

replacing the goal of procedural democracy with that of deep democracy, and by designing policies sensitive to the fluid, situational, multi-layered, overlapping, and contested nature of human identities.

In addition to cultural recognition and political autonomy, policies promoting economic redistribution and security, including land reform and sustainable development, are also central to the promotion of human security for minorities, aboriginal peoples, and other vulnerable culturally distinct communities. Both cultural recognition and socio-economic justice are essential and inseparable elements of conflict prevention and the achievement of human security.

Outside governments and multilateral organizations need to be alert to the fact throughout Asia international development projects aimed at human security and conflict prevention, however well intentioned, are often used by states or counter-state elites to promote their own political goals, including ethnonationalist mobilization and ethnic cleansing in societies marked by ethnic and caste hierarchies. This occurs through such mundane practices as the hiring and selection of target beneficiaries, as well as in more overt and violent ways. For instance, according to Ross Mallick (1998), the CIDA Mahaveli Project was used by the Sri Lankan government to support the ethnic cleansing of Tamils. Efforts must be made to anticipate and avoid such outcomes.

More attention should be paid in international electoral support, monitoring, and observation missions to the long-term injustices that foster voting illegalities, intimidation, and human rights violations during elections, to the detriment of both majorities and minorities, aboriginal peoples and other vulnerable communities. This dimension gets little attention in studies of election monitoring and development (see, for instance, Wentges 1997).

## **5. PARTNERING WITH CIVIL SOCIETY**

While not losing sight of the need to democratize government and to improve international institutions for the enforcement of human rights more generally, much can be achieved by operating locally and at the non-governmental, civil society level. This is especially the case when political reform at the parliamentary level is blocked, such as in China, Vietnam, and Burma. It may lead us to new solutions. These seem especially necessary given that UN human rights institutions in recent years have had the paradoxical effect of exempting of states such as China from real compliance with international human rights law. It is also critical because of the way in which the willingness and capacity of states to defend economic and social rights in particular are weakened by economic liberalization and free-market ideologies.

Therefore, outside states should focus their resources on supporting groups and individuals within local civil societies that are seeking new ways to advance tolerance, inclusiveness, and the demands for cultural recognition and socio-economic justice of minorities, aboriginal peoples, and other vulnerable culturally distinct communities. Programmes should be directed at building constituencies for political, social, and