Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects  
Virginia Page Fortna 481

Runaway State Building: How Political Parties Shape States in Postcommunist Eastern Europe  
Conor O'Dwyer 520

Sub Rosa Resistance and the Politics of Economic Reform: Land Redistribution in Post-Soviet Ukraine  
Jessica Allina-Pisano 554

RESEARCH NOTE
Islam, Authoritarianism, and Female Empowerment: What Are the Linkages?  
Daniela Donno and Bruce Russett 582

REVIEW ARTICLE
Political Parties and the Study of Political Development: New Insights from the Postcommunist Democracies  
Marcus Kreuzer and Vello Pettai 608

Index to Volume 56 634

The Contributors ii

Abstracts iii

Referees 2003 v
THE CONTRIBUTORS

VIRGINIA PAGE FORTNA is an assistant professor of political science at Columbia University. Her research is on the duration of peace and war termination in both interstate and civil conflicts. She is the author of *Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace* (2004) and is currently working on a manuscript on peacekeeping in civil wars.

CONOR O'DWYER is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Florida. He is completing a book manuscript on state reform and patronage politics in new democracies, especially those in the postcommunist region.

JESSICA ALLINA-PISANO is an assistant professor of political science at Colgate University. She has published articles and book chapters on identity and rural political economy in the former Soviet Union. She is currently completing a book manuscript on the development of property rights to land in contemporary Russia and Ukraine.

DANIELA DONNO is a Ph.D. candidate in political science at Yale University, working on the role of international organizations in democratic transitions and consolidation.

BRUCE RUSSETT is a professor of political science and international relations at Yale University. He is coauthor, with John R. Oneal, of *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (2001). Much of his recently published work is on the long-term and indirect human costs of war.

MARCUS KREUZER is an associate professor of political science at Villanova University. His work focuses on how electoral and legislative institutions shape the organizational and electioneering practices of parties in interwar Europe and postcommunist democracies. He also is studying the origins of liberal democracy in nineteenth-century Europe. He is the author of *Institutions and Innovation—Voters, Parties, and Interest Groups in the Consolidation of Democracy—France and Germany, 1870–1939* (2001).

VELLO PETTAI is a lecturer in political science at the University of Tartu, Estonia. He specializes in comparative ethnopolitics and party politics. He has published previously in *Nations and Nationalism, Post-Soviet Affairs, East European Politics and Society*, and the *Journal of Democracy*.
A B S T R A C T S

INTERSTATE PEACEKEEPING
CAUSAL MECHANISMS AND EMPIRICAL EFFECTS
By VIRGINIA PAGE FORTNA

Peacekeeping is perhaps the international community’s most important tool for maintaining peace in the aftermath of war. Its practice has evolved significantly in the past ten or fifteen years as it has been used increasingly in civil wars. However, traditional peacekeeping between states is not well understood. Its operation is undertheorized and its effects undertested. This article explores the causal mechanisms through which peacekeepers keep peace and examines its empirical effects after interstate wars. To take the endogeneity of peacekeeping into account, it also examines where peacekeepers tend to be deployed. Duration analysis shows that, all else equal, peacekeeping significantly increases the chances that peace will last. Peacekeepers can help adversaries to maintain peace by making surprise attack more difficult, by reducing uncertainty about enemy intentions, and by preventing and controlling accidents and incidents that can spiral back to war.

RUNAWAY STATE BUILDING
HOW POLITICAL PARTIES SHAPE STATES IN POSTCOMMUNIST EASTERN EUROPE
By CONOR O’DWYER

Why has the rate of expansion of postcommunist state administrations varied so widely among countries that are at comparable stages of economic transition, have similar formal institutions, and have been equally exposed to the dynamics of EU integration? Based on a close comparison of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, the author argues that the critical factor in postcommunist state building is the robustness of party competition. The legacy of communism creates strong pressures for patronage politics, which swells the administration, but it is party competition that determines whether the predisposition to patronage politics in fact becomes the practice of patronage politics. The number of state administrative personnel has expanded significantly more in countries where party system development has stalled, and party competition has failed to constrain the party(ies) of government.

SUB ROSA RESISTANCE AND THE POLITICS OF ECONOMIC REFORM
LAND REDISTRIBUTION IN POST-SOVIET UKRAINE
By JESSICA ALLINA-PISANO

This article examines obstacles to economic reform in Ukraine’s transition to a market-based economy. Existing explanations for failures of reform in postcommunist states privilege societal actors, as in the case of Przeworski’s J-curve, or state actors acting in a private, rent-seeking capacity, as in Hellman’s partial reform equilibrium. Other explanations focus on weak state capacity. However, there is evidence to suggest that some groups of individuals who stall or halt market reforms may do so in their capacity as state actors. Their resistance to reform may be sub rosa: state actors may comply with formal institutional requirements of reform even as they seek to preserve the status quo. This tendency is evident in the privatization of land, the focus of this article. This article proposes an explanation for reform failures which suggests that some resistance to economic liberalization may derive from the efforts of state actors to protect the public good.

ISLAM, AUTHORITARIANISM, AND FEMALE EMPOWERMENT
WHAT ARE THE LINKAGES?
By DANIELA DONNO and BRUCE RUSSETT

In a path-breaking cross-national statistical analysis, M. Steven Fish contends that Islamic culture inhibits democracy and represses women’s rights and that authoritarian government and
suppression of women's rights in turn reinforce each other. The analysis in this article builds on Fish's work, but reaches somewhat different conclusions. First, both authoritarian government and suppression of women are more common in Arab countries than in other Islamic countries. Second, the authors find little global evidence that authoritarian government and the suppression of women reinforce each other. Finally, the relationship of cultures to democracy can change quite quickly and radically, as evidenced in many Catholic countries. The reasons for an association of Islam—especially in Arab countries—with autocracy and suppression of women may therefore be as much a consequence of political history as of culture.

**Political Parties and the Study of Political Development**

**New Insights from the Postcommunist Democracies**

By Marcus Kreuzer and Vello PettaI

This article reviews the literature on postcommunist parties, which, by applying old Western-based theories to a new and very different context, makes two important contributions to comparative politics. First, the literature stresses the importance of long-term and short-term historical legacies for the institutionalization of parties and electoral alignments; in trying to incorporate such legacies, it offers refinements to works on path dependency and political development. Second, the literature highlights the underinstitutionalization of postcommunist parties and thereby offers new insights—particularly on the party switching of electoral candidates—for studying the formation and consolidation of political parties.