journal of the Association of Legal Writing Directors*, 7, 229–. Retrieved from <https://web.b.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=c3d5792a-cf57-46be-b189-daed70e0c6f7%40pdc-v-sessmgr01>