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## **Politics and democracy in microstates. A comparative analysis of the effects of size on contestation and inclusiveness**

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## Appendix A: List of Interviews

### **San Marino:**

- Beccari, Marco (17 November 2010, Domagnano, San Marino) Secretary General of the Confederazione Democratica Lavoratori Sammarinese (CDLS), Trade Union
- Chiaruzzi, Giorgio (10 November 2010, Città di San Marino, San Marino) Director of the Organizzazione Sammarinese degli Imprenditori (OSLA), Entrepreneurs' Organization
- Ciavatta, Valeria (5 November 2010, Città di San Marino, San Marino) Secretary of State for Internal Affairs; former Captain Regent; Member of the Alleanza Popolare (AP; Liberal Party)
- Felici, Claudio (10 November 2010, Città di San Marino, San Marino) Leader of the Partito dei Socialisti e dei Democratici (PSD; Social-Democratic Party) in the Great and General Council
- Ghiotti, Massimo (11 November 2010, Fiorina di Domagnano, San Marino) Director-General of the Camera di Commercio della Repubblica di San Marino (Chamber of Commerce)
- Giorgetti, Roberto (12 November 2010, Borgo Maggiore, San Marino) Party Leader of the Alleanza Popolare (AP; Liberal Party) in the Great and General Council; former Captain Regent
- Michelotti, Francesca (10 November 2010, Città di San Marino, San Marino) Consigliere (MP) for Sinistra Unita (SU; New-Left Socialist Party) in the Great and General Council; Member of the Consiglio dei Dodici (Council of Twelve); Manager of the State Museums of San Marino
- Michelotti, Simona (11 November 2010, Fiorina di Domagnano, San Marino) Managing Director of Gruppo Stampa Imballagi Trasparenti (Gruppo SIT); One of the Leading Enterprises of San Marino; President of the Administrative Council of the Chamber of Commerce
- Morganti, Francesco (10 November 2010, Città di San Marino, San Marino), Staff Member of the Organizzazione Sammarinese degli Imprenditori (OSLA), Entrepreneurs' Organization
- Morganti, Giuseppe Maria (9 November 2010, Città di San Marino, San Marino) Consigliere (MP) for the Partito dei Socialisti e dei Democratici (PSD; Social-Democratic Party) in the Great and General Council; Journalist for the Daily Newspaper La Tribuna Sammarinese; former Captain Regent

Morri, Romeo (19 November 2010, Città di San Marino, San Marino) Secretary of State for Education, Culture, and the University; former Captain Regent; former Leader of the Partito Democratico Cristiano Sammarinese (PDCS; Christian-Democratic Party); Now Affiliated with the Unione dei Moderati (Right-Wing Party)

Muccioli, Stiven (15 November 2010, Città di San Marino, San Marino) Journalist for Notizie di San Marino – Libertas, Online Newspaper; Author of Several Publications on Sammarinese Politics and Media

Oddone, David (17 November 2010, Borgo Maggiore, San Marino) Journalist for the Daily Newspaper l'Informazione di San Marino

Rattini, Maurizio (16 November 2010, Borgo Maggiore, San Marino), Party Leader of the Nuovo Partito Socialista (NPS; Social-Democratic Party) in the Great and General Council; former Captain Regent

Rondelli, Paolo (4 November 2010, Città di San Marino, San Marino), Ambassador of San Marino to the United States; Representative of San Marino at the Congrès des Pouvoirs Locaux et Régionaux d'Europe (CPLRE)

Rossi, Laura (18 November 2010, Città di San Marino, San Marino), Professor in Sammarinese History; Master of the State Library

Zani, Jeffrey (9 November 2010, Città di San Marino, San Marino), Journalist for the Daily Newspaper La Tribuna Sammarinese

Zavoli, Luca (15 November 2010, Città di San Marino, San Marino), Journalist for Notizie di San Marino – Libertas, Online Newspaper

### **St. Kitts and Nevis:**

Astaphan, Hon. G.A. Dwyer (10 January 2011, Basseterre, St. Kitts), Former Minister of National Security of St. Kitts and Nevis, Resigned in 2008 and Now a Strong Critic of the Labour Government

Brantley, Hon. Mark A.G. (19 January 2011, Charlestown, Nevis), Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly of St. Kitts and Nevis for the Concerned Citizens Movement (CCM)

Condor, Hon. Sam T. (28 January 2011, Basseterre, St. Kitts), Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of St. Kitts and Nevis

Conway, Stanford (11 January 2011, Basseterre, St. Kitts), Editor in Chief of St. Kitts and Nevis Vibes (SKNVibes), Online Newspaper ([www.sknvibes.com](http://www.sknvibes.com))

Grant, Hon. Lindsay F.P. (12 January 2011, Basseterre, St. Kitts), Leader of the People's Action Movement (PAM), Opposition Party of St. Kitts

Gumbs, Walford V. (17 January 2011, Basseterre, St. Kitts), Ombudsman of St. Kitts and Nevis; former Speaker in the National Assembly of St. Kitts and Nevis for the Labour Party

Harris, Hon. Timothy S., PhD (14 January 2011, Basseterre, St. Kitts), Minister of Agriculture, Lands, and Housing of St. Kitts and Nevis for the Labour Party, Author of Several Publications on Kittitian-Nevisian Politics and History

Innis, Sir Probyn Ellsworth (17 January 2011, Basseterre, St. Kitts), Former Governor-General of St. Kitts and Nevis (1975-1981), Author of Several Publications on Kittitian-Nevisian Politics and History

Richardson, Howard (18 January 2011, Basseterre, St. Kitts), Executive Officer of the St. Kitts and Nevis Chamber of Commerce and Industry

Seaton, S.W. Tapley, QC (12 January 2011, Basseterre, St. Kitts), Former Attorney-General of St. Kitts and Nevis; President of St. Christopher's National Trust; President of the OECS Bar Association

Sebastian, Sir Cuthbert Montraville, GCMG, OBE (20 January 2011, Basseterre, St. Kitts), Governor-General of St. Kitts and Nevis (since 1995)

Warner, Dr. Asyll (12 January 2011, Basseterre, St Kitts), Lecturer in Political Science at the University of the West Indies (UWI) Open Campus

Williams, Kenneth (10 January 2011, Charlestown, Nevis), Editor in Chief of the St. Kitts and Nevis Observer

### **Seychelles:**

Adam, Hon. Jean-Paul (17 February 2011, Mont-Fleuri, Seychelles), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Seychelles for the Parti Lepep

Egonda-Ntende, Hon. Mr. Frederick M.S. (1 March 2011, Victoria, Seychelles), Chief Justice of Seychelles, former Chair of the Law Reporting Committee of Uganda

Gay, Rita J. (2 March 2011, Victoria, Seychelles), Journalist at the Seychelles Nation (Newspaper)

Holland, Ivan N. (2 March 2011, Victoria, Seychelles), Journalist at the Seychelles Nation (Newspaper)

Lucas, Hon. Wilby LLB (4 March 2011, Île Perseverance, Seychelles), Deputy-Speaker at the National Assembly of Seychelles, Elected as MP for the Parti Lepep in the District of Baie Lazare

Mondon, Hon. Macsuzy (18 February 2011, Mont-Fleuri, Seychelles), Minister of Education, Employment, and Human Resources of Seychelles for the Parti Lepep

Morgan, Hon. Joel (17 February 2011, Victoria, Seychelles), Minister of Home Affairs, Environment, and Transport of Seychelles for the Parti Lepep

Payet, Dr. Rolph, FRGS (4 March 2011, Mont-Fleuri, Seychelles), President and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Seychelles; Special Advisor to the President of Seychelles

Ramkalawan, Hon. Wavel (18 February 2011, Mont-Fleuri, Seychelles), Leader of the Seychelles National Party (SNP); former Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly of Seychelles; former Editor in Chief of Regar (Newspaper)

Sabino, Mr. Divino (1 March 2011, Victoria, Seychelles), Attorney-at-Law; Secretary of the Bar Association of Seychelles; Part-Time Lecturer at the University of Seychelles; former State Counsel at the Attorney-General's Chambers

Sinon, Hon. Peter (1 March 2011, Victoria, Seychelles), Minister for Investment, Natural Resources, and Industry of Seychelles for the Parti Lepep

Volcere, Ralph (22 February 2011, Mont-Fleuri, Seychelles), Leader and former Presidential Candidate for the New Democratic Party (NDP); Editor in Chief of Le Nouveau Seychelles (Newspaper)

Zatte, Dora (3 March 2011, Mont-Fleuri, Seychelles), Ombudsman of Seychelles; Attorney-at-Law and Barrister-at-Law; former Advisor to the Seychelles People's Defense Forces; former Board Member of the Seychelles Broadcasting Corporation (SBC)

**Palau:**

Asanuma, Santy (5 July 2011, Koror, Palau), Former Senator in the Olbiil Era Kelulau; Guest Editor of Tia Belau (Newspaper)

Bedor, Roman, *Ngirakebou* (12 July 2011, Meyungs, Palau), High Chief of Ngchesar State; Member of the Palau Council of Chiefs; Attorney-at-Law; former Palauan Activist during the 1980s and 1990s COFA-Negotiations with the United States

Chin, Hon. Elias Camsek (19 July 2011, Ngerulmud, Palau), Senator in the Olbiil Era Kelulau; former Vice-President of Palau (2005 – 2009); Presidential Candidate in the 2008 Election



Dengokl, Yukiwo P., *Ngiraked* (9 July 2011, Koror, Palau), High Chief of Airai State; Member of the Palau Council of Chiefs; Attorney-at-Law

Gibbons, Jennifer K. (6 July 2011, Koror, Palau), Executive Director of the Palau Chamber of Commerce

Gibbons, Yutaka M., *Ibedul* (13 July 2011, Koror, Palau), High Chief of the Republic of Palau and Koror State; Chairman of the Palau Council of Chiefs; CEO of Gibbons Enterprises; former Presidential Candidate

Kesolei, Hon. Katherine (18 July 2011, Ngerulmud, Palau), Vice-President of the Senate in the Olbiil Era Kelulau; Member of Palau's Women Association Mesechil Belau

Kesolei, Ongerung Kambes (6 July 2011, Koror, Palau), Chairman of the Palau International Coral Reef Center; Columnist of Tia Belau (Newspaper)

Mariur, Hon. Kerai (12 July 2011, Ngerulmud, Palau), Vice-President of the Republic of Palau; former Member of the House of Delegates in the Olbiil Era Kelulau (1992 – 2008)

Ngiraklsong, Mr. Arthur (5 July 2011, Koror, Palau), Chief Justice of the Republic of Palau

Pierantozzi, Sandra Sumang (11 July 2011, Koror, Palau), Former Vice-President of the Republic of Palau (2001 – 2005); Former Minister of Finance, Health, and Foreign Affairs; former Senator in the Olbiil Era Kelulau

Rehuher-Marugg, Faustina K. (11 July 2011, Koror, Palau), Minister of Community and Cultural Affairs of the Republic of Palau; former Director of the Belau National Museum

Shih-chang Huang, Bill (7 July 2011, Koror, Palau), Counselor at the Embassy of the Republic of China (Taiwan) in the Republic of Palau

Tellei, Dr. Patrick U. (7 July 2011, Koror, Palau), President of the Palau Community College

Toribiong, Hon. Johnson (14 July 2011, Melekeok, Palau), President of the Republic of Palau; former High Chief (*Ngiraked*) of Airai State

Uludong, Moses Y. (6 July 2011, Koror, Palau), Chief Editor and Publisher of Tia Belau; former Senator in the Olbiil Era Kelulau; former Ombudsman of the Republic of Palau

## Appendix B: Question Lists for the Interviews

### San Marino

1. San Marino is comparatively a very small country. It is generally believed that politics and democracy in small countries are of a different nature than in other, larger countries. What would you see as some of the typical characteristics of Sammarinese politics?
2. You are a (*Profession*). What is the influence of the smallness of San Marino on the way you do your own profession?
3. In a small country like San Marino, it is likely that citizens and politicians know each other relatively well, and form a cohesive community. Do you think that this has an influence on Sammarinese politics?
4. San Marino is a parliamentary democracy, with a government that is accountable to parliament. How would you describe the relations between the government and the parliament of San Marino, and relations between the government and the opposition?
5. According to your experience and opinion, how are the relations between government and institutions such as the judiciary, the media, the bureaucracy, local governments, and interest groups?
6. San Marino has a parliament (the *Consiglio Grande e Generale*) in which many political parties are represented. Could you tell me something about the differences between these parties in terms of ideology or policy proposals?
7. Since San Marino is an autonomous society, it is likely that there is a distinctive Sammarinese identity, which might be shaped by certain traditions and conventions. Can you tell me something about the factors that define Sammarinese identity?
8. For a small country such as San Marino, relations with other countries and international institutions are likely to be very important. Can you tell me something about the significance of these external relations?
9. Are there issues about Sammarinese politics and the Sammarinese political system that we have not yet discussed, and that you would like to talk about?

## **St. Kitts and Nevis**

1. St. Kitts and Nevis is comparatively a very small country. It is generally believed that politics and democracy in small countries are of a different nature than in other, larger countries. What would you see as some of the typical characteristics of the politics of St. Kitts and Nevis?
2. You are a (*Profession*). What is the influence of the smallness of St. Kitts and Nevis on the way you do your own profession?
3. In a small country like St. Kitts and Nevis, it is likely that citizens and politicians know each other relatively well, and form a cohesive community. Do you think that this has an influence on the politics of St. Kitts and Nevis?
4. St. Kitts and Nevis is a parliamentary democracy, with a government that is accountable to parliament. How would you describe the relations between the government and the parliament of St. Kitts and Nevis, and relations between the government and the opposition?
5. According to your experience and opinion, how are the relations between government and institutions such as the judiciary, the media, the bureaucracy, local governments, and interest groups?
6. St. Kitts and Nevis is a federation that consists of two separate states. In your view, what is the effect of the federal nature of St. Kitts and Nevis on the way politics is conducted in the country?
7. St. Kitts and Nevis has a parliament (the National Assembly) in which several political parties are represented. Could you tell me something about the differences between these parties in terms of ideology or policy proposals?
8. Since St. Kitts and Nevis is an autonomous society, it is likely that the people here have a distinctive identity, which might be shaped by certain traditions and conventions. Can you tell me something about the factors that define identity of the people from St. Kitts and Nevis? Do you think that there is a difference between the identity of the people from St. Kitts and the people from Nevis?
9. For a small country such as St. Kitts and Nevis, relations with other countries and international institutions are likely to be very important. Can you tell me something about the significance of these external relations?
10. Are there issues about the politics and the political system of St. Kitts and Nevis that we have not yet discussed, and that you would like to talk about?

## Seychelles

1. Seychelles is comparatively a very small country. It is generally believed that the constitutional and legal organization of small countries are of a different nature than in other, larger countries. What would you see as some of the typical characteristics of the Republic of Seychelles in this respect?
2. You are a (*Profession*). What is the influence of the smallness of Seychelles on the way you do your own profession?
3. In a small country like Seychelles, it is likely that people know each other relatively well, and form a cohesive community. Do you think that this has an influence on the judiciary of Seychelles?
4. According to your experience and opinion, how are the relations between government and the judiciary of Seychelles?
5. In the past, Seychelles has been a colony of both France and the United Kingdom. Regarding the Seychellois constitutional and legal framework, which of these two colonial legacies would you say has had the greatest impact?
6. According to your experience and opinion, how are the relations between the judiciary and the media of Seychelles?
7. Since Seychelles is an autonomous society, it is likely that the people here have a distinctive identity, which might be shaped by certain traditions and conventions. Can you tell me something about the factors that define the identity of the Seychellois people?
8. For a small country such as Seychelles, relations with other countries and international institutions are likely to be very important. Can you tell me something about the significance of these external relations?
9. Are there issues about the politics and the legal and constitutional system of Seychelles that we have not yet discussed, and that you would like to talk about?

## **Palau**

1. Palau is comparatively a very small country. It is generally believed that politics and democracy in small countries are of a different nature than in other, larger countries. What would you see as some of the typical characteristics of Palauan politics?
2. In a small country like Palau, it is likely that citizens and politicians know each other relatively well, and form a cohesive community. Do you think that this has an influence on the politics of Palau?
3. Palau is a presidential democracy, with a separation of powers between government and parliament. How would you describe the relations between the government and the parliament of Palau, and relations between the government and the opposition?
4. According to your experience and opinion, how are the relations between government and institutions such as the judiciary, the media, the bureaucracy, local governments, and interest groups?
5. Palau has a bicameral parliament (the *Olbiil Era Kelulau*) in which no formal political parties are represented. Could you tell me something about the influence of the absence of parties on Palauan democracy?
6. Since Palau is an autonomous society, it is likely that the people here have a distinctive identity, which might be shaped by certain traditions and conventions. Can you tell me something about the factors that define the identity of the Palauan people?
7. For a small country such as Palau, relations with other countries and international institutions are likely to be very important. Can you tell me something about the influence of external relations on Palauan politics?
8. In addition to elected politicians, in Palau traditional leadership also plays an important role in society. According to your experience, how is the relation between traditional and “modern” politics and politicians?
9. Are there issues about the politics and the political system of Palau that we have not yet discussed, and that you would like to talk about?