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Some theories maintain that the hard treatment of punishment is justified through its role in communicating condemnation to the punished. I argue that these theories have difficulty accounting for cases in which the punished are not receptive to the message of their punishment. Theories that focus on the mere expression of condemnation, instead of its communication, avoid this difficulty. I suggest that the emotional aspect of condemnation might explain why we have reason to express condemnation through hard treatment, even when hard treatment will not successfully communicate condemnation to the punished.