Peremptory Strikes in Mississippi's Fifth Circuit Court District

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APM Reports

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I - Introduction

In 1986, the Supreme Court ruled in *Batson v. Kentucky* that it is unconstitutional for prosecutors to use race as a reason for exercising peremptory strikes against African-American potential jurors. Though the Court would go on to lay a groundwork for identifying racial discrimination in jury selection, previous research has found that there are still large disparities in the way that prosecutors and defense attorneys treat jurors of different races.

Journalists working on the APM Reports podcast "In The Dark" spent a year gathering and analyzing court records to build a dataset of peremptory strike decisions in the Fifth Circuit Court District of Mississippi. This analysis was done as part of a larger investigation into the case of Curtis Flowers, a man who has been tried six times for the murder of four people in Winona, Mississippi. The Mississippi Supreme Court has overturned one of Curtis Flowers' convictions on the grounds that Doug Evans, the district attorney, committed a *Batson* violation. However, the role that race plays in jury selection in less well-known and less well-covered cases had yet to be explored. The goal of this analysis is to determine whether or not there are racial disparities in the way that lawyers use peremptory strikes in the Fifth Circuit Court District of Mississippi.

Using race data from 225 trials from 1992 through 2017, APM Reports found that prosecutors in the Fifth Circuit Court District exercised a disproportionate number of their peremptory strikes against African-American venire members, striking them at a rate four and a half times that of white jurors. We also analyzed strikes for cause and peremptory strikes by the defense and found racial disparities in each. Even when considering other race-neutral factors gathered from 89 voir dire proceedings, we found that race remained a powerful indicator of whether a juror would be accepted or struck.

II - Background

In 1997, Curtis Giovanni Flowers was found guilty of the murder of four people in Winona, Mississippi. The conviction was later overturned, and Curtis was granted a new trial. He was found guilty a second time, but the second conviction was also overturned. Curtis was found guilty for the third time in 2004. In 2007, the Mississippi Supreme Court overturned the third conviction on the grounds that the prosecution had engaged in racial discrimination during jury selection. Curtis would go on to be tried three more times—trials four and five ended in mistrials and Flowers' sixth trial ended in conviction and a death sentence, in 2010.

As a part of the post-conviction relief for the most recent conviction, attorneys for the defense gathered peremptory strike data on 13 capital murder trials overseen by Doug Evans and his office. The post-conviction relief team found that the prosecution struck black jurors at a rate eight times that of white jurors. Still, in 2017, the Mississippi Supreme Court upheld Flowers' most recent conviction on the grounds that there was no racial discrimination in the state's strike decisions.

This analysis is different from the work done by the post-conviction relief team in two ways. First, the post-conviction team confined its analysis to 13 proceedings, and second, it does not test other race-neutral factors that may explain the observed disparities in strike rates. Our analysis of race in jury selection is based on data from 225 trials and also controls for race-neutral factors through a binary logistic regression analysis performed on answers to questions posed to potential jurors during voir dire.

III - Methodology

We modeled our study of strike decisions on similar studies done in Dallas, Philadelphia and North Carolina. We analyzed race and strike decisions first by looking at strikes for cause and a direct comparison of the strike rates against white and black potential jurors and second, by building a binary logistic regression model.

We restricted the study population to trial proceedings overseen by Doug Evans or one of his assistants. In 1992, Doug Evans was elected district attorney of the Fifth Circuit Court District, which covers Attala, Carroll, Choctaw, Grenada, Montgomery, Webster, and Winston county, so we restricted ourselves to that time period and geography.

Data Gathering

There is no complete record of trials at the district court level so the first step we took was to create a complete list of all trials for the Fifth Circuit Court District. Through a combination of records requests and by going page-by-page through hand-written docket books at each of the eight courthouses in the district, we created a list of 418 trials from 1992 to 2017.

Once we had a list of trials to look for, three APM Reports journalists went courthouse to courthouse digitizing court files and the transcripts of trial proceedings, where available. We kept a log of every trial we were able to find and went to the Mississippi Department of History and Archives and the Mississippi Supreme Court Archives to look for additional court documents when we were unable to locate records in the lower courthouses.

After we created digital files of the court records and transcripts, we went through the files looking for five pieces of information and kept track of whether each trial had any of the following:
1. A record of all the potential jurors called for jury duty, referred to as the venire.
2. A record of the peremptory strikes exercised by both the prosecution and the defense, written down by either the judge or the court reporter.

3. The race of each potential juror, written down by either the judge or the court reporter on the margins of the list of potential jurors.
4. The list of jurors selected for jury duty.
5. A transcript of voir dire, the process of questioning potential jurors prior to selecting a jury.

Once we knew what data was available for each proceeding, we conducted data-entry in three phases. Using a custom-built database, we recorded basic information on each case such as the names of prosecutors and defense attorneys, the code violation, the defendant's name and race, the verdict, whether the case was appealed, and whether we had the transcript of voir dire proceedings.

We first went through entering information for every trial that had the race and strike decisions recorded on the venire sheet. During proceedings, the judge or the court reporter sometimes wrote the race of every juror next to the juror's name on the venire sheet. We recorded the potential juror's name, race, gender if it was included, whether they were struck and by whom, and the potential juror's strike eligibility. The race of the juror was available in the court files for 198 trials.

In Mississippi, attorneys have 12 peremptory strikes in capital trials and six for all other trials. They are allowed one peremptory strike per two alternate jurors, with more given at the discretion of the judge. When we were in doubt as to the eligibility of an alternate juror, we consulted transcripts of proceedings to verify the eligibility.

After we entered the race and strike information for all the trials for which it was readily available, we then went through transcripts of voir dire looking for more race and/or gender information. The transcripts only ever mentioned the race of the juror in the context of *Batson* challenges, so that information was limited. We were able to gather race data from 27 transcripts but were able to gather gender information on jurors in an additional 107 proceedings.

Once data entry for peremptory strikes was completed, we coded juror responses to questions asked during voir dire. We coded voir dire responses according to the methodology described by Barbara O'Brien & Catherine M. Grosso, Report on Jury Selection Study (2011). Dr. O'Brien and Dr. Grosso conducted data analysis for the post-conviction defense, so they were consulted on methodological clarifications only.[1] APM Reports did this data analysis independent of the data analysis conducted by Flowers' attorneys, so they were not consulted on data analysis and did not see our results prior to publication.

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[1] Dr. O'Brien and Dr. Grosso created a list of variables to track how potential jurors responded to certain questions and we consulted with them on how they mapped certain statements to certain variables. APM Reports only consulted them about how they handled difficult-to-decipher juror answers and how we might code certain juror statements.

We limited our analysis of juror responses during voir dire to the 89 trial proceedings for which we had both race information for the venire and a transcript of the trial.

A team of three reporters read through trial transcripts and coded juror responses into a database using a set of 67 variables to track answers to common questions as well as biases that the juror expressed during questioning. As each reporter read through transcripts, we kept a log of any juror whose responses needed further discussion. Finally, we had a group meeting and discussed any ambiguity, kept track of our decisions, and updated the database to reflect our coding decisions.

Summary of Data Gathering Efforts

Information Gathered	Number of proceedings
Race and gender from court files	198
Race from transcripts	27
Gender from transcripts	107
Juror responses to voir dire	89

IV - Analysis and Results

APM Reports gathered race data on 6,763 potential jurors. We analyzed each step of the jury selection process—strikes for cause, strikes by the prosecution, and strikes by the defense—and found racial disparities in each one.

Strikes for Cause

During voir dire, potential jurors are asked questions about their knowledge of the case, their relationships with law enforcement, whether they have been victims of crime or have been accused of criminal activity, and other questions meant to determine possible biases that would make them unfit for jury duty. Potential jurors that admit they are incapable of being fair are struck for cause.

APM Reports found race data for 1,342 jurors that were struck for cause. Though the Fifth Circuit Court District is roughly 40% black, the majority of those struck for cause were black. 57% (759/1342) were black and 43% (583/1342) were white.

Strikes for cause against women and men had the same split as strikes for cause against black and white jurors. APM Reports gathered gender data for 1,938 jurors that were struck for cause. 57% (1113/1938) were women and 43% (825/1938) were men.

Prosecution Strike Rates

APM Reports gathered race data on 5,131 potential jurors eligible to be struck by the prosecution. Of those 5,131 jurors, 65% were white (3318/5131) and and 35% were black (1811/5131). Only two of the 5,131 jurors in our analysis were of other races.

In our analysis of the raw strike rates, we found a clear disparity in the way the state exercises peremptory strikes. The state struck 902 and accepted 909 black jurors. They struck 372 and accepted 2946 white jurors. This means that the prosecution struck 49.81% of eligible black venire members and only 11.21% of eligible white venire members, which comes out to striking black jurors at a rate 4.4 times that of white jurors.

State Strike Decision	Black Venire Members	White Venire Members
Struck	49.81% (902)	11.21% (372)
Accepted	50.19% (909)	88.79% (2946)
Total	100% (1811)	100% (3318)

APM Reports filtered the data in a number of ways. This disparity persisted when we filtered the data to analyze strike rates for trials within each of the 7 counties, for different categories of crime, and for the race of the defendant. We found no way to slice up the data where the state struck white and black jurors in equal measure.

Trial Filter	Ratio between Black and White Strike Rates
Attala County	3.6
Carroll County	8.1
Choctaw County	2.9
Grenada County	5.2
Montgomery County	6.9
Webster County	4.1
Winston County	4.6
Capital Murder	4.2
Violent Crimes	4.1
Drug Offenses	5.1
Burglary and Crimes Against Property	4.3
Black Defendant	5.4
White Defendant	2.5

All of these results were found to be significant at $p < .001$.

In addition to race, APM Reports also analyzed strike rates against men and women. Though the disparity is much smaller, we found that the state struck women at a higher rate than men. We gathered gender information on 6,817 jurors that were strike eligible by the state. 42% (2864/6817) were men and 58% (3953/6817) were women. The state struck 21.82% (625/2864) of eligible male venire members and 25.27% (999/3953) of eligible female venire members. This means that the state struck women from the venire at a rate 1.16 times that of men.

State strike decision	Male Venire Members	Female Venire Members
Struck	21.82% (625)	25.27% (999)
Accepted	78.18% (2239)	74.73% (2954)
Total	100% (2864)	100% (3953)

Defense Strike Rates

The prosecution is not alone in having racial disparities in its strikes. APM Reports also analyzed how defense attorneys exercised peremptory strikes and found that the defense struck white jurors at a higher rate than black jurors. We had 3,658 jurors that were strike eligible by the defense, of whom 23% (846/3658) were black and 77% (2812/3658) were white. These raw numbers are interesting because, with a few exceptions, all jurors struck by the defense had to be accepted by the state first. This means the state plays a powerful role in shaping the final jury. This has caused the pool of jurors available to the defense to skew whiter than the general population in all but one of the seven counties in our study.

The defense's strike rates were nearly the inverse of the state's. Defense attorneys struck 127 black potential jurors and accepted 719, a strike rate of 15%. They struck 1,330 and accepted 1482 white jurors, for a strike rate of 47.3%. This means the defense struck white potential jurors at a rate 3.15 times the rate it struck black jurors.

Defense strike decision	Black Venire Members	White Venire Members
Struck	15.01% (127)	47.30% (1330)
Accepted	84.99% (719)	52.70% (1482)
Total	100% (846)	100% (2812)

There is a much smaller disparity between the defense's strikes against male and female venire members. The defense struck 45.03% (966/2145) of eligible male venire members and 38.02% (1063/2796) of eligible female venire members. The ratio between strike rates is 1.18, meaning the defense struck male jurors at a rate 1.18 times that of female jurors.

Defense Strike Decision	Male Venire Members	Female Venire Members
Struck	45.03% (966)	38.02% (1063)
Accepted	54.97% (1179)	61.98% (1733)
Total	100% (2145)	100% (2796)

Jury Composition

Potential jurors that are accepted by both the state and the defense are placed on the jury. Though there are racial disparities in both the state and the defense's peremptory strikes, the final results still skew whiter than the general population of the Fifth Circuit Court District. We

gathered race data on 2,688 people who were either chosen as jurors or alternates. 68% of jurors were white and only 32% of jurors were black.

APM Reports found that the aggregated number of jurors was whiter than the general population, but APM Reports also found that the final composition of individual juries skewed whiter than the general population of the county each jury was in.

To be eligible for jury-duty in Mississippi, a person must live in the county the trial is conducted in, be able to read and write, must not have been convicted of an 'infamous crime'[2] or the unlawful sale of alcohol, and must not be a 'common gambler or habitual drunkard.'[3] APM Reports found the race of all 12 jurors for 181 juries.

Ratio of Black Jurors to White Jurors	Number of trials
0:12	14
1:11	19
2:10	27
3:9	28
4:8	27
5:7	24
6:6	22
7:5	13
8:4	4
9:3	2
10:2	1
11:1	0
12:0	0
Total	181

Due to the difficulty of determining the percentage of the population that is a common gambler or an infamous convict, APM Reports defined a trial as demographically representative if the trial had a white:black racial split similar to that of the county the trial took place in. We used a binomial test to determine the likelihood that a jury with a given racial split would occur due to chance given the percentage of the population that is white in the county the trial took place in. We then used Fisher's combined probability test[4] to calculate a combined p-value and found that the juries overwhelmingly do not represent the demographics of the counties the trials took place in.

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[2] MS Code § 13-5-1 (2017)
[3] Ibid.
[4] Fisher's method p-value: 2.4e-10

This does not prove that the prosecution or the defense skewed the composition of the juries. There are many steps in the jury selection process that could introduce a disparity. There could be racial disparities in the population eligible to serve for jury duty, or in the pools of potential jurors that show up for jury duty. Regardless of where the disparities are introduced, the composition of the juries we gathered data on are not representative of the general population.

Logistic Regression

Though APM Reports observed clear differences in the way white and black potential jurors are treated across the Fifth Circuit Court District, there are several possible explanations for the observed disparity in strike rates. Judges, prosecutors, and defense attorneys ask jurors a series of questions prior to the trial to get a better understanding of potential biases the jurors might hold, a process referred to as voir dire.

APM Reports wanted to test whether the various race-neutral topics discussed in voir dire could explain the disparity in strike rates. In order to test these race-neutral factors, APM Reports read through 89 transcripts of voir dire proceedings and coded the responses of all jurors subject to strike decisions. These 89 trials were chosen because they represent all the trials where we found both the race of potential jurors entered into the court record and a complete transcript of voir dire. We tracked the responses of each juror using about 65 different variables. The variables track characteristics that may have influenced the decision to strike or accept a juror.

To see if our sample was similar to the larger study population, we analyzed the strikes against black and white jurors only in these 89 trials and found them to be similar. The ratio between white and black strike rates for the state in the larger study was 4.4 and is 4.8 for the trials included in the voir dire analysis.

Using whether the juror was struck by the state or not as the dependent variable and the juror's responses during voir dire as the input data, APM Reports built a logistic regression model to test the importance of the different variables on the likelihood of being struck. Our logistic regression model used all the variables we tracked that had more than 5 event and non-event occurrences. An explanation of every variable is included at the end of this paper.

APM Reports first ran every variable through a logistic regression model. We then removed all variables with a p-value > 0.1. Finally, we selected all factors with a p-value < 0.05 and ran the model a third time. As seen in Logistic Regression Table 1, there are seven factors that have a statistically significant impact on the likelihood of a juror being struck.

Though there are other variables that are significant, race is a powerful indicator of whether or not a juror is likely to be struck. The juror being accused of a crime, the juror having a family member accused of a crime (accused and fam_accused), and knowing the defendant all increased the likelihood of being struck.

Logistic Regression Table 1, Factors with p-value < .05

```
===============================================================================
Dep. Variable:     juror_id__struck_by_state   No. Observations:           2295
Model:                             Logit  Df Residuals:               2287
Method:                              MLE  Df Model:                      7
Date:                  Mon, 11 Jun 2018  Pseudo R-squ.:             0.2682
Time:                          20:40:13  Log-Likelihood:           -943.78
converged:                         True  LL-Null:                  -1289.7
                                         LLR p-value:             3.815e-145
===============================================================================
                       coef    std err          z      P>|z|      [0.025      0.975]
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
is_black             1.8972      0.141     13.443      0.000       1.621       2.174
accused              2.5128      0.545      4.606      0.000       1.444       3.582
fam_accused          1.8476      0.162     11.402      0.000       1.530       2.165
fam_law_enforcement -0.5627      0.162     -3.468      0.001      -0.881      -0.245
know_def             1.3257      0.223      5.937      0.000       0.888       1.763
death_hesitation     1.8243      0.592      3.084      0.002       0.665       2.984
same_race            0.3603      0.140      2.575      0.010       0.086       0.635
intercept           -2.4307      0.101    -24.017      0.000      -2.629      -2.232
===============================================================================
```

Odds Ratio and 95% Confidence Interval

Variable	2.5%	Odds Ratio	97.5%
accused	4.24	12.34	35.94
is_black	5.06	6.67	8.79
fam_accused	4.62	6.34	8.72
death_hesitation	1.94	6.20	19.76
know_def	2.43	3.76	5.83
same_race	1.09	1.43	1.89
fam_law_enforcement	0.41	0.57	0.78

We used the Area under the ROC Curve statistic to determine whether the model is a good classifier and has the ability to discriminate between a juror who was struck and one who was not struck. Our model has an Area Under the ROC Curve score of 0.82, which means the model has a good to excellent ability to discriminate between accepted and struck jurors.

We used the same_race variable to code jurors that were the same race as any of the defendants. In building the logistic regression model, we included and excluded certain variables to see how that impacted the model. When we left out the race of the juror from the model, same_race had a much higher odds ratio (odds ratio = 4.5). But the model with the race of the juror added back in lowers the same_race odds ratio to 1.4.

While this could mean several things, it could indicate that the model with race is a better fit to the data than the model that excludes race. To test this, we used the Likelihood-Ratio Test and found that the addition of juror race increased the fit of the model in a statistically significant way[5]. In other words, the logistic regression model without juror race does a worse job at explaining the data than the model that includes juror race as a characteristic.

Raw Strike Data for Logistic Regression Model

	Accepted	Rejected	Total	Percent Struck
Accused of Crime				
Black	1	24	25	**96%**
White	4	6	10	**60%**
Family accused of crime				
Black	13	114	127	**90%**
White	102	47	149	**32%**
Family in law enforcement				
Black	52	50	102	**49%**
White	317	28	345	**8%**
Knows defendant				
Black	12	71	83	**86%**
White	42	11	53	**21%**
Against Death Penalty				
Black	0	13	13	**100%**
White	6	2	8	**25%**
Same race as defendant				
Black	255	326	581	**56%**
White	240	46	286	**16%**
None of the above variables				
Black	79	48	127	**38%**
White	793	71	864	**8%**
All 89 cases				
Black	345	396	741	53%
White	1377	177	1554	11%

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[5] p-value for the Likelihood Ratio Test is significant at p<.001. p-value: 1.44e-38

Capital Murder Trials

APM Reports also ran a logistic regression model on strike data from 13 capital murder trials, including three of Curtis Flowers' trials. Our analysis found that black jurors in capital murder trials were more than eight times as likely to be struck than white jurors. Being black was the greatest predictor of being struck in capital trials, even more than expressing hesitation about imposing the death penalty.

Logistic Regression Table 2 shows the logistic regression model after filtering out variables that did not have more than five occurrences and non-occurrences and filtering out factors with p-values > .05.

Logistic Regression Table 2, Capital Murder Factors with p-value < .05

```
==============================================================================
Dep. Variable:     juror_id__struck_by_state   No. Observations:          443
Model:                             Logit   Df Residuals:              438
Method:                              MLE   Df Model:                    4
Date:                  Mon, 11 Jun 2018   Pseudo R-squ.:            0.3427
Time:                          20:40:14   Log-Likelihood:          -172.65
converged:                         True   LL-Null:                 -262.64
                                          LLR p-value:           7.490e-38
==============================================================================
                         coef    std err          z      P>|z|      [0.025      0.975]
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
is_black               2.1581      0.293      7.364      0.000       1.584       2.732
death_hesitation       1.5958      0.635      2.512      0.012       0.351       2.841
same_race              1.1273      0.291      3.880      0.000       0.558       1.697
family_or_juror_accused 1.6920     0.340      4.969      0.000       1.025       2.359
intercept             -2.6849      0.230    -11.675      0.000      -3.136      -2.234
==============================================================================
```

Odds Ratio and 95% Confidence Interval

Variable	2.5%	Odds Ratio	97.5%
is_black	4.87	8.65	15.37
family_or_juror_accused[6]	2.79	5.43	10.58
death_hesitation	1.42	4.93	17.13
same_race	1.75	3.09	5.46

The model for capital murder trials has an Area Under the ROC Curve score of 0.86, which means the model has a good to excellent ability to discriminate between accepted and struck jurors.

V - Conclusion

The Supreme Court has ruled that Batson claims are meant to combat intentional racial discrimination in the jury selection process. It is impossible to prove with statistics that lawyers had racist intent in the moment they decided to strike a juror. However, this paper contributes to the statistical research that has shown time and again that wide-spread racial disparities in strike rates exist, even when race-neutral factors are taken into consideration.

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[6] family_or_juror_accused is a variable that APM Reports used to combine the variables for whether a juror or their family was accused of being involved in criminal activity, seen in the first logistic regression model.

There are racial disparities at every step in the jury selection process in the Fifth Circuit Court District in Mississippi. From 1992 to 2017, across 225 trials, Doug Evans and his assistant district attorneys have exercised peremptory strikes against black jurors at a much higher rate than white jurors, a pattern of racial disparity that holds across all seven counties and trials for different kinds of crime. Race remained a strong predictor of whether a juror would be struck after taking into account the race-neutral characteristics brought up in jury selection. Even more, no variable explained away the importance of race.

Both logistic regression models show that race is one of the most powerful factors in predicting whether or not a juror will be struck by the state. While this analysis does not prove that jurors were being struck because of their race, it raises troubling questions about the role that race plays in jury selection. APM Reports did not have access to all the information available to prosecutors during jury selection so it is possible that there are factors we were unable to account for that explain why race emerges as such a powerful predictor of being struck. However, Doug Evans declined to comment.

VI - Appendix

Here is a list of variables used in the logistic regression model, what they mean, and the reference category, if the data were categorical:

Variable	Definition
juror_id__struck_by_state	Juror struck by the state, dependent variable
is_black	Juror is black, reference category: white
race_unknown	Race of the juror unknown
no_responses	Juror did not respond to questions during voir dire
leans_defense	Juror expressed a bias in favor of the defense. reference category: leans state
leans_ambi	Juror expressed a bias but not clear which direction
moral_hardship	Juror expressed a moral or emotional hardship
job_hardship	Juror said their occupation would make serving difficult
caretaker	Juror had caretaker obligations preventing them from serving
communication	Juror had difficulty communicating or understanding
medical	Juror had medical problems preventing them from serving or making serving difficult
employed	Juror is unemployed
social	Juror said social obligations would make serving difficult
prior_jury	Juror had served on a jury before
crime_victim	Juror had been the victim of a crime
fam_crime_victim	Juror's family member/close friend has been the victim of a crime
accused	Juror was accused of being involved in criminal activity
fam_accused	Juror's family/close friend was accused of being involved in criminal activity
eyewitness	Juror was eyewitness to a crime
fam_eyewitness	Juror's family member/close friend was eyewitness to a crime
military	Juror has served in the military
law_enforcement	Juror works or has worked in law enforcement
fam_law_enforcement	Juror's family/close friend is in law enfrocement
premature_verdict	Juror admitted to a fixed opinion on guilt or innocence
premature_guilt	Juror admitted they believed the defendant is guilty
premature_innocence	Juror admitted they believed the defendant is innocent
def_race	Juror admitted the race of the defendant would affect their decision
vic_race	Juror admitted the race of the victim would affect their decision
def_gender	Juror admitted the gender of the defendant would affect their decision

vic_gender	Juror admitted the gender of the victim would affect their decision
def_social	Juror admitted the social class of the defendant would affect their decision
vic_social	Juror admitted the social class of the victim would affect their decision
def_age	Juror admitted the age of the defendant would affect their decision
vic_age	Juror admitted the age of the victim would affect their decision
def_sexpref	Juror admitted the sexual preference of the defendant would affect their decision
vic_sexpref	Juror admitted the sexual preference of the victim would affect their decision
def_incarcerated	Juror admitted knowing the defendant was previously incarcerated would affect their decision
vic_incarcerated	Juror admitted knowing the victim was previously incarcerated would affect their decision
beliefs	Juror admitted to moral/religious/conscientious beliefs that would affect their decision or prevent them from sitting in judgement
other_biases	Juror admitted another reason they would not be able to be fair
innocence	Juror said they would not be able to presume defendant is innocent until proven guilty
take_stand	Juror said they would not be impartial if the defendant did not take the stand
arrest_is_guilt	Juror admitted to believing that being arrested is evidence of guilt
cant_decide	Juror said they would have difficulty making decisions based only on evidence
cant_affirm	Juror said they would have difficulty affirming verdict in an open court
cant_decide_evidence	Juror said they would have difficulty making decisions based only on evidence
cant_follow	Juror said they would have difficulty following the court's instructions
know_def	Juror has prior familiarity with the defendant
know_vic	Juror has prior familiarity with the victim
know_wit	Juror has prior familiarity with one of the witnesses
know_attny	Juror has prior familiarity with one of the attorneys
civil_plantiff	Juror was a plaintiff in a civil suit
civil_def	Juror was a defendant in a civil suit

civil_witness	Juror was a witness in a civil suit
witness_defense	Juror was a witness for the defense in a criminal case
witness_state	Juror was a witness for the state in a criminal case
prior_info	Juror had prior information on the case
death_hesitation	Juror expressed reservations about imposing the death penalty
no_death	Juror said they could not or would not impose the death penalty
no_life	Juror said they could not or would not impose life in prison
no_cops	Juror expressed they were less likely to believe the testimony of the police over other witnesses
yes_cops	Juror expressed they were more likely to believe the testimony of the police over other witnesses
legally_disquailified	Juror was not legally allowed to serve on a jury
witness_ambi	Juror was a witness in a criminal case but not specific about which side
same_race	Juror was the same race as the defendant
trial__drug_offense	The trial was for a drug offense
trial__violent_crime	The trial was for a violent crime
trial__burglary	The trial was for a form of burglary
trial__sex_crimes_against_children	The trial was for a sexual crime against a child
trial__firearms_and_jail_crimes	The trial was for a crime involving felons possessing firearms, cellphones in jail, or escaping from jail. reference category: fraud
juror_id__gender_m	Juror is male, reference category: female
juror_id__gender_unknown	Juror gender unknown
trial__defendant_race_asian	Juror is asian
trial__defendant_race_black	reference category: white
trial__defendant_race_unknown	Juror's race unknown
trial__judge_Loper	Judge for trial was Joseph Loper, reference category: Judge Morgan
trial__judge_OTHER	The judge was neither Loper nor Morgan
opinion_either_side	The juror expressed a strong opinion for one side of the case or the other
intercept	The intercept