

it if wants to win elections. So while democracy has not prevented the rise of a chauvinistic movement like the BJP, the democratic electoral and political process constrains its ability to impose its view, forcing an accommodation with groups outside its core support base (Hansen 1999).

Stages of democratization: The distinctive stages of the transition and consolidation of procedural democracy present different challenges for creating and maintaining tolerance in culturally divided societies. Particularly, struggles against authoritarian rulers often create alliances between democratic oppositions and minority ethno-nationalist movements. With the demise of the authoritarian governments, these democratic-ethnonationalist alliances can be instrumental in bringing about agreements to address the grievances and demands of minority, aboriginal, and other vulnerable communities claiming to be culturally distinct (Henders 2000). This may involve a redistribution of territorial-political authority, such as the agreement under the Aquino government in the Philippines for political decentralization in Muslim Mindanao. Or the alliance can generate political support for new definitions of citizenship that are more inclusive and accommodating of cultural pluralism, as occurred in Taiwan as a result of an opposition alliance between the Democratic Progressive Party and some aboriginal groups (Stainton 1999), and in Malaysia under the recently created opposition Party Keadilan, a consciously multiethnic creation (Nagata 2000). However, as the Mindanao case shows, these democratic-ethnonationalist alliances can break down as transitions progress, giving rise to renewed ethnonationalist violence. Multiethnic alliances may exist amongst elites when they deal with one another, but break down when elites campaign for votes at the local level. In Malaysia during the most recent country-wide election, Party Keadilan elites who co-operated across communal lines within the party nationally still used exclusive ethnonationalist claims to mobilize voters locally (Nagata 2000).

Truncated democratization: There is some evidence that a truncated democratization process, such as that in Malaysia since the 1969 ethnic riots or in Singapore, may help avoid the worst kinds of ethnic conflict (Snyder 2000). However, outside governments contemplating the deliberate cultivation of the Malaysian or Singapore model should do so cautiously. For one, as mentioned above, while Malaysia has avoided the cycles of election-fuelled ethnic outbidding and violence experienced by Sri Lanka, politicians still regularly resort to exclusive ethnic claims to mobilize voters and avoid accountability. There is little reason to believe that a civic Malaysia identity is emerging that could form a foundation for further democratization (Nagata 2000). While the Singapore government could once legitimately argue that authoritarian rule was necessary to avoid communal war, such arguments currently are now no more than an attempt to justify avoiding accountability (Bell 2000).

4. RETHINKING HUMAN SECURITY AND PREVENTING CONFLICT

It follows from the above discussion that human security in culturally plural societies cannot necessarily be achieved through the introduction of procedural democracy and, in fact, can be damaged by it. In such circumstances, the goal of human security and the effectiveness of conflict prevention will be enhanced by adopting a long-term focus, by