

such as the origins and development of the welfare states in countries outside of the industrialized democracies.

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Elin Skaar, Camila Gianella Malca, and Trine Eide, *After Violence: Transitional Justice, Peace, and Democracy*. New York: Routledge, 2015. Figures, tables, index, 232 pp.; hardcover \$145, paperback \$54.

Transitional justice—the set of processes designed to respond to past human rights violations—is one of the most important policy developments of recent decades. Societies emerging from periods of political violence and authoritarian rule now actively engage their past with the lofty goals of achieving reconciliation, justice, peace, and democracy. The corresponding academic literature on transitional justice has increasingly turned to the question of impact or effectiveness. Scholars ask, does transitional justice work? Studies on this question to date, however, have produced competing claims about the impact of transitional justice mechanisms; the field is far from consensus.

In their new book, Elin Skaar, Camila Gianella Malca, and Trine Eide argue that these divergent findings on transitional justice's impact are primarily due to differences in case selection and methodological approach. While acknowledging that transitional justice is broadly conceptualized, the authors focus on four key mechanisms: trials, truth commissions, reparations, and amnesties. Likewise, while noting the myriad goals of these mechanisms, the authors focus on the two most prominent macrolevel outcomes discussed in the field: peace and democracy. Their review of the existing literature about the impact of these four mechanisms on these two outcomes illustrates a range of positive and negative claims, across qualitative and quantitative approaches.

In chapter 1, the authors demonstrate that qualitative studies rarely examine multiple transitional justice mechanisms across multiple cases. Most qualitative work is in the form of single-case studies that too often focus solely on one or two transitional justice mechanisms used in that case. The qualitative comparative work that does exist typically examines just one mechanism across several cases—even

though most countries employ multiple mechanisms. Quantitative studies, on the other hand, do examine multiple mechanisms across multiple cases, but have produced contradictory findings on impact, something the authors attribute to differences in their universes of cases and chosen dependent variables. Moreover, the authors argue that the field as a whole has identified the importance of context, timing, and sequencing in understanding the impact of transitional justice mechanisms, but has not yet found a way to systematically analyze those factors.

In attempting to overcome these limitations in the field, the authors argue for an intermediate approach between small- and large-*N* studies, and they lay out a new framework for structured comparative analysis. Their model, presented in detail in chapter 2, rests on four distinct steps. The first step involves analyzing the contextual parameters of each case. Here the authors do well to identify context at the national, regional, and global levels. Unique national histories, strong regional legal conventions, and the development of global human rights norms, among other factors, can dramatically shape the environment in which transitional justice mechanisms are implemented.

The second step focuses on the establishment of transitional justice mechanisms. Who launched these mechanisms and with what objectives, when were the mechanisms established in relation to the transition, and how were they sequenced? The third step focuses on the immediate outputs of transitional justice mechanisms, or understanding the degree of implementation. Were verdicts rendered in trials, were reparations actually awarded, did a truth commission complete its mandate and issue a final report?

The fourth step aims to assess the impact of transitional justice mechanisms on peace and democracy. Here the authors argue for a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches, using primary and secondary sources to assess the state of democratic institutions and norms and the presence of factors such as structural violence, and then supplementing these findings with data on peace and democracy from reputable and widely used datasets.

To demonstrate the new framework and its utility to the field, the next four chapters apply it systematically to four cases: Uruguay, Peru, Rwanda, and Angola. These cases were chosen because they vary considerably in their context, being drawn from two world regions and different transitional settings (postauthoritarian, postconflict, and mixed); the types of transitional justice mechanisms used; and the degree of peace and security attained. The chapters all follow the same structure, which matches up with the four steps outlined in chapter 2, significantly helping the reader see clearly how the framework is applied.

Yet the cases are largely descriptive and inconclusive. Readers will find detailed histories and analyses of each case that highlight a range of unique factors that influence transitional justice and its effects. The authors show that context matters in each case, for example, but the factors related to that context vary considerably across the cases. Likewise, the chapters trace the intricate process of how transitional justice mechanisms were established and implemented; however, the process looks very different in each country, limiting the reader's ability to draw any larger con-

clusions. Each chapter ends with a summary of the state of peace and democracy in each country today, but the relative importance of transitional justice mechanisms in getting there is not always apparent.

The bulk of the analysis in the volume comes in the conclusion, chapter 7. Here the authors attempt to draw out the findings from the case chapters collectively to reflect on the impact of the four key mechanisms on the two main outcomes, as outlined in chapter 2. Overall, the authors find a positive impact for trials on peace and democracy, drawn primarily from evidence from the cases of Uruguay and Peru. Similarly, those two cases provide support for the positive impact of truth commissions on peace and democracy, though with the caveat that any issues not addressed by a commission are likely to persist. The impact of reparations is more complicated. The authors find both positive and negative effects on both peace and democracy. Here the arguments are specific: reparations have a negative impact on the rule of law if they are conditioned on victims' forgoing justice, as occurred in Uruguay, for example. The findings regarding amnesties follow the same pattern, with evidence for and against them even within the same cases (Uruguay and Angola).

It is not a surprise that the overall findings on transitional justice's impact are mixed, given that they are drawn from qualitative analysis of just four disparate cases. More case studies would have to be conducted in the same framework to begin to be able to detect any meaningful patterns and derive clear relationships. In addition, the focus on context and timing is valuable, but the authors do not present any strong conclusions about what specific aspects of these factors matter for transitional justice's impact. Just three pages are devoted to this discussion in the conclusion, and it will be left up to future studies to explore these factors in the depth needed to draw larger conclusions about their role. It was also surprising that there was no discussion of the method of qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) in the book. Readers familiar with QCA will see strong similarities between that approach and the one outlined here, and will wonder what tradeoffs there are between the two.

On a final note, the authors conclude that "the degree and quality of peace and democracy are deeply rooted in historical developments and external influences in the postconflict situation" (183), and therefore quantitative measures are unable to effectively capture them. The reader may wonder why this discussion was not presented in chapter 2 as a justification for focusing only on qualitative measures throughout the volume, rather than presenting quantitative measures in each chapter that turn out to be relatively meaningless.

In the end, however, the book's primary purpose and, in turn, its main contribution is not empirical but theoretical and methodological. It does well to review and explain the existing divisions in the field. The focus on context, timing, and sequencing is articulated in more depth here than elsewhere, and it will aid the field in engaging these issues in future work. The new framework for structured comparative analysis is presented effectively and demonstrated to be useful in analyzing cases, and other scholars will certainly take up this approach.

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