

civil rights, and a professional media with some capacity to counter exclusive ethnonationalist claims with inclusive civic identities and values. Elites are more likely to play the communal or ethnonationalist card to mobilize supporters in contexts where they monopolize governmental, economic, and media resources. India has been as successful as it has in maintaining a democratic ethnic peace because it developed some liberal institutions prior to democratization. Although in recent years, with the breakdown of the Congress system, these civic institutions have not kept up with demands for popular participation, opening the way for the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) (Snyder 2000).

These observations confirm the importance of developing societal and state institutional capacity for tolerance and inclusive identities and deepening democracy, in conjunction with and if necessary prior to the introduction of electoral mechanisms. However, there are many obstacles to such an approach. Liberal institutions such as a professional media are difficult to develop effectively in authoritarian contexts. Moreover, contagion effects are often such that internal and external pressures for the introduction of electoral democracy may be unstoppable even when little prior liberal institution-building has occurred. Furthermore, in many parts of the Asia Pacific, liberal institutions are controversial because they are perceived to be foreign, even imperialist, and culturally inappropriate. It does not help that the biases inherent in liberal institutions, including the preferencing of individual over associational identities and of contractual over personal relationships, are often unacknowledged by liberal scholars and policy-makers.

Therefore, it is all the more important that outside governments and agencies should work through local organizations aiming to encourage tolerance and inclusive identities, as these organizations are more likely to develop initiatives that are perceived as legitimate and that are sensitive to local contexts.

The transition in Taiwan reveals the importance of religious organizations such as the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan and Buddhist groups in helping to foster understandings of citizenship that transcend ethnic cleavages (Laliberté 2000; Stainton 2000).

Leadership: Much depends on contingent factors such as the availability and strength of leaders at all levels willing to make compromises and foster reconciliation. Part of Taiwan's success in fostering a fairly inclusive understanding of who is Taiwanese can be attributed to former President Chiang Ching-kuo, a mainlander, who promoted more locally born Taiwanese in the higher echelons of the party, including his successor Lee Teng-hui.

Outside states should support the demands of moderate ethnonationalist and other leaders, encouraging them to foster state policies, including modes of democratization, that address demands for cultural recognition and socio-economic justice for minority and other vulnerable groups while building inclusive identities and tolerance. At the same time, outside states need to be aware of the contexts in which their support can taint and delegitimize a local leader and her/his policy platform.

(c) Ending impunity and attributing blame: There is some evidence that democratization occurs more smoothly, and that authoritarian leaders will be less willing