

What We've Got Here is Failure to Notify: How Louisiana Has Ignored Jurors with a Felony Conviction Since the Implementation of H.B. 84

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INTRODUCTION

The United States imprisons more of its populace than any other country in the world.³ Today, roughly 2.2 million Americans are in custody,⁴ while an additional 4 million are under some form of correctional control.⁵ This affinity for mass incarceration has led to a proliferation of U.S. citizens with criminal records. Approximately 20 million Americans now have a felony criminal history, amounting to roughly 8% of the adult population and 1 in 3 African American adult males.⁶

In Louisiana, carceral statistics mirror these national patterns. In 2022, the *Paper Prisons Initiative* estimated that of the state's 4.6 million people, 1.1 million have some form of a criminal history and 895,000 have a conviction history.⁷ Among those Louisianans who have been convicted of a crime, at least 350,000 live with the mark of a felony conviction.⁸

For individuals who have contact with the criminal legal system, especially when that contact results in a felony conviction, a multitude of record-based restrictions, often referred to as “collateral consequences,”⁹ curtail their freedoms and opportunities post-conviction.¹⁰ One such restriction impacts America's jury system.¹¹

Forty-nine states, the federal government, and the District of Columbia statutorily limit juror eligibility for individuals with a past felony criminal conviction.¹² In twenty-five jurisdictions and in the federal system, prospective jurors with a felonious criminal history are permanently barred from ever serving as a juror.¹³ Louisiana, the study site of this research brief, was once a permanent exclusion jurisdiction.¹⁴

REFORM COMES TO LOUISIANA

In March 2021, Representative Denise Marcelle introduced House Bill 84 (H.B. 84), which proposed a change in Louisiana's juror eligibility criteria for those with a prior felony conviction.¹⁵ The legislation passed and was signed by Governor John Bel Edwards on June 10, 2021, moving Louisiana from a permanent exclusion jurisdiction to a hybrid jurisdiction.¹⁶

Now, Louisianans with a prior felony conviction are permitted to serve as jurors once 5 years have passed since the termination of their sentence, whether that be since release from custody or discharge from any form of mandatory supervision (e.g., parole/probation). The legislative change went into effect on August 1, 2021.

KEY FINDINGS

- 86% of parishes and 79% of Judicial District Courts have failed to publicize juror eligibility changes mandated by H.B. 84 or have publicized incorrect information regarding those changes
- 35 parishes (55%) and 10 Judicial District Courts (24%) currently publicize the permanent exclusion juror eligibility criteria that was repealed by H.B. 84
- In 9 instances, parish and corresponding Judicial District Court websites publicized conflicting information regarding the changes mandated by H.B. 84
- Louisiana's failure to provide its populace accurate juror eligibility information may negatively impact juror “show up” rates, calling into question the legitimacy of all jury venires since the implementation of H.B. 84 in August 2021

LOUISIANA...WE HAVE A NOTIFICATION PROBLEM

While H.B. 84 restored juror eligibility to individuals with a prior felony conviction in Louisiana, official publication of this change has been slow to materialize. In short, Louisiana has failed on several fronts to adequately notify those most affected by the legislative change.

First, several trial courts have continued to issue summonses that reflect the prior version of the record-based juror eligibility law, which states that individuals with a prior felony conviction are ineligible for jury service unless they have had their civil rights restored or received a gubernatorial pardon.¹⁷

Various courts have also failed to edit their juror questionnaire, which asks about a summoned juror's prior felony criminal history, but neglects to inquire about if/when that individual's sentence was completed, a necessary inquiry given the 5-year waiting period established by H.B. 84.

On January 23, 2021, in response to concerns raised by the Orleans Public Defenders Office and VOTE (Voice of the Experienced) regarding these notification breakdowns, Chief Judge Robin Pittman announced that all criminal jury trials would be "deferred for the remainder of January 2023 and February of 2023."¹⁸

A final way Louisiana has failed to inform its citizenry of the changes mandated by H.B. 84 is by neglecting to update parish and Judicial District Court (JDC) online juror information pages, where most Louisianans go to find information regarding jury service and juror eligibility. That is the focus of this research brief.

THE SURVEY

On January 21, 2023, approximately 17 months after the official implementation of H.B. 84, we surveyed parish and Judicial District Court notifications regarding the legislative change. Given the public's ubiquitous use of the internet to access information,¹⁹ we chose to examine publicly accessible juror qualification information pages across the state. By way of brief background, in Louisiana, publicly facing online juror eligibility information is provided by two entities: parishes (counties) and Judicial District Courts. Each of Louisiana's 64 parishes falls under the jurisdiction of one of the state's 42 Judicial District Courts and each Judicial District Court services at least 1, but no more than 3 parishes.

Our survey reveals that of Louisiana's 64 Parishes, only 9 have updated their juror qualifications webpage or provided links on their website with information about the legislative changes ushered in by H.B. 84. Conversely, 35 parishes retained the repealed juror

eligibility criteria that permanently excluded all individuals with a prior felony conviction from jury service. The 20 remaining Parishes either have no web page listing juror eligibility requirements, have a web page but provide no clear juror eligibility requirements, or have a web page that makes no reference to the legislative changes. Thus, an overwhelming 86% of Louisiana's parishes have not publicized juror eligibility changes mandated by H.B. 84 or have publicized incorrect information regarding those changes.

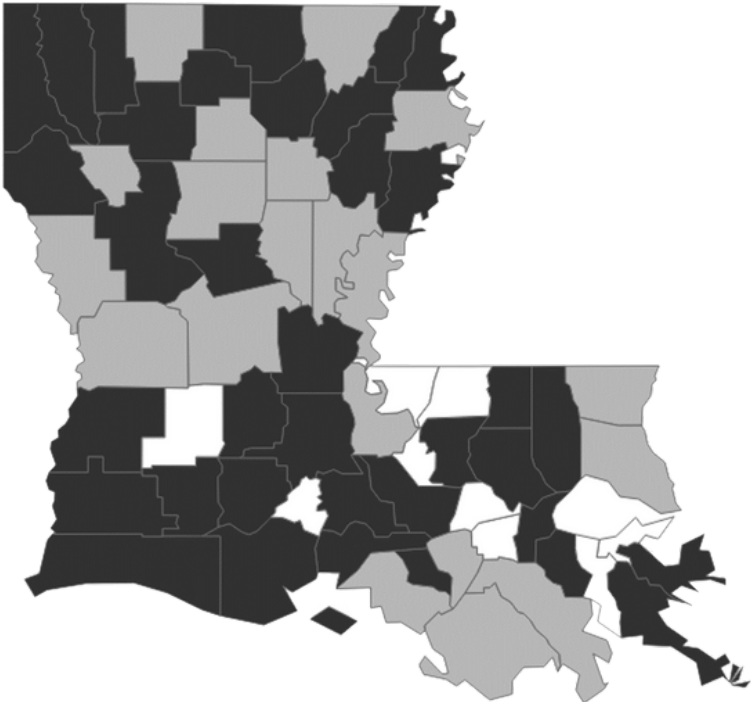
Judicial District Courts have not performed much better. Results reveal that of Louisiana's 42 Judicial District Courts, 10 have inaccurate record-based juror eligibility information listed on their websites, displaying the repealed permanent exclusion juror eligibility criteria in place prior to the passage of H.B. 84. The majority of Judicial Districts Courts (23) either have no publicly accessible website or display no information on juror eligibility criteria. Only 9 Judicial District Courts have accurate juror eligibility information for those with a prior felony conviction. Thus, only 21% (9 of 42) Judicial District Courts have informed their prospective jurors of the changes required under H.B. 84.

Compounding the confusion undoubtedly created by these online omissions and mistakes, several parish websites conflict with their Judicial District Court websites on this issue. For example, 9 parishes provided information about juror eligibility for those with a felony conviction that directly conflicts with the juror eligibility criteria provided by its corresponding Judicial District Court. Out of these 9 parishes, 8 currently publicize inaccurate juror eligibility criteria while their corresponding Judicial District Court has been updated and made accurate. A single parish lists correct juror qualifications for those with a felony conviction while its Judicial District Court is still publicizing inaccurate information about the changes spurred by H.B. 84.

In sum, because Louisiana has failed to adequately notify its populace of H.B. 84's legislative changes, they have seemingly undermined the legitimacy of their jury system by sewing confusion among those Louisianans with a prior felony criminal conviction who wish to serve as jurors but are unsure of their eligibility status or where to find accurate information detailing that status.

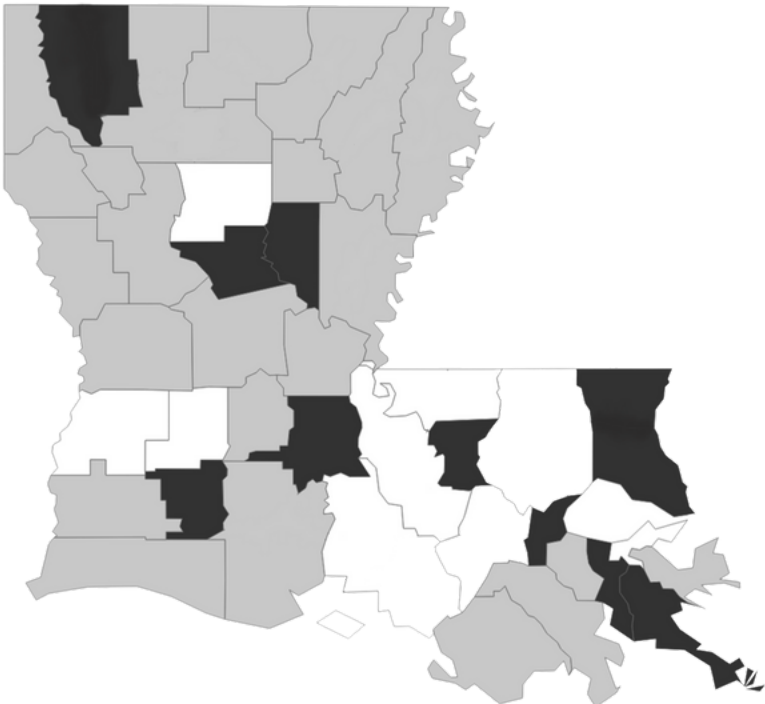
Moreover, recent research in California suggests that this confusion may negatively impact juror "show-up" rates for those with prior felony convictions, which given the skewed demographic composition of nation's convicted population, also has the potential to racially homogenize Louisiana's juries.²⁰

H.B. 84 Notification: By Parish



- Accurate
- Inaccurate
- No Information

H.B. 84 Notification: By Judicial District



- Accurate
- Inaccurate
- No Information

CALIFORNIA: A CAUTIONARY TALE

In 2020, California became the first jurisdiction in nearly two decades to alter its juror eligibility statute to include citizens with a prior felony conviction.²¹ That measure, Senate Bill 310, restored juror eligibility for most Californians with a felony criminal record. But implementation of S.B. 310 – as is the case in Louisiana – has proven haphazard. The measure did not contain a mandatory notification provision and California’s Judicial Council, the policymaking body of the California courts, left it to the California’s 58 counties to publicize the new juror eligibility criteria established by S.B. 310.

Eight months after implementation, in August 2020, a survey of California courts revealed a hodgepodge of notification approaches that were incorrect or misleading in 64% (37 of 58) of the state’s trial courts.²² In January 2023, now 3 years post-implementation of S.B. 310, 50% of California’s counties still have not updated their public facing juror information web pages or have published incorrect or misleading information about the effect of S.B. 310.²³

In Summer 2022, drawing on interviews with 30 formerly incarcerated college students from across California, we explored whether this lack of systematic notification has led Californians with a felony criminal history to misunderstand their juror eligibility status and what that may mean for California’s juries. Findings reveal that 29 of 30 participants misstated their juror eligibility status and admitted to discarding at least 1 jury summons in the three prior calendar years since S.B. 310’s implementation. Nearly all racial minorities, participants uniformly expressed frustration about a lack of information regarding their juror eligibility status but viewed the jury positively and expressed a strong desire to serve, indicating an intention to even-handedly appraise evidence and to render an impartial verdict.

Thus, by failing to appropriately publicize the changes mandated by Senate Bill 310 – as is seemingly the case in Louisiana – California is undermining its own efforts to racially and experientially diversify its jury pool to include citizens with a felony criminal conviction who report admiration for an idealized form of the jury, a desire and willingness to serve, and an intention to serve impartially.²⁴

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Prior research in the realm of record-based voter disenfranchisement statutes has explored whether notification of legislative reform restoring voting rights impacts voter turnout.²⁵ Studies reveal that systematic, empirically informed notification can promote political participation and increase turnout.²⁶

Along that line, data show that the most effective notifications would make clear in prominent, concise language that 1) H.B. 84 has made a significant change to juror eligibility requirements; 2) those changes impact citizens with a felony criminal conviction specifically; and 3) Louisiana encourages and welcomes such citizens into its legal system as jurors once 5 years has passed since the termination of their sentence.²⁷ Notifications of this sort would likely improve juror “show-up” rates among those with prior felony convictions (5 years past) and ensure that Louisiana capitalizes, and leverages jurors shown to be thoughtful, conscientious, and impartial.²⁸

CONCLUSION

Those who implement policy on the ground have a tremendous amount of discretion, especially when legislation fails to dictate specific strictures for, in this case, notification. As Michael Lipsky observed in his seminal work, ‘street level bureaucrats’ have the power to – and often do – undermine official policy consciously and/or subconsciously though overt and/or inadvertent actions.²⁹ Their discretion, necessary due to the complicated situations they encounter and the human dimensions of those situations, occasionally leads to the circumvention of official policy.

In Louisiana, it appears as though street level bureaucrats have overlooked or ignored a large swath of eligible jurors to the detriment of litigants, litigators, and the legitimacy of the jury system and any verdicts rendered.

DATA DESCRIPTION

Below are the results of our notification survey conducted on January 21, 2023 – roughly 17 months after H.B. 84’s implementation in August 2021. In all cases, websites were preserved by securing cached screenshots of each site that are on file with the author and are available upon request.

Of note, we originally surveyed both parish and Judicial District Court websites on January 11, 2023. At that time, the Orleans Parish Criminal District Court’s website had not been updated to reflect legislative changes mandated by H.B. 84. Its “Jury Commission” page stated a person is qualified to serve as a juror unless that person “has been convicted of a felony and has not had his/her civil rights restored.” On January 11, 2023, the Orleans Parish District Attorney’s website had also not been updated. Its “Juror Eligibility” page stated that “eligible jurors also must not have been convicted of a felony and must have had their civil rights restored.” Between January 11, 2023 and January 21, 2023 – both of these websites were updated to accurately reflect the contours of H.B. 84 and current law.

NOTIFICATION OF H.B. 84 IN LOUISIANA (AS OF JANUARY 21, 2023)

Territory	Classification	Rationale	Web Address
District 1	No Information	Boundaries cover the Caddo parish. A search for the 1 st Judicial District Court’s website shows no domain but lists the clerk parish’s website.	-
Caddo	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s home page does not reflect law changes, and states that “any person convicted of a felony is ineligible for jury service.”	http://www.caddoclerk.com/jury.htm
District 2	No Information	Boundaries cover Bienville, Claiborne, and Jackson parishes. The only available website upon search is the Office of the District Attorney – Second Judicial District, which provides no information for jury service, nor mentions any changes to juror eligibility laws.	https://2jdda.org/
Bienville	Inaccurate	The qualifications on the clerk’s website have not been updated to reflect the correct changes to juror eligibility, and incorrectly states that to qualify as a juror under Louisiana law, a person must “not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	https://clerk.bienvilleparish.org/juror_information/index.php
Claiborne	No Information	The clerk’s website has no specific section designated for information on jury duty information or juror eligibility, nor lists any of the relevant legislative changes for jurors with a felony conviction.	https://www.claiborneparish.org/
Jackson	No Information	The FAQ on the parish clerk’s website has one section referring to jury duty titled “What do I need to do to be excused from jury duty?” There no qualifications listed on jury page nor changes to juror eligibility reflected, and simply states “for further information, contact the Judge's office.”	https://www.jacksonparishclerk.org/faq
District 3	No Information	Boundaries cover Lincoln and Union parishes. No information is provided on 3rd Judicial District Court website for jury service, nor is the law change regarding juror eligibility mentioned. Links to individual parish clerk websites are provided in “Resources” tab.	https://www.thirdjdc.org/

Lincoln	Inaccurate	Jury section on clerk’s website has not updated juror qualifications to reflect legislative changes, and states that potential jurors must “not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	https://www.lincolnparish.org/clerk-court/page/jury
Union	Inaccurate	While the clerk’s website does not list juror qualifications, it provides a downloadable Jury Questionnaire form which has not updated its juror qualifications to reflect the law change, and states jurors must “not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony for which he has not been pardoned.”	https://www.upclerk.com/jury-duty/
District 4	No Information	Boundaries cover Ouachita and Morehouse parishes. No juror eligibility information is provided on 4th Judicial District Court website, nor is the change to juror eligibility laws reflected.	https://www.4jdc.com/
Ouachita	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not updated its “Qualifications” section to reflect the law change for juror eligibility and states a prospective juror “must not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	https://www.opclerkofcourt.com/#!/juryDuty
Morehouse	No Information	The parish clerk’s website does not list juror qualifications, nor reflects the law change regarding juror eligibility. Under the “Jury Duty” banner, it states “If you have been summoned for jury duty and have questions, please contact the Judge’s office.”	https://morehouseclerkofcourt.com/
District 5	No Information	Boundaries cover Franklin, Richland, and West Carroll parishes. No juror eligibility information is provided on 5th Judicial District Court website, nor is the change to juror eligibility laws reflected.	https://www.5jdc.us/
Franklin	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect law change, and the “Qualifications of a Juror” section states that to be a juror a person must “not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	https://www.franklinparishclerkofcourt.com/jury-service

Richland	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change, and on its “Jury Duty” page lists that a qualification for a potential juror to serve on a juror is one must “not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	https://www.richlandparishclerk.com#!/juryDuty
West Carroll	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change, and on its “Jury Duty” page lists that a qualification for a potential juror to serve on a juror is one must “not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony and not been pardoned.”	https://www.westcarrollclerk.org/index.php/jury-duty/
District 6	No Information	Boundaries cover East Carroll, Madison, and Tensas parishes. No juror eligibility information is provided on 6th Judicial District Court website, nor is the change to juror eligibility laws reflected. Links are provided for each parish clerk’s website.	https://www.6jdc.org/
East Carroll	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not updated its juror eligibility information to reflect the law change. On its “Court Information” page in a section titled “Jury Duty Booklet,” it states that a requirement for prospective jurors is that one “must not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	http://www.eastcarrollclerk.com/court-information.html
Madison	No Information	The parish clerk’s website has no specific section designated for information on jury duty information or juror eligibility, nor lists any of the relevant legislative changes for jurors with a felony conviction. Keyword search for jury duty yields no results.	https://madisonparishclerk.com/
Tensas	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not updated its juror eligibility information to reflect the law change. On its “Jury Service” page, the “Qualifications and Exemptions” section states that to qualify to serve as a juror a person “must not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	http://www.tensasclerk.org/jury.php

District 7	No Information	Boundaries cover Catahoula and Concordia parishes. There is no direct website for the 7 th Judicial District Court, though there is a website for the 7 th Judicial District Attorney as well as a 7th Judicial District Court Facebook page, neither of which provide information on juror eligibility nor reflect the law change.	http://7thjda.org/index.html https://www.facebook.com/7jdc/la/
Catahoula	No Information	The parish clerk’s website has no specific section designated for information on jury duty information or juror eligibility, nor lists any of the relevant legislative changes for jurors with a felony conviction.	https://catahoulaclerk.com/
Concordia	No Information	A search for the parish clerk’s website provides the Concordia Clerk of Court’s Facebook page, which does not mention juror qualifications, nor reflects any changes to eligibility laws. The Facebook page does provide a link to the parish clerk’s website, though the website itself does not provide information on juror eligibility nor reflect the law change.	https://www.facebook.com/concordiaclerkofcourt/ http://concordiaclerk.org/
District 8	Accurate	Boundaries cover Winn parish. The 8 th Judicial District Court Website has updated its “Juror Information” page and “Jury Excuses” section with correct jury eligibility guidelines which reflect the legislation change.	https://www.8thjdc.org/jury
Winn	No Information	There is no clerk website for Winn Parish, though a search for jury duty within the parish boundaries provides a link for the 8 th Judicial District Court Website listed above.	-
District 9	No Information	Boundaries cover Rapides parish. Minimal information is provided on the 9th Judicial District Court’s website under their “Jury Duty Info” page, though there are no juror eligibility requirements listed nor any mention of the legislative change for jurors with a felony conviction.	https://9thjdc.org/jury-duty-info/
Rapides	No Information	The clerk parish’s website does not list qualifications on its “Jury Service” page, nor does it mention the law change. A link for information about being excused is provided, which redirects to the 9th Judicial District Court’s Jury Duty Info page.	https://www.rapidesclerk.org/jury_service.htm

District 10	No Information	Boundaries cover Natchitoches parish. Minimal jury duty information is on the 10th Judicial District Court website, though there are no juror eligibility requirements listed nor any mention of the legislative change for jurors with a felony conviction. A link is provided for the clerk parish's website.	https://www.10jdc.org/
Natchitoches	Inaccurate	The parish clerk's website has not updated its juror eligibility information to reflect the law change. The "Jury Duty" page under its "Qualifications for Jurors" section states that to serve on a jury one must "not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned."	https://npclerkofcourt.org/jury-duty-2/
District 11	No Information	Boundaries cover Sabine parish. A search for the court's website leads to the 11th Judicial District Court's Facebook page, which does not mention changes to juror eligibility nor reflects the law change.	https://www.facebook.com/11thJDC/
Sabine	No Information	The clerk's website provides minimal information on its "Jury Duty Information" page but does not mention the law change for juror eligibility, nor lists any clear juror qualifications.	https://sabineparishclerk.com/jury
District 12	No Information	Boundaries cover Avoyelles parish. A search for the 12th Judicial District Court's website yields no results, though the parish clerk's is listed.	-
Avoyelles	Inaccurate	The clerk's website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. In its "Resources About Jury Duty Qualifications and Processes" page, its "Qualifications" section states that a requirement of being a prospective juror is that one "must not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned."	https://avoyellesparishclerkofcourt.com/jury-duty/
District 13	No Information	Boundaries cover Evangeline parish. A search for the 13th Judicial District Court's website yields no results, though the parish clerk has one.	-

Evangeline	Inaccurate	The clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect law change to juror eligibility. On its “A Comprehensive Guide to Jury Duty” page in the “Qualifications” section, it states that prospective jurors “must not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	https://www.evangelineparishclerkofcourt.com/about
District 14	No Information	Boundaries cover Calcasieu parish. No juror eligibility information is provided on 14th Judicial District Court website, nor is the change to juror eligibility laws reflected. A link is provided for the parish clerk’s website.	https://www.14jdc.org/
Calcasieu	Inaccurate	The clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. On their “Jury Pool Management” page in the “Who is Eligible to Serve on a Jury” section, it states that a prospective juror “Must not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which a pardon has not been granted.”	https://www.calclerkofcourt.com/jury-pool-management
District 15	No Information	Boundaries cover Acadia, Lafayette, and Vermilion parishes. Though the 15th Judicial District Court website provides an informational video on its “Court Information” page under the “Information for Jurors” section, it only pertains to COVID-19 precautions. No juror eligibility information is provided, nor is the law change regarding juror eligibility reflected. Links are provided for each parish clerk’s website.	https://www.15thjdc.org/
Acadia	Inaccurate	The clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. On its “The Jury Management Department” page, it lists a qualification to serve on a jury being that one “not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony and not been pardoned.”	https://acadiaparishclerk.com/jury-management/
Lafayette	Accurate	The clerk’s website has been properly updated, and its “Jury Management Department” page lists correct jury eligibility guidelines which reflect the legislative change.	https://www.lpcclerk.com/jury-management

Vermilion	Inaccurate	The clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Under its “Jury Duty” page in the “Qualifications” section, it states that prospective jurors under Louisiana law “must not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony and not been pardoned.”	https://www.vermillionclerk.com/jury-duty/
District 16	Accurate	Boundaries cover Iberia, Saint Martin, and Saint Mary parishes. The 16 th Judicial Court District’s website has been updated to correctly list juror qualifications per the law change.	https://www.16jdc.org/jury
Iberia	Inaccurate	The clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Under its “Jury Duty” page in the “The Louisiana Juror System” section, it states that to qualify for jury selection one must “not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	https://www.iberiaclerk.com/services/jury-duty
Saint Martin	Inaccurate	The clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. On its “Jury Duty” page under the “Juror Qualifications” section, it states that prospective jurors under Louisiana law “must not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	https://www.smpcoc2.com/jury-duty
Saint Mary	No Information	The parish clerk’s website has no specific section designated for information on jury duty information or juror eligibility, nor lists any of the relevant legislative changes for jurors with a felony conviction. Keyword search for jury duty yields no results.	https://www.stmaryparishla.gov/
District 17	No Information	Boundaries cover Lafourche parish. The 17th Judicial District Court’s website provides a “Jury Duty - General Information form,” though it makes no mention of juror eligibility for those with a felony conviction, nor lists the legislative change concerning juror eligibility.	https://www.17thjdc.online/forms-and-links

Lafourche	No Information	The clerk’s website provides minimal information on its “Jury Duty” page, and does not list juror qualifications, nor mentions the law change. A banner at the top reads “If you have any questions about Jury Duty, please contact us.” It gives the link for the clerk’s Facebook page, which does not mention juror qualifications, nor reflects any changes to eligibility.	https://lafourcheclerk.com/jury-duty/ https://www.facebook.com/LafourcheClerkofCourt/
District 18	Accurate	Boundaries cover Iberville, Pointe Coupee, and West Baton Rouge parishes. The “Jury Duty” page on the 18th Judicial District Court’s website has been updated to list the accurate juror qualifications.	https://www.18jdc.com/jury-duty
Iberville	Inaccurate	The clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. On its “Jury Service” page under the “Qualifications of a Juror” section, it states that to qualify as a juror a person must “not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony for which he or she has not been pardoned.”	https://ibervilleclerk.com/jury-service-draft/
Pointe Coupee	No Information	There is no clerk website available for this parish, though a search for the parish clerk’s website provides a link to the Pointe Coupee Parish Clerk of Court’s Facebook page, which does not mention juror qualifications, nor reflects any changes to juror eligibility.	https://www.facebook.com/PointeCoupeeClerk/
West Baton Rouge	Accurate	The parish clerk has updated its “Jury Service” page with the correct jury eligibility guidelines from the law change.	https://www.wbrclerk.org/services/jury-service/
District 19	Inaccurate	Boundaries cover East Baton Rouge parish. The 19th Judicial District Court’s website is the same domain for the East Baton Rouge Parish and has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. In its FAQ under the “Qualifications” section, it states that a requirement to serve as a juror is to “not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony.”	https://ijuror.19thjdc.org/main.asp?id=faq
East Baton Rouge	Inaccurate	There is no specific for the parish, as it is combined under the domain of the 19th Judicial District Court’s website, which has not been updated.	-

District 20	Accurate	Boundaries cover East Feliciana and West Feliciana parishes. The 20th Judicial District Court’s website has two separate sections for each parish, which both have “Juror Qualifications” sections; each have been correctly updated with the juror eligibility guidelines reflected in the legislative change.	https://www.20thjdc.org/
East Feliciana	Accurate	“Jury Duty- East Feliciana Parish” section of the 20th Judicial District Court’s website has updated its juror qualifications, and correctly reflects the legislative change.	https://www.20thjdc.org/east-feliciana-jury-duty
West Feliciana	Accurate	“Jury Duty- West Feliciana Parish” section of the 20th Judicial District Court’s website has updated its juror qualifications, and correctly reflects the legislative change.	https://www.20thjdc.org/west-feliciana-jury-duty
District 21	Accurate	Boundaries cover Livingston, Saint Helena, and Tangipahoa parishes. The 21 st Judicial District Court’s website has a “Jury Duty” page for each of the three parishes, which lists juror qualifications which correctly reflects the legislative changes.	https://www.21stjdc.org/
Livingston	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its “Jury Duty” page has a “Juror Requirements” section which states that jurors “must not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony and not been pardoned.”	https://www.livclerk.org/jury-duty/
Saint Helena	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its “Jury Duty” page has a “Juror Qualifications” section which states that to serve as a juror “you must not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony for which you have not been pardoned.”	http://www.sthenaclerk.org/jury-duty
Tangipahoa	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its “Jury Duty” states that in order to serve as a prospective juror you must “not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony of which you have not been pardoned.”	https://www.tangiclerk.org/Jury-Duty/Jury-Duty

District 22	Inaccurate	Boundaries cover Washington and Saint Tammany parishes. The 22nd Judicial District Court’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its FAQ has a “Juror Qualifications” section which states “you must have no felony convictions that have not been pardoned and not be under indictment for felony.”	https://22ndjdc.org/jury/
Washington	No Information	Though minimal information is provided on the parish clerk’s website, the “Jury” page does not mention any change to juror eligibility, nor any lists any clear juror qualifications. It states “if you have any questions about Jury Duty, please contact us.”	https://washingtonparishclerk.org/jury/
Saint Tammany	No Information	The parish clerk’s website does not list specific juror eligibility requirements, and a keyword search for “juror qualifications” does not yield result. There is a link included for the 22nd Judicial District Court’s website, which has inaccurate information.	https://www.sainttammanyclerk.org/
District 23	Accurate	Boundaries cover Saint James, Ascension, and Assumption parishes. The 23rd Judicial District Court’s website has a “Jury Duty Information” page with updated juror qualifications that correctly reflect the legislative change.	https://www.23rdjdc.org/jury-service/
Saint James	Accurate	The parish clerk’s website provides has a “Court Links” page providing a jury duty information link to the 23rd Judicial District Court website. This page has updated juror qualifications which correctly that correctly reflect the legislative change.	https://stjamesparishclerkofcourt.com/rules.aspx
Ascension	Accurate	The parish clerk’s website has a section titled “Jury Duty Qualifications/Excuses, which provides a link to the 23rd Judicial District Court Page. This page has updated juror qualifications which correctly that correctly reflect the legislative change.	http://www.ascensionclerk.com/Jury-Summons-Reporting-Information
Assumption	No Information	The clerk’s website provides minimal juror information, and does not mention any changes to juror eligibility, nor reflects the legislative change.	https://assumptionclerk.com/jury/

District 24	Inaccurate	Boundaries cover Jefferson parish. The 24th Judicial District Court’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change. Its “Jury Assembly” page has an “Are You Qualified?” section, which states Louisiana law requires that jurors “must not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which a pardon has not been granted.”	https://www.24jdc.us/jury-assembly
Jefferson	Accurate	The parish clerk’s FAQ has a “Am I Qualified?” section which has updated juror qualifications that correctly reflect the legislative change.	https://www.jpclerkofcourt.us/jury-service/frequently-asked-questions/
District 25	Inaccurate	Boundaries cover Plaquemines parish. The 25th Judicial District Court’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change. Its “Jury Duty” page has a “General Qualifications of Jurors” section which states that to qualify to serve as a juror one must “not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony for which they have not been pardoned.”	https://www.25thcourtsonline.com/jury-duty
Plaquemines	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its “Jury Duty” page states jurors have an opportunity to be exempt if “under indictment for a felony with civil rights not restored.”	https://clerk25th.com/jury-duty/
District 26	Inaccurate	Boundaries cover Bossier and Webster parishes. The 26th Judicial District Court’s website’s “Jury Service” page has not been updated to reflect law changes, stating that to qualify a juror must “Not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned by the governor.”	http://www.26jdc.com/
Bossier	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its “Jury Duty” states that to serve as a juror one must “Not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony and not been pardoned.”	https://www.bossierclerk.com/#!/juryDuty

Webster	Inaccurate	A search for the parish clerk’s website provides the Webster Parish Clerk of Court’s Facebook page, which does not mention juror qualifications, nor reflects any changes to juror eligibility. However, the Facebook page provides a link to the parish clerk’s website which has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its “Jury Service” page mentions under “Qualifications and Exemptions” that to qualify as a juror a person must “not be under indictment for a felony or convicted of a felony for which he has not been pardoned.	https://www.facebook.com/websterparishclerkofcourt/ https://websterclerk.org/jury-service/
District 27	Inaccurate	Boundaries cover Saint Landry parish. The 27th Judicial District Court’s website is the same domain for Saint Landry Parish Clerk of Court and has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its “Jury Duty Booklet” page has a “Qualifications” section which states under Louisiana law, a prospective juror “must not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	https://stlandry.org/courts-division/jury-duty-booklet
Saint Landry	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website is under the domain of the 27th Judicial District’s website, which had not been updated to reflect legislative changes.	https://stlandry.org/courts-division/jury-duty-booklet
District 28	Inaccurate	Boundaries cover LaSalle. The 28th Judicial District Court’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its “Juror Information” page has a “Qualifications for Jurors” section which states that to serve as a juror under Louisiana law, you must “not be under indictment for a felony or convicted of a felony for which you have not yet been pardoned.”	https://www.28thjdc.com/juror-information
LaSalle	No Information	The parish clerk’s website does not list specific juror eligibility requirements nor mentions legislative change but includes a link for the 28 th Judicial District Court’s website, which contains inaccurate information.	http://www.lasalleclerk.com/home.html
District 29	No Information	Boundaries cover Saint Charles parish. No information is provided on the 29th Judicial District Court website for jury service, nor is the law change regarding juror eligibility mentioned. Links to the parish clerk’s website are provided in “Links” tab.	https://www.29jdc.org/

Saint Charles	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its “Jury Services” page has a “Jury Duty information section which provides a link to its juror handbook, which states to qualify as a juror a person must “not be under indictment for a felony, not have been convicted of a felony for which he has not been pardoned.”	https://www.scpclerkofcourt.com/jury-services/jury-duty-information/
District 30	No Information	Boundaries cover Vernon parish. A search for the 30th Judicial District Court’s website yields no results for a web domain specifically designated for them.	-
Vernon	No Information	The parish clerk’s website has no specific section designated for information on jury duty information or juror eligibility, nor lists any of the relevant legislative changes for jurors with a felony conviction.	https://vernonparishcoc.com/
District 31	Inaccurate	Boundaries cover Jefferson Davis parish. The 31st Judicial District Court’s website has not been updated to reflect legislative changes to juror eligibility. Its “Jury Duty” page states that to serve as a juror “you must not be under indictment for a felony or convicted of a felony for which you have not been pardoned.”	https://www.31stjdc.org/jury-duty
Jefferson Davis	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its “Jury Duty” page states that to serve as a juror “you must not be under indictment for a felony or convicted of a felony for which you have not been pardoned.”	https://www.jefddavisclerk.org/jury-duty
District 32	No Information	Boundaries cover Terrebonne parish. The 32nd Judicial District Court’s website has minimal information on jury duty and does not list specific criteria for juror eligibility. Its “Notices” page has a “Jury Duty” section which states “legal exemptions and disqualifications are listed on your juror questionnaire. If you are legally exempt or disqualified from service, please circle or check the appropriate exemption /disqualification and sign and return the form to the Court as soon as possible.”	https://www.districtcourt32.org/notices.html
Terrebonne	No Information	The parish clerk’s website does not list specific juror eligibility requirements nor mentions the legislative change on its “Jury Duty” page, but notes that “if you have any questions about jury duty you must contact the District Court Coordinator’s Office.”	https://terrebonneclerk.org/jury-duty/

District 33	Accurate	Boundaries cover Allen parish. The 33rdth Judicial District Court’s website has updated its juror qualifications and correctly reflects the legislative change in the “Juror Qualifications” section on its “Jury Information” page.	https://www.33jdc.com/Juryinfo.htm
Allen	Accurate	The parish clerk’s website has a “Jury Duty” section which does not list specific juror eligibility requirements but includes a link for the 33rd Judicial District Court’s website, which has accurate information on juror eligibility.	https://www.allenparishclerk.org/#!/juryDuty
District 34	No Information	Boundaries cover Saint Bernard parish. Minimal information is provided on the 34th Judicial District Court’s website under their “Jury Duty Info” page, though there are no juror eligibility requirements listed nor any mention of the legislative change for jurors with a felony conviction. A link is provided to the parish clerk’s website.	https://www.34thjdc.org/jury-duty
Saint Bernard	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its FAQ on “Jury Service” has an “Am I Qualified?” section which states that under Louisiana law, prospective jurors “must not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which a pardon has not been granted.”	http://stbclerk.com/frequently-asked-questions/
District 35	Inaccurate	Boundaries cover Grant parish. The 35th Judicial District Court’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. It has a “Juror Information” page with a “Qualifications” section which has not been updated to reflect legislative changes and states that “you must not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony for which you have not been pardoned.”	https://35jdc.com/juror-information
Grant	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its “Jury Duty” page has a “Qualifications” section which states that under Louisiana law, a prospective juror “must not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	https://www.grantparishclerkofcourt.com/#!/juryDuty

District 36	Accurate	Boundaries cover Beauregard parish. The 36th Judicial District Court’s website has updated it “Jury Duty” page with correct juror qualifications which reflect the legislative change.	https://www.36jdc.com/jury-duty
Beauregard	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its “Jury Pool” page has a “Qualifications” section which states that to serve as a juror one must “not be under indictment for a felony, nor have been convicted of a felony for which he or she has not been pardoned.”	https://www.beauregardclerk.org/jury-pool
District 37	No Information	Boundaries cover Caldwell parish. A search does not show a specific web domain for the 37th Judicial District Court but does show a link for Caldwell Clerk of Court’s website.	-
Caldwell	No Information	The clerk’s website has no information specific to jury duty or qualifications to serve, nor has any mention of the legislative change to juror eligibility.	http://www.caldwellclerk.org/
District 38	No Information	Boundaries cover Cameron parish. The 38th Judicial District Court’s website has no section for jury duty information or updates on legislative changes to juror eligibility, though there is a link to the parish clerk’s website.	https://38jdc.com/
Cameron	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. The FAQ on its ”Jury Duty” page has a “Juror Qualifications” which states that under Louisiana law, prospective jurors “must not be under indictment for a felony, nor convicted of a felony for which he/she has not been pardoned.”	https://www.cameronparishcoc2.com/jury
District 39	No Information	Boundaries cover Red River parish. A search does not show a specific web domain for the 39th Judicial District Court but does show a domain for the Red River Parish Clerk of Court’s website, as well as the Red River Parish District Attorney’s website.	-

Red River	No Information	The clerk parish's website has minimal jury duty information on its "Jury Info" page. It does not list juror eligibility requirements nor mentions the legislative change but does note that "you should contact the 39th Judicial District Judge's Office for additional information related to your Jury Summons." The Red River Parish District Attorney's website had no information relevant to jury service, nor any mention of the legislative change.	https://redriverclerk.com/jury/ https://39da.com/
District 40	Inaccurate	Boundaries cover Saint John the Baptist parish. The 40th Judicial District Court's website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its "Jury Duty" states that to qualify to serve as a juror one must "not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony for which you have not been pardoned."	https://40thjdc.org/jury-duty
Saint John the Baptist	Inaccurate	The parish clerk's website has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. Its "Handbook for Jurors in Criminal and Civil Cases" page includes an online pamphlet. In the "Qualifications and Exemptions" section it states to qualify to serve as a juror one must "not be under indictment for a felony; not have been convicted of a felony for which he has not been pardoned."	https://stjohnclerkonline.org/hand-book-for-jurors-in-criminal-and-civil-cases/
Orleans District	Accurate	Boundaries cover Orleans parish. The Orleans parish Criminal District Court's website and "Jury Commission" page has updated its juror qualifications and correctly reflects the legislative change. *See Below	https://www.orleanscivildistrictcourt.org/jury-services
Orleans	Accurate	The Juror Eligibility page found on Orleans Parish District Attorney website has updated its "Jury Service" page, and correctly reflects the legislative change. *See Below	https://orleansda.com/assistance/jury-service/
District 42	No Information	Boundaries cover DeSoto parish. On the 42nd Judicial District Court's website there is no section for jury duty information or juror eligibility but provides a link to the parish clerk's website.	https://www.42jdc.org/

De Soto	Inaccurate	The parish clerk’s website leads to the “i–Juror” tab, which has not been updated to reflect the law change to juror eligibility. The FAQ has a “Qualifications” section which states to serve as a juror one must “not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony.”	http://ijuror.desotoparishclerk.org/main.asp?id=faq
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³ See Emily Widra & Tiana Herring, *States of Incarceration: The Global Context 2021*, THE PRISON POLICY INITIATIVE (September, 2021),

https://www.prisonpolicy.org/global/2021.html?gclid=Cj0KCQiAzeSdBhC4ARIsACj36uFrJLyS0zsx00pCk3I6dOEfthMtS_Ex_VXUI8mK8PZYdVhracdH8aoaAotXEALw_wcB.

⁴ See Peter Wagner & Alison Walsh, *Mass Incarceration: The Whole Pie 2022*, THE PRISON POLICY INITIATIVE (March, 2022), <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/pie2022.html>.

⁵ See Rich Kluckow & Zhen Zeng, *Correctional Populations in the United States – 2020 Statistical Tables*, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, OFFICE OF JUSTICE PROGRAMS, BUREAU OF JUSTICE STATISTICS (March, 2022), <https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/cpus20st.pdf>.

⁶ See Sarah K.S. Shannon, Christopher Uggen, Jason Schnittker, Melissa Thompson, Sara Wakefield & Michael Massoglia, *The Growth, Scope, and Spatial Distribution of People with Felony Records in the United States, 1948-2010*, 54 DEMOGRAPHY 1795 (2017).

⁷ Chien, Colleen, Heta Joshi, Kritin Dhoka, Hithesh Bathala, and Obie Reynolds, *The Louisiana Second Chance Expungement Gap*, THE PAPER PRISONS INITIATIVE, (2022), <https://www.paperprisons.org/states/pdfs/reports/>

⁸ *Id*; see also Shannon et al., *supra* note 4.

⁹ See Standards for Criminal Justice: Collateral Sanctions and Discretionary Disqualification of Convicted persons § 19-1.1(a) (2004) (defining a collateral sanction as “a legal penalty, disability, or disadvantage, however denominated, that is imposed on a person automatically upon that person's conviction for a felony, misdemeanor or other offense, even if it is not included in the sentence.”).

¹⁰ See David S. Kirk & Sara Wakefield, *Collateral Consequences of Punishment: A Critical Review and Path Forward*. 1(1) *Annual Review of Criminology*, 171 (2018); Gabriel J. Chin, *Collateral Consequences of a Criminal Conviction*, 18(3) *Criminology, Criminal Justice, Law & Society*, 1 (2017).

¹¹ See Brian C. Kalt, *The Exclusion of Felon from Jury Service*, 53 AM. U. L. REV. 65 (2003); James M. Binnall, *Twenty Million Angry Men: The Case for Including Convicted Felons in Our Jury System* (University of California Press, 2021).

¹² Binnall, *supra* note 11, at Appendix A.

¹³ See *id* (those permanent exclusion jurisdictions include: Federal, Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming).

¹⁴ LA. CODE CRIM. PROC. ANN. ART. 401(A)(5) (“In order to qualify to serve as a juror, a person must... Not be under indictment for a felony nor have been convicted of a felony for which he has not been pardoned by the governor.”). In Louisiana, an individual who commits a first-time felony conviction for certain crimes, automatically receives a non-gubernatorial pardon after the completion of the imposed sentence. Such pardons are issued by the Board of Pardons and do not require the approval of the governor. See LA. CONST. ART. IV, § 5(E)(1) (“a first offender convicted of a non-violent crime, or convicted of aggravated battery, second degree battery, aggravated assault, mingling harmful substances, aggravated criminal damage to property, purse snatching, extortion, or illegal use of weapons or dangerous instrumentalities never previously convicted of a felony shall be pardoned automatically upon completion of his sentence, without a recommendation of the Board of Pardons and without action by the governor.”). See also LA. REV. STAT. ANN. § 15:572(B)-(E). Nevertheless, the Louisiana Supreme Court has noted that such a pardon does not restore eligibility for jury service to an individual with a felony conviction; noting that only a gubernatorial pardon will do so. See *State v. Jacobs*, 904 So.2d 82, 90-91 (2005) (“Defendant complains that convicted felons, even those receiving first offender pardons, are excluded from grand jury service...[d]efendant's argument is without merit.”); *State v. Kennedy*, 957 S.2d 757 (Unpublished Appendix p. 3)(2007) (overturned on other grounds) (“an automatic pardon for a first felony offender under Article IV, § 5(E)(1), while restoring some privileges, does not restore the status of innocence to the convict who has merely served out his sentence as does an executive pardon granted by the governor...[a]bsent a pardon from the governor, a person convicted of a felony in Louisiana is not qualified to serve as a juror.”)(citing *State v. Baxter*, 357 So.2d 271, 273 (La.1978)). Louisiana courts treat “first offender”

pardons differently from gubernatorial pardons in several contexts. See Judge Helen Ginger Berrigan, Executive Clemency, First-Offender Pardons; Automatic Restoration of Rights, 62 LA. L. REV. 49 (2001).

¹⁵ See Louisiana State Legislature, *Regular Session 2021* (2021) <https://legis.la.gov/legis/BillInfo.aspx?i=239879>; see also Julie O'Donoghue, *Louisiana Lawmakers Vote to Allow People Convicted of Felonies on Juries* LOUISIANA ILLUMINATOR (2021), <https://lailluminator.com/briefs/louisiana-lawmakers-vote-to-allow-people-convicted-of-felonies-on-juries/>.

¹⁶ See *id.*

¹⁷ See *supra* note 14.

¹⁸ For information regarding these challenges and the subsequent suspension of criminal jury trials in Louisiana, see Nick Chrastil, Jury Trials Put on Hold in New Orleans Until March Due To Questions Over Exclusion of Jurors with Felony Convictions, THE LENS (2023), <https://thelensnola.org/2023/01/23/jury-trials-put-on-hold-in-new-orleans-criminal-court-until-march-due-to-questions-over-exclusion-of-jurors-with-felony-convictions/>

¹⁹ See Monica Anderson, Andrew Perrin, Jingjing Jiang & Madhumitha Kumar, *10% of Americans Don't Use the Internet: Who Are They?* PEW RESEARCH CENTER (April 2019) available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/04/22/some-americans-dont-use-the-internet-who-are-they/>; Kathryn Zickuhr, *Who's Not Online and Why?* PEW RESEARCH CENTER (September 2013), <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2013/09/25/whos-not-online-and-why/>.

²⁰ See Angela Behrens, Christopher Uggen, and Jeff Manza, Ballot Manipulation and the 'Menace of Negro Domination': Racial Threat and Felon Disenfranchisement in the United States, 1850–2002, 109 (3) AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY 559–605 (2003); see also Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. THE NEW PRESS (2012).

²¹ See Cal. Civ. Pro. Code § 203(a)(10) (2020) (All persons are eligible and qualified to be prospective trial jurors, except the following...[p]ersons who have been convicted of a felony and are currently on parole, postrelease community supervision, felony probation, or mandated supervision for the conviction of a felony."); Cal. Civ. Pro. Code § 203(a)(11) (2020) (All persons are eligible and qualified to be prospective trial jurors, except the following...[p]ersons who are currently required to register as a sex offender pursuant to section 290 of the Penal Code based on a felony conviction."); see also Office of the Governor, *Governor Newsom Signs Criminal Justice Bills to Support Reentry, Victims of Crime, and Sentencing Reform*, CA.GOV, available at: <https://www.gov.ca.gov/2019/10/08/governor-newsom-signs-criminal-justice-bills-to-support-reentry-victims-of-crime-and-sentencing-reform/>

²² See James M. Binnall and Lauren Davis, *Californians with a Felony Conviction are Now Eligible for Jury Service: How Would They Know?* 32(1) STANFORD LAW AND POLICY REVIEW ONLINE 1-26, available at: <https://law.stanford.edu/publications/californians-with-a-felony-conviction-are-now-eligible-for-jury-service-how-would-they-know/>

²³ See James M. Binnall & Blake Krawl, *Confusion in the Golden State: Jurors with a Felony Conviction History Make the Case for Improved Notification Procedures*, (2023) (forthcoming).

²⁴ See James M. Binnall, *A Field Study of the Presumptively Biased: Is There Empirical Support for Excluding Convicted Felons from Jury Service?*, 36 L. & POL'Y 1 (2014); James M. Binnall, *Cops and Convicts: An Exploratory Study of Jurymaning*, 16 OHIO STATE J. OF CRIM. L. 221 (2018); James M. Binnall, *Exorcising Presumptions: Judges and Attorneys Contemplate 'Felon-Juror Inclusion' in Maine*, 39 JUSTICE SYSTEM J. 378 (2018); James M. Binnall, *Felon-Jurors in Vacationland: A Field Study of Transformative Civic Engagement in Maine*, 71 MAINE L. REV. 74 (2018); James M. Binnall, *Summoning Criminal Desistance: Convicted Felons' Perspectives on Jury Service*, 43 L. & SOC. INQUIRY 4 (2018). James M. Binnall, *Jury Diversity in the Age of Mass Incarceration: An Exploratory Mock Jury Experiment Examining Felon-Jurors' Potential Impacts on Deliberations*, 25 PSYCHOLOGY, CRIME & L. 345 (2019); James M. Binnall and Nick Petersen, *Building Biased Jurors: Exposing the Circularity of the Inherent Bias Rationale for Felon-Juror Exclusion*, 27 PSYCHIATRY, PSYCHOLOGY & L. 110 (2020).

²⁵ See e.g. Mark Meredith & Michael Morse, *Do Voting Rights Notification Laws Increase Ex-felon Turnout?* 651.1 THE ANNALS OF THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE L. REV 220-249 (2014); Mark Meredith & Michael Morse, *The Politics of the Restoration of Ex-Felon Voting Rights: The Case of Iowa*, 10 QUARTERLY J. OF POLITICAL SCI. 41 (2015); Ernest Drucker & Ricardo Barreras, *Studies of Voting Behavior and Felony Disenfranchisement Among Individuals in the Criminal Justice System in New York, Connecticut, and Ohio*, WASHINGTON DC: THE SENTENCING PROJECT (2005) https://www.prisonpolicy.org/scans/sp/fd_studiesvotingbehavior.pdf; see also Alec. C. Ewald, *A Crazy Quilt of Tiny Pieces: State and Local Administration of American Disenfranchisement Law*, THE SENTENCING PROJECT (2005), <https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/A-Crazy-Quilt-of-Tiny-Pieces-State-and-Local-Administration-of-American-Criminal-Disenfranchisement-Laws.pdf>; Jessie Allen, *Documentary Disenfranchisement*, 86 TULANE L. REV. 389 (2011).

²⁶ See e.g. Meredith & Michael Morse (2015), *supra* note 25 at 78 (finding that respondents who received notifications clarifying their voting rights were 5-10 percentage points more likely to vote than were their counterparts who did not receive such notification).

²⁷ See *id.*

²⁸ See *supra* note 24.

²⁹ Michael Lipsky, *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services* 3 (1980); see also Michael Hill & Peter Hupe, *Implementing Public Policy* (2002).