according to Varese, is much like that of New York City during Tammany Hall's reign.

Mafias are fundamentally local operations, and only under the special conditions analyzed in this book—including the involuntary displacement of ringleaders, the absence of local rivals, new and booming markets, and the demand for mafia services—can they be transplanted successfully across territories and countries. In Mancur Olson's (1993) evocative phrase, mafias act like stationary bandits. Unlike roving bandits who merely plunder their victims, mafias provide key collective goods for individuals and groups engaged in illegal commerce, albeit at a stiff price.

This analysis has an implication that Varese is too canny to even hint at. To the degree that markets in drugs, gambling, and prostitution are legalized, this brings them into the state's remit and limits the demand for illicit sources of protection. Thus the surest means of curtailing organized crime on the one hand, and government corruption on the other, would be to adopt the kinds of reforms advocated by Milton Friedman (1962) and his followers. Of course, this solution has its own downsides.

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Life After Death Row: Exonerees' Search for Community and Identity, by **Saundra D. Westervelt** and **Kimberly J. Cook.** New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012. 280pp. $25.95 paper. ISBN: 9780813 553825.

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Life after Death Row: Exonerees' Search for Community and Identity, by Saundra D. Westervelt and Kimberly J. Cook, provides a compelling look into the lives of eighteen former death row inmates exonerated of a capital conviction. Westervelt and Cook use feminist qualitative methods to give voice to the wrongfully condemned who otherwise have been silenced and disempowered by the criminal justice system, and in many cases by the media and their communities. Using in-depth interviews and open coding methods the authors develop themes and analytical categories that focus on the experiences and needs of exonerees. The primary analytical framework used to flesh out these experiences is developed from literature on trauma survivors. Using this framework, the authors expose the myriad of difficulties exonerees face and how they manage these difficulties. The book is organized into four parts that cover a wide range of issues relating to basic needs and challenges upon release to specific policy recommendations regarding capital punishment and programs for the wrongfully convicted.

Part One focuses on methodology, research questions, and introduces the exonerees by providing a brief description of each case. The authors convincingly employ feminist methods which centralize issues of gender, race, and class in the collaboration of researcher and participant thereby generating a sense of equality in order to empower exonerees to tell their own story. The researchers thus provide an opportunity for the researched to have an authentic voice regarding a significant public issue while affirming the value of their lived experiences (pp. 15–16). The interview technique combines elements of life history and grounded theory while guided by a feminist framework

in which participants shape the direction of the interviews. The exonerees are from ten states and represent a fairly diverse range of circumstances including the amount of time spent on death row, length of time since their exoneration, and the reason for the exoneration. Slightly over half of the sample is minorities, including one female. Overall the sample is similar to what might be expected if a random sample was drawn from the current population of death row exonerees.

Part Two addresses the practical problems faced by the wrongfully convicted. Exonerees have little forewarning of their release and are provided with little to no assistance. We learn of immediate needs such as neglected health and dental concerns, as well as obtaining housing and employment. The exonerated face additional challenges of learning about technological changes that occurred while they were incarcerated, especially those who spent significant amounts of time on death row. Other practical challenges include addressing basic living skills that have to be relearned after having been institutionalized including socializing and intimacy, money management, sleeping, and even eating. The complex emotional needs of the exonerated are also made evident. The wrongfully convicted must negotiate grief over the loss of loved ones while they were imprisoned—rebuilding relationships while simultaneously grieving over lost time with loved ones. The loss of friends on death row and "survivors" guilt add to the emotional terrain of exonerees' anger and grief.

Part Three explores coping as an innocent on death row and post-exoneration. The trauma framework illuminates the strategies the wrongfully convicted utilize to rebuild their lives and reshape their identity. The authors identify two coping strategies commonly found among survivors of significant trauma: avoidance and incorporation approaches. In avoidance, exonerees seek to avoid situations that bring up the trauma or they will manage information about their past to avoid stigma. Alternatively, they may seek to find meaning in their situation by talking about their experience and potentially becoming a public advocate for change. Exonerees can experience both coping mechanisms. Many factors influence the experiences and coping styles of exonerees upon release. Community acceptance, including belief in their innocence, is crucial for their reintegration. Community acceptance is arguably related to a variety of other factors including media coverage, how the state responds to their error including whether an apology has been made, and whether the actual perpetrator is caught.

The final section addresses the policy implications of their research. Westervelt and Cook outline the social services needed by death row exonerees and practical models for implementation. The experiences of those exonerated of capital crimes can never be fully amended but proper mental health and medical services along with assistance in housing and employment can facilitate their integration back into the community. This section further elaborates on the issue of reparations for the wrongfully condemned. Not all states provide compensation and for those that do the process of claiming it can be extremely time consuming and costly. States that implement capital punishment must develop accessible compensation packages and provide a network of social services allowing the exonerated time to decompress and address their emotional and basic needs as they adjust to life after death row.

Quantitative scholars can gain much from this research. The authors successfully identify key themes throughout using inductive methods. Future research would do well to further explore factors related to causality. For example, what factors impact community acceptance? How do the media and public statements from criminal justice officials relate to how the community responds? Race is often a primary variable of interest in capital punishment studies and yet there is little exploration of it in this research. How does race relate to the amount and tone of media coverage, community acceptance, compensation, apologies, and needed social services? Is race related in a systematic way to the reason for the exoneration such as misconduct and suppressed evidence? Does race impact the ability to receive a pardon which is often necessary for compensation as well as to have their record expunged? The authors suggest that those more recently released have gained more community

acceptance and as exonerations become more common this should increase the credibility of their innocence further enhancing their reception into society. Future research may want to explore how variation in time spent on death row and the time period of exoneration impact their needs. Similarly, the factors that explain coping styles could be further explored. Finally, this research alludes to the impact that exoneration has on the family of the wrongfully condemned as well as the family of the victim. Future qualitative research is warranted to explore how wrongful conviction impacts these families and potentially their perspectives on capital punishment.

Westervelt and Cook weave together the voices of eighteen innocent people condemned to death who in the face of incredible emotional and practical challenges must navigate the process of reclaiming their lives and identity with little assistance and potentially hostile environments. Support from friends, family, and community emerge as a necessity. Social services and compensation are also a necessity. Public recognition of the failure of the criminal justice system, with an apology, can go far in helping exonerees negotiate release and impact their reception by the community. Since the writing of this book, four more death row inmates have been exonerated. This book is well written, timely, and essential reading for students of the criminal justice system. Scholars of both the death penalty and wrongful convictions will likely find this book to be a significant contribution to the field.