# **Crime Victims' Institute College of Criminal Justice • Sam Houston State University**

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#### **Vicarious Trauma in Jurors of Criminal Trials**

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In 1994, Lindy Lou Isonhood served on a jury that sentenced a man convicted of murder to death. When sharing her reflections, Isonhood recalled:

"My head is spinning, my heart is racing, I can't get a breath. I just want out of there. When I get to my car, I throw everything on the back, and I just collapse into the driver's seat. 'I can't do this. I can't go home to my family that I haven't seen in a week and pretend to be happy" (Isonhood, 2018).

Although she and the other jurors were convinced that the man was guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, she had lingering feelings of guilt, anger, anxiety, and depression that stayed with her long after the trial ended. After seeking professional mental health care, she was diagnosed with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Her counselor advised her to talk about her trauma, but no one would listen (Isonhood, 2018).

Twelve years after the trial, Isonhood continued to feel guilt related to sentencing the man to death. As his execution date neared, she requested to speak to him. During their conversation, he told her how he forgave her and did not blame her. After the execution, she followed up with other jurors, who each saw their experience in a different way. While a few jurors were convinced that they made the correct decision, others talked about how they experienced depression for weeks, became entirely against the death penalty, continued to relive the moment, and wondered if the panel made the correct decision. One juror emphasized the need for counseling for jurors after their experience (Isonhood, 2018).

Although the general public has many opportunities to view the dramatized side of working with the courts through popular films and television shows related to criminal law, jury service is one of the few times the public directly interacts with the criminal justice system. When participating in this important civic duty, community members are exposed to the often vivid and detailed evidence presented in cases and tasked with deciding whether a person is guilty. Whereas some jurors feel a profound sense of pride after their service, others experience varying symptoms of *vicarious trauma*: psychological distress and other adverse reactions from exposure to the trauma of others (Lonergan et al., 2016; McQuiston et al., 2019). Acknowledging the trauma that jurors experience is the first step in implementing a plan to provide free and accessible mental health care to those tasked with deciding a person's fate.

# The Basics of the Court Process and the Role of the Jury

Eleven million people report for jury service every year in the United States (Conference of State Court Administrators, 2023). The purpose of the jury is to serve as an objective third party that helps evaluate evidence to make a decision. In both civil and criminal courts, there are grand juries and petit juries (commonly referred to as trial juries). In Texas, the initial selection process for both grand and trial juries is the same: (1) the Secretary of State sends to the county a list of people who are registered to vote or have a legal State identification card; (2) jurors are randomly selected from the list and mailed a summons and questionnaire; and (3) potential jurors report for service where they are evaluated for qualifications and excuses and exemptions from service (Texas Judicial Branch, n.d.). For grand jurors, service begins once the juror is deemed qualified and does not have a valid excuse or exemption (National Center for State Courts, 2024). For trial jurors, their selection process continues

into voir dire, the selection process by the prosecutors and defense attorneys. During voir dire, prosecuting attorneys, defense attorneys, and the judge can ask potential jurors questions about their attitudes, beliefs, and experiences to evaluate their ability to be fair and impartial (American Bar Association, 2023; Texas Judicial Branch, n.d.). After voir dire, the remaining trial jurors begin their service.

#### **Service of the Grand Jury**

Specifically in criminal cases, the grand jury decides if there is probable cause to believe that the person accused of a crime actually committed the crime (United States Courts, n.d.). If at least nine (out of up to 12 in Texas) grand jurors vote that there is probable cause, then an indictment will be issued. If a case does not receive enough votes for an indictment to be issued, the case will receive a "no bill," and the court process for that case will be over (Brewer, 2013). The issuance of an indictment moves the case into the pre-trial phase.

Grand juries evaluate cases based on the prosecutors' presentation of the evidence and meet on an "as needed" basis, depending on the number of cases in their service area. This could range from a few times a week to a few times a month. The duration of the grand jurors' service can range as well, from about three months to 18 months, but can be extended by the judge for up to 24 months. During this time, grand jurors will hear a multitude of cases but cannot share the information they received or discussed during deliberations due to confidentiality policies (United States Courts, n.d.).

#### **Service of the Trial Jury**

While grand jurors and trial jurors are both tasked with evaluating the evidence to make a decision, trial jurors determine whether there is evidence to find a defendant guilty of the charged offense beyond a reasonable doubt. In addition to determining guilt or innocence, trial jurors may also consider punishment for the crime and issue a sentence in the case. Trial juries are made up of 12 people with alternates, in the event that one of the 12 is unable to continue to serve. These jurors will hear only one case, instead of the multitude that the grand jury hears. However, while the grand jury only listens to a partial presentation of the evidence, the trial jury is exposed to all of the evidence by both the prosecutors and defense attorneys (United States Courts, n.d.). The trial jury must reach a unanimous

verdict, or the case will result in a mistrial due to a hung jury (a jury that could not come to an agreement that satisfies all jurors) (Texas Judicial Branch, n.d.). If the case ends in a mistrial, the prosecutors may decide to retry the case in a new trial that would be heard by a new jury.

#### **Jurors' Experience of Serving**

Juror perceptions of their overall experience have significant variance. For instance, jurors in various studies in the US, Canada, and the UK report a positive experience of service (Bornstein et al., 2005; Seidman Diamond, 1993; Wilson, 2012). Jurors who responded favorably reported feeling pride in their service, believed they made a valuable contribution, had a better understanding of and appreciation for the system, and would be willing to serve again (Wilson, 2012). In a survey of over 300 jurors after jury service in the UK, 63% had a more positive view of the jury trial process after serving, 43% had higher confidence in the system after serving, and 41% felt they had performed an essential civic duty (Matthews et al., 2004).

In contrast, jury service can include significant stressors. When participating in the criminal court process, jurors must listen to or watch potentially gruesome and disturbing evidence and make a decision that impacts the defendant, the victim(s), and their families (Hodge & Williams, 2021; Robertson et al., 2008). The pressure that comes with jury service can lead a juror to experience vicarious trauma (Lonergan et al., 2016; McQuiston et al., 2019; Office for Victims of Crime, n.d.). While a number of jurors were proud to fulfill their civic duty, approximately 70% of all jurors report ranging levels of stress from jury service (National Center for State Courts, 2024). For jurors who experience lower levels of stress, difficulties may be tied to unclear jury instructions, long wait times, having to miss work, or other factors related to the inconveniences of jury service (Matthews et al., 2004; National Center for State Courts, 2024). As the subject matter of trials becomes more difficult, jurors are more susceptible to severe stress.

For jurors who experienced trauma symptoms, their stress was often tied to the deliberations among jurors, trial complexity, and the evidence that was presented (Lonergan et al., 2016; Robertson et al., 2008). Interestingly, while the impact of graphic evidence

should not be minimized, in a review of studies surrounding specific pieces of the jury experience that caused the most stress, the deliberation process was noted more often as a cause of stress than disturbing or grisly evidence (Lonergan et al., 2016). Pieces of the deliberations stage that caused stress included settling on a verdict or death penalty, anxiety about making a mistake, conflict between jurors, and fear of being sequestered (Bertrand et al., 2008; Lonergan et al., 2016; Matthews et al., 2004). Specifically for women, disagreements and having to answer questions during deliberation led to higher levels of stress (Robertson et al., 2008).

Trials involving violent crimes were significantly more often linked with trauma symptoms among jurors than in cases with non-violent crimes, due to the graphic and often heartbreaking evidence and emotional first-hand testimony of victims or witnesses presented during trial (Bornstein et al., 2005; Robertson et al., 2008). About 30% to 50% of jurors reported that graphic evidence caused at least a moderately stressful experience (Lonergan et al., 2016; National Center for State Courts, 1998). While advances in technology have increased the availability of evidence that can assist juries in assessing culpability, the developments have also led to increased exposure to graphic content. Jurors in trials of high-profile and violent offenses are likely to see lengthy video clips of the offense and aftermath, view dozens of gruesome photos, and hear audio featuring the terror of victims and survivors (Browning, 2012; Trescher et al., 2019). Given the sensitive information that is presented during trial, people who survived previous trauma reported increased stress levels (Robertson et al., 2008).

Aside from the deliberation and evidence, other factors that led to stress in jurors include fear of retaliation, isolation due to confidentiality policies, duration of the trial process, and the public view and focus on the trial (Bornstein et al., 2005; Conference of State Court Administrators, 2023; Lonergan et al., 2016; National Center for State Courts, 1998; Robertson et al., 2008; Shuman et al., 1994; Woolf, 2011). Some jurors reported feeling intimidated when seeing the family of the accused in common areas, as well as fear of seeing the accused out in public (Bertrand et al., 2008; Matthews et al., 2004). Lengthy trials were also linked to higher PTSD symptoms among jurors, as it causes a longer disruption to a person's normal daily routine and

extends the amount of time they are exposed to the stressors of jury service (Bornstein et al., 2005; National Center for State Courts, 1998). High-profile cases can cause an increased probability of trauma symptoms as trials may last longer, jurors may be sequestered, and jurors may have safety concerns (McQuiston et al., 2019; National Center for State Courts, 2024; United States Courts, 2020).

#### **Secondary Traumatic Stress**

Secondary traumatic stress (STS), also known as vicarious trauma, secondary trauma, and compassion fatigue, refers to the impact of exposure to the trauma of others. STS is frequently attributed to people in helping professions who work with traumatized individuals, such as emergency medical personnel, social workers, and police officers (Marsac & Ragsdale, 2020). Researchers and practitioners now recognize that exposure to disturbing evidence in the courtroom impacts some jurors in the same way (Forward, 2020; McQuiston et al., 2019).

Symptoms of STS are similar to those of PTSD and can include mental, physical, emotional, and spiritual the individual. Specific symptoms effects on described include hypervigilance, sometimes avoidance, re-experiencing, and change in mood. STS can also include feelings of guilt, anger, sleep difficulty, challenges with concentration, exhaustion, and an impaired immune system (Marsac & Ragsdale, 2020; Office for Victims of Crime, n.d.). Several factors may increase the risk of developing secondary symptoms. These include personality characteristics such as difficulty expressing feelings and negative coping skills such as substance use and isolation. It also includes life circumstances such as a lack of social support, a previous history of trauma, and mental health challenges such as pre-existing depression and anxiety (Vukčević Marković & Živanović, 2022).

#### **Symptoms Experienced by Jurors**

Trauma symptoms can vary by person. Symptoms may have an immediate or delayed onset, beginning weeks after the trial concludes in some cases. While most jurors report mild disruptions, there is potential for more serious and lingering secondary trauma symptoms (Trescher et al., 2019). According to Lonergan and colleagues (2016), about 50% of jurors

may experience trauma symptoms that last for months after the trial ends. Psychological symptoms include intrusive thoughts, nightmares and trouble sleeping, avoidance, hyperarousal, and depression symptoms related to PTSD (Lonergan et al., 2016; Robertson et al., 2008). Jurors who sat for traumatic trials (where the offenses were violent or involved graphic materials) were six times more likely to have symptoms of depression than people who sat on non-traumatic trials (e.g., property crimes). Additionally, jurors can experience irritability and emotional numbness (Lonergan et al., 2016).

After the trial, jurors may engage in unhealthy coping mechanisms, including substance abuse, and due to a change in worldview, jurors may have trouble connecting with others. Physical symptoms include headaches, changes in weight and appetite, and fatigue. Furthermore, symptoms of stress may manifest as nausea, chest pains, elevated blood pressure, and shortness of breath (National Center for State Courts, 2024). For jurors in capital trials or high-profile cases, social media and the availability of information may cause jurors to be exposed to or reminded of the trial, which may prolong or worsen symptoms (McQuiston et al., 2019).

#### Policies and Legislation on Juror Wellbeing

#### The State of Texas

Throughout Texas, victim service departments at the county level have provided counseling sessions and resources to jurors who experience trauma symptoms during and after the conclusion of a trial (Texas District and County Attorneys Association, n.d.). In 2007, Sharon Sedwick, the mother of a young woman who was murdered in Travis County, worked with her local representative to draft legislation that would offer up to 10 hours of counseling for jurors in cases like her daughter's (Miles-Thorpe, 2011). House Bill 608 allows counties to offer counseling to jurors who say they are traumatized by graphic evidence in certain types of trials, was signed into law on Sept. 1, 2007. The law authorizes county commissioners across the state to approve juror counseling programs where appropriate. However, the law does not provide for state funding (Browning, 2012).

In numerous Texas counties, victim service counselors provide jury counseling or partner with trauma

counselors to provide counseling services to jurors (Browning, 2012). Currently, the Travis County District Attorney's Office is collaborating with the county's Counseling and Education Services Department to facilitate a program specifically for jurors. The goal of this program is to create a safe space for jurors to process the information, thoughts, and emotions that criminal trials can uncover or create. This partnership will allow jurors to receive counseling services from specialized providers who are well-versed in the court process and the impact that it can have on individuals and the community.

#### **Around the United States**

At the federal level, judges can prioritize jurors' physical safety and mental wellbeing jurors during high-profile cases. In being mindful of jurors' time and mental health, federal judges realized that it is important to treat jurors kindly and respectfully and limit the amount of time spent performing jury service on a weekly basis (United States Courts, 2015, 2020). After the trial of Boston Marathon bomber Dzhokhar Tsarnaev in 2015, Judge George A. O'Toole, Jr. took the unusual step of extending their jury service to 90 days, making them eligible for counseling services through the federal employee assistance program, a practice available to jurors in federal court cases (Forward, 2020; United States Courts, 2015). Former prosecutor, director of the Office for Victims of Crime, and then Dane County, Wisconsin Circuit Court Judge Jill Karofsky recognized the level of distress experienced by jurors on difficult cases and, in 2017, developed an informational brochure for jurors posttrial, providing information on managing stress related to their service. She developed a practice of post-trial judicial debriefing for jurors who wanted to talk with her and engaged the assistance of a local therapist to offer pro-bono counseling services to jurors needing more in-depth services (Forward, 2020).

Similar to the informational brochures provided by Texas counties, at the state level, judicial departments publish information on vicarious trauma for jurors. Typical information provided on vicarious trauma includes common symptoms, coping techniques, and where to seek help if needed. Some counties have been able to formalize counseling services offered to jurors after jury service. In contrast, others provide referrals in brochures and on websites to crisis hotlines and local mental health authorities, or encourage jurors to contact

their physician to discuss symptoms (Colorado Courts, 2019; Judicial Council of California, n.d.; New Mexico Administrative Office of the Courts, n.d.; Oregon Judicial Department, n.d.). In Massachusetts, the executive office of the trial court took the initiative to contract a counselor to provide short-term counseling for jurors (National Center for State Courts, 2022).

The Supreme Court of Ohio created a task force that gave recommendations for trial practice, jury administration, and juror selection. Recommendations for trial practice centered on making the process as easy to understand and follow as possible, such as (1) providing summaries of information, clear instructions, and written elements of the crime; (2) using common language; (3) allowing notetaking; (4) preparing suggestions on deliberation procedures; (5) allowing for alternate jurors; and (6) providing counseling resources. Recommendations for jury administration centered on jurors' comfort while serving, such as (1) eliminating expenses, including those related to transportation; (2) keeping the process timely; (3) providing refreshments and compensation: and (4) being considerate of jurors' personal information that is revealed in court (Clark, 2004).

#### **Other Countries**

Canada, England, Wales, and Australia offer post-trial counseling support to jurors who continue to experience symptoms of secondary traumatic stress after a trial. In 2018, the Canadian Committee on Rights Justice and Human issued recommending measures for the federal government and provinces to provide support to jurors. The recommendations centered on (1) informational packages to jurors to explain their role and the potential emotional impact; (2) encouraging debriefing sessions; (3) providing psychological support and counseling; (4) reevaluating the secrecy rule on deliberations; (5) providing compensation for their service and related costs; and (6) providing comfortable physical space (Housefather, 2018).

The Canadian Juries Commission, developed by Peer Support Canada and the Mental Health Commission of Canada, provides a free support group where former jurors can provide emotional and practical support about the emotional impact and personal issues that come from serving as a juror. This support group is not formal therapy and is not led by therapists, but is

supported by a person who can relate and has a shared experience (Canadian Juries Commission, 2023). Canada has also amended laws related to the jury secrecy rule to allow jurors to speak with mental health professionals more freely after the trial. Prior to the amendment of the criminal code, some mental health professionals would deny service to previous jurors out of caution of future legal consequences (Guiao, 2023).

Beginning in the summer of 2024, in England and Wales, a pilot program launched to offer six free counseling sessions to jurors to cope with the emotional toll of jury service. The program will also include access to a 24/7 helpline that will be equipped to provide support, advice, and information (Burnell & PA News, 2024). Similar to England and Wales, Australia has a juror support program that provides free, confidential counseling and space to debrief with a registered service provider (ACT Courts, n.d.; Juries-Victoria, n.d.). This program is run by the Jury Management Unit. The unit's goal is to help jurors through jury service by providing clear information and connecting them with resources when needed. Additionally, in 2018, to eliminate language barriers and widen accessibility and representation for jurors, the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) amended laws to allow for interpretation services for jurors (ACT Courts, n.d.).

#### **Recommendations for Jury Management**

Jury management, before, during, and after trial, is critical for the general safety, convenience, and wellbeing of jury panels and selected jurors (American Bar Association, 2023; Forward, 2020). Methods that can make the process as convenient, clear, and quick as possible will help to reduce juror stress. Several jurisdictions provide information about jury service either online or with a jury summons before reporting for jury selection (Matthews et al., 2004). Before trial, informing and educating jurors about roles and the process can reduce stress related to uncertainty. This could be done through a juror orientation video, written material posted online before jury selection, or by the judge as voir dire begins. The judge can also provide privacy during voir dire for jurors to discuss individual concerns or personal questions (National Center for State Courts, 2024; Trescher et al., 2019).

As the trial is taking place, it is important to be mindful of the impact of graphic evidence and emotional testimony. In the courtroom, judges can provide a statement before difficult images are shown, so jurors are more prepared. They can encourage attorneys to limit the number of gruesome images, reduce duplicative testimony and photos that may traumatize jurors, and remove images from the screen once they have been displayed, instead of letting images linger. Breaks are also encouraged after more difficult testimony and evidence, so jurors can regain composure if they become overwhelmed (American Bar Association, 2023; National Center for State Courts, 1998, 2024). For juror safety and protection from the media, it is recommended that security be posted around the courthouse (National Center for State Courts, 1998; Trescher et al., 2019).

During deliberations, jurors should be provided with a comfortable space and clear instructions and explanations of the legal framework and verdict form (American Bar Association, 2023). To help jurors feel heard, they should be encouraged to discuss their individual perspectives on the case opinions before voting on an outcome. This involves maintaining a respectful and focused environment to allow for constructive conversations (National Center for State Courts, 2024).

The completion of the trial can be a crucial time for impacting how jurors manage stress. Most judges surveyed conduct judicial debriefings with jurors who choose to remain. This time can include answering questions, allowing jurors to process their experience, and providing jurors information about managing any stress they have experienced (Kelley, 1994; Miles-Thorpe, 2011; Miller & Bornstein, 2013; National Center for State Courts, 1998). Some judges use this as a time to assess the needs of jurors and can call for support if needed. In high-profile cases, jurors should be provided guidance on how to engage with the media, including the importance of protecting privacy while allowing space for sharing personal feelings (National Center for State Courts, 2024; Trescher et al., 2019).

#### Conclusion

Jury service is a unique opportunity for the general public to directly engage with the criminal legal field and decide how laws and justice are applied. Jurors' decisions set precedence for future cases and impact the lives of the defendant, the victim, and their social support groups. Unfortunately, jury service comes with the risk of varying amounts of stress due to the weightiness of the tasks, most notably in trials involving disturbing evidence, hostile deliberation environments, and high-profile cases. When jurors are exposed to the trauma that others have endured, the likelihood of experiencing vicarious trauma increases. To mitigate this risk in jury service, governments at all levels around the world have made progress toward providing free, accessible mental health resources.

While several countries have established programs and contracted licensed mental health professionals to provide services, the United States often only provides information on common symptoms of trauma and coping strategies, as well as a contact person if a juror needs additional services. Currently, no national standing resource exists for jurors to receive support after service. Recognizing the need for follow-up emotional care is essential. Implementing legislation and policies to provide such care can change the emotional landscape in community members who answered the call of duty.

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