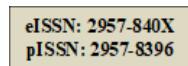


The Perception about Effectiveness of Capital Punishment as A Determining Factor in Punjab

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.36755/khaldunia.v3i1.76>



¹ Dr. Falak Sher, ²Mudasar Ali Nadeem, ³Dr. Muhammad Umar Zafar

¹ Assistant Professor Sociology, Government College University Faisalabad

^{2,3} Lecturer Sociology, Government College University Faisalabad Chiniot Campus

Email: mumarzafar@gcuf.edu.pk

ABSTRACT

Public perception about capital punishment in Pakistan has changed in the last few years. This perception is determined by numerous factors i.e., awareness about crimes and punishment. Capital punishment is very dangerous form of punishment which is used to control the serious crimes and consider as deterrence for the potential criminals. The risk of innocent execution and flaws in the police investigation system were also reason to oppose the capital punishment. It is quantitative cross-sectional study. According to Pakistan Crimes Statistics, crime rate is increasing day by day. Existing Literature on crime occurrence in Pakistan shows that crime rate is increasing rapidly due to poverty, urbanization, inflation and economic inequality among every field of life. The present research is quantitative in its nature. It is conducted in five district bar associations of Punjab Province. A sample of six hundred lawyers is randomly selected data is collected through self-administered questioner and statistically analyzed. The results of descriptive and inferential analysis shows that majority of the respondents supported capital punishment on account of many reasons while many other respondents opposed it on some other grounds. Multivariate analysis results pointed out a strong relationship between severity punishments and less cases of homicide. However, there was no relationship between the awareness of capital punishment and perceived effectiveness of capital punishment. There was an inverse relationship between reasons to oppose capital punishment and perceived effectiveness of capital punishment. The multi regression analysis revealed a strong association of awareness about punishment, crimes against person, crime against state and reasons to support capital punishment with effectiveness of capital punishment.

KEYWORDS

Death Penalty, Capital Punishment, Deterrence, Effectiveness, Crime

Introduction

Crime is originated from human being because the criminal instinct that is in human nature (Quinones, 2014). Criminals always destroy the society and damage to human life. (Burnett, 2017). Every Country is trying to overcome criminal activities through different strategies of punishment and introducing new methods of punishment. (Wessel, 2017). Every society and state try to control the criminal offences by using reward and punishment system. Capital punishment is an extreme form of punishment used to control the heinous crimes and consider as deterrence for the potential criminals (Ginneken, & Hayes, 2016). Currently, in United States the renowned argument about the supreme-court itself legally delay to capital punishment. At this time, different states are seriously thinking about the policies of death penalty (Beccaria, 1764; Stephen, 1864). The punishment system is used to control crime and frighten to criminals (Robinson & Carlsmith, Darley). In normal crime cases, achieved very positive result through terror to use the punishment (Rupp & Hemann, Entorf, Dolling, 2009). The objective of threat of punishment is to stable human life and improve public safety (Pridemore & Lynch, 2011). Those crimes which are punishable by the death are known as capital crimes or capital offences, but there is difficult to agree on those crimes which deserve the death as punishment (Savitz, 1955; Vold, 1952). For example, there are different laws and article on capital-punishment. Proponents discussed that such laws prevent murders due to potential criminals fear such strong punishment. Supporters discussed that laws secure to murders because the fear of punishment can stop the criminal to do commit crimes. Opponents discussed that deterrence do not proper work from criminal and offenders. Those who did no support they suggest that punishment does no work. The researches by psychologists and criminologist asserted that the capital punishment has no deterrent effect (Dezhbakhsh & Shepherd, 2006). Prior researches on deterrence cannot show the authentic data on significant effects of capital-punishment (Zimmermann, 2004). Some researches depict that there are significant effects of capital-punishment (Mocan & Gittings 2003, Rubin & Shepherd, 2003, Hood, 2001).

Every state devises a mechanism and erects rules and laws to control criminal tendencies and whoever found guilty of breaking such laws is punished. These sanctions are proportionate to the nature of violations that restore the status of victim (Waltermaurer & Akers, 2014). In ordinary crime case, particularly in the offences related to administrative decisions and against the violation of social norms very positive results can be achieved through the use and threat to use punishment (Dolling, Entorf, Hermann & Rupp, 2009). Punishment is an integral part of the system devised to control the crimes. The main objective behind sentencing is the reduction of crimes and public protection.

Additionally, it is significant for the rehabilitation of criminals, to create deterrence in the mind of potential criminals and to address the grievances of victims (Ginneken, & Hayes, 2016).

Undoubtedly, capital punishment is being considered as hot issue under the discussion, mostly in European nations where it is banned officially. Death penalty is not only criticized by leading criminologist, scholars from discipline of criminal justice system but also under attack by the educationalist from other related disciplines (Robinson, 2009).

Objective of the Study

The main objective of research is to describe the effectiveness of deterrent of capital punishment. Although there are many researches on the capital punishment and effect of deterrence but still there is a gap in literature.

Literature Review

Literature on the capital punishment is many critically analyzed. Study of Issac Ehrlich (1975,1977) academic debate on rational choice which describe the murder is a rational action by that cost and benefit of violent behavior by criminal. Particularly, a study using a model of rationality evaluate that respondent responded to the law enforcement action. Ehrlich's concluded in study that individual's rational way of thinking to the death penalty as a punishment was reduced to commit murder. A study by Becker's (2006) explains economic framework of crime have regression analysis to measuring variables of death penalty. Another study of Ehrlich (1975) explains the murders commit as the result of violent crimes or individual's interpersonal conflicts relating to property.

Chan and Oxley (2004) asserted that the capitals punishment is not affected to homicide. Liebmann *et al.* (1999), explained that some people support to the capital-punishment for some crime but death punishment to innocents can minimize their support. Goertzel & Goertzel (2008) criticize to prior research that normally evidences for criminal activities not found because of murders are committed by passion, when a person feels extremely emotions. Therefore, the threat of capital-punishment could not deter such criminals.

Capital Punishment and Deterrence

Robinson, (2009) explained that capital punishment is most important issue in Europe where it is officially banned. The philosophers, not only critique on death penalty but scholars and prominent criminologist but also by the educationist from other related disciplines. Most research on deterrence resulted that the death penalty has the same effect on murder rates, in mid-1970 a study of Isaac Ehrlich uncovered a significant deterrent effect. The argument in literature on deterrence crime started with the work of Ehrlich's seminal (1975, 1977) used regression analysis to explain the deterrence effect of capital

punishment.

While there are many researches used Ehrlich's data in his study and sampling techniques, and they have found different results by using different research methods. For instance, different researches by Cloninger (1977) Yunker (1976), Ehrlich and Liu (1999), and Ehrlich and Gibbons (1977) have founded a deterrent effect on punishment of death. Contrary Pierce (19750), Weiler (1980) and Taylor (1977) detect there is no effect of deterrence while used similar research. Grann, 2009 explain the print and electronic media show the news stories and sensitive news describe that innocent people are also affected by the defective criminal justice system. Gillani, Rehman& Gill, 2009, explained that mentioned above all factors, social structure and function of criminal justice system of Britain are flagrantly and essential factor for the crimes. In others countries, police and other law enforcement agencies maintain check and balance of criminal activities, but in Pakistan the situation is different because the poor condition of controlling criminal offenders. In Pakistan, corruption is most common in every department and political pressure and the corrupted *thana* culture are the main factor of high crime rate. Furthermore, media has also provoked the situation by showing hypocrisy and exaggerate the reality Ehrlich's seminal (1975, 1977). Consequently, it encourages to young people towards criminal offences. The retributive justification of an eye and a life for a life is irrational because our morality has ever endorsed to rape who had raped someone and to torture who had tortured other. It has no justification that we educate the society that killing is immoral by killing (Hawkin *et al.*, 2000). This tradition of killing for killing will fade away the respect and dignity of human life. It is also a tragic scene; if an innocent is executed then we could do nothing because execution is irrevocable (Keys, Mallets, Rosenthal, 2005).

Furthermore, there are so many factors such as parents of offenders are also involved in crimes, parent support to criminals or too rigid behavior of parents with their children (Hawkin *et al.*, 2000), family contradictions (Keys, Mallets, Rosenthal, 2005), communication gap between parent and child and neglect of children, these all factors promote to criminal offences. (Ali, 2008; Nadeem, 2002; Jalil, & Iqbal, 2010).

Lowenstein, 2016, describe the situation of Pakistan during the attack on APS in 2104, that Pakistan lifted long moratorium based on execute the terrorist attack on the APS (Army Public School) Peshawar. Approximately 400 people executed right to highest level. Hubbard, 2007 describe the situation of Pakistan when it free in 1947, the death penalty as punishment recommended only for two crimes, while now days there is a list of about 27 special crimes which are awarded by death penalty such as murder, destroying cloth of a woman publicly, blasphemy, and destroy the railway system etc. By the law of

Sharia Qisas (retaliation), a murderer could be hanged (retaliated) by the beneficiaries of the offenders if they want. Retaliation is other type of punishment which is reveling in the sacred Book of Muslims (Quran) that Muslims are believes on this holy book. Qisas is the type of punishment The Holy Quran states that “O you who believe! Retaliation (Qisas) is must for you in the case of murder, the free for the free, the slave for the slave, and the female for the female. But whoever overlooks from his brother anything, and then there should be a suitable follow-up and payment to him with good conduct. This is alleviation from your lord and a mercy. But whoever transgresses after that has painful punishment”. It continues “and in *Qisas* (law of retaliation) there is a life for you” (Quran, Surah al Baqarah verse no.178).

Methodology

Methodology is the procedure and technique where research methods were designed and apply. Methodology includes study area, research design, targeted populations, sampling method and sample size. Further, it includes process of data collection, analyzation and conclusion.

Research Design

This is cross-sectional research; using quantitative research method. A survey directly involves to collecting information from respondents through self-structured questionnaire.

Target Population

Target population was consisted on lawyers. The lawyers are practicing in district courts.

Sampling

In this research, multistage sampling technique is used to select the sample size. In this technique, there are different stages for data collection. In first step, researcher selected the five administrative divisions due to reported highest crimes. The divisions included Faisalabad, Lahore, Multan, Bahawalpur and Gujranwala. In second step, five main districts include Lahore, Bahawalpur, Faisalabad, Multan and Gujranwala were selected from prior selected divisions of the province of Punjab. In third step, a selected sample of six hundred respondents were selected through simple random sampling technique from district bar associations of selected districts. The sample size is 600 lawyers who are practicing in respected courts of Punjab.

The Sample size of every district is below:

S. No	District	Sample selected
1	Lahore	63.9 % (384)

2	Faisalabad	11.5%	(69)
3	Multan	10.5%	(63)
4	Gujranwala	09.02%	(54)
5	Bahawalpur	04.91%	(30)
Total		600	

Statistical Analysis

In this study the data were analyzed through SPSS version 21. Uni-variate, bi-variate and multi-variate statistical test were used for data analysis. Analyze by Univariate was used for inferences. Bi-variates and regression analysis was used to identify associations between dependent and independent variables.

Results and Discussion

Ehrlich (2008) asserted that there is a myth associated with the effectiveness of capital-punishment. Many theoretical researches explore the preventive effect of capital-punishment (Liu, Z, 2004).

Multi Linear Regression Analysis:

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficients		standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	-.167	1.083		-.154	.877
Awareness about Occurrence of the crime	.097	.068	.044	1.418	.157
Awareness about perceived causes of crime	.014	.035	.012	.393	.695
Awareness about Punishment	.287	.047	.195***	6.052	.000
Awareness about capital punishment.	.006	.070	.003	.092	.927

Crimes against person (capital punishment awarding crimes)	-.152	.036	-.185***	-4.228	.000
Crimes against state (capital punishment awarding crimes)	.124	.027	.203***	4.635	.000
Reasons to support CP	.513	.028	.597***	18.410	.000
Reasons to oppose CP	-.010	0.20	-.016	-.499	.618

A: Dependent variable: Effectiveness of capital punishment.

B: ***= $p < .001$

The summary of results shows that approximately 48% of the variance is effectiveness of capital punishment listed under the independent variables. The value of F suggested the association of

Table 1: Capital Punishment:

Sr. No.	Description	To great Extent		To Some Extent		Not At All	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
1	Capital punishment has a proven deterrent effect on the murder rate	421	70.2	151	25.2	28	4.7
2	Capital punishment may be effective in some exceptional cases	388	64.7	184	30.7	28	4.7
3	Capital Punishment is more effective than life imprisonment	348	58.0	184	30.7	68	11.3
4	Capital Punishment is effective because it finishes the criminal ultimately	345	57.5	197	32.8	58	9.7
5	Capital Punishment is most effective tool to maintain law and order in society	370	61.7	184	30.7	46	5.7
6	Severe penalties are effective to stop criminals from committing crimes	440	73.3	130	21.7	30	5.0
7	Capital punishment is effective to deter the potential criminal	399	66.5	168	28.0	33	5.5

8	Capital punishment is effective to curb the criminal intent	377	62.8	175	29.2	48	8.0
9	Executions of criminals aired on the TV will be an effective deterrent for offenders	305	50.8	185	30.8	110	18.3
10	Mere existence of capital punishment without execution has deterrence effect	213	35.5	200	33.3	187	31.2
11	Death sentences have deterrent effects on potential criminals	233	38.8	209	34.8	158	26.4

Data in table No.01 depicted that maximum (70%) of respondents are agreed that the capital-punishments have effects on murder-rate. Previous study revealed that capital-punishments have proved that there is significant effect on murder rate (Dezhbakhsh, Rubin, and Shepherd, 2003). A study concluded that results of major studies challenge the value of capital-punishment (Berk, R 2005). Conclusion of other researches explore the rate of murderer is decreased due to death penalty in some societies while the majority of research found that capital-punishment did not affect on murderer (Fagan, 2006, Donohue and Wilfers, 2009).

The above table shows the results that the (64.7%) respondents approved that the capital-punishment somehow effected in some cases and approximately (30.7%) of the respondents are remains neutral that capital-punishment is effective in some cases. In contrast some prior studies resulted that the effective of capital punishment working against the humanity (Schabas, 2002).

Above table exposed that the maximum respondents (58%) are support that the capital-punishment is effective due to it vanished the criminals and only (30.7%) respondents show neutral and only (9.7%) respondents are disagreeing that capital-punishment is most effective because it finishes the criminals. Table no.1 depicted that majority (61.7%) respondents are supported to capital-punishment is effective to control criminal activities and maintain discipline and too small number of respondents (30.7%) remained neutral. Maximum respondents (73.3%) are agreed that some punishments are effective to control criminal activities and only (21.7 %) of respondents remained neutral. Only (5.0%) respondents disagree that some penalties are effective to control criminal activities. Prior literature depicted that criminal who are doing street crimes are not likely prevented by the death penalty (Levitt and Miles, 2007).

The above table explains that maximum respondents (66%) are agreed that punishment of capital is fruitful to prevent the criminal activities and only (34.0%) the

respondents are neutral. Above data showed that a maximum (62%) of respondents is support to the capital-punishment that it is most active to control the criminal urge and only (29%) respondents are neutral. A small size of the respondents (9.0%) was not agreed that capital-punishment is fruitful to control criminal intent. The analyzed data show the approximately (50.8%) of the respondents are agreed that the only (18%) of the respondents disagreed that the death penalty of criminal display on TV a mass media can effectual deterrent for criminals. Conquer (2002), explain that publicly execution mostly used in primitive societies to create terror for other potential criminals from expected crimes. Conquer (2002) asserted that the district of New Orleans supported the death penalty televising due to increase terror in common people. Data in above table depicted that only (35%) of the respondents are agreed than (30%) respondents did not agree on the statement that capital-punishment has deterrence effect and remaining (33.3%) respondents are neutral.

Above table shows that the majority (38.8%) respondent are supported to the statement that death penalty has deterrent effects on expected criminals and only (26.3%) of the respondents did not support to the deterrent effect and remaining (34.8%) respondents have neutral. Existing literatures recognized that capital-punishment has deterrent effects on offenders (Shepherd, 2004).

Relationship between Awareness about Capital Punishment (Predictor variable) and Effectiveness of Capital Punishment (Response variable)

	B	SEB	B
Constant	12.126	.828	
Awareness about capital Punishment	.110	.093	.049
Adjusted R ² =0.002		Test of the full model: F=1.421, p=0.234	

Note: * p=0.000

Understanding about the punishment of capital used as predictor variable and effectiveness of capital-punishment as responsive variable apply in the regression analysis. The regression analysis applies to check the awareness about the punishment of capital and the effectiveness of capital-punishment. This research shows the consequences R²=0.002 declared that only 0.2% is the variance about effects of capital-punishments. The values of regression analysis proved non- significant because the value of Adjusted R = 0.002 and the value of F = 1.42 while the value of p=0.23. The relationship between two dependent and independent variables was accepts the null hypothesis, it means that there

is nothing significant relationship between the independent variable realization about the capital-punishment and dependent variable effectiveness of capital-punishment.

In regression analysis, constant realization of the capital-punishment has 0 values and predicted value of effectiveness of capital-punishment is 3.5. In coefficient values, if we increase one unit of awareness about the capital-punishment, parallel the predicted value of capital-punishment also increased approximately 0.37 units. In regression analysis the coefficient value of β is 0.17 it is revealed that standard deviation can change the value of independent variable awareness about the capital-punishment is related approximately 16% of a standard deviation in dependent variable effectiveness of death execution.

In addition, the reason to oppose capital punishment ($b=-.016$) is non-significant ($p=0.618$), and the standardized coefficient is negative. The value of P indicates no relationship between independent and dependent variable. While the value of standard deviation (.020) suggest that population is close to the line. The value of constant means that is the “**reasons to oppose**” is equal to 0, then the expected or predicted value for effectiveness of capital punishment as deterrence score is -.010.

Discussion

The results of this study are discussed with the reference to literature. The perception of deterrence capital-punishment is discussed in previous study. Results of the T test show that there are no significant relationships between the perception about the rural respondents and urban respondents about effectiveness of judicial murder. Another argument is frequently put to justify capital punishment is that, it protects the society by incapacitating violent criminals and preventing further offenses. Prior researches conducted on residents of Saskatchewan by randomly selected, the respondents were above 18 years, the contrary results showed that those who lives in rural areas support to the capital punishment. The results of this research displayed that there was linked between the insight about the capital-punishment against criminals and the effectual of capital punishment which value of $\beta=0.13$ while $p=0.000$. The β value indicated that there was a significant positive relationship between the insight about the capital punishment against criminals and perceived effectiveness of capital punishment.

Conclusion

This research concluded that capital punishments are most active deterrence against the crime with the previous studies. The consequences of this study showed that level of awareness and wisdom about the causes of crime and criminals exceed to higher perception of effectiveness of the capital-punishment. Therefore, study concluded that there has been a special arrangement for awareness among individuals. The conclusion of this research instructed that there is no relationship between the responsiveness of judicial

execution and the vision about the effectiveness of the punishment of murder. So, the levels of awareness of judicial execution and perceived effectiveness of punishment of murder are to be separately distributed for making any discouragement policies to control crimes and offenders in our society. Some of the methodological limitations were related to the sample size, lack of availability of data or lack of prior research on the topic. Due to the limited time and resources constraints researcher was unable to study other concerned stakeholders and left for further research to focus on.

References

1. Ali, M. (2008). Youth Crime: Causes and Remedies. Beccaria, C. (2009). *On crimes and punishments and other writings*. University of Toronto Press.
2. Becker, G. S. (2006). Crime and punishment: an economic approach. *Economic Analysis of the Law: Selected Readings*, 255-265.
3. Berk, R. (2005). New claims about executions and general deterrence: Déjà Vu all over again? *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 2(2), 303-330.
4. Burnett, J. (2017). Racial violence and the Brexit state. *Race & Class*, 58(4), 85-97.
5. Carlsmith, K. M. (2006). The roles of retribution and utility in determining punishment. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 42(4), 437-451.
6. Carlsmith, K. M., Darley, J. M., & Robinson, P. H. (2002). Why do we punish? Deterrence and just deserts as motives for punishment. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 83(2), 284.
7. Dao, J. (1995) "Pataki and Legislators Agree on a Plan for Death Penalty" The New York Times. February 16, 1995.
8. Dezhbakhsh, H., & Shepherd, J. M. (2006). The deterrent effect of capital punishment: Evidence from a "judicial experiment". *Economic Inquiry*, 44(3), 512-535.
9. Dezhbakhsh, H., Rubin, P. H., & Shepherd, J. M. (2003). Does capital punishment have a deterrent effect? New evidence from postmoratorium panel data. *American Law and Economics Review*, 5(2), 344-376.
10. Dölling, D., Entorf, H., Hermann, D., & Rupp, T. (2009). Is deterrence effective? Results of a meta-analysis of punishment. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 15(1-2), 201-224.
11. Durlauf, S. N., Fu, C., & Navarro, S. (2013). Capital punishment and deterrence: understanding disparate results. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 29(1), 103-121.
12. Ehrlich, I. "Deterrence: evidence and inference." *Yale. LJ* 85 (1975): 209.

13. Ehrlich, I. (1977). Capital punishment and deterrence: Some further thoughts and additional evidence. *Journal of Political Economy*, 85(4), 741-788.
14. Ehrlich, I. (1975). The deterrent effect of capital punishment: a question of life and death. *American Economic Review* 65, 397-417.
15. Ehrlich, I. (2006). The Deterrent Effect of Capital Punishment: A Question of Life and Death.
16. Ehrlich, I. (2008). The deterrent effect of capital punishment. In *Economics, Law and Individual Rights* (pp. 370-397). Routledge.
17. Gillani, S. Y. M., Rehman, H. U., & Gill, A. R. (2009). Unemployment, poverty, inflation and crime nexus: cointegration and causality analysis of Pakistan. *Pakistan Economic and Social Review*, 79-98.
18. Goertzel, T., & Goertzel, B. (2008). Capital punishment and homicide rates: sociological realities and econometric distortions. *Critical Sociology*, 34(2), 239-254.
19. Habbard, A. (2007). Slow March to the Gallows Death penalty in Pakistan: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. Retrieved on 15 June 2017 from: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/46f1469f0.html>.
20. Hawkins, J. D., Herrenkohl, T. I., Farrington, D. P., Brewer, D., Catalano, R. F., Harachi, T. W., & Cothorn, L. (2000). Predictors of Youth Violence. *Juvenile Justice Bulletin*.
21. Hood, R. (2001). Capital punishment: A global perspective. *Punishment & Society*, 3(3), 331-354.
22. Jalil, H. H., & Iqbal, M. M. (2010). Urbanisation and crime: A case study of Pakistan. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 741-755.
23. Kovandzic, T. V., Vieraitis, L. M., & Boots, D. P. (2009). Does the death penalty save lives? *Criminology & Public Policy*, 8(4), 803-843.
24. Levitt, S. D., & Miles, T. J. (2007). Empirical study of criminal punishment. *Handbook of law and economics*, 1, 455-495.
25. Leocadio, P. (2010). Evaluating the Deterrent Effect of Capital Punishment on Crime.
26. Liebman, J. S., Fagan, J., West, V., & Lloyd, J. (1999). Capital attrition: error rates in capital cases, 1973-1995. *Tex. L. Rev.*, 78, 1839.
27. Liu, Z. (2004). Capital punishment and the deterrence hypothesis: Some new insights and empirical evidence. *Eastern Economic Journal*, 30(2), 237-258.
28. Lowenstein, A. K. (2016). A “most serious crime”: Pakistan’s unlawful use of the death penalty.

29. Lynch, J. P., & Pridemore, W. A. (2011). Crime in international perspective. *Crime and public policy*, 5-52.
30. Mallett, S., Rosenthal, D., & Keys, D. (2005). Young people, drug use and family conflict: Pathways into homelessness. *Journal of adolescence*, 28(2), 185-199.
31. Mc Gann, A., & Sandholtz, W. (2012). Patterns of Death Penalty Abolition, 1960–2005: Domestic and International Factors¹. *International Studies Quarterly*, 56(2), 275-289.
32. Mocan, H. N., & Gittings, R. K. (2003). Getting off death row: Commuted sentences and the deterrent effect of capital punishment. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 46(2), 453-478.
33. Nadeem, A. H. (2002). Pakistan: The political economy of lawlessness. *OUP Catalogue*.
34. Pierce, G. L., & Radelet, M. L. (2010). Death Sentencing in East Baton Rouge Parish, 1990-2008. *La. L. Rev.*, 71, 647.
35. Quinones, R. J. (2014). *The Changes of Cain: Violence and the Lost Brother in Cain and Abel Literature*. Princeton University Press.
36. Radelet, M. L., & Akers, R. L. (1996). Deterrence and the death penalty: The views of the experts. *J. Crim. L. & Criminology*, 87, 1.
37. Robinson, M. (2009a). *Justice Blind? Ideals and Realities of American Criminal Justice* (3rd)
38. Savitz, L. D. (1955). Capital crimes as defined in American statutory law. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 46(3), 355-363.
39. Schabas, William A (2002). *The abolition of the death penalty in international law*. Cambridge
40. Shepherd, J. M. (2004). Murders of passion, execution delays, and the deterrence of capital punishment. *The Journal of Legal Studies*, 33(2), 283-321.
41. Wessel, J. L. (2017). The importance of allies and allied organizations: Sexual orientation disclosure and concealment at work. *Journal of Social Issues*, 73(2), 240-254.
42. Zimmerman, P. R. (2004). State executions, deterrence, and the incidence of murder. *Journal of Applied Economics*, 7, 163-193.