

Too Broken to Fix: Part I

*An In-depth Look at America's
Outlier Death Penalty Counties*



INTRODUCTION

The death penalty in America is dying.

The trends are clear. In 2015, juries returned the fewest number of new death sentences—49—since the death penalty was reinstated in 1976.¹ The number of death sentences in 2015 has declined by more than 50 percent since 2009, which saw 118 death sentences, and by more than 600 percent since the peak of 315 sentences in 1996.² Of the 31 states that legally retain the death penalty,³ only 14—or less than half—imposed a single death sentence in 2015.⁴

When we drill down to the county level, the large-scale abandonment of the death penalty in the country becomes even more apparent. Of the 3,143 county or county equivalents in the United States, only 16—or one half of one percent—imposed five or more death sentences between 2010 and 2015.⁵ Six of those counties are in Alabama (Jefferson and Mobile) and Florida (Duval, Hillsborough, Miami-Dade and Pinellas)—the only two states that currently permit non-unanimous death verdicts.⁶ Of the remaining 10 counties, five are located in highly-populated Southern California (Kern, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, and San Bernardino). The others include Caddo (LA), Clark (NV), Dallas (TX), Harris (TX) and Maricopa (AZ). As Justice Stephen Breyer noted in his 2015 dissent in *Glossip v. Gross*, “the number of active death penalty counties is small and getting smaller.”⁷

1 See *Death Sentences in 2015*, DEATH PENALTY INFO. CTR., <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/2015-sentencing> (last visited Aug. 1, 2016).

2 See *Death Sentences in the United States from 1977 by State and Year*, DEATH PENALTY INFO. CTR., <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/death-sentences-united-states-1977-2008> (last visited Aug. 1, 2016).

3 See *States With and Without the Death Penalty*, DEATH PENALTY INFO. CTR., <http://deathpenaltyinfo.org/states-and-without-death-penalty> (last visited Aug. 9, 2016).

4 See *Death Sentences in 2015*, *supra* note 1.

5 See *Death Sentences 2010-2015*, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

6 See Erik Eckholm, *Delaware Supreme Court Rules State's Death Penalty Unconstitutional*, N.Y. Times, Aug. 2, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/03/us/delaware-supreme-court-rules-states-death-penalty-unconstitutional.html?_r=0; Anna M. Phillips, *How The Nation's Lowest Bar for the Death Penalty Has Shaped Death Row*, Tampa Bay Times, Jan 31, 2016, <http://www.tampabay.com/projects/2016/florida-executions/jury-votes/>.

7 135 S. Ct. at 2774 (Breyer, J., dissenting).

There are myriad reasons why the death penalty has fallen out of favor in most of the country and among a growing number of influential groups of victims' families, law enforcement, faith leaders, professional associations, and conservatives. Studies have shown it to be extremely expensive, prone to error, applied in discriminatory ways, and imposed upon the most vulnerable, rather than the most culpable people. The ever-growing ranks of the wrongfully convicted remind us of the profound injustices inherent in this system, and of the near-certainty that innocent people have been executed.

What, then, makes these 16 counties different? Why do they continue to push out death sentences with regularity, bucking an overwhelming trend in the other direction? Do they have a citizenry with an unusually strong attachment to capital punishment? Do they care less about legal safeguards?

Part I of this report takes a close look at how capital punishment operates on the ground in half of these active death-sentencing counties. In this first report, we dig deep into Caddo, Clark, Duval, Harris, Maricopa, Mobile, Kern, and Riverside counties. Our review reveals that these counties frequently share at least three systemic deficiencies: a history of overzealous prosecutions, inadequate defense lawyering, and a pattern of racial bias and exclusion. These structural failings regularly produce two types of unjust outcomes which disproportionately impact people of color: the wrongful conviction of innocent people, and the excessive punishment of persons who are young or suffer from severe mental illnesses, brain damage, trauma, and intellectual disabilities.

OVERZEALOUS PROSECUTORS

While jurors and judges recommend and impose death sentences, prosecutors decide whether to seek the death penalty. In a nation that endures approximately 14,000 homicides annually⁸ and yet imposed only 49 death sentences in 2015, it is safe to conclude that most prosecutors do not seek the death penalty in most of the cases in which the punishment is available. One might presume that this is the result of great prosecutorial restraint—that the punishment is being reserved for the most culpable offenders convicted of the most heinous crimes—but our research doesn't support this claim. Since 1976, the year capital punishment resumed in America, a tiny handful of prosecutors account for a wildly disproportionate number of death sentences. Indeed, just three prosecutors personally obtained a

8 See FBI, Uniform Crime Report 2 (2015), <https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2014/crime-in-the-u.s.-2014/offenses-known-to-law-enforcement/murder/murder/murder.pdf> (reporting an estimated 14,249 murders in 2014).

combined 131 death sentences,⁹ the equivalent of one in every 25 people on death row in America today.¹⁰ Those same prosecutors amassed findings of misconduct in 33 percent, 37 percent, and 46 percent of their cases, respectively.¹¹ Strikingly, once these types of prosecutors leave office, death-sentencing rates ultimately plummet in their respective counties.¹² The same personality-driven phenomenon exists in most of the active death sentencing counties. The prosecutors who have obtained the most death sentences in these counties tend to exhibit an obsession with winning death sentences at almost any cost, even in cases with less culpable defendants.¹³ Their willingness to cut corners, even in cases that literally involve life and death decisions,¹⁴ casts grave doubt on the legitimacy of capital punishment – and also tarnishes the entire justice system in America.

INADEQUATE DEFENSE

Prosecutors who abuse their discretion are not the only people to blame for the brokenness of capital punishment. Twenty years ago, law professor Stephen Bright wrote that the death penalty in America was handed down not “for the worst crime, but for the worst lawyer.”¹⁵ In too many cases today, defendants are stuck with attorneys who lack the time, resources, or ability to zealously represent their clients as guaranteed by the Constitution,¹⁶ which ultimately leads to unmitigated prosecutorial abuse, disproportionately harsh sentences, and the conviction of innocent people.¹⁷ In this report, we look at the number of hours of mitigation evidence that capital defense lawyers put on during the penalty phase of the trial as one proxy for evaluating the quality of defense in these counties.

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- 9 FAIR PUNISHMENT PROJECT, AMERICA’S TOP FIVE DEADLIEST PROSECUTORS: HOW OVERZEALOUS PERSONALITIES DRIVE THE DEATH PENALTY 18 (2016) [hereinafter *Deadliest Prosecutors*], available at http://fairpunishment.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/FPP-Top5Report_FINAL.pdf.
 - 10 See *Death Row Inmates by State*, DEATH PENALTY INFO. CTR., <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/death-row-inmates-state-and-size-death-row-year?scid=9&did=188#state> (last updated Jan. 1, 2016).
 - 11 See *Deadliest Prosecutors*, *supra* note 9 (providing statistics on Joe Freeman Britt of North Carolina; Robert H. Macy of Oklahoma; and Donald V. Myers of South Carolina).
 - 12 See *id.*
 - 13 See *id.*
 - 14 Three of the top five “deadliest prosecutors” had misconduct findings in over one-third of their death penalty cases. See *Deadliest Prosecutors*, *supra* note 9.
 - 15 See Stephen B. Bright, *Counsel for the Poor: The Death Sentence Not for the Worst Crime but for the Worst Lawyer*, 103 Y. L. J. 1835 (1994).
 - 16 See *Strickland v. Washington*, 466 U.S. 668 (1984) (holding that the Sixth Amendment right to counsel is a right to a reasonable standard of effectiveness).
 - 17 See *Ineffective Assistance of Counsel*, CAL. INNOCENCE PROJECT, <https://californiainnocenceproject.org/issues-we-face/ineffective-assistance-of-counsel/> (last visited Aug. 1, 2016).

RACIAL BIAS AND EXCLUSION

Racial bias infects every aspect of death penalty cases, from jury selection to sentencing, from the decision to seek death to the ability to access effective representation. Indeed, in 96 percent of states where the relationship between race and the death penalty has been analyzed, researchers have “found a pattern of discrimination based on the race of the victim, the race of the defendant, or both.”¹⁸ Additionally, one study has shown that the more “stereotypically Black” a defendant appeared, the more likely it was that he would be sentenced to death.¹⁹ A closer look at the outlier counties where the death sentence is used most frequently reveals a history of racial bias. In this report, we utilize research from Political Science Professor Frank Baumgartner of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to evaluate the race of defendants and the race of the victims in capital cases from these counties.

EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENT

The Eighth Amendment limits the death penalty to offenders with “a consciousness materially more depraved” than the “typical murderer.”²⁰ The U.S. Supreme Court has held that juvenile offenders and persons with intellectual disabilities do not, as a class of offenders, possess the requisite moral culpability and therefore cannot be executed.²¹ However, there are many defendants who also have a diminished culpability similar to these “categorically exempted” defendants, but fall through the cracks of justice.²² These include people with borderline intellectual functioning (people with IQs in the 70s and low 80s);²³ persons under 21 years old;²⁴ persons who have suffered extreme childhood trauma, including physical or sexual abuse;²⁵

18 *Arbitrariness*, DEATH PENALTY INFO. CTR., <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/arbitrariness> (citing David Baldus et al., *In The Post-Furman Era: An Empirical And Legal Overview, With Recent Findings From Philadelphia*, 83 CORNELL L. REV. 1638 (1998)) (last visited Aug. 1, 2016).

19 See Jennifer Eberhardt et al., *Looking Deadworthy: Perceived Stereotypicality of Black Defendants Predicts Capital-Sentencing Outcomes*, 17 J. OF PSYCHOL. SCI. 383, 383-385 (2006).

20 Robert J. Smith et al., *The Failure of Mitigation*, 65 HASTINGS L. J. 1221, 1222 (2014).

21 See *Roper v. Simmons*, 543 U.S. 551, 569-71 (2005) (prohibiting the death penalty for juveniles); *Atkins v. Virginia*, 536 U.S. 304, 320-21 (2002) (prohibiting the death penalty for the intellectually disabled).

22 See, e.g., ABA, *Recommendation 122A*, available at <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/documents/122AReport.pdf> (recommending that individuals with other types of impaired mental conditions should be exempt from the death penalty) (last visited Aug. 1, 2016).

23 See *id.* at 4; see also APA, *Intellectual Disability* (2013), <http://www.dsm5.org/documents/intellectual%20disability%20fact%20sheet.pdf>; Jerrold Pollack & John J. Miller, *A Call to DSM-V to Focus on the Designation of Borderline Intellectual Functioning*, *Psychiatric Times* (Dec. 8, 2009), <http://www.psychiatrictimes.com/articles/call-dsm-v-focus-designation-borderline-intellectual-functioning>.

24 Mild neuroscience holds that the prefrontal cortex, which enables impulse control, is not finished developing until approximately age 25. See Dustin Albert & Laurence Steinberg, *Judgment and Decision Making in Adolescence*, 21 J. RESEARCH ON ADOLESCENCE 211, 220 (2011). For our purposes, we use under the age of 21 -- when all legal rights are bestowed upon an individual, despite the fact that one cannot yet rent a car from a private rental company.

25 See Janet Currie & Erdal Tekin, *Does Child Abuse Cause Crime?* (NBER Working Paper No. 12171, 2006), available at <http://www.nber.org/papers/w12171> (concluding that child abuse and neglect doubles the likelihood of criminal activity).

persons with severe mental illnesses (SMI);²⁶ and those with organic brain damage.²⁷ The latest neuroscience research indicates the parts of the brain responsible for key functions, such as impulse control and judgment, are not fully formed until an individual is in his mid-20s.²⁸ Some of the most concerning cases that we discuss below involve persons with more than one of these impairments.

INNOCENCE

Since 1976, there have been more than 150 individuals exonerated from death row.²⁹ Nearly half of these exonerations have occurred since the start of 2000 with the development of more reliable scientific techniques.³⁰ Exonerations are common in jurisdictions with overly aggressive prosecutors and inadequate defenders. Sixty-one percent of these exonerations involved defendants of color.³¹

A recent case from Caddo Parish, Louisiana, involving Lamondre Tucker, an 18-year-old Black teenager with significant intellectual impairments,³² offers a stark illustration of how these structural deficiencies interact with one another. The Parish is sometimes referred to as “Bloody Caddo”³³ because it was the site of the second highest number of mob-led lynchings in the country between 1877 and 1950.³⁴ Dale Cox, the former District Attorney who prosecuted Tucker, suggested that we should “kill more people” when asked about the appropriateness of the death penalty.³⁵ Remarkably, Cox’s eagerness to expand capital sentencing took place in response to the release of Glenn Ford – a man with Stage



Glenn Ford

26 See Recommendation, *supra* note 22, at 6-9.

27 See *id.* at 5.

28 See e.g. Dustin Albert & Laurence Steinberg, Judgment and Decision Making in Adolescence, 21 J. Res. on Adolescence 211, 212-17 (2011).

29 The Innocence List, DEATH PENALTY INFO. CTR., <http://deathpenaltyinfo.org/innocence-list-those-freed-death-row> (last visited Aug. 1, 2016).

30 See *id.*

31 See Exonerations by Race, DEATH PENALTY INFO. CTR., <http://deathpenaltyinfo.org/innocence-and-death-penalty#race> (last visited Aug. 1, 2016).

32 See Pet. for Writ of Cert. at 5, Tucker v. Louisiana, 136 S. Ct. 1801 (2016), available at <http://www.scotusblog.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Tucker-cert.-pet.1.25.pdf>.

33 Gilles Vandal, “Bloody Caddo”: White Violence Against Blacks in a Louisiana Parish, 1865-1876, J. Soc. Sci. 25, 373-88 (1991), available at http://redriversankofa.org/images/bloodycaddo_Vandal.pdf.

34 See John Andrew Prime, Lynchings’ Bloody Terror Toll Studied, SHREVEPORT TIMES, Feb. 16, 2015, <http://www.shreveporttimes.com/story/news/local/2015/02/15/lynchings-bloody-terror-toll-studied/23458327/>

35 See Campbell Robertson, The Prosecutor Who Says Louisiana Should Kill More People, N.Y. TIMES, July 7, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/08/us/louisiana-prosecutor-becomes-blunt-spokesman-for-death-penalty.html>

4 lung cancer who had spent nearly three decades on death row for a crime he did not commit.³⁶ During his tenure as District Attorney, Cox and his assistants struck Black residents from juries three times more often than they did white residents.³⁷ Kurt Goins, Tucker's defense attorney, put on no defense at the guilt phase of the trial and less than one day's worth of evidence at the mitigation phase.³⁸ Outside the courthouse, a Confederate flag flew on the front lawn.³⁹ The result was almost inevitable: a death sentence rendered against a teenager with a crippling intellectual impairment. It is hardly surprising that Supreme Court Justices Breyer and Ginsburg questioned whether "geography" and not "the comparative egregiousness of his crime" accounted for his death sentence.⁴⁰

This is what capital punishment in America looks like today. While the vast majority of counties have abandoned the practice altogether, what remains is the culmination of one systemic deficiency layered atop another. Those who receive death sentences do not represent the so-called "worst of the worst." Rather, they live in counties with overzealous and often reckless prosecutors, are frequently deprived access to competent and effective representation, and are affected by systemic racial bias. These individuals are often young, and many have intellectual impairments, severe mental illnesses, or have suffered from brain damage, abuse, and trauma. Some are likely innocent. This pattern offers further proof that, whatever the death penalty has been in the past, today it is both cruel and unusual, and therefore unconstitutional under the Eighth Amendment.

36 Vickie Welborn, *Updated: ADA on Death Penalty: 'We need to kill more people'*, SHREVEPORT TIMES, Mar. 27, 2015, <http://www.shreveporttimes.com/story/news/local/2015/03/27/glenn-ford-dale-cox-charles-scott-caddo-parish-death-penalty-execution-marty-stroud/70529188/>.

37 URSULA NOYE, *REPREIVE AUSTRALIA, BLACKSTRIKES 10-11* (2015), available at <https://blackstrikes.com/>.

38 See Caddo Parish Defense Mitigation and Jury Deliberations Times, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

39 See Petition, *supra* note 32, at 34.

40 *Tucker v. Louisiana*, 136 S. Ct. 1801, 1801-02 (2016) (Breyer, J. & Ginsburg, J., dissenting from the denial of certiorari).

#1

THE DEATH PENALTY IN MARICOPA COUNTY, AZ

PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH MISCONDUCT FOUND	21%
AVERAGE AMOUNT OF DEFENSE MITIGATION PRESENTED BY DEFENSE LAWYERS	2.25 DAYS
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS OF COLOR SENTENCED TO DEATH BETWEEN 2010-2015	57%
PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH SIGNIFICANT MITIGATION (AGE AND IMPAIRMENTS COMBINED)	70%
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS UNDER AGE 21	11%
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS WITH INTELLECTUAL DISABILITY, SEVERE MENTAL ILLNESS, OR BRAIN DAMAGE	62%
NUMBER OF DEATH ROW EXONERATIONS SINCE 1976	5

**All calculations are based on direct appeal opinions since 2006 unless otherwise noted.*

Between 2010 and 2015, Maricopa County had 28 death sentences. Maricopa's rate of death sentencing per 100 homicides is approximately 2.3 times higher than the rate for the rest of Arizona.⁴¹ Though Maricopa has one percent of the nation's population,⁴² it accounts for 3.6 percent of the death sentences returned nationally between 2010 and 2015.⁴³

OVERZEALOUS PROSECUTORS

Andrew Thomas was elected to serve as Maricopa's County Attorney in 2004.⁴⁴ He began pursuing capital charges at nearly twice the rate of his predecessor.⁴⁵ This new policy contributed to a "backlog of capital cases [that] crippled the county's public defender system" and left approximately a dozen murder defendants without lawyers.⁴⁶ This would become known as Maricopa's "capital case crisis."⁴⁷

41 See Frank Baumgartner, *Rate of Death Sentencing 2006-2015*, <http://fairpunishment.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/RateofDeathSentencing2006-2015.pdf>.

42 See QuickFacts for Maricopa County, U.S. Census Bureau, <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/04013,00> (last visited Aug. 8, 2016).

43 See *Death Sentences By Year: 1976-2014*, Death Penalty Info. Ctr., <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/death-sentences-year-1977-2009> (last visited Aug. 2, 2016).

44 See John Rudolf, *Andrew Thomas, Phoenix Prosecutor, Disbarred for 'Defiled' Public Trust*, Huff. Post (Apr. 11, 2012), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/04/11/andrew-thomas-disbarred-phoenix-prosecutor_n_1415815.html.

45 See Jennifer Steinhauer, *Policy Shift on Death Penalty Overwhelms Arizona Court*, N.Y. Times, Mar. 5, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/05/us/05death.html>.

46 See *id.*

47 See Ray Stern, *Death Penalty: Judge Outlines Reason Cases Take Years To Complete*, Phoenix New Times, Apr. 10, 2009, <http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/death-penalty-judge-outlines-reason-cases-take-years-to-complete-6626916>.

In 2012, a three-member panel of Arizona Supreme Court voted unanimously to disbar Thomas. In an extensive 247-page opinion,⁴⁸ the panel found that Thomas “outrageously exploited power, flagrantly fostered fear, and disgracefully misused the law.”⁴⁹ He purportedly used his office and its powers to bring baseless criminal and civil charges against political opponents, including four state judges and the state Attorney General.⁵⁰

With Thomas gone, Maricopa has sought and obtained fewer death sentences.⁵¹ Today, three prosecutors who all served under Thomas—Jeannette Gallagher, Juan Martinez, and Vincent Imbordino—account for more than one-third of all of the capital cases—21 of 61⁵²—that the Arizona Supreme Court has decided on direct appeal since 2006.⁵³ They amassed findings of improper behavior in eight of those cases.⁵⁴ Juan Martinez once compared a Jewish defense lawyer to Adolf Hitler and his “Big Lie,” a tactic the Arizona Court of Appeals deemed “reprehensible.”⁵⁵ The Arizona Supreme Court has called out Martinez by name during oral argument,⁵⁶ and found that he committed misconduct in at least three capital cases,⁵⁷ including *Lynch v. Arizona*,⁵⁸ a case that the U.S. Supreme Court reversed this year for unrelated reasons.⁵⁹ The state court found 17 instances in which Juan Martinez acted inappropriately in that one death penalty case alone.⁶⁰ The Arizona Supreme Court has condemned Jeannette Gallagher’s conduct, labeling it as “improper,”⁶¹ “very troubling,”⁶² and “entirely unprofessional.”⁶³ Gallagher, who heads Maricopa’s capital case unit, has personally obtained at least nine death sentences,⁶⁴ including against a military veteran diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia and a brain-

48 See Rudolf, *supra* note 44.

49 See *id.*

50 See *id.*

51 See Maricopa County Death Sentences Spreadsheet 2004-2016, on file with the Fair Punishment Project. Between 2004 and mid-2010, the office averaged 8.5 sentences/year. Between mid-2010 and mid-2016, the office averaged 4.5 sentences/year.

52 See Maricopa County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

53 See *id.*

54 See *id.*

55 See Michael Kiefer, *Objections Raised to Juan Martinez’s Conduct in Jodi Arias Trial*, Ariz. Republic, Feb. 28, 2014, <http://archive.azcentral.com/news/articles/20131028jodi-arias-juan-martinez-conduct-day3.html>.

56 See *id.*

57 See Maricopa County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, *supra* note 52.

58 136 S. Ct. 1818, 578 U.S. ____ (2016) (per curiam), available at https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/15pdf/15-8366_e18f.pdf.

59 See *id.* (reversing where defendant not given opportunity to inform jury of parole ineligibility).

60 Pet. for Writ of Cert. at 6, *Lynch v. Arizona*, 136 S. Ct. 1818 (2016), available at <http://www.scotusblog.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/15-8366-Lynch-Shawn-Patrick-Petition-for-Writ-of-Certiorari-Final-Filed.pdf>.

61 *Deadliest Prosecutors*, *supra* note 9, at 24 (quoting *State v. Velazquez*, 166 P.3d 91, 102 (Ariz. 2007)).

62 *Id.* (quoting *State v. Martinez*, 282 P.3d 409, 416 (Ariz. 2012)).

63 *Id.* (quoting *State v. Speer*, 212 P.3d 787, 796 (Ariz. 2009)).

64 *Deadliest Prosecutors*, *supra* note 9, at 24.

damaged child whom she described to the jury as “16 going on 35.”⁶⁵

INADEQUATE DEFENSE

The quality of the defense counsel in Maricopa County varies widely. Even at the level of superficial appearances, some lawyers spend weeks presenting evidence during the penalty phase of a capital trial, while others hardly muster a few hours worth of mitigation to save their client’s lives. To understand why Maricopa has had such a disproportionate number of death sentences, even for a place with such a large population, one need look no further than the 24 percent of cases decided or pending on direct review since 2006 in which Herman Alcantar, Nathaniel Carr, Rodrick Carter, or Randy Craig represented the defendants.⁶⁶

Herman Alcantar, who once was called “arguably the busiest capital defense attorney in the entire United States,”⁶⁷ defended six cases that resulted in death over this period.⁶⁸ In five of the six cases, his presentation of mitigation evidence lasted under one day.⁶⁹ One month before trial, in one of the cases, Alcantar had neither filed a single substantive motion nor visited his client in more than a year.⁷⁰ In a different case, Alcantar billed just 43 hours on mitigation-related activities, and his client ultimately waived the right to put on mitigation evidence at trial.⁷¹ After the trial, the client’s new lawyers discovered that he was addicted to heroin at birth, endured head injuries from being thrown down flights of stairs and beaten with a broomstick, and had both neuropsychological impairments and symptoms of fetal alcohol syndrome.⁷² This new information caused one of the jurors who voted for death to write: “Knowing all of that, I would have voted for life, no doubt about it.”⁷³

Nathaniel Carr shares many of Alcantar’s deficiencies. He represented four clients who were sent to death, and the mitigation presentation in each case lasted under two days.⁷⁴ He once wrote that his client, a man with a 72 IQ score, “looks

65 See Paul Rubin, *Off with Their Heads*, Phoenix New Times, June 26, 2003, <http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/off-with-their-heads-6408253>.

66 See Maricopa County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, *supra* note 52.

67 Robert J. Smith, *The Worst Lawyers*, Slate (Nov. 4, 2015), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2015/11/the_worst_defense_lawyers_for_death_penalty_cases_in_arizona_florida_louisiana.html.

68 See Maricopa County Defense Mitigation Presentation and Jury Deliberation Times, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

69 See *id.*

70 See Smith, *Worst Lawyers*, *supra* note 67.

71 See Pet. for Post-Conv. Relief, *State v. Womble*, No. CR2002-010926(B) (Ariz. 2015).

72 See *id.*

73 See *id.*

74 See Maricopa County Defense Times, *supra* note 68.

like a killer, not a retard.”⁷⁵ A different client sent his trial judge a letter requesting that Carr be removed from his case because he had “lost all trust and faith” in Carr because, among other things, Carr and his co-counsel had visited that client only a few times in 15 months.⁷⁶ Part of Carr’s unavailability was attributed to his side job as a high school football coach, which caused him to be “unavailable to clients and co-counsel on most weekday afternoons during football season—and always on game days.”⁷⁷ Carr, who has been called “the king of Maricopa County’s contract criminal-defense attorneys when it comes to collecting money,” billed the county \$2.4 million dollars between 2006 and 2012, including \$450,000 for a single death penalty case, some of which was for work that appears to not have happened.⁷⁸

Rodrick Carter has had five clients sent to death row, and in four of those cases he put on less than a day’s worth of mitigation.⁷⁹ He once billed the county \$2.2 million dollars over five and a half years, and reportedly a big chunk of that money was to represent a man who ultimately waived the right to put on mitigation.⁸⁰ Two out of three of Randy Craig’s capital cases resulted in death sentences in 2015, and five of his former clients are on death row.⁸¹ In four of those cases, Craig put on no mitigation evidence, which is partly a function of the fact that those clients also waived their right to put on mitigation.⁸² In the fifth case, Craig put on under three hours worth of mitigation.⁸³ He once conducted a mitigation investigation for a Mexican national facing a death sentence so poorly that the Mexican government intervened to ask the trial judge to evaluate the quality of Craig’s representation.⁸⁴

RACIAL BIAS AND EXCLUSION

Between 2010 and 2015, 57 percent of the defendants sentenced to death in Maricopa County were people of color.⁸⁵ In that same period, none of the

75 See Paul Rubin, *Death-Penalty Lawyers are Making a Killing off Maricopa Taxpayers*, Phoenix New Times, July 19, 2012, <http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/death-penalty-lawyers-are-making-a-killing-off-maricopa-taxpayers-6454923>.

76 See Smith, *Worst Lawyers*, *supra* note 67.

77 See Rubin, *Death-Penalty Lawyers*, *supra* note 75.

78 See *id.*

79 See Maricopa County Defense Times, *supra* note 68.

80 See Rubin, *Death-Penalty Lawyers*, *supra* note 75; Oral Arg. Case Summary, *State v. Goudeau*, No. CR-11-0406-AP (2015), available at <http://imgcorporate.com/phxdigital/news/10-13-15/October132015CR110406APGoudeau.pdf>.

81 Charles Hamilton Houston Inst. for Race & Just., Harv. L. Sch., *America Has Abandoned the Death Penalty* (2015), <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/documents/2015-CHHIRJ-Death-Penalty-Report.pdf>.

82 See Maricopa County Defense Times, *supra* note 68; Maricopa County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, *supra* note 52.

83 See Maricopa County Defense Times, *supra* note 68.

84 See Mot. to Det. Counsel, *State v. Tabera*, No. CR2004-023095-001-SE (Ariz. 2009).

85 See Frank Baumgartner, *Race of Defendant and Victims 2010-2015*, August 15, 2016, <http://fairpunishment.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/RaceofDefendantsandVictims2010-2015.pdf>

defendants sentenced to death elsewhere in the state were people of color.⁸⁶ Most notably, 18 percent of the defendants from Maricopa were African-American, even though African-Americans are just six percent of Maricopa's population.⁸⁷

In terms of the broader context, one of the most powerful figures in law enforcement in the country is Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio. A recent U.S. Department of Justice review of Sheriff Joe's office concluded "that [Maricopa County Sheriff's Office], through the actions of its deputies, supervisory staff, and command staff, engages in racial profiling of Latinos; unlawfully stops, detains, and arrests Latinos; and unlawfully retaliates against individuals who complain about or criticize MCSO's policies or practices..."⁸⁸ One DOJ expert concluded that, "Arpaio oversaw the worst pattern of racial profiling by a law enforcement agency in U.S. history"⁸⁹

EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENTS

A striking 70 percent of cases that the Arizona Supreme Court decided on direct appeal since 2006 involve defendants with the type of severe mitigation evidence that strongly suggests excessive punishment.⁹⁰ For instance, 11 percent of the cases involved a defendant not old enough to buy a beer.⁹¹ Consider, for example, Efren Medina, age 18, who suffers from "paranoia, confused thinking and extreme agitation," characteristics of schizophrenia and bipolar disorder, and has been labeled "profoundly disabled."⁹² Sixty-two percent of Maricopa's cases involved defendants with intellectual impairment, brain damage, or a serious mental illness.⁹³ For example, Israel Naranjo, whom Mr. Carr represented, has an IQ score between 69-74, and has been diagnosed with bipolar disorder.⁹⁴ Gilbert Martinez, a schizophrenic man with a 68 IQ, was prosecuted by Jeanette Gallagher and sent to death row despite his significant impairments.⁹⁵

86 See *id.*

87 See *id.*; *QuickFacts for Maricopa County*, U.S. Census Bureau, <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/04013,00> (last visited Aug. 8, 2016).

88 See Letter from Thomas E. Perez, Assistant Att'y Gen., U.S. DOJ, Civ. Rts. Div., to Bill Montgomery, Maricopa Cnty. Att'y 2 (Dec. 15, 2011), available at https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/crt/legacy/2011/12/15/mcso_findletter_12-15-11.pdf.

89 See Ray Stern, *Sheriff Joe Arpaio's Office Commits Worst Racial Profiling in U.S. History, Concludes DOJ Investigation*, Dec. 15, 2011, *Phoenix New Times*, <http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/sheriff-joe-arpaio-s-office-commits-worst-racial-profiling-in-us-history-concludes-doj-investigation-6655328>.

90 See Maricopa County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, *supra* note 52.

91 See *id.*

92 See Appellant's Opening Brief, *State v. Medina*, CR-10-0031-AP, WL 9368243 (Ariz. 2011).

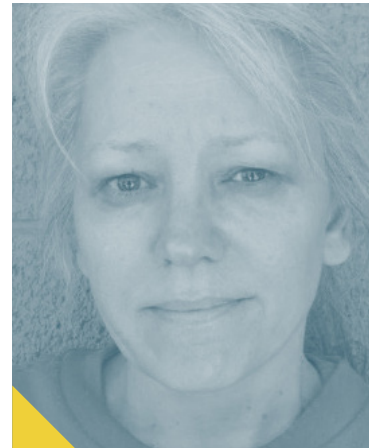
93 See Maricopa County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, *supra* note 52.

94 See *State v. Naranjo*, 321 P.3d 398, 408-09 (Ariz. 2014); Smith, *Worst Lawyers*, *supra* note 67.

95 See *State v. Martinez*, 282 P.3d 409, 412 (Ariz. 2012); Pet. for Post-Conv. Relief at 27, *State v. Martinez*, 282 P.3d 409 (Ariz. 2012).

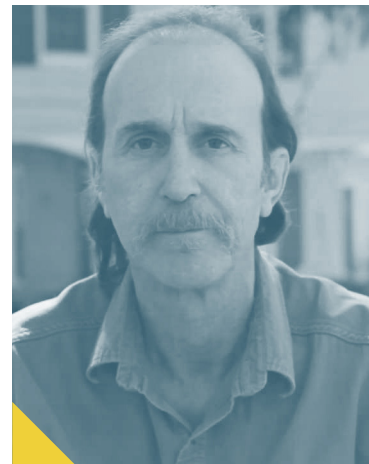
INNOCENCE

Maricopa County has had five death row exonerations.⁹⁶ Debra Milke spent 22 years on death row after her 4-year-old son was murdered in 1989.⁹⁷ Phoenix police detective Armando Saldate claimed Milke had confessed to being part of the killing, although he never recorded the statement in any fashion.⁹⁸ Yet, Saldate's personnel file, which the state never disclosed to the defense, revealed numerous instances of misconduct—including the fact that Saldate “habitually lied under oath [and] took advantage of women he had in his power.”⁹⁹ In 2013, in the proceeding that ultimately led to her release, an appellate court called the misconduct that led to Milke's wrongful conviction “egregious” and “a severe stain on the Arizona justice system.”¹⁰⁰



Debra Milke

In 2002, the Arizona Supreme Court dismissed murder charges against Ray Krone after DNA evidence revealed his innocence.¹⁰¹ At the time he was sentenced to death, Krone had no criminal record and had been honorably discharged from military service.¹⁰² Krone spent more than ten years in prison before being exonerated through DNA testing.¹⁰³ Notably, his conviction stemmed from junk science¹⁰⁴ that the prosecutor bolstered by claiming falsely that “bite marks are as unique as fingerprints.”¹⁰⁵ The same prosecutor refused to listen to experts for years as evidence of Krone's innocence amassed.¹⁰⁶ When Krone sued the City of Phoenix and Maricopa County for his wrongful conviction, the representative for Maricopa County shrugged off what had happened: “Unfortunately, there are situations where innocent people are convicted. That doesn't mean we did anything



Ray Krone

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- 96 The five cases are Debra Milke, Ray Krone, James Robison, Jonathan Treadaway, and Robert Cruz. See Innocence Database, Death Penalty Info. Ctr., http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/innocence?inno_name=&exonerated=&state_innocence=1&race=All&dna=All (last visited Aug. 8, 2016).
- 97 See Saeed Ahmed & Greg Botelho, *Debra Milke, Who Spent 22 Years On Arizona Death Row, Has Murder Case Tossed*, CNN, Mar. 24, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/03/24/justice/arizona-debra-milke-death-sentence/>.
- 98 See *Milke v. Ryan*, 711 F.3d 998, 1002 (9th Cir. 2013).
- 99 *Id.* at 1019.
- 100 *Milke v. Mroz*, 339 P.3d 659, 661, 666 (Ariz. App. 1st Div. 2014).
- 101 See *Sentenced To Death For A Crime He Didn't Commit*, AZ Just. Proj., <http://azjusticeproject.org/profiles/ray-krone/> (last visited Aug. 2, 2016).
- 102 See *id.*
- 103 See *id.*
- 104 See Fernanda Santos, *Evidence From Bite Marks, It Turns Out, Is Not So Elementary*, N.Y. Times, Jan. 28, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/28/weekinreview/28santos.html>.
- 105 Jim Fisher, *Forensics Under Fire: Are Bad Science and Dueling Experts Corrupting Criminal Justice?* (2008), p. 162.
- 106 See *id.* at pp. 163-164.

wrong.”¹⁰⁷ Krone received a combined total of \$4.4 million dollars from the two jurisdictions in a settlement.¹⁰⁸



THE DEATH PENALTY IN DUVAL COUNTY, FL

PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH MISCONDUCT FOUND	16%
AVERAGE AMOUNT OF DEFENSE MITIGATION PRESENTED BY DEFENSE LAWYERS	LESS THAN 1 DAY
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS OF COLOR SENTENCED TO DEATH BETWEEN 2010-2015	87%
PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH SIGNIFICANT MITIGATION (AGE AND IMPAIRMENTS COMBINED)	60%
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS UNDER AGE 21	20%
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS WITH INTELLECTUAL DISABILITY, SEVERE MENTAL ILLNESS, OR BRAIN DAMAGE	48%
PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH NON-UNANIMOUS JURIES	88%

**All calculations are based on direct appeal opinions since 2006 unless otherwise noted.*

#2

Between 2010 and 2015, roughly one-quarter of Florida’s death sentences came from Duval County, a county that holds only five percent of the state’s population.¹⁰⁹ One reason for this disproportionate concentration of death sentences is that only three out of the 25 death sentences from Duval County that the Florida Supreme Court has reviewed on direct appeal since 2006 were imposed by a unanimous jury.¹¹⁰ Two-thirds of these cases had at least three juror votes for life,¹¹¹ an outcome that would preclude a death sentence under Florida’s new capital sentencing statute.¹¹² The absence of a unanimity requirement also helps to explain why the average deliberation on whether to impose a death sentence took just one hour and six minutes in these cases.¹¹³ The death-sentencing rate in Duval County

¹⁰⁷ Jana Bombersbach, *Arizona Sent An Innocent Man To Death Row*, Phoenix Mag. (2004), available at <http://janabombersbach.com/arizona-sent-an-innocent-man-to-death-row/>.

¹⁰⁸ See Ray Krone, Nat’l Reg. of Exonerations, U. Mich. Sch. of L., <https://www.law.umich.edu/special/exoneration/Pages/casedetail.aspx?caseid=3365> (last visited Aug. 8, 2016).

¹⁰⁹ See Robert J. Smith, *America’s Deadliest Prosecutors*, Slate (May 14, 2015), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2015/05/america_s_deadliest_prosecutors_death_penalty_sentences_in_louisiana_florida.html; *Duval County, Florida, Leader in Death Sentences*, Death Penalty Info. Ctr., <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/node/5955> (last visited Aug. 2, 2016).

¹¹⁰ See Duval County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

¹¹¹ See *id.*

¹¹² Larry Hannan, *Florida’s Death Row Could See Vacancies If Supreme Court Rules Juries Must Be Unanimous*, St. Augustine Record, Apr. 25, 2015, <http://staugustine.com/news/florida-news/2015-04-25/floridas-death-row-could-see-vacancies-if-supreme-court-rules-juries>.

¹¹³ See Duval County Defense Mitigation and Jury Deliberation Times, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

per 100 homicides is more than 40 percent higher than in the rest of the state.¹¹⁴

OVERZEALOUS PROSECUTORS

Two people share a lot of responsibility for Duval's outlier status: elected prosecutor Angela Corey, who is "known for her tough-as-nails charges," "disgusting," and "disgraceful" trial tactics, and "personal vendettas" which "seem to be her specialty,"¹¹⁵ and first assistant prosecutor Bernie de la Rionda, who personally "put more people on death row than just about any other prosecutor in Florida."¹¹⁶ De la Rionda personally tried 47 percent of the capital cases decided or pending on direct appeal since 2006, and he played an active role in at least one additional case.¹¹⁷

Corey personally sought the death penalty for a man with a 67 IQ score who was diagnosed with "bipolar disorder" with "psychotic features," and was "prescribed antipsychotic medication and antidepressant medication" for "hearing voices."¹¹⁸ The trial judge found that the defendant, Thomas Brown, was under the "influence of extreme mental or emotional disturbance at the time he committed the murder" and noted that Corey refused the man's offer to plead guilty and accept a life without parole sentence.¹¹⁹ The jury voted seven to five to impose a death sentence,¹²⁰ a vote that would now result in a life sentence.¹²¹ Outside of the death penalty context, Corey once threatened a physically and sexually abused 12-year-old boy with a life sentence for a murder charge she brought in adult court.¹²² She also sent Marissa Alexander, a woman with no criminal record, to jail for 20 years for firing a warning shot at her abusive husband.¹²³ She did the same to a military veteran who fired two shots in the ground to scare off a couple of teenagers.¹²⁴

114 See Baumgartner, *Rate of Death Sentencing*, *supra* note 41. The figure for rest of the state excludes all four of the top death sentencing counties discussed in this report (Duval, Miami-Dade, Hillsborough, and Pinellas).

115 Ian Tuttle, *Angela Corey's Checkered Past*, Nat'l Rev., July 17, 2013, <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/353633/angela-coreys-checkered-past-ian-tuttle>.

116 See *Deadliest Prosecutors*, *supra* note 9, at 23.

117 See Duval County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 110.

118 *Brown v. State*, 126 So.3d 211, 215-16 (Fl. 2013).

119 *Id.* at 220.

120 See Hannan, *supra* note 112.

121 Michael Mayo, *With Florida's Death Penalty On Trial, What Should Happen To 390 On Death Row?*, Sun Sentinel, May 6, 2016, <http://www.sun-sentinel.com/news/fl-death-penalty-florida-mayocol-b050816-20160506-column.html> (explaining that "In response to the U.S. Supreme Court ruling [in *Hurst v. Florida*], the Legislature changed the law this year so that a minimum 10-2 majority is required to impose death).

122 See Larry Hannan, *Lethal Justice: State Attorney Corey Far Outpaces Florida's Prosecutors In Sending People To Death Row*, Fla. Times-Union, Mar. 8, 2014, <http://jacksonville.com/news/crime/2014-03-08/story/lethal-justice-state-attorney-corey-far-outpaces-floridas-prosecutors> (explaining that the Miami-Dade D.A. generally does not pursue the death penalty for someone repeatedly abused as a child, but "Corey has not shown the same restraint"); see also Smith, *America's Deadliest Prosecutors*, *supra* note 106.

123 See Julia Dahl, Fla. Woman Marissa Alexander Gets 20 Years for "Warning Shot: Did she Stand Her Ground?", CBS News (May 16, 2012), <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/fla-woman-marissa-alexander-gets-20-years-for-warning-shot-did-she-stand-her-ground/>; Smith, *America's Deadliest Prosecutors*, *supra* note 109.

124 See Cinky Swirko, *Due to Mandatory Minimum, Keyston Veteran Gets a Sentence the Judge Didn't Want to Give*, Gainesville Sun, Jun. 14,

All told, of the death sentences that the Florida Supreme Court has reviewed from Duval County since 2006, one in every six cases involved a finding of inappropriate behavior, misuse of discretion, or prosecutorial misconduct,¹²⁵ including two recent death sentences tried by Bernie de la Rionda that the Florida Supreme Court vacated due to their excessive harshness.¹²⁶ We do not include a case where there is evidence to suggest inappropriate conduct, but defense counsel failed to preserve the claim, nor do we include another case with an improper argument, in this calculation.

INADEQUATE DEFENSE

The penalty phase of a capital trial often lasts for weeks and sometimes even months; however, in Duval County, the average length is one day.¹²⁷ Frequently, opening statements take place in the morning and the jury returns a death verdict that same day, meaning that the defense only puts on a few hours of mitigation evidence at most. At even the most superficial level, the quality of defense in Duval is abysmal.

It's bad enough when defendants receive inferior counsel; it's even worse when the elected Public Defender runs for office by essentially promising to protect police officers at the expense of defendants his office is charged with representing. Matt Shirk, the elected public defender for Duval, Florida, campaigned on a promise to be "less confrontational when dealing with police in court, ensuring his employees would never call a cop a liar."¹²⁸ When Shirk took over, he fired 10 lawyers,¹²⁹ including two senior capital litigators whose representation of a wrongfully arrested 15-year-old was the subject of an Oscar-winning documentary film, *Murder on a Sunday Morning*.¹³⁰ In 2015, a Grand Jury concluded an investigation into Shirk's management practice, and while they did not return an indictment, the Grand Jury did recommend that Shirk resign from office.¹³¹

2012, <http://www.gainesville.com/news/20120614/due-to-mandatory-minimum-keystone-veteran-gets-a-sentence-that-a-judge-didnt-want-to-give>.

125 See Duval County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 110.

126 See *Scott v. State*, 66 So. 3d 923, 937 (Fla. 2011); *Yacob v. State*, 136 So. 3d 539, 550 (Fla. 2014).

127 See Duval County Defense Times, *supra* note 113.

128 Gwynedd Stuart, *Courting Disaster*, *Folioweekly*, Dec. 16-22, 2008, available at <http://docplayer.net/6854488-Incoming-public-defender-matt-shirk-is-changing-the-office-in-ways-many-believe-will-diminish-its-powers.html>.

129 See Julie Kay, *Mass Firings of Fla. State Attorneys Roil the Ranks*, *Nat'l L. J.*, Dec. 9, 2008, <http://www.nationallawjournal.com/id=1202426580968/Mass-Firings-of-Fla-State-Attorneys-Roil-the-Ranks?slreturn=20160627161243>.

130 According to Patrick McGuinness, one of the lawyers featured in the documentary, Shirk never interviewed the lawyers fired. And Shirk admitted he did not look at their personnel files until after he had fired them. See Paul Pinkham, *Public Defender-Elect Fires 10 Seasoned Attorneys*, *Fla. Times-Union*, Nov. 29, 2008, http://jacksonville.com/tu-online/stories/112908/met_361369960.shtml#V5kWJmVIIe4.

131 See Andrew Pantazi, *Public Defender Matt Shirk Apologizes; Florida Ethics Commission Finds Probable Cause That He Violated Policies*, *Fla. Times-Union*, Jun. 8, 2016, <http://jacksonville.com/news/metro/2016-06-08/story/public-defender-matt-shirk-apologizes-florida->

With his experienced capital litigators gone, Shirk hired Refik Eler to be his deputy chief and head of the homicide unit.¹³² Eler has been a defense lawyer on at least 16 cases that resulted in a death sentence.¹³³ Last November, a Florida judge overturned the conviction and death sentence of Raymond Morrison after finding that Eler failed to conduct a basic factual investigation of the circumstances of the crime, failed to secure the testimony of alibi witnesses, and also failed to investigate evidence of Morrison's "organic brain damage and intellectual disability."¹³⁴ Morrison's new attorney, Mark McClain, noted, "It was like [Morrison] had no attorney."¹³⁵ In 2013, the Florida Supreme Court reversed the death sentence of Michael Shellito on the grounds that he had ineffective assistance of counsel.¹³⁶ Eler was his lawyer, too. The court found that Eler did not conduct a "true follow-up on the matters indicated in the various reports" of his mental health expert, and that he only "made a marginal attempt to present organic brain damage and other impairment as mitigation."¹³⁷ Shellito's new lawyers discovered that he has bipolar disorder, "a mental age of fourteen or fifteen years, an emotional age of twelve or thirteen years, an IQ in the low-average range, the presence of organic brain damage," "a prior head injury," and that he endured "verified physical and sexual abuse."¹³⁸ In *State v. Douglas*,¹³⁹ the Florida Supreme Court found that Eler provided a third capital client with ineffective assistance, but that it was not "prejudicial."¹⁴⁰ A fourth claim is pending before the Florida Supreme Court,¹⁴¹ and pointed questioning from the justices during argument last month suggests that Eler could be found ineffective once again.¹⁴²

In the Thomas Brown case, the one Corey prosecuted personally,¹⁴³ the mentally-disturbed Brown--who has a 67 IQ score--was represented by Fred Canaan Gazelah.¹⁴⁴ Gazelah filed a motion "withdrawing his previously filed Motion for

ethics-commission-finds.

132 See Pinkham, *supra* note 130.

133 See Duval County Defense Times, *supra* note 113.

134 Larry Hannan, *Jacksonville Man Gets Off Death Row After Judge Finds Original Lawyer Was Ineffective*, Fla. Times-Union, Oct. 5, 2015, <http://jacksonville.com/news/crime/2015-10-05/story/jacksonville-man-gets-death-row-after-judge-finds-original-lawyer-was>.

135 *Id.*

136 *Shellito v. State*, 121 So. 3d 445, 454 (Fla. 2013).

137 *Id.* at 456-57.

138 *Id.* at 457.

139 141 So. 3d 107 (Fla. 2012).

140 See *id.* at 121-23.

141 See Smith, *The Worst Lawyers*, *supra* note 67.

142 See *id.*

143 See Duval County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 110.

144 See *Brown v. State*, 126 So. 3d 211, 216 (Fla. 2013); Duval County Defense Times, *supra* note 113.

Determination of Mental Retardation as a Bar to Execution,”¹⁴⁵ noting that “the Defendant consents to the filing of this notice and the abandonment of the defense of mental retardation.”¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the motion does not elaborate on the absurdity of having an intellectually impaired, mentally disturbed man decide to abandon an intellectual disability defense. Notably, Refik Eler appeared on the record multiple times in that case, but does not appear to have tried the case to the jury.¹⁴⁷

RACIAL BIAS AND EXCLUSION

Earlier this year, Duval County Judge Mark Hulsey allegedly told his assistant that he “wished all blacks could be sent back to Africa on a boat.”¹⁴⁸ Hulsey presided over the 2012 capital murder trial of Terrance Tyrone Phillips, an 18-year-old Black teenager.¹⁴⁹ The Florida Judicial Qualifications Commission issued a formal ethics charge because of this comment and other “improper behavior,”¹⁵⁰ including reportedly calling a staff attorney at the courthouse a “cunt.”¹⁵¹

Between 1991-2009, 62 percent of death sentences from Duval County were imposed against African-American defendants,¹⁵² compared to just 33 percent in the rest of Florida.¹⁵³ Since 2010, one year after Angela Corey took office, 87 percent of death sentences have been imposed against African-American defendants, compared to 44 percent in the rest of the state.¹⁵⁴ African-Americans make up approximately 30 percent of Duval’s population, and 17 percent of the state’s population.¹⁵⁵

145 See Am. Initial Br. of Appellant at 2-3, *Brown v. State*, 126 So. 3d 211 (2012); see generally, David Hunt, *Disturbed Man Recommended for Death in Slaying of Jacksonville Wendy’s Co-Worker*, Fla. Times-Union, June 14, 2011, <http://jacksonville.com/news/crime/2011-06-14/story/disturbed-man-recommended-death-slaying-jacksonville-wendys-co-worker> (“Defense attorneys made Brown out to be a disturbed man . . .”).

146 See Am. Initial Br. of Appellant, *supra* note 145.

147 See Duval County Clerk of Court Records, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

148 Kumasi Aaron, *Group of Pastors Call for Judge to Resign*, WJXT (Jun. 14, 2016), <http://www.news4jax.com/news/local/jacksonville/group-of-pastors-call-for-judge-to-resign>.

149 Larry Hannan, *Lawyers Seek to Overturn Death Penalty in Jacksonville Double Murder*, Fla. Times-Union, Mar. 14, 2016, <http://jacksonville.com/news/crime/2016-03-14/story/lawyers-seek-overturn-death-penalty-jacksonville-double-murder>.

150 Fla. Jud. Qualifications Comm’n, Notice of Formal Charges (July 19, 2009), available at <http://jacksonville.com/community/2016-07-20/story/formal-notice-charges-against-circuit-judge-mark-hulsey>.

151 See Steve Patterson & Larry Hannan, *Jacksonville Circuit Judge Reassigned After Complaint of Racist Comments, Foul Language*, Fla. Times-Union, Jul. 20, 2016, <http://jacksonville.com/news/crime/2016-07-20/story/jacksonville-circuit-judge-reassigned-after-complaint-racial-comments>.

152 Frank Baumgartner, *Race of Defendants in Death Penalty Cases: Duval County Compared to the Rest of Florida*, <http://fairpunishment.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/RaceofDefendantDuvalCounty.pdf>

153 See *id.*

154 See *id.*

155 See *QuickFacts for Florida & Duval County*, U.S. Census Bureau, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/12,12031,00> (last visited Aug. 8, 2016).

EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENTS

Of the cases that the Florida Supreme Court decided on direct appeal since 2006, 60 percent involve defendants with mitigation comparable in severity to the kind of mitigation evidence that renders the death penalty categorically excessive. One in five people sentenced to death had not yet reached their 21st birthday, and 48 percent were age 25 and under.¹⁵⁶ For example, Bernie de la Rionda obtained a death sentence against Randall Deviney, age 18, who introduced evidence that his mother's drug dealer sexually abused him as a child.¹⁵⁷ Nearly half (48 percent) of the cases involved individuals with intellectual impairment, brain damage, or severe mental illnesses,¹⁵⁸ including Thomas Bevel, one of Refik Eler's clients who was age 22 at the time of the crime and has a 65 IQ score.¹⁵⁹ Nearly one-quarter of the cases involved defendants who suffered horrific childhood trauma.¹⁶⁰ One example is Tiffany Cole, who was age 23 at the time of the crime and suffers from chronic depression.¹⁶¹ Cole was sexually molested by her biological father when she was 16 or 17 years old, and the abuse persisted for approximately two years.¹⁶² She also witnessed her stepfather break the neck of a puppy.¹⁶³

INNOCENCE

While Duval County has had no capital exonerations as of yet, Chad Heins was wrongfully convicted of first-degree murder and spent over 13 years in prison before being exonerated in 2007 by DNA testing; the actual perpetrator is still at large.¹⁶⁴ Brenton Butler's conviction and ensuing exoneration were the centerpiece of *Murder on a Sunday Morning*.¹⁶⁵ In the case of death row prisoner Cecil Shyron King, his public defender, Quentin Till, said King is "adamant he's innocent."¹⁶⁶ King's new attorneys called his trial counsel ineffective and alleged that the prosecutor,

156 See Duval County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 110.

157 See Derrick Gilliam, *Randall Deviney Testifies He Killed 65-Year-Old Woman After 'Losing It'*, Fla. Times-Union, Jul. 16, 2015, <http://jacksonville.com/news/crime/2015-07-16/story/randall-deviney-testifies-he-killed-65-year-old-woman-after-losing-it>.

158 See Duval County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 110.

159 See *Bevel v. Florida*, 983 So.2d 505, 515 (Fl. 2008).

160 See Duval County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 110.

161 Initial Brief of Appellant at 4, *Cole v. State*, 36 So.3d 597 (Fl. 2010), available at <http://archive.law.fsu.edu/library/flsupct/sc08-528/08-528ini.pdf>.

162 See *id.* at 31.

163 See *id.*

164 See *Chad Heins*, Innocent Proj. of Fla., http://floridainnocence.org/content/?page_id=51 (last visited Aug. 3, 2016).

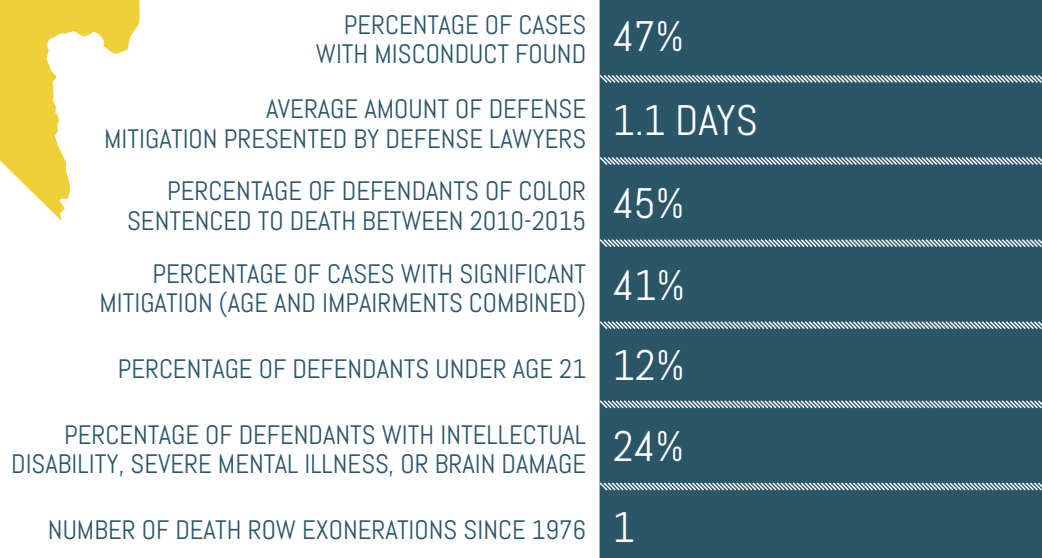
165 Radley Balko, *Counties That Sentence The Most People To Death Row Show A Questionable Commitment To Justice*, Huff. Post (Nov. 21, 2013), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/11/21/counties-that-send-the-mo_n_4317245.html?utm_hp_ref=the-agitator.

166 David Hunt, *Trial Begins For Jacksonville Suspect In Elderly Woman's Hammer Beating Death*, Fla. Times-Union, Apr. 5, 2011, <http://jacksonville.com/news/crime/2011-04-05/story/trial-begins-jacksonville-suspect-elderly-womans-hammer-beating-death>.

Bernie de la Rionda, withheld *Brady* information.¹⁶⁷ Indeed, considering that de la Rionda had “no fingerprints and no weapon to tie” King to the murder, and that the only physical evidence was potentially tainted DNA from a piece of cantaloupe, his innocence is not implausible.¹⁶⁸



THE DEATH PENALTY IN CLARK COUNTY, NV



**All calculations are based on direct appeal opinions since 2006 unless otherwise noted.*

#3

Between 2010 and 2015, Clark County had nine death sentences, which accounted for 100% of Nevada’s death sentences over the same period.¹⁶⁹

OVERZEALOUS PROSECUTORS

Since 2006, the Nevada Supreme Court has found prosecutorial misconduct in 47 percent of the Clark County death penalty cases that it has reviewed on direct appeal.¹⁷⁰ This is the highest percentage of inappropriate behavior that we found in any of the outlier counties. One explanation for these problems is the sloppiness that comes along with overextended lawyers. In 2011, Clark County had more

¹⁶⁷ Def.’s 3.851 Mot. for Post-Conv. Relief at 46, 48-49, King v. State, SC11-2258. March, 14 2016

¹⁶⁸ See David Hunt, *No Prints, No Weapon, Attorneys Grapple Over Cantaloupe In Jacksonville Death Penalty Case*, Fla. Times-Union, Apr. 7, 2011, <http://jacksonville.com/news/crime/2011-04-07/story/no-prints-no-weapon-attorneys-grapple-over-cantaloupe-jacksonville-death>.

¹⁶⁹ See Clark County Death Sentences 2010-2015, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

¹⁷⁰ See Clark County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

pending capital cases per capita than any other urban area in the country.¹⁷¹ David Roger, the District Attorney at the time, refused to offer or accept plea deals in death penalty cases.¹⁷² Roger resigned in 2012.¹⁷³ Steve Wolfson subsequently became the District Attorney and seems to be keeping his promise to reduce the number of pending capital cases.¹⁷⁴ Nonetheless, since Wolfson assumed his role, the office has secured six death sentences.¹⁷⁵

Another explanation is the continued presence of prosecutor David Stanton, who rose to his current position during Roger's era,¹⁷⁶ and has obtained at least eight death sentences in his career,¹⁷⁷ including four since 2012 when Wolfson took office.¹⁷⁸ After obtaining a death sentence against a 20-year-old, mentally disturbed man with a 71 IQ, Stanton said: "I'm not saying this man invented Radiology, but he's not an idiot. He knows what's going on."¹⁷⁹ Stanton came to Clark County after being forced to resign from his job as a prosecutor in Washoe County.¹⁸⁰ After being pulled over for driving nearly three times the legal speed limit, Stanton allegedly screamed at the officer and resisted arrest.¹⁸¹ The Washoe County District Attorney reportedly cited multiple instances of Stanton losing control of his anger when asking for his resignation.¹⁸² The trial judge in the case sent Stanton to anger management class and instructed him to get his "anger under control" and implored him to "learn different ways to control [his] anger."¹⁸³

In August 2013, a public records request revealed that the Clark County District Attorney's office had been paying witnesses' bills and rent payments "using a checking account kept off the county's budget," including in capital cases, since

171 See Jane Ann Morrison, *Death Penalty Numbers Add Up For District Attorney, Taxpayers*, Las Vegas Rev.-J., Apr. 25, 2011, <http://www.reviewjournal.com/jane-ann-morrison/death-penalty-numbers-add-district-attorney-taxpayers?ref=454>.

172 See *id.*

173 See Jeff German, Francis McCabe, & Kristi Jourdan, *District Attorney Makes Retirement Official*, Las Vegas Rev.-J., Nov. 1, 2011, <http://www.reviewjournal.com/news/government/district-attorney-makes-retirement-official> (explaining that D.A. Roger made "his Jan. 3 [2012] retirement official in an email to members of the Las Vegas news media").

174 See Op-Ed, *For Clark County District Attorney, Public Administrator, Recorder*, Las Vegas Rev.-J., Oct. 1, 2014, <http://www.reviewjournal.com/opinion/editorial-clark-county-district-attorney-public-administrator-recorder>.

175 See *Death Sentences in the United States*, *supra* note 2. This includes one death sentence that a jury returned in 2015, but the judge formally imposed on January 4, 2016. See David Ferrara, *Judge Sentences Ammar Harris to Death for Strip Shooting That Left 3 Dead*, Las Vegas Rev.-J., Jan. 4, 2016, <http://www.reviewjournal.com/news/las-vegas/judge-sentences-ammar-harris-death-strip-shooting-left-3-dead-video>.

176 See, e.g., *D.A. Steps In For Lawyer Attacked By Killer*, Reno Gazette-J., Dec. 17, 2003, at 3C.

177 See Clark County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 170.

178 See *id.*

179 Frank Mullen, *Execution Is Final Chapter Of Grisly Story*, Reno Gazette-J., Apr. 6, 1999, at 4A.

180 See *Former Washoe County Prosecutor Ordered To Undergo Anger Counseling*, Las Vegas Sun, Dec. 21, 1999, <http://lasvegassun.com/news/1999/dec/21/former-washoe-county-prosecutor-ordered-to-undergo/>.

181 See *id.*

182 See Bill O'Driscoll, *Prosecutor Quits After Traffic Incident*, Reno Gazette-J., Oct. 30, 1999, at 1B.

183 See *Former Washoe County Prosecutor*, *supra* note 180.

1989.¹⁸⁴ In other words, the state was giving money to witnesses who testified against defendants and not telling the defense about it. Wolfson said the program was “probably inappropriate,” and promised both to end it and to notify defense lawyers.¹⁸⁵ Stanton, however, expressed a different attitude towards the policy. In 2014, when a judge asked him if he would “concede that a \$500 rent payment should have been disclosed,” Stanton replied, “not necessarily.”¹⁸⁶ Professor Bennett Gershman, a leading ethics expert, told the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* that “it’s so plain and obvious that [the prosecutor] has to disclose this [information] . . . a good professional office would not tolerate this, where the DA is making policy and his assistants aren’t conforming.”¹⁸⁷

INADEQUATE DEFENSE

Clark County has struggled for decades to provide zealous trial level representation in death penalty cases. In 1996, the Nevada Supreme Court reversed Roberto Miranda’s conviction and death sentence, but not before he spent 14 years on death row.¹⁸⁸ The court found that the public defender assigned to Miranda’s case, a newly minted lawyer, did very little in the way of pretrial investigation.¹⁸⁹ During post-conviction proceedings, it became increasingly clear that Miranda had been wrongfully convicted as a number of witnesses helped to corroborate his innocence.¹⁹⁰

Miranda later sued the County, alleging that two public defender policies contributed to his wrongful conviction.¹⁹¹ First, Miranda discussed a “lie detector” test that the public defenders would give clients to help the lawyers better allocate resources to people who appeared to be innocent.¹⁹² Second, the office frequently assigned inexperienced attorneys to represent clients facing the death penalty.¹⁹³ As a federal appellate court later explained, the County’s response to the latter

184 See Bethany Barnes, *DA Says One Thing, Prosecutors Argue Another on Witness Payments*, *Las Vegas Rev.-J.*, Sept. 21, 2014, <http://www.reviewjournal.com/news/las-vegas/da-says-one-thing-prosecutors-argue-another-witness-payments>.

185 See *id.*

186 See *id.*

187 See *id.*

188 See *Miranda v. Clark County, Nevada*, 279 F.3d 1102, 1105 (9th Cir. 2002), rev’d by *Miranda v. Clark County, Nevada*, 319 F.3d 465 (9th Cir. 2003) (explaining that “in August 1981, a jury found Miranda guilty of all charges. He was later sentenced to death. . . . In February 1996, his sustained campaign for postconviction relief finally bore fruit when the Nevada Supreme Court overturned his conviction due to the ineffectiveness of Rigsby’s counsel.”).

189 See *Roberto Miranda*, Nat’l Reg. of Exonerations, U. of Mich. Sch. of L., <https://www.law.umich.edu/special/exoneration/Pages/casedetail.aspx?caseid=3477> (last visited Aug. 9, 2016) (explaining that a Clark County District Court judge granted habeas relief and noted “the lack of pretrial investigation and preparation by trial counsel cannot be justified”).

190 See *Miranda*, 319 F.3d at 468.

191 See *id.* at 467.

192 See *id.*

193 See *id.*

allegation was illuminating: “As a matter of law, attorneys who have graduated from law school and passed the bar should be considered adequately trained to handle capital murder cases.”¹⁹⁴

Capital cases are incredibly complex and require thousands of hours of investigation into both the facts of the crime and the background and character of the accused.¹⁹⁵ A thorough mitigation investigation often means that the lawyers and the mitigation specialist interview in-person dozens or hundreds of witnesses; unearth school, hospital, prison, and other types of records; and consult with psychologists, psychiatrists, and neurologists.¹⁹⁶

Unfortunately, though, the culture of defense practice in Clark does not appear to have kept pace with the national standards of practice. Indeed, of the Clark County death penalty cases decided on direct appeal since 2006, the typical mitigation presentation at trial lasted just over one day.¹⁹⁷ Like a number of the other outlier counties in this report, there are two defense lawyers who represented a combined 41 percent of the individuals who received death sentences.¹⁹⁸ But perhaps the most telling tidbit comes from the most recent death sentence: while representing Ammar Harris, Robert Langford also moonlighted as an actor in a local play, a job that required a lot of his time and attention.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, he “takes his acting ... almost as seriously as his legal work.”²⁰⁰ As the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* reported, Langford performs many roles at once: defense lawyer, special prosecutor, impassioned amateur actor, and “master scuba diving instructor, [a job] which he admits pays a little better than acting.”²⁰¹ Langford put on less than a full day’s worth of mitigation in the Harris case.²⁰²

Nearly three decades after Roberto Miranda’s capital trial, the seriousness of purpose still seems to be missing from the culture of capital defense in Clark County.

194 *Id.* at 471.

195 See Emily Hughes, *Arbitrary Death: An Empirical Study of Mitigation*, 89 Wash U. L. Rev. 581, 632 (2012), available at http://openscholarship.wustl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1015&context=law_lawreview.

196 *See id.*

197 See Clark County Defense Mitigation and Jury Deliberations Times, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

198 *See id.*

199 See David Ferrara, *Lawyer In High-Profile Criminal Cases Moonlights As Actor*, Las Vegas Rev.-J., Dec. 6, 2015, <http://www.reviewjournal.com/news/crime-courts/lawyer-high-profile-criminal-cases-moonlights-actor>.

200 *Id.*

201 *Id.*

202 See Clark County Defense Times, *supra* note 197.

RACE BIAS AND EXCLUSION

“This isn’t the first time we’ve been in the rodeo on [discriminatory jury selection] with the Clark County District Attorney’s Office,” a Justice on the Nevada Supreme Court reminded a Clark County prosecutor during argument in a capital case last year.²⁰³ The Justice went on to say, “I just don’t understand knocking these two Black women off ... I just don’t understand why it’s so necessary in these cases. You’re so afraid of losing a case that you’re knocking off African-Americans consistently.”²⁰⁴ Five months later, the Nevada Supreme Court reversed another death penalty case because prosecutors engaged in illegal race discrimination.²⁰⁵ The Clark County District Attorney’s office has had two separate convictions overturned in less than two years because of racially discriminatory jury selection.²⁰⁶

Clark County’s problems with racial bias extend far beyond jury selection. Thirty-six percent of the individuals sentenced to death in Clark County between 2010 and 2015 were African-American,²⁰⁷ despite the fact that African-Americans make up less than 12 percent of the county’s population.²⁰⁸ Sixty-seven percent of the victims of those African-American defendants were white, while none of the white defendants sentenced to death in the same period were convicted of killing Black victims.²⁰⁹ The vast majority of homicides in the U.S. involve perpetrators and victims of the same race, making the numbers in Clark County notable.²¹⁰ In cases that resulted in a death sentence during this period, 71 percent of the victims were white,²¹¹ even though white victims make up approximately 33 percent of murder victims in the area.²¹²

203 Fair Punishment Project, *Clark County, Nevada, "Rodeo on Batson" Continues*, <http://fairpunishment.org/clark-county-nevada-rodeo-on-batson-continues/> (last visited August 9, 2016).

204 Robert J. Smith, *There's No Separating The Death Penalty And Race*, *Slate* (May 5, 2016), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/05/foster_v_chatman_race_infects_death_penalty_to_the_core.html.

205 See *McCarty v. State*, 371 P.3d 1002, 1010 (Nev. 2016).

206 See *Brass v. State*, 291 P.3d 145, 149 (Nev. 2012); *Conner v. State*, 327 P.3d 503, 511 (Nev. 2014).

207 See Baumgartner, *Race of Defendant and Victims*, *supra* note 85.

208 See *QuickFacts for Clark County*, U.S. Census Bureau, <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/32003> (last visited Aug. 4, 2016).

209 See Baumgartner, *Race of Defendant and Victims*, *supra* note 85.

210 According to the FBI's 2014 annual Uniform Crime Report, 82 percent of white victims were killed by white perpetrators nationally, and 90 percent of Black victims were killed by Black perpetrators. See FBI, *supra* note 8, (“Expanded Homicide Data Table 6”), https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2014/crime-in-the-u.s.-2014/tables/expanded-homicide-data/expanded_homicide_data_table_6_murder_race_and_sex_of_victim_by_race_and_sex_of_offender_2014.xls

211 See Baumgartner, *Race of Defendant and Victims*, *supra* note 85.

212 Approximately three-quarters of all Clark County homicides in 2015 were in the city of Las Vegas, where the percentage of white victims in homicides was approximately 33 percent. See Las Vegas Met. Pol. Dept., *Homicide Log*, available at http://www.lvmpd.com/Portals/0/homicide/2015HomicideLog_FINAL.pdf (last visited Aug. 9, 2016); Rachel Crosby, *Homicide Numbers Climb to Highest Level in Las Vegas Since 2006*, *Las Vegas Rev.-J.*, Jan. 2, 2016, <http://www.reviewjournal.com/news/las-vegas/homicide-numbers-climb-highest-level-las-vegas-2006>.

EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENT

More than 40 percent of the death sentences from Clark County that we reviewed involved defendants with mitigation evidence similar in severity to the impairments that render a person categorically ineligible for the death penalty.²¹³ Two of the people sent to death row were under 21 years old,²¹⁴ including a 19-year-old who had approximately the same problem solving capabilities of a 10 year-old child.²¹⁵ Moreover, roughly one-quarter of the cases ending in death involved defendants with intellectual impairment, brain damage, or severe mental illness.²¹⁶ One of the men sentenced to death was a combat veteran in Vietnam who the Department of Veterans Affairs designated as 100 percent disabled after he was diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).²¹⁷ Since then, this defendant has tried to take his own life on at least two occasions.²¹⁸ Another man sentenced to death had previously been found to be legally insane, and suffers from schizophrenia.²¹⁹

INNOCENCE

Since 1989, five people from Clark County have been wrongfully convicted of serious crimes, including two men who were exonerated on the charge of murder.²²⁰ One of those people is Roberto Miranda who spent 14 years on death row for a crime he didn't commit.²²¹ The Clark County District Attorney offered him a plea deal that would have left him eligible for parole after ten years, but Miranda rejected the deal and persisted in his innocence claim.²²²

213 See Clark County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 170.

214 See *id.*

215 See *Maestas v. State*, 275 P.3d 74, 79 n.3 (Nev. 2012).

216 See Clark County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 170.

217 See *Death Sentence For Vietnam Vet Upheld*, CBS Las Vegas, May 24, 2012, <http://lasvegas.cbslocal.com/2012/05/24/death-sentence-for-vietnam-vet-upheld/>.

218 See Ed Vogel, *Death Sentence Upheld For Man Who Killed Las Vegas Woman*, May 24, 2012, <http://www.reviewjournal.com/news/crime-courts/death-sentence-upheld-man-who-killed-las-vegas-woman>.

219 See *Watson v. State*, 335 P.3d 157 (2014).

220 See *Clark County, NV*, Nat'l Reg. of Exonerations, U. of Mich. Sch. of L., http://www.law.umich.edu/special/exoneration/Pages/browse.aspx?View={B8342AE7-6520-4A32-8A06-4B326208BAF8}&FilterField1=State&FilterValue1=Nevada&FilterField2=County&FilterValue2=8_Clark (last visited Aug. 9, 2016).

221 See Rebecca Clifford-Cruz, *Wrongfully convicted: A look at 5 cases*, Las Vegas Sun, July 29, 2011 <http://lasvegassun.com/news/2011/jul/29/wrongfully-convicted/>.

222 See *Roberto Miranda*, Nat'l Reg. of Exonerations, U. of Mich. Sch. of L., <https://www.law.umich.edu/special/exoneration/Pages/casedetail.aspx?caseid=3477> (last visited Aug. 9, 2016).

#4

THE DEATH PENALTY IN MOBILE COUNTY, AL

PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH MISCONDUCT FOUND	10%
AVERAGE AMOUNT OF DEFENSE MITIGATION PRESENTED BY DEFENSE LAWYERS	LESS THAN 1 DAY
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS OF COLOR SENTENCED TO DEATH BETWEEN 2010-2015	38
PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH SIGNIFICANT MITIGATION (AGE AND IMPAIRMENTS COMBINED)	70%
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS UNDER AGE 21	10%
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS WITH INTELLECTUAL DISABILITY, SEVERE MENTAL ILLNESS, OR BRAIN DAMAGE	60%
PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH NON-UNANIMOUS JURIES	80%

**All calculations are based on direct appeal opinions since 2006 unless otherwise noted.*

Between 2010 and 2015, Mobile County had 8 death sentences.²²³ One of the reasons why Mobile makes the outlier counties list is that Alabama, like Florida, permits non-unanimous jury verdicts.²²⁴ Of the Mobile death penalty cases decided on direct appeal since 2006, only two of 10 involved unanimous juries.²²⁵ Alabama also permits the judge to override a jury's recommendation for life.²²⁶ That happened one time in our sample. In 2010, a jury voted 8 to 4 to impose a life sentence upon Thomas Robert Lane.²²⁷ The judge overrode that recommendation and imposed a death sentence instead.²²⁸

OVERZEALOUS PROSECUTORS

Since 2006, just two prosecutors, Ashley Rich and Jo Beth Murphee, account for nine out of 10 Mobile County death sentences reviewed on direct appeal.²²⁹ Rich alone secured 50 percent of those death sentences, and she also secured both

²²³ See Mobile County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

²²⁴ See Kent Faulk, *Alabama 'Outlier' In National Death Sentence Decline*, AL.com (Dec.16, 2015), http://www.al.com/news/birmingham/index.ssf/2015/12/report_alabama_outlier_in_nati.html.

²²⁵ See Mobile County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 223.

²²⁶ See Judge Override, EJI, <http://www.eji.org/deathpenalty/override> (last visited Aug. 4, 2016).

²²⁷ See *Lane v. State*, 80 So. 3d 280, 283 (Ala. Crim. App. 2010).

²²⁸ See *id.* at 284.

²²⁹ See Mobile County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 223.

of the death sentences in the two cases pending on direct appeal.²³⁰ In 2014, the Alabama Court of Criminal Appeals reversed the death sentence of an intellectually impaired man after Rich introduced and repeatedly referred to improper and highly inflammatory evidence.²³¹ Last year, Rich secured a death sentence against a bipolar woman charged with killing her young children.²³² Throughout the trial, Rich kept two faceless sculptures with her in the courtroom facing the jury, which she named “Sister and Brother” and used as stand-ins for the dead children.²³³

Earlier this year, the Alabama Court of Criminal Appeals reversed a death sentence that Jo Beth Murphee obtained against Derek Tyler Horton, an 18-year-old mentally disturbed man, after finding that the prosecution improperly “buttress[ed] its weak case” by introducing inappropriate evidence.²³⁴ In the weeks before the murder, Horton showed symptoms of severe mental and cognitive impairment, telling his girlfriend that “God had a mission for him to send judgment if we didn’t pray right.”²³⁵ He also claimed he “talked to the mirrors” and “to the devil,” even making a sacrifice by burning various personal items that were “evil” in the fire pit.²³⁶ The prosecution told the jury that this bizarre behavior was “not unusual for criminals.”²³⁷ After reversing the conviction in this case, the court went out of its way to note that the trial court had also permitted the prosecution to introduce other kinds of improper evidence.²³⁸

INADEQUATE DEFENSE

The average defense presentation of mitigation evidence in Mobile County capital trials lasts less than one full day.²³⁹ One defense lawyer, Greg Hughes, defended 40 percent of the people whose death sentences have been reviewed on direct appeal by the Alabama courts since 2006.²⁴⁰ When Hughes defended 18-year-old Derek Tyler Horton, he failed to object to prosecutorial misconduct that would later cause the Alabama Criminal Court of Appeals to vacate both the conviction and death

230 See *id.* (showing that the direct appeals of John DeBlase and Heather Leavell-Keaton are still pending).

231 See *Penn v. State*, 189 So.3d 107, 118-19 (Ala.Crim.App. 2014).

232 Casey Toner, *Heather Leavell-Keaton Becomes First Mobile County Woman Sentenced to Death*, AL.com (Aug. 20, 2015), http://www.al.com/news/mobile/index.ssf/2015/08/heather_leavell-keaton_sentenc.html.

233 See *id.*

234 *Horton v. State*, CR-12-0381, 2016 WL 1084721 at *28 (Ala. Crim. App. 2016).

235 *Id.*

236 *Id.* at *8-9.

237 *Id.* at *28.

238 *Id.*

239 See Mobile County Defense Mitigation and Jury Deliberation Times, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

240 See *id.*

sentence.²⁴¹ During the penalty phase of the case, Hughes offered only that Horton was “born to a drug addicted mother and never knew his father.”²⁴²

Habib Yazdi, who is occasionally co-counsel to Hughes, is by one trial judge’s estimation a “C+ lawyer,” but his availability, the same judge said, gets him appointed to cases. Indeed, he gets appointed to a lot of criminal cases.²⁴³ Yazdi made “\$267,193 in fiscal year 2009” with “a total caseload of 516 appointments.”²⁴⁴ He previously received a 90-day suspension of his law license because he took a gun out of a suitcase during a mediation conference.²⁴⁵ An Alabama Circuit Court Judge found that Yazdi and Hughes “failed to provide the most basic defense” to John Ziegler, who received the death penalty,²⁴⁶ because, for example, their mitigation specialist only spoke to two witnesses outside of Ziegler’s family.²⁴⁷ Neither attorney even spoke to those two witnesses.²⁴⁸ In granting Ziegler a new trial, Mobile County Circuit Judge Sarah Stewart found that “one of the attorneys actually [threw] away key evidence that could have allowed them to make a compelling argument” to save their client’s life.²⁴⁹

In perhaps the most telling case, Art Powell, a lawyer who represented at least three clients sent to death row out of Mobile County,²⁵⁰ had a client who waived his right to present mitigation evidence after the court would not allow the client to fire his lawyers and represent himself.²⁵¹ After that conviction was reversed on appeal, the client, Carlos Kennedy, represented himself and received a life sentence.²⁵²

241 See *Horton*, CR-12-0381 at *36-37.

242 Brendan Kirby, *Jury Recommends Death Penalty for Derek Horton in 2010 Grand Bay Slaying*, AL.com (Aug. 31, 2012), http://blog.al.com/live/2012/08/murderers_grandmother_on_her_d.html.

243 See Peter Teske, *A Lethal Defense?*, Lagniappe Weekly, Apr. 5, 2011, <http://classic.lagniappemobile.com/article.asp?articleID=4371>.

244 David M. Reutter, *Alabama’s Indigent Defense System ‘Perfect Storm’ For Ineffective Assistance*, Prison Legal News, Sept. 15, 2010, <https://www.prisonlegalnews.org/news/2010/sep/15/alabamas-indigent-defense-system-perfect-storm-for-ineffective-assistance/>.

245 See Rob Holbert, *Yazdi Most Often Chosen for Defense Work*, Lagniappe Weekly, Apr. 5, 2009, <http://classic.lagniappemobile.com/article.asp?articleID=192> (explaining that Yazdi required a special waiver to practice in Alabama; that he was suspended for 90 days for pulling out a semi-automatic after a deposition in his divorce case; and that he also was disciplined for extorting an indigent defendant’s mother).

246 See Brendan Kirby, *How the System Failed William Ziegler: Perjured Testimony, Trashed Evidence, Lying Jurors*, AL.com (Feb. 1, 2013), http://blog.al.com/live/2013/02/how_the_system_failed_william.html.

247 See *id.*

248 See *id.*

249 *Id.*

250 See Mobile County Defense Times, *supra* note 239.

251 See *Alabama Death Row Prisoner Wins New Trial*, EJI (Jul.13, 2015), <http://www.eji.org/node/1118>.

252 See *Alabama Man Formerly On Death Row Is Sentenced To Life*, EJI (May 9, 2016), <http://www.eji.org/former-death-row-inmate-sentenced-to-life>.

RACIAL BIAS AND EXCLUSION

Mobile, Alabama, has a long history of lynching²⁵³ and was the site of a public lynching in which two members of the Ku Klux Klan hung a 19-year-old Black man, Michael Donald, from a tree in 1981.²⁵⁴ This history of racial oppression still lingers today. Seven out of eight (88 percent) of the defendants who received death sentences in Mobile County between 2010 and 2015 were convicted of killing white victims.²⁵⁵

Judge Ferrill McRae, a Mobile judge who by 2001 has overridden a jury's decision to grant life instead of death "more than any other Alabama magistrate,"²⁵⁶ reportedly refused to sign a bail-reduction application in one non-capital case because he "first wanted to know the client's 'color.'"²⁵⁷ In another case, this same judge allegedly told an attorney not to provide zealous representation "because we need more niggers in jail."²⁵⁸

Racial discrimination in jury selection has been a problem for a long time in Mobile. In the eight years following the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling outlawing race-based strikes in jury selection, *Batson v. Kentucky*,²⁵⁹ Alabama courts found Mobile County prosecutors in violation of that ruling on seven separate occasions.²⁶⁰ In one case from that era, prosecutors struck numerous Black venire members from Bobby Ray Jessie's jury before trial, and offered as an allegedly "race-neutral" explanation that one of the potential African-American jurors lived in a "high crime" area.²⁶¹ And worse still, the trial transcript shows that a prosecutor claimed he struck potential juror, Carolyn Hall, because "she works at a retarded place."²⁶² Ms. Hall is an African-American woman who cares for the disabled.²⁶³ More recently, in Donald Whatley's death penalty trial, the Mobile County prosecutor struck 17 of 22 potential Black jurors.²⁶⁴ Since no race-neutral reasons were given, the Alabama Court of Criminal

253 See *Talk of the Nation: The 'Last Lynching': How Far Have We Come?*, NPR (Oct. 13, 2008), <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=95672737>.

254 See *id.*

255 See Baumgartner, *Race of Defendants and Victims*, *supra* note 85.

256 Ken Silverstein, *The Judge as Lynch Mob*, in *Machinery of Death: The Reality of America's Death Penalty Regime* 79 (David R. Dow & Mark Dow eds., 2002).

257 *Id.* at 80.

258 *Id.*

259 476 U.S. 79 (1986).

260 *Madison v. Comm'r, Ala. Dep't of Corr*, 761 F.3d 1240, 1252 (11th Cir. 2014).

261 See *Jessie v. State*, 659 So. 2d 167, 168 (Ala. Crim. App. 1994).

262 EJI, *Illegal Racial Discrimination in Jury Selection: A Continuing Legacy* 30 (2010), <http://www.eji.org/files/EJI%20Race%20and%20Jury%20Report.pdf>.

263 See *id.*

264 See *Whatley v. State*, 146 So. 3d 437, 453-54 (Ala. Crim. App. 2011).

Appeals remanded the case in 2010 for further investigation.²⁶⁵

EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENT

Of the Mobile death sentences reviewed on direct appeal since 2006, 70 percent involved defendants with mitigation evidence similar in severity to the categorical exemptions that render a person ineligible for the death penalty.²⁶⁶ One defendant, Derek Horton, was age 18 at the time of the offense and showed symptoms of severe mental and cognitive impairment several weeks before the criminal act occurred.²⁶⁷ Of the 10 cases decided on direct appeal, six involved defendants with brain damage, intellectual impairment, or severe mental illness.²⁶⁸ For example, Michael Woolf, a man with bipolar disorder and a 74 IQ score that places his intelligence in the disabled range, was among those receiving a death sentence.²⁶⁹

INNOCENCE

In 2015, Mobile County dropped all charges against Evan Lee Deakle, Jr., a man convicted of sexually assaulting his step granddaughter, after concluding that subsequent events rendered the alleged victim's account untenable.²⁷⁰ Several other cases raise serious claims of innocence. For instance, Mobile County recently settled a lawsuit with a man who was just 17 years old at the time of his arrest and spent nearly three decades in prison on a murder conviction.²⁷¹ He confessed to the murders, but it was later discovered that the confession might have been the result of coercion.²⁷² That man, Michael Pardue, has always maintained his innocence.²⁷³ Another man, William Zeigler, spent 15 years on death row before his 2015 release from prison.²⁷⁴ His conviction was vacated due to prosecutorial

²⁶⁵ See *id.* at 449.

²⁶⁶ See Mobile County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 223.

²⁶⁷ See *Horton*, CR-12-0381, 2016 WL 1084721 at *7-9 (Ala. Crim. App. 2016).

²⁶⁸ See Mobile County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 223.

²⁶⁹ Brendan Kirby, *Michael Woolf Murder Trial: Lawyers Put Psychologist On Stand To Bolster Mental Defect Defense*, AL.com (Oct. 29, 2010), http://blog.al.com/live/2010/10/woolf_lawyers_in_murder_trial.html.

²⁷⁰ See *Evan Lee Deakle, Jr.*, Nat'l Reg. of Exonerations, U. Mich. Sch. of L., <http://www.law.umich.edu/special/exoneration/Pages/casedetail.aspx?caseid=4810> (last visited August 10, 2016).

²⁷¹ See David Ferrara, *Michael Pardue, Saraland Settle Imprisonment Lawsuit*, AL.com (April 8, 2010), http://blog.al.com/live/2010/04/michael_pardue_saraland_settle.html; Rick Bragg, *Conviction Set Aside, but in Prison for Life*, N.Y. Times, May 30, 1998, <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/05/30/us/conviction-set-aside-but-in-prison-for-life.html?pagewanted=all>.

²⁷² See *Pardue v. State*, 695 So. 2d 199, 205 (Ala. Crim. App. 1996).

²⁷³ See Anne Good, *The Cycle of Injustice: The Story of Michael Pardue*, <http://www.justicedenied.org/michael.htm> (last visited August 10, 2016).

²⁷⁴ See Gabriel Tynes, *On His Conviction, Appeal and the "Innocent" Inmates He Left Behind: An Interview With Former Alabama Death Row*

misconduct and ineffective assistance of counsel,²⁷⁵ and the state offered him a plea deal that included time served in exchange for his immediate release.²⁷⁶ Zeigler, too, maintains his innocence.²⁷⁷

THE DEATH PENALTY IN RIVERSIDE COUNTY, CA

#5

PERCENTAGE OF CASES
WITH MISCONDUCT FOUND

0%

AVERAGE AMOUNT OF DEFENSE
MITIGATION PRESENTED BY DEFENSE LAWYERS

1.2 DAYS

PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS OF COLOR
SENTENCED TO DEATH BETWEEN 2010-2015

76%

PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH SIGNIFICANT
MITIGATION (AGE AND IMPAIRMENTS COMBINED)

55%

PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS UNDER AGE 21

23%

PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS WITH INTELLECTUAL
DISABILITY, SEVERE MENTAL ILLNESS, OR BRAIN DAMAGE

23%

NUMBER OF DEATH ROW EXONERATIONS SINCE 1976

1

**All calculations are based on direct appeal opinions since 2006 unless otherwise noted.*

Riverside County has become the nation's leading producer of death sentences. In 2015, with eight new death sentences, Riverside sent more people to death row last year than every other state in the country except Florida and California itself.²⁷⁸ Between 2010 and 2015, Riverside amassed 29 death sentences (not including re-sentences), the second most of any county in America.²⁷⁹ Riverside's rate of death sentencing per 100 homicides was nearly nine times the rate for the rest of California.²⁸⁰

Inmate William Zeigler, Lagniappe Weekly, April 17, 2015 <http://lagniappemobile.com/conviction-appeal-innocent-inmates-left-behind-interview-former-alabama-death-row-inmate-william-zeigler/>.

²⁷⁵ See Brendan Kirby, *How the system failed William Zeigler: Perjured testimony, trashed evidence, lying jurors*, AL.com, Feb. 1, 2013, http://blog.al.com/live/2013/02/how_the_system_failed_william.html

²⁷⁶ See Tynes, *supra* note 274.

²⁷⁷ See *id.*

²⁷⁸ See *Death Sentences in 2015*, *supra* note 1.

²⁷⁹ See *Death Sentences 2010-2015*, *supra* note 5.

²⁸⁰ See Baumgartner, *Rate of Death Sentencing*, *supra* note 41. The figure for rest of the state excludes all five of the top death sentencing counties discussed in this report (Riverside, Orange, Los Angeles, Kern, and San Bernardino).

OVERZEALOUS PROSECUTORS

Before being sworn in as District Attorney of Riverside County in January 2015,²⁸¹ Michael Hestrin personally obtained seven death sentences as a trial prosecutor in the same office.²⁸² Due to lengthy delays in the review of death sentences in California, it appears as though the state Supreme Court has not yet reviewed any allegations of inappropriate behavior in cases that Hestrin personally tried.²⁸³ However, in 2011, a federal magistrate judge accused the Riverside County District Attorney's Office of "turn[ing] a blind eye to fundamental principles of justice" to obtain a murder conviction.²⁸⁴ When the same case reached the federal appellate court, Chief Judge Alex Kozinski asked the state's lawyer to ask California Attorney General Kamala Harris "if she really wants to stick by a prosecution that was obtained by lying prosecutors."²⁸⁵ Judge Kozinski then wondered aloud why two former Riverside County prosecutors -- Robert Spira and Paul Vinegrad -- were not being prosecuted for perjury.²⁸⁶ This conduct occurred before Hestrin became the District Attorney, yet his response to the misconduct was telling: he refused to admit that either prosecutor intentionally committed misconduct and promised to retry the defendant.²⁸⁷

The county has had a long history of zealously pursuing the death penalty. Former Riverside District Attorney Rod Pacheco frequently sought the death penalty, even though the cases "rarely ended in execution penalties."²⁸⁸ When Pacheco lost re-election to Paul Zellerbach, Zellerbach inherited 40 pending capital cases—more than the much more populous Los Angeles County had pending at the time.²⁸⁹

Prosecutorial misconduct was alleged in 84 percent of the cases we reviewed where a direct appeal decision had been issued between 2006 and 2015.²⁹⁰ However, the California Supreme Court noted an inappropriate comment by prosecutors

281 See *Meet The D.A.*, Riverside Cnty. Dist. Att'y's Office, <http://www.rivcoda.org/opencms/daoffice/meetda.html> (last visited Aug. 4, 2016).

282 See Riverside County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

283 See *id.*

284 Maura Dolan, *U.S. Judges See 'Epidemic' of Prosecutorial Misconduct in State*, L.A. Times, Jan. 31, 2015, <http://www.latimes.com/local/politics/la-me-lying-prosecutors-20150201-story.html>; *Baca v. Adams*, No. CV 08-683-MMM, 2011 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 157443, at *44 (C.D. Cal. June 22, 2011).

285 Robert J. Smith, *Is Southern California the New Deep South?*, Slate (Sep. 7, 2015), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2015/09/southern_california_sentences_more_people_to_death_than_texas_georgia_south.html.

286 See *id.*

287 See *id.*

288 Mike Daniels, *DA To Review All Pending Death Penalty Cases*, KESQ (Sep. 27, 2011), <http://www.kesq.com/DA-To-Review-All-Pending-Death-Penalty-Cases/492318>.

289 See *id.*

290 See Riverside County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 282.

in only one of the 31 cases, and found misconduct in none of them.²⁹¹ This is not particularly surprising given that according to the *San Jose Mercury News*, “The state court, one of the most conservative in the nation, reverses 10 percent of death sentences, one of the lowest rates in the country. But federal courts have reversed 62 percent of the sentences affirmed by the California court, the highest rate nationally.”²⁹² However, given the long delays in the state’s capital case process, we were not able to systematically review federal opinions for findings of misconduct.

INADEQUATE DEFENSE

In Riverside County, court-appointed defense attorneys are paid based on whether a murder case is charged as a capital case, and whether it goes to trial.²⁹³ When the prosecution decides not to seek the death penalty before the start of trial, the defense attorney’s total fee is reduced by half.²⁹⁴ If the case is then resolved with a plea before the start of trial, the attorney receives just one-quarter of the original fee.²⁹⁵ When the original capital murder charges are not reduced, the attorney only receives 30 percent of their total fee if the client then takes a plea.²⁹⁶ As a result, defense attorneys are not incentivized to make earnest efforts to negotiate with prosecutors to obtain plea agreements favorable to their clients. This means that early investment in essential mitigation investigation, which can be one of the most time and dollar intensive parts of capital defense representation, and is widely considered to be the biggest driver for prosecutors deciding not to seek the death penalty, is also disincentivized. According to the American Bar Association Guidelines for the Appointment and Performance of Counsel in Death Penalty Cases, such an arrangement is considered presumptively inappropriate.²⁹⁷ Of the eight people sentenced to death in 2015, only one was represented by the public defender’s office, whereas the other seven were represented by court appointed private lawyers who were compensated according to this problematic fee system.²⁹⁸

Half of the Riverside County death sentences reviewed on direct appeal between 2006 and 2015 involved the equivalent of one full day’s worth or less of mitigation

291 See *id.*

292 Howard Mintz, *Death Sentence Reversals Cast Doubt On System*, Apr. 13, 2002, available at <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/node/534>.

293 See Memorandum from the Executive Office to the Riverside County Board of Supervisors (Sept. 16, 2013), available at http://rivcocob.org/agenda/2013/09_24_13/03-10.pdf.

294 See *id.*

295 See *id.*

296 See *id.*

297 ABA, Guidelines for the Appointment and Performance of Defense Counsel in Death Penalty Cases 981-82 (rev. ed. 2003), http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/migrated/2011_build/death_penalty_representation/2003guidelines.authcheckdam.pdf.

298 See Riverside County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 282.

evidence, and two-thirds of the cases involved two days or less.²⁹⁹ On average, only seven hours of mitigation evidence was presented during trial, and 12 percent of cases--approximately one out of every 10-- had zero hours of mitigation presented.³⁰⁰ There are a handful of lawyers who account for a disproportionate number of death sentences in Riverside who also tend to present very little in the way of mitigation. For example, one court-appointed lawyer had six former clients sent to death row, including five during our review period.³⁰¹ In a 2010 case that resulted in death, this attorney put on just 100 minutes worth of mitigation evidence.³⁰² In a 2015 case, the same lawyer logged just two and a half hours worth of mitigation evidence.³⁰³

Michael Belter, a private court-appointed lawyer who takes cases in Riverside County, defended fifteen people sent to death row, including two from Riverside during our review period.³⁰⁴ In 2015, one client ended up on death row after Belter presented roughly two hours of mitigation evidence at trial.³⁰⁵ Belter also represented David Earl Williams.³⁰⁶ At his trial, Belter did not ask a single cross-examination question of the prosecution's star witness, Margaret Williams, even though police allegedly threatened her with a murder charge, and she purportedly only testified under a grant of immunity.³⁰⁷ The Magistrate presiding over a pretrial hearing noted that Margaret Williams's testimony "could very well have been the product of the original coercion by the police."³⁰⁸ After the prosecution rested its case at trial, Belter did not call a single witness.³⁰⁹ During the penalty phase, Belter let the prosecutor invoke religion as justification for the death sentence without objection.³¹⁰ The California Supreme Court found prosecutorial misconduct, stating that the prosecutor's arguments were impermissible because they "plainly invoked a religious justification for the death penalty," but it did not reverse Williams's conviction.³¹¹

299 See Riverside Defense Mitigation and Jury Deliberation Times, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

300 See *id.*

301 See *id.*

302 See *id.*

303 See *id.*

304 See *id.*

305 See *id.*

306 See *id.*

307 See *People v. Williams*, 233 P.3d 1000, 1012 (Cal. 2010).

308 See *id.* at 1038.

309 See *id.* at 1014.

310 See *id.* at 1044.

311 *Id.* at 1046.

RACIAL BIAS AND EXCLUSION

While the history of overt racial bias and exclusion in Riverside has certainly not been as pronounced as it has been in Caddo or Mobile, incidents still occur. In 2011, two justices of the California Supreme Court dissented from the majority in a capital case from Riverside involving an African-American defendant.³¹² According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Justices Werdegar and Moreno dissented “on grounds that the prosecutors’ reasons for excusing three of five black prospective jurors were not backed by the evidence, and that the trial judge failed to probe the prosecutor properly.”³¹³

It’s also noteworthy that 76 percent of defendants convicted and sentenced to death in Riverside between 2010 and 2015 were people of color.³¹⁴ While African-Americans make up just seven percent of the county’s population,³¹⁵ they constituted 24 percent of those sentenced to death in this time frame.³¹⁶

EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENT

Of the Riverside death sentences that the California Supreme Court decided on direct appeal since 2006, over half (55 percent) involve evidence of severe functional impairment.³¹⁷ Approximately 23 percent of cases involved a defendant under 21 years old, including five defendants (16 percent) who were 18 at the time of the offense.³¹⁸ Forty-two percent of cases involved defendants age 25 and under.³¹⁹ Nearly one-quarter of cases involved a defendant with an intellectual impairment, brain damage, or severe mental illness.³²⁰ For example, one case involved a “severely emotionally disturbed” 22-year-old man who had been diagnosed with schizophrenia.³²¹ Another defendant had a 68 IQ score in childhood and a 77 IQ score at trial, which placed him at the bottom six percent of the

312 See *People v. Jones*, 247 P.3d 82, 110 (Cal. 2011).

313 Maura Dolan, *State Supreme Court Upholds Death Sentence in Riverside County Case, But Two Justices Express Concern About Racial Bias in Jury Selection*, L.A. Times, Jan. 31, 2011, <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/lanow/2011/01/california-supreme-court-riverside-county-death-sentence.html>.

314 See Baumgartner, *Race of Defendants and Victims*, *supra* note 85.

315 See *QuickFacts for Riverside County*, U.S. Census Bureau <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/06065> (last visited Aug. 4, 2016).

316 See Baumgartner, *Race of Defendants and Victims*, *supra* note 85.

317 See Riverside County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet, *supra* note 282.

318 See *id.*

319 See *id.*

320 See *id.*

321 See *People v. Scott*, 257 P.3d 703, 718 (Cal. 2011).

population.³²²

INNOCENCE

Lee Perry Farmer, Jr. was released from death row in 1999 after serving 18 years in prison and eight years on death row for a murder he didn't commit.³²³ His death sentence was first overturned by the California Supreme Court.³²⁴ Riverside jurors reduced his sentence to life without parole in a 1991 penalty phase retrial.³²⁵ His murder conviction was later overturned in 1997 by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals because his lawyer had ignored a confession by Farmer's co-defendant.³²⁶ In January 1999, Farmer was finally acquitted of the murder in a retrial.³²⁷

Multiple other exonerations in non-capital cases prosecuted by the Riverside District Attorney's office call into question the near infallibility that people expect from death sentences. Herman Atkins was exonerated by DNA evidence in 2000 after serving 12 years on a rape conviction.³²⁸ Jason Rivera was released in 2014 after serving 19 years on a murder conviction.³²⁹ Rivera was present at the time of the shooting, but insists that he did not know the shooter or know that anyone had a gun.³³⁰

322 See *People v. Montes*, 320 P.3d 729, 751 (Cal. 2014).

323 See Death Penalty Focus, *Wrongful Convictions in California Capital Cases 4-5* (2008), <http://netk.net.au/Death/Death1.pdf>.

324 See *id.* at 4.

325 See *id.*

326 See *id.*

327 See *id.*

328 See *Herman Atkins*, Innocence Proj., <http://www.innocenceproject.org/cases/herman-atkins/> (last visited Aug. 4, 2016).

329 See *Jason Rivera*, Cal. Innocence Proj., <https://californiainnocenceproject.org/read-their-stories/jason-rivera/> (last visited Aug. 4, 2016).

330 See *id.*

#6

THE DEATH PENALTY IN KERN COUNTY, CA

PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH MISCONDUCT FOUND	0%
AVERAGE AMOUNT OF DEFENSE MITIGATION PRESENTED BY DEFENSE LAWYERS	2.6 DAYS
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS OF COLOR SENTENCED TO DEATH BETWEEN 2010-2015	50%
PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH SIGNIFICANT MITIGATION (AGE AND IMPAIRMENTS COMBINED)	63%
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS UNDER AGE 21	13%
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS WITH INTELLECTUAL DISABILITY, SEVERE MENTAL ILLNESS, OR BRAIN DAMAGE	50%

**All calculations are based on direct appeal opinions since 2006 unless otherwise noted.*

Between 2010 and 2015, Kern County prosecutors obtained six death sentences.³³¹ Kern's rate of death sentencing per 100 homicides was 2.3 times higher than the rest of the state for the 10-year period from 2006 to 2015.³³²

OVERZEALOUS PROSECUTORS

When Rose Bird was ousted as the Chief Justice of California, along with two other justices, over their votes in death penalty cases, it seriously tarnished the idea of judicial independence in criminal cases.³³³ Ed Jagels, the long-time District Attorney of Kern County, led the campaign against Justice Bird.³³⁴ He would later boast about Kern leading the state in its incarceration rate,³³⁵ and brushed off more than two dozen wrongful convictions that he secured in a mostly-fabricated sex abuse scandal.³³⁶ Jagels also permitted a line prosecutor to keep his job after he hid unfavorable blood evidence results produced by a state crime lab and subsequently lied about having asked a state lab technician to preserve the evidence, which was

³³¹ See Death Sentences 2010-2015, *supra* note 5.

³³² See Baumgartner, *Rate of Death Sentencing*, *supra* note 41. The figure for rest of the state excludes all five of the top death sentencing counties discussed in this report (Riverside, Orange, Los Angeles, Kern, and San Bernardino).

³³³ See Maura Dolan, *Ex-Chief Justice Rose Bird Dies of Cancer at 63*, L.A. Times, Dec. 5, 1999, <http://articles.latimes.com/1999/dec/05/news/mn-40743> ("Bird lost a retention election in 1986 largely because she had voted to overturn every death penalty case she reviewed.").

³³⁴ See Ted Rohrlich, *Rose Bird's Opponents Elated by Death Ruling*, L.A. Times, Oct. 14, 1987, http://articles.latimes.com/1987-10-14/news/mn-9303_1_death-penalty.

³³⁵ See Radley Balko, *Kern County's Monstrous D.A.*, Reason.com (Dec. 21, 2009), <http://reason.com/archives/2009/12/21/kern-countys-monstrous-da> ("Ed Jagels boasts that 'During Jagels' tenure as District Attorney, Kern County has had the highest per capita prison commitment rate of any major California County.'").

³³⁶ See Garance Burke, *D.A. Who Wrongfully Had Dozens Jailed to Retire*, SFGate.com, Nov. 25, 2009, <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/D-A-who-wrongfully-had-dozens-jailed-to-retire-3210029.php>.

later destroyed.³³⁷ In 2015, a state appellate court found that the same prosecutor, Robert Murray, “deliberately altered an interrogation transcript to include a confession that could be used to justify charges that carry a life sentence.”³³⁸ In 2010, prosecutor Lisa Green, who worked for Jagels, was elected to the position of District Attorney.³³⁹ She promptly promised to continue to be an example of aggressive prosecution.³⁴⁰

INADEQUATE DEFENSE

Of the Kern County capital cases decided on direct appeal between 2006 and 2015, the defense presentation of mitigation evidence ranged from under one day to over a week.³⁴¹ The typical presentation lasted less than three days.³⁴² Defense lawyer James Soreno had two clients sentenced to death, and he presented one day’s or less worth of mitigation in both cases.³⁴³

James Lorenz put on less than one day’s worth of mitigation in his representation of David Rogers.³⁴⁴ The California Supreme Court remanded the case for a determination of whether a witness in the penalty phase had provided reliable testimony when she said that Rogers assaulted her.³⁴⁵ As the *Bakersfield Californian* recently reported, Lorenz “failed to obtain a complete file of the woman’s criminal history and her interview with investigators. [Rogers’ current lawyer] said Lorenz could have used that information to impeach her testimony but didn’t bother to acquire it.”³⁴⁶ In another capital case, the trial judge had to substitute counsel when Lorenz, who had been lead counsel, “inexplicably failed to appear in court on several days during the jury selection.”³⁴⁷

Of the six death sentences imposed between 2010 and 2015, one lawyer, Michael

337 See Jason Kotowski, *Prosecutor Under Investigation For Allegedly Falsifying Transcript*, *Bakersfield Californian*, Nov. 12, 2013, <http://www.bakersfield.com/news/2013/11/13/prosecutor-under-investigation-for-allegedly-falsifying-transcript.html>.

338 *People v. Velasco-Palacios*, 235 Cal. App. 4th 439, 447 (2015), available at <http://www.courts.ca.gov/opinions/nonpub/F068833.PDF>.

339 See Kern County District Attorney, <http://www.co.kern.ca.us/DA/About.aspx?tab=0#V6zJkZMrKRr> (last visited Aug. 10, 2016).

340 See Op-Ed, *Green Has All the Right Credentials for Kern County DA*, *Bakersfield Californian*, May 11, 2010, <http://www.bakersfield.com/news/opinion/2010/05/12/green-has-all-the-right-credentials-for-kern-county-da.html>.

341 See Kern County Defense Mitigation and Jury Deliberation Times Spreadsheet, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

342 See *id.*

343 See *id.*

344 See *id.*

345 See Steve E. Swenson, *Former Deputy Who Murdered Prostitutes to Get New Hearing, Death Penalty May Be Thrown Out*, *Bakersfield Californian*, Nov. 12, 2009, <http://www.bakersfield.com/news/2009/11/13/former-deputy-who-murdered-prostitutes-to-get-new-hearing-death-penalty-may-be-thrown-out.html>.

346 Jason Kotowski, *Judge to Consider Validity of Testimony that Influenced Death Penalty Sentence*, *Bakersfield Californian*, May 7, 2015, <http://www.bakersfield.com/news/2015/05/08/judge-to-consider-validity-of-testimony-that-influenced-death-penalty-sentence-1.html>.

347 *In re Sixto*, 774 P.2d 164, 169 (Cal. 1989).

Lukehart, represented three of the clients.³⁴⁸ In 2014, Lukehart's client, Francisco Beltran, a Mexican National, was sentenced to death.³⁴⁹ The Mexican Government intervened after the death verdict, urging a new trial due to Lukehart's and his co-counsel's alleged ineffectiveness.³⁵⁰ The Motion for a New Trial notes that the defense did not even bother to question 10 of the 12 jurors who ultimately were selected to hear the case, including one juror who initially answered a written question about her views on the death penalty by circling the option that read: "I favor the death penalty, but believe there are rare cases in which it should not be imposed for the deliberate taking of a life."³⁵¹

The mitigation specialist on the case told the lawyers from the Mexican Capital Legal Assistance Program "that neither Mr. Carter nor Mr. Lukehart provided feedback on any of the mitigation memoranda she had given counsel, and that neither counsel provided her with any guidance in directing or supervising the mitigation investigation."³⁵² The mitigation specialist also emailed Lukehart and his co-counsel, Ronald Carter, to inform them that the client was upset that the lawyers had not visited him in a long while, and that the relationship seemed to be reaching a breaking point.³⁵³ Mr. Carter responded via email: "I appreciate your concern – but I do wish you would concentrate on your job which is to do a social history of the Beltran family."³⁵⁴ At that point, Mr. Carter "could not recall when he had last seen Mr. Beltran, and said that it had probably been over a year since he last visited him at the jail."³⁵⁵ When the mitigation specialist suggested investigating Mr. Beltran's childhood as part of a trauma investigation, Lukehart shut down the suggestion, allegedly saying, "I hate PTSD."³⁵⁶ According to the mitigation specialist, Lukehart also said that "in Kern County, the only good mitigation is positive adjustment to an institution[.]"³⁵⁷

Months before trial, Carter, who Lukehart designated to handle the penalty phase of the trial, sent a telling email: "I don't know what a penalty trial really looks like—it's starting to concern me."³⁵⁸

348 See Kern County Death Sentences Spreadsheet, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

349 See Jason Kotowski, *Convicted Killer Appointed New Attorney for Future Court Hearings*, Bakersfield Californian, Dec. 4, 2013, <http://www.bakersfield.com/news/2013/12/04/convicted-killer-appointed-new-attorney-for-future-court-hearings.html>.

350 See *id.*

351 Supp. To Mtn. For New Trial 3, Line 2, *People v. Beltran*, No. BF130784A (Cal. 2014).

352 Declaration of Cloud Chavez, Item 16 (Def.'s Ex. Y) Supp. To Mtn. For New Trial, *People v. Beltran*, No. BF130784A (Cal. 2014).

353 See *id.* at Item 6.

354 *Id.*

355 Declaration of Skyla V. Olds, Item 26 (Def.'s Ex. W), Supp. To Mtn. For New Trial, *People v. Beltran*, No. BF130784A (Cal. 2014).

356 Declaration of Cloud Chavez, *supra* note 352, at Item 13.

357 Supp. To Mtn. For New Trial 44, Line 9-10, *People v. Beltran*, No. BF130784A (Cal. 2014).

358 Declaration of Skyla V. Olds, *supra* note 355, at Item 21.

RACIAL BIAS AND EXCLUSION

Like Riverside, Kern County has not had the same level of overt racial bias and exclusion as some of the Southern counties. However, we encountered a few troubling findings. According to a 2014 report by the office of California's Attorney General, an average of just 20 percent of homicide victims in the state were white between 2009-2014.³⁵⁹ In contrast, 50 percent of the homicide victims in Kern County death penalty cases between 2010 and 2015 were white.³⁶⁰ Also notable is the fact that 17 percent of the defendants sentenced to death during the same period were African-American,³⁶¹ even though just six percent of the county's population is African-American.³⁶²

Earlier this year a California appellate court reversed a Kern County case on race discrimination grounds after the prosecution struck each of the Black prospective jurors and provided implausibly race-neutral grounds for one of those strikes, mischaracterized the prospective juror's words, and argued extensively with defense counsel about whether the juror was Black or not.³⁶³ In a capital case decided by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in 2012, Judge Harry Pregerson dissented from the rest of the justices noting that the failure to challenge what appeared to have been racially biased jury selection amounted to ineffective assistance of counsel.³⁶⁴ In that case, prosecutors struck 75 percent of jurors with Spanish surnames.³⁶⁵ In contrast, they struck just 27 percent of individuals with non-Spanish-surnamed whites.³⁶⁶ Justice Pregerson noted that the striking of one juror was especially "problematic," and that the violation was sufficient for a reversal.³⁶⁷

EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENT

Of the cases decided on direct appeal since 2006, half involved defendants with

359 Kamala D. Harris, Cal. DOJ, Homicide in California 1 (2014) <https://oag.ca.gov/sites/all/files/agweb/pdfs/cjsc/publications/homicide/hm14/hm14.pdf>.

360 See Baumgartner, *Race of Defendants and Victims*, *supra* note 85.

361 See *id.*

362 See *Quickfacts for Kern County*, U.S. Census Bureau, <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/06029> (last visited Aug. 10, 2016).

363 *People v. Arellano*, 245 Cal. App. 4th 1139, 1165-66 (2016).

364 See *Panel Upholds Death Sentence in Mojave Motel Murders*, Met News-Ent., Nov. 7, 2012, available at <http://www.metnews.com/articles/2012/care110712.htm>

365 See *id.*

366 See *id.*

367 See *id.*

crippling intellectual disability, brain damage, or mental illness.³⁶⁸ Thirteen percent involved individuals under age 21, and 38 percent involved defendants who were age 25 and younger.³⁶⁹ Bob Williams, who endured sexual abuse as a child and was placed in foster care at age seven, was just 18 years old at the time of the offense that landed him on death row.³⁷⁰ Another case involved a man who suffered from dissociative disorder and endured horrific sexual and physical abuse as a child.³⁷¹ Willie Harris, a black man whom prosecutors called “Willie Horton”³⁷² during closing arguments in the penalty phase of his trial,³⁷³ has an IQ score in the 70s, placing him in the intellectually disabled range.³⁷⁴

INNOCENCE

According to the National Registry of Exonerations, Kern has had at least 24 known wrongful convictions since 1989.³⁷⁵ The vast majority of those cases involved official misconduct.³⁷⁶ In addition to the extensively-written about child abuse sex scandal,³⁷⁷ in which police used highly suggestive questioning techniques to elicit false testimony and prosecutors blocked medical exams of the children involved in the case,³⁷⁸ two of the exonerations involved wrongful murder convictions. One of the cases involved Offord Rollins, a Black teenager who was just 17 years old when he was wrongfully convicted of murder.³⁷⁹ According to the Registry, “The trial was hotly contested and controversial because the only four black potential jurors were all excused by the prosecution. Rollins ... was tried by a jury comprised of 11 whites and one Hispanic.”³⁸⁰ In reversing the conviction, the California Supreme

368 See Kern County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

369 See *id.*

370 See *People v. Williams*, 148 P.3d 47, 55 (Cal. 2006).

371 See *People v. Rogers*, 141 P.3d 135, 149-50 (Cal. 2006).

372 Willie Horton is an African-American man who was serving a sentence of life in prison without parole in Massachusetts when he raped a white woman and committed assault while on a weekend furlough. Horton's story was prominently used in TV ads with racial undertones to attack former governor Michael Dukakis when he ran for president in 1988. See John Sides, *It's Time to Stop the Endless Hype of the 'Willie Horton' Ad*, Wash. Post, Jan. 6, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/01/06/its-time-to-stop-the-endless-hype-of-the-willie-horton-ad/>.

373 See *People v. Harris*, 306 P.3d 1195, 1237 (Cal. 2013).

374 Pet. of Writ of Habeas Corpus at 85, Item 218, In re Willie Leo Harris, No. S081700 (Cal. 2013).

375 See Nat'l Reg. of Exonerations, U. of Mich. Sch. of L., http://www.law.umich.edu/special/exoneration/Pages/browse.aspx?View=%7BBB8342AE7-6520-4A32-8A06-4B326208BAF8%7D&FilterField1=State&FilterValue1=California&FilterField2=County&FilterValue2=8_Kern (filtered for Kern County) (last visited Aug. 10, 2016).

376 See *id.*

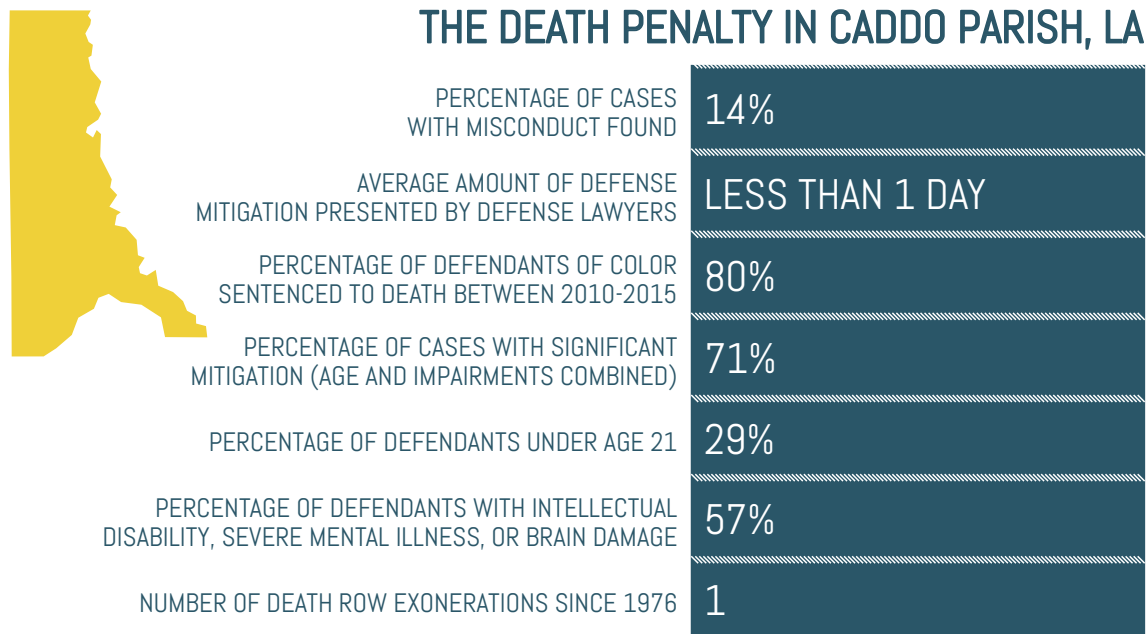
377 See Maggie Jones, *Who Was Abused?*, N.Y. Times, Sept. 19, 2004, http://www.nytimes.com/2004/09/19/magazine/who-was-abused.html?_r=0.

378 See John Stall, Nat'l Reg. of Exonerations, U. of Mich. Sch. of L., <http://www.law.umich.edu/special/exoneration/pages/casedetail.aspx?caseid=3667> (last visited Aug. 10, 2016).

379 See Offord Rollins, IV, Nat'l Reg. of Exonerations, U. of Mich. Sch. of L., <http://www.law.umich.edu/special/exoneration/Pages/casedetail.aspx?caseid=4005> (last visited Aug. 10, 2016).

380 *Id.*

Court found, “numerous instances” of misconduct, including “racist stereotypes (comparing Rollins to boxer Mike Tyson, who was convicted of raping a woman), improper inquiries into the sex lives of Rollins and other defense witnesses, and ... inflammatory comments and arguments based on facts that were not presented in the evidence.”³⁸¹



#7

**All calculations are based on direct appeal opinions since 2006 unless otherwise noted.*

Caddo Parish has sentenced five people to die since 2010.³⁸² This means that while Caddo has only five percent of Louisiana’s population, it has 38 percent of the state’s death sentences.³⁸³ Caddo’s death sentencing rate per 100 homicides was nearly eight times higher than that of the rest of the state between 2006 and 2015.³⁸⁴

OVERZEALOUS PROSECUTORS

Dale Cox, who served as Caddo Parish’s acting District Attorney, personally prosecuted one-third of Louisiana’s death sentences between 2010 and 2015.³⁸⁵ When Maya Lau, a local reporter, questioned Cox about the release of Glenn Ford,

³⁸¹ *Id.*

³⁸² See Death Sentences 2010-2015, *supra* note 5.

³⁸³ See Quick Facts: Louisiana, U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, [http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/22,22017](http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/22,22017;); <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/death-sentences-united-states-1977-2008> (last visited Aug. 1, 2016).

³⁸⁴ See Baumgartner, *Rate of Death Sentencing*, *supra* note 41.

³⁸⁵ See *Deadliest Prosecutors*, *supra* note 9, at 2 (quoting 1 County, 2 Prosecutors Responsible for 3/4 of Recent Louisiana Death Sentences, Amid Charges of Prosecutorial Misconduct, DEATH PENALTY INFO. CTR. (2015), <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/node/6097>).

a man with Stage 4 lung cancer who spent nearly three decades on death row for a crime he did not commit, Cox said: “I think we need to kill more people.”³⁸⁶ Cox later clarified his enthusiasm for the death penalty: “Revenge is important for society as a whole,” and it “brings to us a visceral satisfaction.”³⁸⁷ In 2014, Cox obtained a death sentence against a father, Rodricus Crawford, convicted of killing his infant son, despite the medical examiner’s uncertainty that the death was a homicide.³⁸⁸ At trial, Cox told the jury that Jesus demanded his disciples kill any child abuser and quoted a Bible verse: “You shall have a millstone cast around your neck and you will be thrown into the sea.”³⁸⁹ In a 2015 death penalty trial, Cox threatened opposing counsel, saying: “I want to kill everyone in here. I want to cut their fucking throats. I’m just being honest, and if any of them want to go outside we can do it right now.”³⁹⁰

Cox, along with two other former Caddo Parish prosecutors, Hugo Holland and Lea Hall, account for 75 percent of all Louisiana death sentences since 2010.³⁹¹ In 2012, Holland and Hall were asked to resign after obtaining assault rifles from the Federal Property Assistance Agency for a fake investigation with the local sheriff’s office.³⁹² Lea Hall pulled a gun on a co-worker’s husband in a later incident.³⁹³ However, both still serve as special contract trial prosecutors in death penalty cases throughout Louisiana.³⁹⁴

INADEQUATE DEFENSE

Louisiana death sentences dropped significantly in recent years.³⁹⁵ One important component of that drop is a set of new performance standards for lawyers representing defendants in capital cases.³⁹⁶ Over the past decade, 75 percent of

386 Vickie Welborn, *supra* note 36.

387 Rachel Aviv, *Revenge Killing: Race and the Death Penalty in a Louisiana Parish*, THE NEW YORKER (July 6 & 13, 2015), <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/07/06/revenge-killing>.

388 See *Deadliest Prosecutors*, *supra* note 9, at 22.

389 Alexandria Burris, *Clergy: Cox Used Bible to Advocate for Death Penalty*, SHREVEPORT TIMES, Oct. 16, 2015, <http://www.shreveporttimes.com/story/news/watchdog/2015/10/15/100-religious-leaders-object-dale-coxs-use-bible-argue-death-penalty/74004172/>

390 *Outlier Death Penalty Counties Defined by Overzealous Prosecutors*, FAIR PUNISHMENT PROJECT (March 9, 2016), <http://fairpunishment.org/outlierdeathpenaltyprosecutors/>.

391 See James Gill, *Capital Punishment a Cottage Industry in Caddo Parish*, NEW ORLEANS ADVOCATE, Apr. 11, 2015, http://www.theadvocate.com/new_orleans/opinion/james_gill/article_1be535cf-daf0-592c-bf59-32f231f1a7ce.html.

392 See *id.* Holland and Hall also apparently “outfit[ed] their vehicles with lights and sirens, making stops, and wearing SWAT-type clothing during work hours.” Pet. for Damages, Ashley v. Scott, No. SS8-321A, (La. 2015).

393 See Gill, *supra* note 390.

394 LA: Prosecutors Procure M-16’s in Caddo Parish, Louisiana, OPEN FILE BLOG (Aug. 28, 2014), <http://www.prosecutorialaccountability.com/2014/08/28/la-prosecutors-procure-m-16s-in-caddo-parish/>

395 See *Louisiana Death Sentences 1977-2015*, Death Penalty Info. Ctr., <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/louisiana-1#sent> (last visited Aug. 10, 2016).

396 See *Louisiana Public Defender Act*, La. Pub. Defender Bd., <http://lpdb.la.gov/Serving%20The%20Public/Legislation/Louisiana%20Public%20Defender%20Act.php> (last visited Aug. 10, 2016).

people sent to death row from Caddo Parish had at least one lawyer who is not certified to try capital cases under the new standards.³⁹⁷ This low standard of representation is reflected in the fact that the typical penalty phase of the trial lasts less than two days.³⁹⁸ The defense tends to put on less than a full day's worth of mitigation evidence.³⁹⁹ And, perhaps unsurprisingly given the sparse defense presentation, the typical jury in Caddo Parish takes under 90 minutes to decide to send a person to death row.⁴⁰⁰

Daryl Gold is one of the defense lawyers in Caddo Parish who exemplifies the low standard of representation. During a ten-year stretch between 2005 and 2014, Gold was the lawyer for 20 percent of new death row admissions in Louisiana.⁴⁰¹ In his last trial, which was the case where the state's medical examiner testified that he did not know for certain whether a crime happened, Gold offered less than a day's worth of mitigation, and Rodricus Crawford was sentenced to death.⁴⁰² Gold has been suspended from the practice of law three times and "received fourteen private reprimands or admonitions for neglecting legal matters, failing to communicate with clients, failing to refund unearned fees, and failing to cooperate in a disciplinary investigation."⁴⁰³

The Louisiana Supreme Court has not issued opinions yet in the two of the most recent Caddo Parish cases resulting in death sentences. However, of the cases that the Court decided on direct appeal since 2006, Kurt Goins represented half of the defendants.⁴⁰⁴ Goins put on less than a day's worth of mitigation in each of those cases.⁴⁰⁵ In one case, in which his intellectually impaired and mentally disturbed client with an IQ of 67 sought to represent himself at trial, Goins appears not to have even requested that the trial court conduct a competency evaluation. That client represented himself, appeared delusional during the proceedings, and antagonized the jurors during jury selection.⁴⁰⁶ Not surprisingly, he was sentenced to death. In the Lamondre Tucker case, Goins conceded Tucker's guilt (reportedly over his client's objection) and offered no evidence in the guilt phase of the trial.⁴⁰⁷

397 See Smith, *Worst Lawyers*, *supra* note 67.

398 See Caddo Parish Defense Mitigation and Jury Deliberation Times 2006-2015, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

399 See *id.*

400 See *id.*

401 *Deadliest Prosecutors, Worst Defense Lawyers Linked to High Rates of Death Sentences in Heavy-Use Counties*, DEATH PENALTY INFO. CTR., <http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/node/6291> (last visited Aug. 2, 2016).

402 See Smith, *Worst Lawyers*, *supra* note 67.

403 *In re Gold*, 59 So. 3d 396, 397 (La. 2011).

404 See Caddo Parish Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

405 See *id.*

406 See *State v. Campbell*, 983 So. 2d 810 (La. 2008).

407 See *State v. Tucker*, 181 So. 3d 590, 618 (La. 2015).

RACIAL BIAS AND EXCLUSION

In 1914, the *Shreveport Times* editorial board rebuked “suggestions from some of the newspapers” that Louisiana should “abolish the death penalty” by arguing that abolition would stoke “the vengeance of an outraged citizenship” and thus produce an “increase in the number of lynchings.”⁴⁰⁸ This is the kind of argument one took seriously in Shreveport, the last city in America to surrender to the Union. Shreveport is the most populous city in “Bloody Caddo” Parish, the county equivalent that produced the second highest number of lynchings in the nation.⁴⁰⁹ In 1976, the same year that the U.S. Supreme Court gave its constitutional blessing to capital punishment, a federal judge described the still present “official racial discrimination and unresponsiveness which long have affected all aspects of the lives of Shreveport’s black citizens.”⁴¹⁰ It took another 35 years—until 2011—for Caddo to remove a Confederate flag that flew atop a Confederate memorial outside the courthouse where death penalty trials take place.⁴¹¹ In 2009, a Black man, Carl Staples, was struck from the jury pool in a death penalty case after he pointed out the injustice of asking jurors to serve under the flag, which he called a symbol of “one of the most heinous crimes ever committed.”⁴¹² The monument is still there.⁴¹³ Despite this history, last year Dale Cox referred to society as “a jungle” to explain why the death penalty was necessary.⁴¹⁴ No white person has ever been executed for killing a Black person in Caddo Parish.⁴¹⁵

The Caddo Parish District Attorney’s Office has specifically come under fire for its discriminatory jury selection practices.⁴¹⁶ Although about half of the parish’s population is Black, a recent study showed that only about a third of jurors between 2003 and 2012 were also Black.⁴¹⁷ Further, Caddo prosecutors used peremptory strikes on 46 percent of potential Black jurors, while only using peremptory strikes on 15 percent of all other potential jurors.⁴¹⁸ Mr. Cox himself struck Black jurors

408 See Robert J. Smith, *There’s No Separating the Death Penalty and Race*, SLATE (May 5, 2016), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2016/05/foster_v_chatman_race_infects_death_penalty_to_the_core.html.

409 See *id.*; Prime, *supra* note 34.

410 *Blacks United v. City of Shreveport*, 71 F.R.D. 623, 635 (W.D.La. 1976).

411 See Lex Talamo, *Caddo Commissioners Debate Removal of Confederate Monument*, SHREVEPORT TIMES, June 9, 2016, <http://www.shreveporttimes.com/story/news/2016/06/09/caddo-commission-debates-removal-confederate-monument/85666352/>.

412 Cecelia Trenticosta & William C. Collins, *Death and Dixie: How the Courthouse Confederate Flag Influences Capital Cases in Louisiana*, 27 HARV. J. RACIAL & ETHNIC JUST. 125, 156 (2011).

413 See Talamo, *supra* note 411.

414 See Aviv, *supra* note 387.

415 See *id.*

416 See Noye, *supra* note 37.

417 See *id.* at 10.

418 See *id.* at 8.

almost three times as often as he struck white jurors.⁴¹⁹ In 2007, the Louisiana Supreme Court reversed Robert Glen Coleman’s death sentence because the prosecutors’—Hugo Holland and Lea Hall—“explicit interjection of race ... renders implausible any explanation other than the decision to strike this prospective juror was not race-neutral[.]”⁴²⁰ Eighty percent of defendants sentenced to death between 2010 and 2015 in Caddo have been Black.⁴²¹

EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENTS

Of the Caddo death sentences that the Louisiana Supreme Court has reviewed on direct appeal since 2006, 71 percent involve mitigation evidence that rivals or outpaces the severity of impairment associated with juvenile status or intellectual disability.⁴²² Both Lamondre Tucker and Laderrick Campbell were 18 years old at the time of the offenses for which they were convicted, and thus mere months away from categorical ineligibility for the death penalty.⁴²³ Tucker (74 IQ) and Campbell (67 IQ)⁴²⁴ were also among the 57 percent of defendants who exhibited an intellectual impairment.⁴²⁵ Several defendants had multiple impairments. Brandy Holmes, who was named after her mother’s favorite drink while pregnant, has fetal alcohol syndrome and a 77 IQ score.⁴²⁶ She also attempted suicide after she was raped as a child.⁴²⁷

INNOCENCE

An all-white jury convicted Glenn Ford of murder and recommended the death penalty.⁴²⁸ Ford’s defense team consisted of two appointed attorneys, neither of whom had ever represented a criminal defendant at trial or been trained in capital defense.⁴²⁹ Throughout years of post-trial proceedings, Ford’s appellate lawyers provided significant evidence that Ford’s trial had been corrupted by misinterpreted

419 See *id.* at 10.

420 *State v. Coleman*, 970 So. 2d 511, 516 (La. 2007).

421 See Baumgartner, *Race of Defendants and Victims*, *supra* note 85.

422 See Caddo Parish Defense Mitigation and Jury Deliberation Times 2006-2015, *supra* note 398.

423 See *Tucker v. Louisiana*, 136 S. Ct. 1801, 1801 (2016); *Campbell*, 983 So. 2d at 830.

424 See *Tucker*, 136 S. Ct. at 1801; *Campbell*, 983 So. 2d at 825.

425 See Caddo Parish Defense Mitigation and Jury Deliberation Times 2006-2015, *supra* note 398.

426 See *State v. Holmes*, 5 So. 3d 42, 60 (La. 2008); Charles Ogletree, *The Death Penalty’s Last Stand*, SLATE (Jan. 6, 2016),

427 See Ogletree, *supra* note 426.

428 See Matt Schudel, *Glenn Ford, Wrongfully Convicted in Louisiana Murder Case, Dies at 65*, WASH. POST, July 4, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/glenn-ford-wrongfully-convicted-in-louisiana-murder-case-dies-at-65/2015/07/04/0dfa3cec-2266-11e5-84d5-eb37ee8aa61_story.html.

429 See Glenn Ford, INNOCENSE PROJECT NEW ORLEANS, <http://www.ip-no.org/exonoree-profile/glenn-ford> (last visited Aug. 2, 2016).

forensic evidence, inadequate legal representation, and false testimony by both witnesses and police officers.⁴³⁰ Yet the courts refused to grant Ford a new trial.⁴³¹ In 2013, the Caddo Parish District Attorney's Office revealed that someone else had confessed to the crime.⁴³² The charges against Ford were dismissed, and he was released from prison in March 2014 after three decades of wrongful incarceration.⁴³³ Attorney A.M. "Marty" Stroud III, the lead prosecutor in Ford's case, published an emotional public apology in 2015, saying that in 1984, he "was not as interested in justice as [he] was in winning."⁴³⁴ Ford died of lung cancer a year later.⁴³⁵



THE DEATH PENALTY IN HARRIS COUNTY, TX

PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH MISCONDUCT FOUND	5%
AVERAGE AMOUNT OF DEFENSE MITIGATION PRESENTED BY DEFENSE LAWYERS	1.1 DAYS
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS OF COLOR SENTENCED TO DEATH BETWEEN 2010-2015	78% (100% NOT INCLUDING RESENTENCES)
PERCENTAGE OF CASES WITH SIGNIFICANT MITIGATION (AGE AND IMPAIRMENTS COMBINED)	53%
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS UNDER AGE 21	26%
PERCENTAGE OF DEFENDANTS WITH INTELLECTUAL DISABILITY, SEVERE MENTAL ILLNESS, OR BRAIN DAMAGE	26%
NUMBER OF DEATH ROW EXONERATIONS SINCE 1976	3

**All calculations are based on direct appeal opinions since 2006 unless otherwise noted.*

Harris County easily makes the list of active death sentencing counties. However, there are two important details that are worth noting. First, Harris is one of the most populous counties in America.⁴³⁶ Second, death sentences have declined precipitously in the last decade.⁴³⁷ Between 1998 and 2003, Harris had 53 new

⁴³⁰ See *id.*

⁴³¹ See *Glenn Ford*, *supra* note 428.

⁴³² See *id.*

⁴³³ See *id.*

⁴³⁴ See A.M. "Marty" Stroud III, *Lead Prosecutor Apologizes for Role in Sending Man to Death Row*, SHREVEPORT TIMES, Mar. 20, 2015, <http://www.shreveporttimes.com/story/opinion/readers/2015/03/20/lead-prosecutor-offers-apology-in-the-case-of-exonerated-death-row-inmate-glenn-ford/25049063/>.

⁴³⁵ See Schudel, *supra* note 428.

⁴³⁶ See Harris Cnty. Budget Mgmt., *Population Study* (Jan 2014), <http://www.harriscountytx.gov/CmpDocuments/74/Budget/Population%20Study%20January%202014.pdf> (noting that Harris County is the "nation's third most populous county with an estimated 4.34 million residents as of June 30, 2013, and one of the fastest growing counties in the U.S. with a population increase of 28% since 2000 and 54% since 1990").

⁴³⁷ See Harris County Death Sentences Spreadsheet 1998-2016, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

death sentences. Between 2004 and 2009, it had 16. Since 2010, it has had 10. No Harris County jury has imposed the death penalty in a case involving a new defendant since November 2014.⁴³⁸

OVERZEALOUS PROSECUTORS

District Attorney Johnny Holmes's office sent at least 200 people to death row back when Harris County was known as the buckle of the death belt.⁴³⁹ Since 2006, two of Holmes' protégés, Kelly Siegler and Lyn McClellan, are responsible for 28 percent of the death penalty cases that the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals has decided on direct appeal.⁴⁴⁰ Kelly Siegler earned the nickname "the Giant Killer" for personally obtaining at least 19 death sentences.⁴⁴¹ She once "had the bloodstained bed from [the victim's] bedroom brought into the courtroom," and then "straddled her colleague, raised one of the actual knives that [the defendant allegedly] used to kill her husband, and reenacted the stabbings."⁴⁴² Last year, a Texas court found that Siegler committed 36 instances of misconduct in a single murder case.⁴⁴³ Meanwhile, McClellan amassed approximately 30 death sentences,⁴⁴⁴ including one against a brain-damaged and intellectually impaired man named Max Soffar.⁴⁴⁵ A federal appellate court reversed Soffar's conviction, which it labeled a "thin case consisting only of an uncorroborated confession."⁴⁴⁶ Despite the weak case against Soffar, and evidence that pointed towards serial killer Paul Reid as the true killer,⁴⁴⁷ McClellan successfully sought the death penalty in a new trial.⁴⁴⁸ Soffar, who steadfastly maintained his innocence, died of cancer while awaiting federal court review.⁴⁴⁹

438 See *id.* (These numbers do not include resentences during this period. The Harris County DA's Office sought the death penalty in the capital murder trial of Jonathan Sanchez case in 2015, but the jury rejected it and instead sentenced him to life.)

439 See *Deadliest Prosecutors*, *supra* note 9, at 16.

440 See Harris County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

441 See Biography for Kelly Siegler, "Cold Justice", TNTDRAMA, <http://mobile19.tntdrama.com/series/cold-justice/> (last visited Aug. 3, 2016); *Deadliest Prosecutors*, *supra* note 9, at 17.

442 This refers to the non-capital murder case (*State v. Susan Wright*). Skip Hollandsworth, 193, TEX. MONTHLY, Feb. 2010, *available at* <http://www.texasmonthly.com/articles/193/>.

443 See Brian Rogers, *Judge Cites Prosecutorial Misconduct in Temple Case*, HOUSTON CHRON., Jul. 8, 2015, <http://www.expressnews.com/news/local/article/Judge-cites-prosecutorial-misconduct-in-Temple-6374157.php>; *Ex parte Temple*, No. 1008763-A (178th Crim. D. Ct. of Harris Cnty., Tex., July 6, 2015), <https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/2159552/judge-cites-prosecutorial-misconduct-in-temple.pdf>.

444 Tommy Witherspoon, *McLennan County Prosecutor Likely Holds Active Death Row Record*, Waco Trib., May 24, 2014, http://www.wacotrib.com/news/courts_and_trials/mclennan-county-prosecutor-likely-holds-active-death-row-record/article_548a4b86-4742-5f0a-aa35-bce4a41ad89a.html.

445 See *Deadliest Prosecutors*, *supra* note 9, at 16-17.

446 *Soffar v. Dretke*, 368 F.3d 441, 479 (5th Cir. 2004).

447 See *id.*; Maurice Chammah, '80 Murder Confession Prompts Call to Require Police to Record Interrogations, N.Y. TIMES, Dec. 27, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/28/us/murder-confession-prompts-calls-in-texas-for-recording-interrogations.html>.

448 See Brian Rogers, *Longtime Prosecutor McClellan Praised for His Service*, Houston Chron., Nov. 27, 2008, <http://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/article/Longtime-prosecutor-McClellan-praised-for-his-1776508.php>.

449 See Allan Turner, *Twice-Convicted Houston Killer Max Soffar, Suffering Cancer, Dies in Prison*, HOUSTON CHRON., Apr. 25, 2016,

In 2014, the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals reversed a conviction and death sentence after finding that Harris prosecutor, Dan Rizzo, withheld critical evidence from the defense.⁴⁵⁰ Also in 2014, Devon Anderson, the current District Attorney, personally prosecuted a 21-year-old man despite the fact that the man has an “IQ in the 70s” and is, as his lawyer put it, “just spitting distance from retarded.”⁴⁵¹

INADEQUATE DEFENSE

Harris County became synonymous with terrible capital defense lawyering back in the 1990s when a judge told a defendant who complained that his lawyer kept falling asleep at trial that “the Constitution does not say that the lawyer has to be awake.”⁴⁵² Another lawyer, Joe Frank Cannon, known for trying death penalty cases like “greased lightning,”⁴⁵³ also fell asleep in at least two capital trials.⁴⁵⁴

Unfortunately, the state of defense is not much better today. Of the cases decided on direct appeal since 2006, the typical lawyer in a Harris County death penalty trial puts on just one day’s worth of mitigation evidence.⁴⁵⁵ There are at least two structural reasons for this facially embarrassing statistic. First, elected judges appoint defense lawyers to capital trials in Harris County.⁴⁵⁶ This can mean that requesting more money for experts, filing numerous defense motions, or requesting hearings that take up court resources are factors that the judge may consider before re-appointing defense lawyers to another case. Second, and relatedly, defense lawyers are paid a flat fee for their representation.⁴⁵⁷ In cases that are resolved pretrial with a plea bargain, the trial court has the option to reduce the flat fee, which creates incentives for lawyers to spend as little time as possible trying to obtain a plea for a sentence less than death.⁴⁵⁸ Appointed counsel must also request additional sums for things like secretarial expenses and expert witnesses.⁴⁵⁹

<http://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/Twice-convicted-Houston-killer-Max-Soffar-7307734.php>.

450 See Brian Rogers, *Man Sent to Death Row in Officer’s Killing is Freed*, HOUSTON CHRON., June 8, 2015, <http://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/article/DA-6314119.php>; *Brown v. State*, 270 S.W.3d 564 (Tex. Crim. App. 2008); *Ex parte Brown*, WR-68,876-01, 2014 WL 5745499, at *1 (Tex. Crim. App. Nov. 5, 2014).

451 See Brian Rogers, *Jurors Hear Background of Police Officer’s Killer*, HOUSTON CHRON., Jul. 21, 2014, <http://www.chron.com/neighborhood/bellaire/crime-courts/article/Jurors-to-hear-about-cop-killer-s-background-5635651.php>.

452 See Bruce Shapiro, *Sleeping Lawyer Syndrome*, The Nation, April 7, 1997, 27-29, available at <https://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-19286056.html> (quoting Judge Doug Shaver); *McFarland v. State*, 928 S.W. 2d 482, 507-08 (Tex. Crim. App. 1996).

453 See Leonard Pitts, *Justice Is Blind—Unless, Of Course, You’re Rich*, Chi. Trib., Aug. 21, 2001, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2001-08-21/news/0108210027_1_joe-frank-cannon-calvin-burdine-court-appointed-attorney.

454 See *Debating the Death Penalty 170-72* (Hugo Bedau & Paul Cassell, eds. 2004).

455 See Harris County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, *supra* note 440.

456 See Harris Cnty. Courts, Local Rule 24.9, Mar. 28, 2016, available at <http://tidc.tamu.edu/IDPlan/ViewPlan.aspx?PlanID=442>; Emily DePrang, *Poor Judgment*, TEX. OBSERVER, Oct. 12, 2015, <https://www.texasobserver.org/poor-judgment/>.

457 See Local Rule 24, *supra* note 456, at 24.12.1.

458 See *id.* at 24.12.4.

459 See *id.* at 24.12.5.

Gerald Bourque represented one of every five—or 21 percent—of the individuals whose death sentences have been decided on direct appeal since 2006.⁴⁶⁰ He put on one day's or less worth of mitigation evidence in five of the six cases;⁴⁶¹ and two of his clients waived their right to offer mitigation altogether.⁴⁶² In the sixth case, his client had been diagnosed with schizophrenia, but the state's expert suggested that he was malingering.⁴⁶³ During closing argument, Bourque took an unusual and highly ineffective approach to challenging the credibility of the prosecution's expert. He told the jury that "the Government [was] treating [them] like you're a bunch of fascists,"⁴⁶⁴ called the state's expert "a liar, pure and simple"⁴⁶⁵ and announced that "what [he had] to say in response [would] put me in jail."⁴⁶⁶ On appeal, the defendant raised a claim that the expert acted improperly during the trial, but the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals noted that Bourque did not lodge a contemporaneous objection, and thus "slept on his rights and prevented the system's curative process."⁴⁶⁷ Though he did not make the necessary objection at trial, Bourque did remember to taunt the state's expert in front of the jury: "I would invite Dr. Moeller, if he's offended by me calling him a liar, my phone number is (713)862-7766. Give me a call. My office address is 24 Waterway, Suite Number 660 in the Woodlands. Come see me. I'm asking you to call Dr. Moeller the liar that he is."⁴⁶⁸

Another lawyer, Jerome Godinich, who had two death sentences during this period,⁴⁶⁹ is well known in legal circles because he thrice missed deadlines that resulted in his death-sentenced clients waiving federal court review.⁴⁷⁰ He put on only one hour of mitigation evidence for a man who endured severe abuse as a child, suffered from childhood epilepsy that his father attributed to "spirits," had been committed to psychiatric hospitals, and had been found not guilty by reason of insanity in a prior case.⁴⁷¹

460 See Harris County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, *supra* note 440.

461 See Harris County Defense Mitigation and Jury Deliberation Times, on file with the Fair Punishment Project.

462 See *Williams v. State*, 273 S.W.3d 200 (Tx. Crim. Ct. App. 2008); *Shore v. State* 2007 WL 4375939 (Tx. Crim. Ct. App. 2007).

463 Trial On Merits at 9, *Harper v. State*, AP-76,452 (Tx. 2010).

464 Closing Statement by Bourque at 39, *Harper v. State*, AP-76,452 (Tx. 2010).

465 *Id.* at 38.

466 *Id.* at 39.

467 *Harper v. State*, AP-76,452, 2012 WL 4833834, at *5 (Tex. Crim. App. 2012).

468 Closing Statement, *supra* note 464, at 39.

469 See Harris County Defense Times, *supra* note 461.

470 See Lise Olsen, *Tardy Texas Lawyers in Capital Cases Still Paid Thousands*, Houston Chron., Apr. 19, 2009, <http://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/article/Tardy-Texas-lawyers-in-capital-cases-still-paid-1739659.php>; *Even Sleeping Lawyers Allowed By Courts In Texas Capital Cases*, Second Class Justice (Oct. 26, 2010), <http://www.secondclassjustice.com/?p=196>.

471 See Harris County Defense Times, *supra* note 461; see also *Martinez v. State*, 327 S.W.3d 727, 731 (Tx. Crim. Ct. App. 2010).

RACIAL BIAS AND EXCLUSION

All 18 men who have been newly sentenced to death in Harris County since November 2004 have been people of color (this does not include a handful of individuals who were re-sentenced to death during this period).⁴⁷² If one takes into account those resentences, between 2010 and 2015, 79 percent of the individuals sentenced to death have been people of color.⁴⁷³

Former Harris County District Attorney Chuck Rosenthal, whose term ran from January of 2001 to February of 2008, and who oversaw the imposition of approximately 40 death sentences during that period, resigned from the office after civil litigation revealed that he had sent and received racist jokes using his county email account.⁴⁷⁴ Rosenthal boasted of having personally put 14 people on death row.⁴⁷⁵

This fall, the U.S. Supreme Court will hear oral arguments in a death penalty case out of Harris County, Texas, in which Duane Buck's own trial counsel introduced testimony from a psychologist who said that Buck was more likely to commit violent crimes in the future because he is Black.⁴⁷⁶ In Juan Garcia's case, also out of Harris County, an expert for the State testified that "race plays a role in that among dangerous people, minority people are overrepresented in this population," and "race" cannot be "eliminated" as a risk factor through incarceration.⁴⁷⁷ Texas executed Mr. Garcia in 2015.⁴⁷⁸

EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENT

Over half (53 percent) of Harris County death penalty cases decided on direct appeal since 2006 involved significant mitigation evidence.⁴⁷⁹ Approximately one

472 Tx. Defender Service, *All new death sentences in Harris County since Nov. 2004 have been handed down against men of color*, <http://fairpunishment.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Harris-County-Death-Sentences-since-November-2004.pdf> (last accessed Aug. 10, 2016).

473 See Baumgartner, *Race of Defendants and Victims*, *supra* note 85.

474 Brian Rogers, et al., *More emails emerge in Harris County DA scandal: County GOP says Chuck Rosenthal should resign*, Houston Chronicle, Jan. 9, 2008, <http://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/article/More-e-mails-emerge-in-Harris-County-DA-scandal-1754858.php>; see also Brian Rogers, et al., *Rosenthal cites prescription drugs in resignation as DA*, Houston Chronicle, Feb. 15, 2008, <http://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/article/Rosenthal-cites-prescription-drugs-in-resignation-1600712.php>.

475 Mike Tolson, *Part 1: A Deadly Distinction -- Harris County is a pipeline to death row*, Houston Chronicle, Feb. 4, 2001, <http://www.chron.com/news/article/Part-1-A-Deadly-Distinction-Harris-County-is-2002524.php>.

476 See Lincoln Caplan, *Racial Discrimination and Capital Punishment: The Indefensible Death Sentence of Duane Buck*, THE NEW YORKER, Apr. 20, 2016, <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/racial-discrimination-and-capital-punishment-the-indefensible-death-sentence-of-duane-buck>.

477 See *Five Reminders That The Death Penalty Is Still Racist*, FAIR PUNISHMENT PROJECT, <http://fairpunishment.org/five-reminders-that-the-death-penalty-is-still-racist/> (last visited Aug. 3, 2016).

478 See *id.*

479 See Harris County Direct Appeals Spreadsheet 2006-2015, *supra* note 440.

quarter of the cases (26 percent) involved a defendant under age 21, including three cases where the defendant was only 18 years old at the time of the offense.⁴⁸⁰ Forty-five percent involved defendants age 25 and under.⁴⁸¹ Another quarter of the cases involved a defendant with an intellectual disability, brain damage, or severe mental illness.⁴⁸² As mentioned above, one of Jerome Godinich's clients had a history of psychiatric hospitalization,⁴⁸³ and one of Gerald Bourque's clients suffered from schizophrenia.⁴⁸⁴

INNOCENCE

Harris County has had three death row exonerations.⁴⁸⁵ In 2014, the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals reversed Alfred Dewayne Brown's conviction and death sentence because prosecutors withheld evidence that could have helped him confirm his alibi.⁴⁸⁶ In 2015, District Attorney Devon Anderson acknowledged that the state did not have enough evidence to convict Mr. Brown and that Harris County would not retry him.⁴⁸⁷



Alfred Dewayne Brown

CONCLUSION

Across the country, the death penalty is on life support. Yet, a few isolated counties continue to hold on, imposing death sentences with some regularity. Part I of this report took an in-depth look into how the death penalty operates in practice in half of these 16 outlier counties. We chose at least one county from each of the seven states that contains an active death-sentencing jurisdiction, and included two counties from California, since five of the 16 outlier counties are from Southern California.

⁴⁸⁰ See *id.*

⁴⁸¹ See *id.*

⁴⁸² See *id.*

⁴⁸³ See *id.*

⁴⁸⁴ See Harris County Defense Times, *supra* note 461; see also *Martinez v. State*, 327 S.W.3d 727, 731 (Tx. Crim. Ct. App. 2010).

⁴⁸⁵ The three exonerees are Ricardo Aldape Guerra, Vernon McManus, and Alfred Dewayne Brown. See *Innocence Database*, *supra* note 95.

⁴⁸⁶ See Brian Rogers, *Man Sent to Death Row*, *supra* note 450.

⁴⁸⁷ See *id.*

One of the most striking findings is the frequency and seriousness of the mitigation evidence we found in the cases that we reviewed. If it is inappropriate to inflict the death penalty on juveniles and persons with intellectual disabilities due to their insufficient moral culpability, then death sentences for people with similar or even greater levels of impairment should be exceedingly rare. They are not. Across the eight counties, we reviewed direct appeals opinions handed down between 2006 and 2015, and found that 18 percent of cases involved a person under the age of 21, and 44 percent involved someone who had an intellectual disability, brain damage, or severe mental illness. This is significant given that the latest neuroscience research indicates that the portions of the brain responsible for judgment and impulse control aren't fully developed until individuals reach their mid-20s. We also discovered that the overall percentage of cases with significant mitigation evidence ranged from 41 percent of cases in Clark County to 71 percent of cases in Caddo Parish. The average across the eight counties is 60 percent.

We also found a pattern of prosecutorial over-aggression; and in several of the counties, persistent misconduct. In Maricopa and Clark counties, for example, courts found some form of misconduct in 21 percent and 47 percent of cases respectively. The average across all eight counties was 15 percent, or around one out of every seven cases. A number of the counties reflected an extreme concentration of death sentences in the hands of a few prosecutors. In Mobile, for example, two prosecutors have tried 11 of the past 12 cases resulting in death sentences. Along with these high numbers of sentences comes an aggressive style of prosecution, one that might not be suitable for making life and death decisions, and the appearance of a personality driven death penalty.

We also discovered a troubling number of exonerations from these eight counties. Five of the eight counties had at least one person exonerated from death row. Harris County has had three death row exonerations, and Maricopa has had five. Outside of the death penalty context, some of these counties have had numerous exonerations in serious felony cases. Kern County alone has had 24 wrongful convictions in serious felony cases since 1989.⁴⁸⁸ The pattern of non-capital exonerations is important because it shows inaccurate outcomes from the same offices, and often the same set of felony prosecutors, that try death penalty cases. This is especially important in states like California, where death penalty review can take several decades and the state Supreme Court has a particularly high affirmance rate in capital cases.⁴⁸⁹

488 See Nat'l Reg. of Exonerations, U. of Mich. Sch. of L., http://www.law.umich.edu/special/exoneration/Pages/browse.aspx?View=%7BB8342AE7-6520-4A32-8A06-4B326208BAF8%7D&FilterField1=State&FilterValue1=California&FilterField2=County&FilterValue2=8_Kern (filtered for Kern County).

489 See Mintz, *supra* note 292.

We found a mirror image of the overzealous prosecutor problem in the inadequate defense lawyering on display across these counties. In most of the counties we reviewed, the average mitigation presentation at the penalty phase of the trial lasted approximately one day. In Duval County, Florida, the entire penalty phase of the trial and the jury verdict often came in the same day. Length of the proceedings itself is not always an indicator of quality, and courts have found ineffectiveness claims in penalty phase proceedings that lasted weeks, but a single day's worth of mitigation evidence is almost always a sign of subpar lawyering. Not surprisingly, then, when we dug beneath the surface of these cases, we frequently found the same defense lawyers repeatedly represented clients who ended up on death row. The quality of defense lawyers ranged from moderately deficient to extremely detrimental in some of the cases with the most egregious lawyering.

Finally, a definitive pattern of persistent racial bias and exclusion emerged from these counties. In looking at the death sentences between 2010 and 2015 for the eight counties, we found just three white defendants sentenced to death for killing Black victims. One of those cases was from Riverside, and in that case the defendant was also convicted of killing two additional white victims. The two other cases were from Duval. In contrast, in Mobile County 67 percent of the Black defendants sentenced to death were convicted of killing white victims. In Clark, 67 percent of victims were white in cases involving a Black defendant. Out of all of the death sentences obtained in these counties, 41 percent were given to African-American defendants, and 69 percent were given to people of color. In Duval, 87 percent of defendants were Black. Moreover, we saw the continued exclusion of Black jurors from capital trials, meaning that these citizens tend to be excluded from the most important life or death decision that a state asks its citizens to make. Finally, in several counties, we noted historical biases and racism that still lingers.

Our findings, taken together, suggest that the small handful of counties that are still using the death penalty are plagued by persistent problems of overzealous prosecutors, ineffective defense lawyers, and racial bias, resulting in the conviction of innocent people and the excessively harsh punishment of people with significant impairments that are on par with, or even worse than, the categorical exclusions that the Court has said should exempt individuals from execution due to lessened culpability.

In Part II of this report, we will similarly examine the record of the remaining eight outlier counties, which include: Dallas (TX), Jefferson (AL), Pinellas (FL), Miami-Dade (FL), Hillsborough (FL), Los Angeles (CA), San Bernardino (CA), and Orange (CA).

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ABOUT THE FAIR PUNISHMENT PROJECT:

The Fair Punishment Project uses legal research and educational initiatives to ensure that the U.S. justice system is fair and accountable. As a joint initiative of Harvard Law School's Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race & Justice and its Criminal Justice Institute, we work to highlight the gross injustices resulting from prosecutorial misconduct, ineffective defense lawyers, and racial bias, and to illuminate the laws that result in excessive punishment. For more information visit: www.fairpunishment.org.