

FIVE FACTOR MODEL PERSONALITY TRAITS, JURY SELECTION, AND CASE OUTCOMES IN CRIMINAL AND CIVIL CASES



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Actual venire members ($N = 764$) completed the Big Five Inventory before going through the jury selection process for 1 of 11 criminal or 17 civil trials. Jury selection decisions by attorneys were not associated with juror personality traits but were associated with juror race and sex, especially in criminal cases. In the 17 juries that deliberated to a verdict ($n = 285$), high levels of juror extraversion were associated with not guilty verdicts or verdicts for the defendant, especially in criminal cases. Extraversion was also associated with being selected as a jury foreperson, and foreperson extraversion was associated with longer jury deliberation times and perceived foreperson influence in criminal cases.

Keywords: jury selection; personality; Big Five; Five Factor Model; extraversion

Although the relation between juror personality traits and juror decision making was a primary focus of early jury research, contemporary jury research rarely examines personality traits. Findings from early juror personality studies identified mostly small effects, which apparently led researchers to discontinue their examination of juror personality traits in search of stronger predictors of juror and jury decisions (Greene et al., 2002). Most current jury decision-making research focuses on how the information presented to jurors and attitudes about legal issues impact their decisions, with little attention to juror personality traits (Devine, Clayton, Dunford, Seyer, & Pryce, 2001; Levett, Danielsen, Bull Kovera, & Cutler, 2005; Robbenolt, Groscup, & Penrod, 2006).

The near abandonment of juror personality traits as a line of jury research may have been made prematurely. More recent research, based on contemporary conceptualizations of personality, has identified promising effects for juror personality traits, especially in the context of deliberating juries. The current study builds upon this more recent research by examining the relation between Five Factor Model (FFM) personality traits, jury selection, and case outcomes in deliberating juries from real criminal and civil cases.

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OVERVIEW OF JUROR PERSONALITY RESEARCH

Although juror personality traits examined by early researchers included locus of control (Phraes & Wilson, 1972; Sosis, 1974), belief in a just world (Gerbas, Zuckerman, & Reis, 1977), and measures of socialization and empathy (Moran & Comfort, 1986), most early jury research focused on Authoritarianism (Devine et al., 2001). Authoritarianism refers to a personality style characterized by distrust and aggression toward out-group members and a strict adherence to rules and dictates from sources of authority (see Narby, Cutler, & Moran, 1993). Narby et al. conducted a meta-analysis of findings from 20 studies examining the relation between juror Authoritarianism and perceptions of defendant culpability in criminal cases. The meta-analysis examined effects for both Traditional Authoritarianism, the personality characteristic described previously, and Legal Authoritarianism, a set of attitudes that are specific to the legal system (e.g., rights of the accused, the presumption of innocence, and procedural safeguards). The meta-analysis revealed a modest overall association between Authoritarianism and conviction proneness ($r = .16$), with effects being smaller for Traditional Authoritarianism ($r = .11$) than for Legal Authoritarianism ($r = .19$).

Although several researchers have published comprehensive reviews of the current state of knowledge concerning juror and jury decision making, none devote a significant amount of space to juror personality traits (see Greene et al., 2002; Levett et al., 2005; Nietzel, McCarthy, & Kern, 1999; Robbennolt et al., 2006). When these authors do review research relating to juror characteristics, they tend to focus on legal and case-specific attitudes, which are seen as leading to “somewhat more fruitful” predictions about juror decisions than personality traits (Greene et al., 2002, p. 228). An attitude refers to affect for or against a specific issue or concept (Mueller, 1986). A personality trait refers to a relatively stable pattern of thought, emotion, and behavior that describes “how people act in general” (Funder, 2004, p. 109). Case-specific attitude research has shown that jurors’ attitudes toward the death penalty (Nietzel, McCarthy, & Kern, 1999), insanity defense (Cutler, Moran, & Narby, 1992), legal system (Lecci & Myers, 2002), and civil litigation (Robbennolt et al., 2006) can be modest predictors of their case-related decisions. The recent preference for attitude measures over personality measures in jury research is also consistent with Narby et al.’s finding that Legal Authoritarianism (attitude) was a stronger predictor of conviction proneness than Traditional Authoritarianism (personality).

We argue that the general consensus in the field that personality traits are of only minimal value for understanding jury decision making is based on somewhat outdated juror personality research. One major limitation of the current state of juror personality research is that most of the studies in this area were conducted before the emergence of the Five Factor Model (FFM) of personality as a generally accepted framework for describing personality traits.

FIVE FACTOR MODEL OF PERSONALITY

The FFM is a descriptive model of personality traits that identifies overarching domains of personality based on groupings of words that people often use to describe themselves and others (Costa & Widiger, 2002; John & Srivastava, 1999). One goal behind the development of the FFM was to provide an accepted nomenclature for describing personality traits that would

remove some of the confusion that occurred when similar traits were studied under different names and different traits were studied under similar names (John & Srivastava, 1999). Thus, the FFM offers a broad and comprehensive framework for describing normative personality traits.

The traits that make up the FFM are usually identified as Openness to Experience, Neuroticism, Extraversion, Conscientiousness, and Agreeableness (Costa & Widiger, 2002). Openness to Experience concerns the extent to which individuals search for and desire to take part in new experiences. Those who are high in Openness tend to be flexible in their ideas and emotions, whereas those low in Openness have difficulty adapting to novel ideas or emotions. Neuroticism refers to a person's emotional stability and adjustment level, with higher levels suggesting increasing emotional instability and distress. Extraversion distinguishes very active and social people from those who are more subdued. Those scoring high on measures of Extraversion prefer contact with others, enjoy a high level of activity, and tend to be happy. Conscientiousness refers to the amount and quality of effort that individuals expend toward the achievement of goals. Organization and hard work are trademarks of high Conscientiousness, while laziness is a characteristic of low Conscientiousness. Agreeableness represents a person's tendency to be good-natured and cooperative. Those high in Agreeableness value relationships with others and show it; those low in Agreeableness tend to be more antagonistic.

The prominence of the FFM in recent personality research does not mean that personality traits studied in older jury research, such as Authoritarianism and Locus of Control, are unimportant. What the FFM offers for jury decision-making research is a more broad and comprehensive framework for understanding the association between personality traits and juror decision making. Indeed, the FFM framework has "helped bring order" to other areas of research examining the associations between personality traits, behavior, and outcomes in people's lives (see John & Srivastava, 1999, p. 125). The breadth of the FFM means that most personality traits not specifically mentioned in the FFM framework can be described in relation to the FFM. For example, Authoritarianism can be thought of as a combination of low Openness to Experience and high Conscientiousness (Butler, 2000; Cockroft, 1996; Heaven & Bucci, 2001).

FIVE FACTOR MODEL AND EXISTING JURY RESEARCH

Although the FFM has been used to examine the association between personality traits, behavior, and outcomes in a wide variety of applied settings (e.g., job performance, health outcomes, leadership), little is known about the association between these traits and jury decision making. We have identified only one published study in which the FFM was used to examine jury decision making. Marcus, Lyons, and Guyton (2000) administered a FFM measure to members of eight deliberating juries from real criminal and civil cases. The 86 jurors also provided ratings of how much they believed they influenced other jurors and how much they were influenced by other jurors. Jurors reporting high levels of Conscientiousness were most likely to report being influenced by other jurors, whereas those reporting high levels of Openness were least likely to report being influenced. Extraversion was the only FFM trait associated with perceptions of being influential, with extraverted jurors being perceived as much more influential than introverted jurors. The size of this effect for Extraversion was

large ($r = .44$), suggesting that Extraversion may be an especially important personality trait for understanding jury deliberations and decisions from deliberating juries.

Marcus et al.'s (2000) finding that Extraversion was associated with perceptions of influence during jury deliberations is consistent with findings from an earlier study of the deliberation process in mock juries. Rotenberg, Hewlett, and Siegwart (1998) videotaped mock jurors' deliberations following the presentation of a videotaped re-creation of a criminal trial. The jurors completed an Extraversion measure before the jury deliberation process and rated the dominance of other jurors in their deliberating groups. The research team coded the behavioral dominance of each mock juror based on a systematic evaluation of the videotaped deliberations. Those scoring higher on the Extraversion measure were more likely to be perceived as dominant by other jurors and were more likely to be selected as a foreperson. However, Extraversion was not significantly related to the research team's ratings of behavioral dominance or to the jurors' individual verdicts. The finding that Extraversion was not strongly associated with verdicts for individual jurors is consistent with earlier mock jury research examining the relation between Extraversion and juror verdicts (Sealy, 1981). Marcus et al. (2000) did not examine jury verdicts in their research.

NEED FOR COGNITION AND THE FIVE FACTOR MODEL

Although few studies have specifically examined the FFM as a framework for understanding jury decision making, other recent jury research provides support for its potential in understanding juror decisions. A number of recent jury studies have examined the association between Need for Cognition and juror decision making. Need for Cognition refers to "an individual's tendency to engage in and enjoy effortful cognitive endeavors" (Cacioppo, Petty, Feinstein, & Jarvis, 1996, p. 197). Need for Cognition has been a popular variable in recent jury research because of its relation to current models for understanding how and when people are persuaded, such as the elaboration likelihood model of persuasion (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). Persons scoring high on measures of Need for Cognition are more likely to be influenced by the quality of the information presented to them, as opposed to more peripheral cues of the presenter (e.g., credentials) or message (e.g., message length; see Cacioppo et al., 1996).

The association between Need for Cognition and jury decision making is similar to that observed for Extraversion, in that Need for Cognition has been found to be associated with perceived influence in dyads (Shestowsky & Horowitz, 2004; Shestowsky, Wegener, & Fabrigar, 1998) but is often unrelated to individual jurors' verdicts and judgments (Bornstein, 2004; Graziano, Panter, & Tanaka, 1990). However, Leippe, Eisenstadt, Rauch, and Seib (2004) found a curvilinear relation between Need for Cognition and convictions, with both high and low levels of the trait being associated with a low likelihood of conviction.

Interestingly, Need for Cognition is rarely described as a "personality" measure in jury research (cf. Bornstein, 2004) or in reviews of juror personality research (e.g., Devine et al., 2001; Greene et al., 2002; Robbennolt et al., 2006), even though the researchers who first identified this construct describe it as a personality trait associated with the Openness factor of the FFM (Cacioppo et al., 1996). Research examining the relation between Need for Cognition and the FFM has supported this relation with Openness but has found that

Need for Cognition is also positively correlated with components of Extraversion and Conscientiousness (Nussbaum & Bendixen, 2003; Sadowski & Cogburn, 1997; Tuten & Bosnjak, 2001).

HYPOTHESES: FIVE FACTOR MODEL, JURY PROCESS, AND CASE OUTCOMES

Together, FFM and Need for Cognition research suggest that juror personality traits may play an important role in the jury deliberation process. Specifically, personality traits appear to be associated with perceived dominance in the deliberation process, and limited research suggests that these same traits may be associated with being selected as a jury foreperson. The current study continues this line of research by examining the relation between FFM personality traits, perceptions of juror influence, and case outcomes from deliberating juries in real criminal and civil cases. On the basis of findings from existing FFM jury research, we expect that self-reported Extraversion will be associated with being selected as a jury foreperson and being perceived as influential in the jury deliberation process. Need for Cognition research also suggests that similar findings can be expected for Openness to Experience and Conscientiousness.

Existing jury research suggests that FFM personality traits are not likely to be strongly associated with verdicts. However, the FFM conceptualization of Authoritarianism as a combination of low Openness and high Conscientiousness suggests that these traits might be associated with conviction proneness in criminal cases. In addition, the FFM conceptualization of Need for Cognition as a combination of high levels Extraversion, Conscientiousness, and Openness suggests that these may be negatively associated with conviction proneness (Leippe et al., 2004).

FIVE FACTOR MODEL AND JURY SELECTION

Early research examining the jury selection practices of attorneys revealed that they tended to base their strikes on demographic characteristics such as gender, race, occupation, political affiliation, and socioeconomic status (see Fulero & Penrod, 1990; Olczak, Kaplan, & Penrod, 1991, for reviews). More recent research suggests that race is the strongest demographic characteristic associated with how potential jurors are removed from the venire in criminal cases (Kerr, Kramer, Carroll, & Alfini, 1991; Rose, 1999), despite the constitutional prohibitions against basing jury selection decisions on race (*Batson v. Kentucky*, 1986; *Georgia v. McCollum*, 1992). Specifically, African American jurors are much more likely to be challenged by the prosecution than the defense, both in jury simulation studies (Kerr et al., 1991) and real cases (Rose, 1999).

There is some evidence that juror attitudes and personality traits are associated with attorneys' jury selection decisions. Johnson and Haney (1994) found that criminal case attorneys tended to strike or remove jurors who maintained attitudes against their side of the case, although the overall level of bias in the jury pool was not changed as a result of these strikes. Olczak et al. (1991) asked 19 attorneys to identify the juror characteristics that influenced

their selection decisions and found that open-mindedness (36.8%), impressibility (21.0%), and attentiveness (21.0%) were all mentioned by multiple attorneys. These descriptors suggest that the FFM traits of Openness, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness might be associated with selection decisions for some attorneys, although the researchers did not examine whether these characteristics were seen as more favorable for the defense, prosecution, or jurors in general. Finally, Wigley (1999) examined the relation between verbal aggressiveness and selection decisions in a sample of 774 jurors, and found that high levels of conscientiousness and dominance were associated with being removed from the jury pool. In an FFM framework, jurors with these verbal characteristics would likely be those with high levels of Extraversion and low levels of Agreeableness.

HYPOTHESES: FIVE FACTOR MODEL AND JURY SELECTION

Published jury selection research provides limited information about the extent to which attorneys might consider juror personality traits as a basis for their use of peremptory challenges, in which they are allowed to strike a potential juror without providing a reason for doing so. Although Olczak et al.'s (1991) findings suggest that those serving on juries may report high levels of Openness, Johnson and Haney's (1994) findings regarding juror bias (Authoritarian attitudes) suggest that a combination of Openness and Conscientiousness may predict selection decisions in criminal cases. Specifically, the defense may tend to strike jurors with low levels of Openness and high levels of Conscientiousness, whereas the prosecution would not be likely to strike these jurors. In addition, Wigley's (1999) findings regarding verbal aggressiveness suggest that jurors with high levels of Extraversion and low levels of Agreeableness will be less likely than other jurors to serve on a jury.

In the current study, jury pool members completed a FFM measure before the jury selection process, and court clerks provided information about jury composition, verdict, and whether jurors were struck from the venire by the defense, prosecution, or removed from the venire by the court (struck for cause). Although the limited scope of jury selection research relating to personality traits prevents us from making strong hypotheses about the relation between FFM traits and the use of peremptory challenges, previous research suggests that juror race will be associated with strikes, especially in criminal cases. Specifically, we expect that jurors struck by the prosecution will be more likely to be African American than those struck by the defense (Kerr et al., 1991; Rose, 1999).

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

Participants for this research were residents from two adjacent counties in a southeastern state who were summoned for jury duty on 1 of 15 trial dates. The first county contains a large urban city that is one of the largest cities in the state. The second county is adjacent to the first county, and many residents of this county commute to the first county for work. Of the 1,395 people who reported for jury duty during the study period, 1,286 agreed to participate in the study. Of those agreeing to participate, 384 did not go through the jury selection

TABLE 1: Venire Member Demographic Characteristics Associated With the Jury Selection Process

<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>Total Sample</i>	<i>Served as Juror</i>	<i>Excused: Defense</i>	<i>Excused: Prosecution^a</i>	<i>Excused: Cause</i>
Criminal cases					
Venire members (<i>n</i>)	281	113	71	80	17
Age <i>M (SD)</i>	45.5 (13.1)	45.4 (11.8)	49.4 (13.6)	41.9 (13.3)	46.4 (14.7)
Sex					
Male (%)	47.0	37.2	47.9	61.3	41.2
Female (%)	53.0	62.8	52.1	38.3	58.8
Race					
African American (%)	31.0	31.0	9.9	47.5	41.2
Caucasian (%)	67.3	68.1	88.7	50.0	52.9
Employed					
Yes (%)	81.5	88.5	66.2	85.0	82.4
No (%)	16.4	10.6	29.6	12.5	17.6
Civil cases					
Venire members (<i>n</i>)	483	172	131	154	26
Age <i>M (SD)</i>	44.3 (13.1)	46.6 (13.5)	45.3 (13.6)	43.6 (11.6)	47.6 (11.1)
Sex					
Male (%)	47.6	44.2	45.0	53.9	46.2
Female (%)	52.4	55.8	55.0	46.1	53.8
Race					
African American (%)	18.5	20.3	23.7	12.3	15.4
Caucasian (%)	79.1	78.5	71.8	85.1	84.6
Employed					
Yes (%)	83.6	80.8	80.9	88.3	88.5
No (%)	13.5	15.7	14.5	10.4	11.5

Note. Percentage values for some characteristics do not add to 100% in the same column due to missing data for some participants. Tests of statistical significance are reported in the accompanying text.

a. For civil cases, values in this column refer to venire members excused by the plaintiff.

process for an individual case because they served on a grand jury or as an alternate member of a venire. Of the 902 persons who served on a venire and agreed to participate, 764 completed all of the study materials. Data reported in this study are for these 764 venire members.

Of the 28 cases for which venire members were eligible to serve as jurors, 11 were criminal cases and 17 were civil cases (see Figure 1). Of the 764 participating venire members, 285 (37%) were selected to serve on a jury. Of these, 113 were selected to serve on a criminal case jury, and 172 were selected to serve on a civil case jury. Of the 479 venire members excused from these cases, 234 were struck by the plaintiff or prosecution, 202 were struck by the defense, and 43 were struck by the court for cause. The court strikes jurors for cause when they are unfit to serve as a juror, are biased toward or against one side of the case, or have a relationship with parties in the case.

The 11 criminal cases ended in four guilty verdicts, two not guilty verdicts, one hung jury, three settlements, and one case with no verdict (mistrial). The 17 civil cases ended in seven verdicts for the plaintiff, four verdicts in favor of the defense, one hung jury, and five settlements. Thus, juries actually deliberated in 7 criminal cases (guilty, not guilty, hung jury) and 12 civil cases (verdict for defense, verdict for plaintiff, hung jury).

Demographic characteristics reported by the venire members are summarized in Table 1. The majority of venire members identified themselves as Caucasian, although the proportion

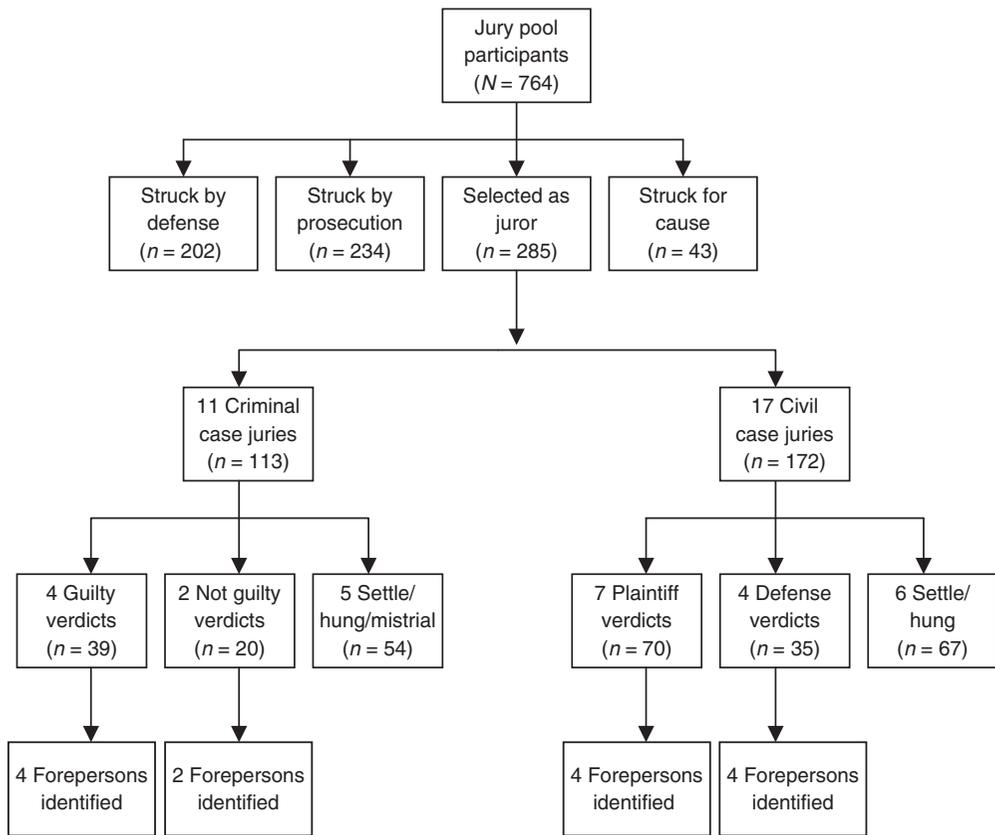


Figure 1: Flowchart Explaining How the Jury Pool Members Participating in the Study Were Partitioned Into Jury Groups

of Caucasian venire members was somewhat larger in civil (79.1%) than in criminal cases (67.3%). Slightly more than half of the criminal and civil case venire members reported being women, and most reported being employed (see Table 1). The average age of venire members was similar for criminal and civil cases (see Table 1).

MEASURES

Big Five Inventory (BFI). The BFI is a relatively brief self-report measure of the *FFM* personality dimensions that provides measures of Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Neuroticism, and Openness. The current study used the 44-item version of the BFI (Benet-Martinez & John, 1998). BFI items were developed to measure the most prototypical traits of each of the Big Five personality dimensions (John & Srivastava, 1999). Each BFI item is a short phrase rated by the participant on a scale from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*). Sample items include “I see myself as someone who is talkative” (Extraversion item) and “I see myself as someone who is inventive” (Openness item). Higher scores on the BFI dimensions indicate higher levels of the personality traits.

Internal consistency coefficients for the BFI trait scores typically range from .75 to .90, and 3-month test-retest correlations range between .80 and .90 (John & Srivastava, 1999). In the current study, internal consistency values for the BFI scores fell squarely in this expected range, with Cronbach's alpha values of .76 for Agreeableness, .77 for Conscientiousness, .82 for Extraversion, .83 for Neuroticism, and .82 for Openness. With respect to convergent validity, BFI scores are strongly correlated with corresponding scores from other FFM measures, including the NEO-FFI (Costa & McCrae, 1992) and the Trait Descriptive Adjectives (TDA) Scale (Goldberg, 1992). John and Srivastava found that correlations between the BFI and these measures ranged from .64 to .90 for individual Big Five dimensions. With respect to discriminant validity, BFI scores for each individual BFI trait correlate only moderately with scores from the other four traits on the BFI, NEO-FFI, and TDA (average $r = .20$; John & Srivastava, 1999).

Case Experiences Questionnaire. Venire members who served on a deliberating jury were asked to respond to two questions about their experiences after the deliberations were completed. Specifically, deliberating jurors provided separate ratings of how much influence they had on other jurors and how much influence the foreperson had in their case: 1 (*not influential*) to 5 (*very influential*).

PROCEDURE

Venire member personality and demographic information was collected by the first author at the end of juror orientation sessions, which are conducted by trial judges at the beginning of each jury week. During the orientation session the judge explains the importance of the jury system and the responsibilities that go along with being a juror. Judges introduced the researcher at the end of the orientation sessions and explained the voluntary nature of the study. The researcher then explained the study procedures and obtained informed consent from venire members who were willing to participate.

Information about the jury selection process was collected by a court clerk. Jury selection in the two counties is accomplished using a struck jury method, in which venire members are questioned by attorneys as a group. After the questioning is completed, the judge rules on jurors that should be struck for cause. The attorneys then use peremptory challenges to remove individual venire members from the jury pool. Venire members remaining after this process make up the jury. Information provided by the clerks included identifying the specific case for which individual venire members were eligible to serve, who served as jurors, who excused venire members from the case, deliberation time for deliberating juries, and verdicts.

Case experience questionnaires were distributed to jurors at the end of the deliberation process by a court clerk. The court clerk also collected the completed questionnaires.

RESULTS

PERSONALITY TRAITS AND JURY SELECTION

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to examine differences in personality traits between jurors who served on cases and those who were struck for cause, struck by the

TABLE 2: Mean Big Five Inventory (BFI) Personality Trait Scores for Venire Members Who Served on Juries and Those Excused From the Venire

<i>BFI Personality Trait</i>	<i>Served as Juror (n = 285)</i>	<i>Excused: Defense (n = 202)</i>	<i>Excused: Prosecution^c (n = 234)</i>	<i>Excused: Cause (n = 43)</i>
Extraversion	3.37 (0.71)	3.39 (0.73)	3.38 (0.71)	3.28 (0.68)
Agreeableness	4.18 (0.58)	4.18 (0.56)	4.18 (0.56)	4.15 (0.55)
Conscientiousness	4.20 _a (0.56)	4.16 _a (0.53)	4.20 _a (0.58)	3.91 _b (0.59)
Neuroticism	2.45 _{a,b} (0.77)	2.49 _{a,b} (0.80)	2.37 _b (0.80)	2.72 _a (0.76)
Openness	3.55 (0.62)	3.55 (0.61)	3.62 (0.62)	3.48 (0.55)

Note. If two means in the same row have different subscripts, the means are significantly different from one another at the $p < .05$ level. The numbers in parentheses are standard deviation values.

c. Values in this column include venire members struck by the plaintiff in civil cases and by the prosecution in criminal cases.

plaintiff/prosecution, or struck by the defense. The ANOVA models also examined whether the relation between personality traits and being deselected from the venire differed for civil and criminal cases. Significant effects were explored using Bonferroni adjusted post hoc comparisons.

Overall, personality traits were similar for jurors in criminal and civil cases, with no significant main effects or interactions involving case type. Table 2 provides descriptive statistics for the five personality trait scores collapsed across civil and criminal cases. Two personality traits were significantly associated with juror selection/deselection, although these associations were modest in size. Both of these effects revealed differences between jurors struck for cause and other jurors (see Table 2). Specifically, jurors who were struck for cause were significantly less Conscientious than those selected to serve on juries (Cohen's $d = .35$), excused by the defense (Cohen's $d = .35$), or excused by the plaintiff/prosecution (Cohen's $d = .36$), $F(3, 756) = 3.52$, $p < .02$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. Jurors struck for cause also reported higher levels of Neuroticism compared with those struck by the plaintiff/prosecution (Cohen's $d = .31$), but not compared with those selected for juries (Cohen's $d = .24$) and those excused by the defense (Cohen's $d = .22$).

Previous jury selection research suggested that specific combinations of personality traits associated with Authoritarianism and verbal aggressiveness might be associated with jury selection decisions. In an FFM framework, Authoritarianism would be associated with low levels of Openness and high levels of Conscientiousness, and verbal aggressiveness would be associated with high levels of Extraversion and low levels of Agreeableness. Logistic regression was used to examine if specific combinations of these traits were associated with being removed by the prosecution or defense. Two sets of regression models were examined, one for each personality trait combination. In the regression models examining traits associated with Authoritarianism, the side removing the venire member served as the dependent measure (prosecution vs. defense). In the models examining verbal aggressiveness, juror status (struck for any reason vs. served on jury) served as the dependent measure. The predictor variables in each model included case type (criminal vs. civil), main effects for the two personality traits, all possible two-way interaction terms, and the three-way interaction term.

Any effect for a specific combination of personality traits in predicting selection decisions would be indicated by a significant two- or three-way interaction involving the two personality traits. No statistically significant two- or three-way interactions were observed in either set of analyses. Moreover, neither of the regression models that included all of the predictor variables indicated prediction better than chance, reinforcing the finding that

personality traits were not associated with selection decisions by attorneys: Authoritarian traits full model, $\chi^2(7, N = 435) = 2.66, p = .91$; verbal aggression traits full model, $\chi^2(7, N = 762) = 6.65, p = .47$.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND JURY SELECTION

Although personality traits were not strongly associated with the jury selection process, juror race, sex, and employment status were associated with how venire members were excused from the case, especially in criminal cases (see Table 1). In criminal cases, venire members excused by the prosecutor were more likely to be younger, male, African American, and employed than those excused by the defense. These differences were large enough to reach statistical significance for venire member race, $\chi^2(1, N = 148) = 26.14, p < .001, \phi = .42$, employment, $\chi^2(1, N = 146) = 7.09, p < .01, \phi = .22$, and age, $t(149) = 3.43, p < .01$, Cohen's $d = .56$. The effect was most striking for race, with only 9.9% of those excused by the defense being African American compared with 47.5% of those excused by the prosecution. Nevertheless, the percentage of African American venire members who served as criminal case jurors (31.0%) was nearly identical to the proportion of African American venire members in the criminal case jury pool (31.0%). However, the prosecution's removal of male jurors from the venire led to significantly fewer males serving on criminal case juries (37.2%) than expected, given the percentage of males in the venire (47.0%), $\chi^2(1, N = 281) = 7.30, p < .01, \phi = .16$.

Juror demographic characteristics were not as strongly associated with jury selection in civil cases (see Table 1). Venire members excused by the plaintiff were somewhat more likely to be male, Caucasian, and employed compared with those excused by the defense, although the only difference large enough to reach statistical significance was for venire member race, $\chi^2(1, N = 275) = 6.75, p < .01, \phi = .16$. Specifically, 12.3% of venire members excused by the plaintiff were African American, compared with 23.7% of those excused by the defense. Nevertheless, as was observed for criminal cases, the percentage of African Americans who served as civil case jurors (20.3%) was similar to the percentage of African Americans in the civil case jury pool (18.5%).

PERSONALITY TRAITS AND CASE OUTCOMES IN DELIBERATING JURIES

Multilevel linear modeling (MLM) was used to examine the relation between juror personality traits and case outcomes. All analyses were conducted using the HLM 5 software package (Raudenbush, Bryk, Cheong, & Congdon, 2001). Descriptive statistics for the variables included in these analyses are reported in Table 3. Although 7 criminal and 12 civil juries deliberated at the end of a trial, 2 juries (1 criminal and 1 civil) were not able to reach a verdict. Thus, data from the 17 juries that deliberated to a verdict were used in the analyses. Multilevel models are those in which data collected at different levels of analysis (juror vs. jury) can be examined without violating assumptions of independence (see Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). For example, it is reasonable to expect that responses from jurors on the same jury will be more similar to one another than responses from jurors on different juries. This lack of independence in the data leads to an increase in the probability of making Type I errors if the dependence is not accounted for by the analytic procedure (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

In the current study, personality trait scores are juror level data, whereas case type (criminal vs. civil) and verdict (guilty vs. not guilty) are jury level data. MLM accounts for the potential

TABLE 3: Mean Big Five Inventory (BFI) Personality Trait Scores and Case Outcomes for Deliberating Jurors

BFI Personality Trait	Criminal Case Jurors		Civil Case Jurors	
	Guilty (n = 39)	Not Guilty (n = 20)	Verdict for Plaintiff (n = 70)	Verdict for Defendant (n = 35)
Extraversion	3.27 (0.58)	3.69 (0.83)	3.31 (0.76)	3.24 (0.71)
Agreeableness	4.25 (0.59)	4.34 (0.53)	4.14 (0.65)	4.16 (0.59)
Conscientiousness	4.25 (0.54)	4.50 (0.61)	4.19 (0.57)	4.06 (0.52)
Neuroticism	2.27 (0.85)	2.42 (1.00)	2.56 (0.79)	2.57 (0.68)
Openness	3.60 (0.67)	3.66 (0.81)	3.45 (0.67)	3.34 (0.55)

Note. The numbers in parentheses are standard deviation values.

lack of independence in this data by estimating the variance in personality trait scores associated with the jury group. In these models, jury group was declared to be a random effect to allow for an examination of the variability in personality traits for the 17 jury groups. Analyses examining the strength of this random effect consider how much the variability of mean personality trait scores for the 17 jury groups accounts for the variability in personality trait scores observed for all jurors. If the variance accounted for by the jury groups is small, this would suggest that the jury groups (each made up of multiple jurors) reported similar levels of the personality trait. This would also suggest that the relation between personality traits and the other effects of interest (verdict, case type) applies across jury groups. If the variance accounted for the jury groups is large, it indicates that there is a significant amount of variance in the mean level of the personality trait for jury groups. One goal of MLM is to try to account for this variation through other predictors, which can be random or fixed factors. Random factors are variables with levels that are randomly selected from a population of possible levels, such as the jury groups examined in this particular study being considered a random sample of all possible jury groups. Fixed factors are those that contain all of the levels of the predictor that are of interest. In the current study case, type and verdict are fixed factors because the research is concerned with effects for civil and criminal juries, as well as for guilty and not guilty verdicts. In a linear model that includes multiple predictors (random or fixed), the findings for the effects are those that exist after the effects of the other predictors have been taken into account.

Table 4 summarizes the results of the MLM analyses examining the differences in personality trait scores based on case type (civil vs. criminal) and verdict (guilty vs. not guilty). A separate model was developed for each personality trait. Each of these models estimated the random effect for jury group and for the fixed effect for case type, verdict, and the Case Type \times Verdict interaction. Dummy coding was used for case type (0 = *criminal*, 1 = *civil*) and verdict (0 = *not guilty*, 1 = *guilty*).

As can be seen in Table 4, the random effect for jury group was not statistically significant for any of the personality traits, indicating that the variation in personality trait score means for the jury groups did not account for a statistically significant amount of variance in personality trait scores in the final multilevel models. The parameter estimate for each random effect listed in Table 4 indicates the amount of variance in the set of mean scores for that personality trait—one mean score for each jury group.

The proportion of variance in the entire set of individual personality traits scores that is accounted for by the jury group random effect in a model without fixed effects (intercepts

TABLE 4: Multilevel Modeling Results for Analyses Examining Differences in Juror Big Five Inventory (BFI) Personality Trait Scores Based on Case Type and Verdict

<i>Random effect for jury group in the full multilevel models (one model for each personality trait)</i>					
<i>Personality Trait</i>	<i>Parameter Estimate</i>		χ^2	df	p
Extraversion	.0001		4.93	13	>.50
Agreeableness	.0079		15.17	13	.30
Conscientiousness	.0090		17.03	13	.20
Neuroticism	.0001		8.88	13	> .50
Openness	.0049		14.78	13	.30
<i>Fixed effects in the full multilevel models (one model for each personality trait)</i>					
<i>Variable: Effect</i>	<i>Parameter Estimate</i>	SE	t Ratio	-df	<i>Effect Size</i>
Extraversion					
Case type	-.4805	.2027	-2.37*	13	.67
Verdict	-.4273	.1987	-2.15*	13	.59
Case Type \times Verdict	.5242	.2492	2.10*	13	.73
Agreeableness					
Case type	-.1760	.1888	-0.93	13	.29
Verdict	-.1134	.1854	-0.61	13	.19
Case Type \times Verdict	.0842	.2321	0.36	13	.14
Conscientiousness					
Case type	-.4442	.1764	-2.52*	13	.81
Verdict	-.2771	.1734	-1.60	13	.51
Case Type \times Verdict	.3998	.2170	1.84*	13	.73
Neuroticism					
Case type	.1008	.2263	0.45	13	.13
Verdict	-.1223	.2219	-0.55	13	.19
Case Type \times Verdict					
Openness					
Case type	-.3203	.1882	-1.70	13	.51
Verdict	.0005	.1847	0.00	13	.00
Case Type \times Verdict	.1067	.2314	0.46	13	.17

Note. $N = 163$ for each model. For each personality trait, the full model included both random and fixed effects. Case type coded 0 = *criminal*, 1 = *civil*. Verdict coded 0 = *not guilty*, 1 = *guilty*. Case Type \times Verdict refers to the two-way interaction term. Number of jury groups = 17. The effect sizes reported for the fixed effects in the multilevel linear modeling analyses are analogous to Cohen's d and are obtained by dividing the parameter estimate by the square root of the residual variance.

* $p < .05$, one-tailed.

only model) is expressed as an intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC). ICC values for personality traits were $< .01$ for Extraversion and Conscientiousness and $< .02$ for Agreeableness, Neuroticism, and Openness. These small ICC values indicate that less than 2% of the variance in personality trait scores was attributable to variation in the jury group means. Moreover, none of these ICC values was large enough to reach statistical significance ($p > .05$, one-tailed). One-tailed significance values are used for these variance estimates because the question they are addressing is unidirectional: Is the variance greater than expected by chance (see Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

The parameter estimate for each fixed effect is a slope (unstandardized regression weight), reflecting the predicted increase (positive estimate) or decrease (negative estimate) in the personality trait associated with a change in the predictor variable (verdict, case type). Based on the dummy coding scheme used in the analyses, a positive estimate for verdict indicates that

higher trait scores were observed in cases with guilty verdicts (or plaintiff verdicts in civil cases). A positive estimate for case type indicates that a higher trait score was observed in civil cases than in criminal cases. The effect sizes reported for the fixed effects in the MLM analyses are analogous to Cohen's d and are obtained by dividing the parameter estimate by the square root of the residual variance.

Our fixed-effects hypotheses were that low levels of Agreeableness and high levels of Extraversion, Conscientiousness, and Openness might be associated with jury verdicts. Fixed-effect results indicated that Conscientiousness and Extraversion were associated with case outcomes in deliberating juries, but that Openness and Agreeableness were not (see Table 4). The pattern of fixed-effects findings was similar for both Extraversion and Conscientiousness. Higher Extraversion and Conscientiousness scores were associated with rendering not guilty verdicts, but only in criminal cases. Specifically, there were significant two-way interactions between case type and verdict for both traits (see Table 4). In criminal cases, jurors who rendered not guilty verdicts tended to report higher levels of Extraversion—parameter estimate = $-.43$, $SE = .19$, $t(4) = -2.28$, one-tailed $p = .04$, effect size = $.63$ —and Conscientiousness—parameter estimate = $-.27$, $SE = .16$, $t(4) = -1.66$, one-tailed $p = .07$, effect size = $.63$ —than those who rendered guilty verdicts.¹ In civil cases, jurors rendering guilty (verdict for plaintiff) and not guilty (verdict for defendant) verdicts reported more similar levels of Extraversion—parameter estimate = $.10$, $SE = .15$, $t(9) = .63$, one-tailed $p = .28$, effect size = $.13$ —and Conscientiousness—parameter estimate = $.12$, $SE = .11$, $t(9) = 1.08$, one-tailed $p = .16$, effect size = $.22$.

FOREPERSON PERSONALITY TRAITS

Because of the relatively small number of deliberating juries, analyses comparing the personality traits of jury forepersons to other jurors are provided here primarily for descriptive purposes. Forepersons were identified in 14 of the 17 juries that deliberated to a verdict (see Figure 1). Because of the small number of forepersons and the finding from the MLM analyses reported earlier that there was not a significant amount of variance in personality trait scores attributable to jury groups, analyses examining differences between the personality traits of forepersons did not examine jury group level differences. The findings from comparisons of foreperson and nonforeperson personality traits are reported here in terms of Cohen's d effect sizes, which should be interpreted cautiously given the small number of forepersons in the sample. Cohen's d values reflect the size of difference between mean personality trait scores, which are reported in standard deviation units.

A difference between foreperson and nonforeperson personality trait scores was found for only one of the five personality traits. As expected, forepersons reported moderately higher Extraversion scores ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 0.62$) than did the other jurors ($M = 3.29$, $SD = 0.72$), $F(1, 180) = 4.17$, $p < .05$, Cohen's $d = .30$. Cohen's d values were smaller for Agreeableness ($.04$), Conscientiousness ($-.13$), Neuroticism ($-.06$), and Openness ($.08$), with positive values indicating that the absolute value of the foreperson mean was larger than the nonforeperson mean.

FOREPERSON PERSONALITY TRAITS AND GROUP PROCESSES

Analyses examining the relation between foreperson personality traits and group processes focused on the relations among foreperson personality, perceived foreperson influence, deliberation

time, and case outcomes. The maximum number of jury groups contributing to these analyses was 18 (6 criminal and 12 civil). Although 7 criminal juries engaged in deliberations (guilty, not guilty, hung jury), deliberation time and case experience data were not collected by the court clerk in the 1 case with a hung jury. In 3 of the civil cases that rendered verdicts for the plaintiff, the foreperson either did not participate in the study or was not identified by the court clerk as being the foreperson (see Figure 1). Case experience data were not collected on one civil case that led to a plaintiff verdict. Because of the small number of groups providing data relating to group processes, the data provided in this section should be interpreted cautiously. Descriptive statistics for foreperson influence and personality are provided in Table 5.

MLM was used to examine the relation between perceived foreperson influence and case outcomes in the 16 juries that deliberated to a verdict. We were able to examine foreperson influence in all 16 juries that deliberated to a verdict because all jurors made ratings of foreperson influence, even if the foreperson did not participate in the study or was not identified by the court clerk. Only ratings made by nonforepersons were used in these analyses. An initial model examining the random effect of jury group on foreperson influence ratings indicated that there was a statistically significant amount of variation in ratings across the 16 jury groups ($ICC = .30$, one-tailed $p < .01$).

The final model examined differences in perceived foreperson influence based on case type (civil vs. criminal) and verdict (guilty vs. not guilty or in civil cases, verdict for plaintiff vs. verdict for defendant). This model estimated the random effect for jury group and for the fixed effects for case type, verdict, and the Case Type \times Verdict interaction. The random effect for jury group in this model was large ($ICC = .26$, one-tailed $p < .05$), indicating that there was still a statistically significant amount of variance in group ratings of foreperson influence even after the effects of case type and verdict had been taken into account. However, analysis of the fixed effects revealed a statistically significant Case Type \times Verdict interaction: parameter estimate = -1.76 , $SE = .84$, $t(13) = -.208$, one-tailed $p < .05$, effect size = 1.64.

The pattern revealed by the interaction was that forepersons were seen as especially influential in criminal case juries that reached not guilty verdicts (see Table 5). In criminal cases, jurors who rendered not guilty verdicts tended to report higher levels of foreperson influence than those who rendered guilty verdicts: parameter estimate = -1.37 , $SE = .80$, $t(4) = -1.71$, one-tailed $p = .08$, effect size = 1.36. In civil cases, jurors rendering guilty (verdict for plaintiff) and not guilty (verdict for defendant) verdicts reported more similar levels of foreperson influence: parameter estimate = $.35$, $SE = .45$, $t(9) = .76$, one-tailed $p = .24$, effect size = $.32$.

Why is it that the forepersons in the two criminal trials that reached not guilty verdicts were seen as being so influential? Although this question cannot be answered directly with the data available for this study, the findings in Table 5 show that these two forepersons reported higher levels of Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness, and lower levels of Neuroticism than did the other forepersons. Although none of these differences was large enough to reach statistical significance across the four types of deliberating groups listed in Table 5, the difference in foreperson Extraversion for criminal case juries rendering guilty and not guilty verdicts was the most striking. The effect size for this difference in Extraversion was very large (Cohen's $d = 3.10$).

Foreperson personality traits were also associated with the amount of time (in minutes) juries deliberated before reaching a verdict, although the pattern was markedly different for criminal and civil case juries.² For the six criminal case juries that deliberated to a guilty or not

TABLE 5: Perceived Influence and Big Five Inventory (BFI) Personality Trait Scores of Jury Forepersons

BFI Personality Trait	Criminal Case Juries		Civil Case Juries	
	Guilty (<i>n</i> = 4)	Not Guilty (<i>n</i> = 2)	Verdict for Plaintiff (<i>n</i> = 4) ^a	Verdict for Defendant (<i>n</i> = 4)
Perceived influence	2.86 (1.09)	4.16 (0.23)	3.04 (0.81)	2.69 (0.26)
Extraversion	3.47 (0.33)	4.44 (0.44)	3.66 (1.09)	3.53 (0.24)
Agreeableness	4.17 (0.23)	4.67 (0.47)	4.36 (0.47)	3.83 (0.58)
Conscientiousness	4.11 (0.24)	4.33 (0.94)	4.19 (0.47)	3.86 (0.65)
Neuroticism	2.25 (0.35)	1.62 (0.18)	2.53 (0.69)	2.31 (0.65)
Openness	3.58 (0.36)	4.00 (0.56)	3.52 (0.41)	3.30 (0.36)

Note. The numbers in parentheses are standard deviation values.

a. *n* = 6 for the rating of perceived foreperson influence in civil cases rendering guilty verdicts, and *n* = 4 for the personality measure scores because the foreperson was either not identified by the court clerk or refused to participate in the study.

guilty verdict, deliberation time was strongly associated with the foreperson's self-reported level of Extraversion ($r = .94$), Agreeableness ($r = .82$), Openness ($r = .73$), Neuroticism ($r = -.64$), and Conscientiousness ($r = .59$). Although all criminal case juries deliberated for at least 2 hr ($M = 255.50$ min, $SD = 154.84$), the two juries that reached not guilty verdicts deliberated for the longest periods of time (548 and 302 min). For the 12 deliberating civil case juries, associations between foreperson personality traits and deliberation time were smaller and often in the opposite direction of those observed in criminal cases. Specifically, deliberation time for civil juries was most strongly associated with foreperson agreeableness ($r = .66$) and only moderately associated with Extraversion ($r = .16$), Openness ($r = -.26$), Neuroticism ($r = -.10$), and conscientiousness ($r = -.10$). Deliberation time in civil cases ranged from 15 to 265 min ($M = 92.33$, $SD = 79.59$), with six juries deliberating for less than 1 hr.

JUROR PERSONALITY AND PERCEIVED INFLUENCE

Pearson correlations were used to examine the relation between juror personality traits and their perceived influence on other jurors. On the basis of a finding from previous research (Marcus et al., 2000), we expected that high levels of Extraversion would be associated with higher levels of perceived influence. Correlation coefficients between personality traits and perceived influence were calculated separately for civil ($n = 99$) and criminal cases ($n = 40$). In criminal cases, deliberating jurors who reported higher levels of perceived influence on other jurors also reported higher levels of Extraversion ($r = .26$, $p = .11$) and Openness ($r = .29$, $p = .06$), as well as lower levels of Neuroticism ($r = -.30$, $p = .07$). Effects were smaller for Agreeableness ($r = .14$, $p = .39$) and Conscientiousness ($r = -.01$, $p = .95$). In civil cases, deliberating jurors ($n = 99$) who reported higher levels of perceived influence on other jurors also reported higher levels of Extraversion ($r = .23$, $p = .02$) and Conscientiousness ($r = .18$, $p = .07$), while smaller effects were observed for Agreeableness ($r = .15$, $p = .13$), Neuroticism ($r = -.14$, $p = .17$), and Openness ($r = .11$, $p = .75$).

DISCUSSION

The main strength of the current research is its ecological validity. This study provides information about the personality traits of real venire persons, the association between

personality traits and the jury selection process in real cases, and the association between these traits and real case outcomes. The main limitations of the research include the correlational design, small number of juries that deliberated to a verdict, and the lack of detailed information about the cases on which these jurors served and the jury deliberation process (e.g., nature of group discussions). Despite these clear limitations, this study produced a number of findings consistent with our hypotheses, with the most marked effects being observed for Extraversion in criminal cases. Readers should keep the study limitations in mind throughout the following discussion of the potential importance of the study's findings.

PERSONALITY VERSUS DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS IN JURY SELECTION

The findings from the current study that allow for the strongest conclusions are those concerning the relation between venire member personality traits and the jury selection process. The overall pattern revealed by these analyses was that there were no significant differences in the personality traits of venire members excused by the defense, excused by the prosecution/plaintiff, or selected to serve on juries. Moreover, there was not a significant amount of variation in personality traits across the jury groups, suggesting that the absence of effects for jurors as a whole was not a product of attorneys emphasizing certain personality traits in certain cases. Together, these findings suggest that attorneys were not basing their jury selection decisions on personality traits, although it is also possible that they tried and failed to remove jurors with certain personality traits.

The finding that personality traits were not associated with the jury selection process is not surprising given that most attorneys are believed to base their jury selection decisions on more basic demographic characteristics and attitudes about the legal process (see Fulero & Penrod, 1990). Indeed, juror demographic characteristics were clearly associated with the jury selection process in the current research, especially in criminal cases. Jurors excused by the prosecution were more likely to be younger, African American, male, and employed. The effect size for the difference in race was large and similar to findings from previous research. For example, Rose (1999) found that criminal prosecutors in one North Carolina county used 60% of their peremptory challenges on African American venire members, whereas the defense used only 23% of their challenges on African American venire members. In the current research, the corresponding figures were 47.5% and 9.9%, respectively. Although there were no overall differences in the racial composition of the venire and juries in the current study, African American venire members were clearly more likely to be excused by the prosecution, and Caucasian jurors were clearly more likely to be excused by the defense. This finding is especially troubling given that peremptory challenges cannot be based on race alone (*Batson v. Kentucky*, 1986; *Georgia v. McCollum*, 1992). The race difference is so strong in the current research that it is difficult to believe that it can be completely explained by another juror or case characteristic.

SHOULD PERSONALITY TRAITS INFLUENCE SELECTION DECISIONS?

The finding that attorneys do not appear to be using personality traits to guide their jury selection decisions raises the question of whether they should be considering these traits. The current study suggests that attorneys may want to consider venire member Extraversion, especially in criminal cases. Although few criminal case juries deliberated to a verdict and only two of these juries rendered not guilty verdicts, jurors in these cases reported higher

levels of Extraversion and Conscientiousness than jurors in criminal cases who rendered guilty verdicts. Extraversion was also associated with being selected as a jury foreperson, and foreperson Extraversion was strongly associated with longer jury deliberation times. The forepersons in the two criminal cases rendering not guilty verdicts reported especially high levels of Extraversion, and these forepersons were also perceived by other jurors as being highly influential.

We had hypothesized that Openness would also be associated with jury deliberation and case outcome measures, based on its relation to personality traits known to be associated with jury decision making, such as Authoritarianism (low Openness) and Need for Cognition (high Openness). The small number of deliberating juries prevented a detailed examination of how the combination of FFM traits might be better able to account for the effects of Authoritarianism and Need for Cognition observed in previous research. Specifically, a thorough examination of Authoritarianism and Need for Cognition would require examining specific combinations of Openness and Conscientiousness in predicting jury processes and outcomes.

LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The small number of deliberating juries examined in the current research requires that the findings reported here for deliberating juries be considered with great caution. Future research with a larger number of deliberating jury groups is needed to explore the generalizability of the findings from this study and to examine the viability of alternate explanations for these effects. Indeed, each of our findings based on deliberating groups has several possible alternate explanations. For example, juries in criminal cases that rendered not guilty verdicts may have deliberated for a longer period of time than other juries because there was not strong evidence either for or against conviction. Likewise, jurors in these cases may have rated the forepersons as highly influential because they did not want to take responsibility for failing to convict a criminal suspect. Nevertheless, the current research adds to the small number of existing studies suggesting that extraverted jurors may be especially influential in the jury deliberation process (Marcus et al., 2000; Rotenberg et al., 1998), and demonstrates the need for more research examining the relation between FFM traits and jury decision making.

Perhaps the most interesting hypothesis for future research suggested by our findings is that highly extraverted forepersons may encourage longer deliberations in criminal cases and that these longer deliberation times may increase the likelihood of not guilty verdicts. One possible reason for this relation is that juries with forepersons who encourage lengthy deliberations are likely to address a wider range of evidence and perspectives than juries with forepersons who encourage a quick decision. The relation between foreperson Extraversion and the jury deliberation process could best be examined through the use of mock juries, with the researcher assigning forepersons based on their level of Extraversion.

NOTES

1. One-tailed probability values were used for significance tests examining Extraversion, Conscientiousness, Openness, and Agreeableness because of the directional hypotheses relating to these traits.

2. Jury deliberation time across all criminal and civil cases ranged from 15 to 548 min ($M = 146.72$, $SD = 131.96$). Although deliberation time values were positively skewed (skewness = 1.74, $SE = .54$), the correlations reported in this section were nearly identical for raw deliberation time values and values that had been log-transformed to reduce the effect of the positive skew. Thus, correlations for nontransformed values are reported here.

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