

**Vernieuwingsimpuls  
Innovational Research Incentives Scheme  
Grant application form 2016**

Please refer to Explanatory Notes when completing this form

**Veni scheme**

**Registration form (basic details)**

**1a. Details of applicant**

Title: Dr.

First name: Wouter

Initials: W.P.

Prefix:

Surname: Veenendaal

Male/female: Male

Address for correspondence (for the entire period of the Veni round): Houtmarkt 3E,  
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Preference for correspondence in English: ~~yes~~/no

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Use of extension clause (see Notes): ~~yes~~/no  
(if 'yes', give reasons and calculation)

**1b. Title of research proposal**

*When Things Get Personal: Explaining Political Stability in Small States.*

**1c. Scientific summary of research proposal (Max. 300 words)**

Why are small states significantly more stable than large ones, despite the weakness of political institutions and the prevalence of personalistic politics? Which factors contribute to the absence of major political crises and violence in small states? And who are the key actors involved in these processes?

The personalization of politics, the decline of political parties, and the weakening of ideologies in large democracies are considered to undermine political legitimacy and to produce instability. Yet despite having extremely personalized systems with non-ideological parties or no parties at all, small states around the world maintain significantly higher levels of political stability than larger ones. This research investigates the effects of smallness and personalized politics on political stability, which is defined as the absence of major political and social crises, violence, or state failure. While existing explanations of stability focus primarily on the impact of political structures, this research explicitly zooms in on informal dynamics and personal relations to explain political stability in small states. The project hypothesizes that personalized competition at the elite level does not jeopardize broader stability, while the pervasiveness of patron-client linkages creates stable relations between citizens and politicians.

The research combines a large-N analysis of elite relations in small states with a comprehensive small-N analysis of four case studies. This methodological design allows me to first assess the broader characteristics of elite interactions in small states, while I will conduct in-depth field research to expose the specific informal dynamics that produce political stability.

Small countries are structurally excluded from comparative political research. This project, however, aims to show their significance to ongoing debates about

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decentralization and democratic transition and consolidation. The project builds on existing international research on small states, and provides critical insights to various actors involved in democracy promotion, decentralization debates, and small state politics.

**1d. Keywords** (Max. five keywords)

Small states; political stability; informal politics; mixed methods; comparative politics

**1e. Current institution of employment**

Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV-KNAW)

**1f. Prospective host institution** (If known)

Institute of Political Science, Leiden University

**1g. NWO Division** (Choose one)

Interdivisional*	
ALW	
CW	
EW	
GW	
<b>MaGW</b>	<b>X</b>
ZonMw	
N	
STW	

\* **Explanation of the interdivisional character of the proposal** (only to be filled out if you have chosen to submit your application as interdivisional, 50-100 words):

**1h. Main field of research (see notes)**

If applicable: other fields of research, in order of relevance

Code	Main field of research
44.20.00	Political Science
44.10.00	Public Administration
27.70.00	Comparative Political History

**1i. Public summary of your research proposal**

(In Dutch and in English, max. 50 words each, see notes).

**Het verklaren van politieke stabiliteit in kleine staten**

*Dr. W.P. (Wouter) Veenendaal (m), Universiteit Leiden – Politieke Wetenschap*

Waarom hebben kleine landen stabielere politieke systemen dan grote landen, ondanks de zwakte van politieke structuren en de sterk persoonsgerichte politiek? Dit project onderzoekt het effect van kleinschaligheid en informele relaties op politieke stabiliteit, en analyseert hoe persoonlijke relaties kunnen bijdragen aan de afwezigheid van politieke crises en geweld.

## **Explaining Political Stability in Small States**

*Dr. W.P. (Wouter) Veenendaal (m), Leiden University – Political Science*

Why do small countries have more stable political systems than large ones, despite the weakness of political structures and strongly personalized politics? This project examines the effects of smallness and informal relations on political stability, and analyses how personal relations can contribute to the absence of political crises and violence.

### **Research proposal**

#### **2a1 and 2a2. Description of the proposed research**

(max. 2000 words on no more than 6 pages, see Notes)

##### **2a1. Overall aim and key objectives**

Why do small states, in contrast to large ones, rarely suffer from major social conflicts, political violence, or state failure? By examining the influence of smallness on political interactions, this research aims to expose the dynamics that produce political stability in small states. The proposed project combines a large-N analysis of elite relations with a small-N analysis of four case studies. The project hypothesizes that personalized competition at the elite level is unlikely to undermine overall regime stability, while the pervasiveness of patron-client linkages creates stable interactions between citizens and politicians in small states.

The weakening role of political parties, the declining significance of ideologies, and the increasing focus on political personalities in both advanced and developing democracies are broadly deemed to augment political instability (Dalton and Wattenberg, 2000; Poguntke and Webb, 2005; Mainwaring and Torcal, 2006; Hay, 2007). Yet despite having extremely personalized politics and shallow political structures, small states paradoxically maintain higher levels of political stability than large countries. As Table 1 below demonstrates, countries with fewer than 1,5 million inhabitants have significantly higher rankings on the stability-nonviolence indicator of the World Bank. There are hardly any 'failed' small states, and (ethnic) violence or major political crises rarely occur in these countries. Even the poorest and ethnically most fragmented small states generally maintain stable political regimes.

*Table 1: Political Stability and the Absence of Violence in Small and Large States<sup>1</sup>*

	N	World Governance Indicator Stability-Nonviolence
Small States (< 1.5 million)	<b>46</b>	<b>0.5530</b>
Large States (> 1.5 million)	<b>147</b>	<b>-0.2720</b>
All States	<b>193</b>	<b>-0.0763</b>

Like previous studies (Ott, 2000; Srebrnik, 2004), this project employs a cut-off point of 1,5 million to separate small from large states, and accordingly identifies 46 sovereign small states. Building on the World Bank classification, stability is defined as the absence of major political and social crises, violence, or state failure. While scholars of

<sup>1</sup> Scores on this World Governance Indicator range from -2,5 (least stable) to 2,5 (most stable; World Bank, 2015). The difference between small and large states is significant at the  $p < 0.001$  level.

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international relations usually analyse political (in)stability on the basis of external factors such as geopolitics, dependency relations, and economic factors (Krasner, 2004; Kalyvas, 2006), this research focuses explicitly on domestic political dynamics to explain stability.

**State of the Art & Hypotheses**

Small countries are routinely excluded from comparative political research, as a result of which our knowledge of their political systems remains deficient (Veenendaal and Corbett, 2014). Existing research has found that formal structures have a limited influence on political affairs in small settings, because politics mostly occurs on a face-to-face, personal level (Dahl and Tufte, 1973; Sutton, 2007; Corbett, 2013). In small states citizens have immediate access to politicians, which facilitates direct and personal communication. On the elite level, personal relations between politicians entail that private and professional relations become intertwined. While some studies have argued that this personal character of politics in small states creates more harmonious and consensus-oriented politics (Diamond and Tsalik, 1999; Anckar, 2008) as a result of which "smallness becomes a unifying factor" (Lijphart, 1977, pp. 60-65), other research shows that small communities can be plagued by intense personal rivalries and antagonism (Peters, 1992; Farrugia, 1993; Baldacchino, 2012). All of these studies, however, underscore the significance of informal politics and social relations in small jurisdictions (cf. Baldacchino, 2005; Oostindie and Sutton, 2006).

My own research confirms that small state politics is distinctly non-ideological and person-oriented, while relations between politicians and citizens are commonly based on clientelistic exchanges (Veenendaal, 2013a; 2013b; 2014). Small states that were colonised typically retain the political structures of their former coloniser, but in practice these institutional blueprints are often ignored or circumvented, and therefore remain largely superficial (Erk and Veenendaal, 2014). While the vast majority of small states formally have democratic political institutions, in reality these structures are overshadowed by so-called informal politics; politics that is conducted outside the official political channels. The importance of informal politics in democratic societies has been widely recognized (Lauth, 2000; Helmke and Levitsky, 2004), and in small states such dynamics play an even more crucial role. But while the prevalence of personalized politics and the superficiality of institutions would expectably undermine stability in small states, in fact the opposite is true. To explain the higher levels of political stability in small states, therefore, a new approach that highlights the effects of informal relations on stability is needed.

Building on the existing literature, this project formulates two original expectations about the effects of smallness and informal relations on political stability:

1. Regarding inter-elite relations, I expect that the overlapping personal and professional connections between politicians stimulate personal conflicts and infighting. However, because such clashes are mostly not politically substantive and not ideologically motivated, they are unlikely to jeopardize overall regime stability.
2. Regarding voter-elite relations, I expect that personal contacts and pervasive patron-client linkages create stable patterns of interactions between citizens and politicians. While such connections may undermine political representation and the equal treatment of citizens by the state, particularistic exchanges also ensure the continuing participation of citizens in political affairs, and therefore often generate stability (Kitschelt, 2000).

## **Methodology**

This project adopts a mixed methods design to analyze informal political dynamics in small states. A large-N analysis of elite relations enables me to first examine the influence of personalized politics on political stability in all 46 cases, while a small-N analysis of four case studies is used to expose the specific informal mechanisms that produce political stability. This combination of methods facilitates both generalization and in-depth understanding.

### Large-N Analysis of Elite Relations:

To research the expectation that personalized competition and personal conflicts do not threaten overall stability in small states, a large-N analysis of relations between political elites in all 46 cases will be conducted. This analysis will be chronologically limited to the last 20 years (1996-2016), because the World Bank's stability indicator has only been available since 1996. The analysis is a pioneering effort to gather quantifiable information about informal politics in small states.

Statistics on election outcomes, government formation, and political split offs in small states are available online, and while these figures are mostly oriented towards political parties, they also provide key information on individual politicians. This online information will be used to determine the following for each small state:

- The major political leaders contesting elections;
- Alliances created after the elections to form governments;
- The duration of these governments;
- The number of government and party split offs between different elections.

By collecting figures for each of these indicators, an index will be created that provides an overall impression of the incidence and severity of political conflicts in all small states. The figures of this index will subsequently be contrasted with the world governance indicator of stability, to examine the accuracy of the expectation that pervasive political conflicts do not translate into overall political instability. Furthermore, the large-N analysis allows for cross-temporal comparisons within cases, as well as comparisons between different small states.

### Small-N Analysis of Four Case Studies

To complement the large-N analysis, four small states (see Table 2) will be selected for in-depth analysis. These cases are chosen according to the "most different" logic (Seawright and Gerring, 2008): they are located in different world regions, and rank differently on background variables like colonial history, levels of economic development, and geographical and cultural factors. Most importantly, as the table shows they have varying scores on the world governance indicator of political stability, which allows me to examine both the *presence* and *absence* of political stability.

*Table 2: Cases Selected for Small-N Comparison*

<b>Country</b>	<b>Region</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Stability Score</b>
Malta	Europe	415.000	1,11
Vanuatu	Pacific	270.000	0,66
Suriname	Caribbean	580.000	0,23
Comoros	Africa	780.000	-0,19

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Malta appears to have a stable political system, but according to case studies also experiences extreme partisan polarization and pervasive clientelism. It is selected to study how these two dynamics affect political stability.

Vanuatu is one of the most heterogeneous countries in the world, in which extreme political fragmentation and turmoil have, however, not resulted in political violence. It is selected to study how peace is maintained in the face of persistent political chaos.

Suriname is a profoundly segmented society in which political parties traditionally mirror ethnic divisions. It is selected to study how ethnic forms of political competition have apparently not undermined political stability.

Comoros has long been extremely unstable due to persistent conflicts between different islands and successive coups, but recently became somewhat more stable under a power-sharing arrangement. It is selected to find out why smallness has apparently failed to create stability in this archipelago.

In each of the four cases extensive field research will be conducted, consisting of in-depth interviews with a range of political experts (politicians, journalists, academics, and representatives of social organizations), as well as an analysis of secondary literature and official documents. A comparative analysis between the four cases is conducted to examine the accuracy of the two expectations that were formulated above.

**Originality and innovative character**

This research pushes the boundaries of existing scholarship in three major ways:

Theoretically the project counters existing tendencies to approach politics and governance in structural or institutional terms, and instead focuses on the influence of informal politics and personal relations on political stability. Academic studies increasingly recognize the salience of informal political dynamics, and this research expands our existing knowledge about these phenomena by analysing the specific informal processes that contribute to political stability.

Empirically the project expands the evidentiary base of comparative politics scholarship by focusing on 46 of the world's smallest states that have thus far been systematically excluded from the literature. Small states represent close to a quarter of all states in the world, and this project highlights their analytical significance to broader debates about democratization and governance. Precisely because they have been understudied for so long, the intellectual payoffs of studying small states are tremendous.

Normatively the project challenges contemporary dominant perspectives on political personalization and institutional weakness by highlighting the overlooked benefits of non-ideological, face-to-face politics for political stability. While recognizing the negative impact of clientelism on political representation and the equal treatment of citizens by the state, the project furthers our understanding of the impact of patron-client linkages on the absence of political crises (cf. Kopecký et al., 2012).

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**2a2. Research plan**

Table 3: Practical Timetable & Work Plan (field research highlighted in red)

Task	2017				2018				2019			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Formulate Indicators of Elite Relations Index	█											
Data-Entry Elite Relations Index	█	█	█									
Presentation NIMD		█										
Write & Submit Article #1		█	█									
International Conference #1 (ECPR)			█									
Large-N Analysis of Elite Relations			█	█								
Opinion Article ( <i>Volkscrant</i> / <i>NRC</i> )				█								
Field Research Malta					█							
Popular Article ( <i>Binnenlands Bestuur</i> )					█							
Write & Submit Article #2					█	█						
Field Research Suriname						█						
Policy Paper IDEA						█						
Write & Submit Article #3							█					
International Conference #2 (IPSA)							█					
Field Research Vanuatu								█				
Write and Submit Article #4								█				
Policy Paper EPD								█				
Popular Article ( <i>VNG Magazine</i> )									█			
Field Research Comoros									█			
Write & Submit Book Manuscript									█	█	█	
International Conference #3 (APSA)										█		
Organise Decentralization Conference (SCP)											█	█
Revise Book Manuscript												█

**Local, National and International Collaboration**

Local:

The first host institution of this project is the Institute of Political Science of Leiden University. I will collaborate here with Ingrid van Biezen and Petr Kopecký, who are experts in the fields of comparative politics, patron-client linkages, and politics in new democracies. The secondary host institution is the KITLV, a renowned center of Caribbean and Southeast Asian Studies. The expertise and international network of this institute is particularly helpful in my analysis of Suriname (Gert Oostindie and Rosemarijn Hoefte), as well as the political histories of other small (island) territories.

National:

This research contributes to existing collaboration on political decentralization with Dr. Pepijn van Houwelingen of the *Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau* (SCP). In addition, the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD; Jerome Scheltens) has expressed its keen interest in collaboration and knowledge exchange on informal politics in new democracies.

International:

This project builds on existing academic collaboration on small states with Dr. Jack Corbett (Griffith University, Brisbane). In a coauthored article that was recently published (2014), we outlined the agenda that sets the stage for the present research. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA; Sam van der Staak) in Stockholm is interested in knowledge exchange in the field of democracy promotion. In the selected small states, contact has been established with local academic institutions (such as the Islands and Small States Institute in Malta; Lino Briguglio) where I can conduct my research as a guest researcher.

## **2b. Knowledge utilisation**

(max. 750 words on no more than 2 pages, see Notes)

### **Potential:**

The findings of this research will feed into three types of topical public debates, and, by extension, will be highly relevant to the actors and organizations involved in these discussions:

#### *Democracy Promotion:*

By highlighting the significance of informal politics, the project poses a fundamental challenge to democracy promotion organizations that concentrate on formal institutions in advancing democratization. The results will be of vital importance to such organizations, and The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD; Jerome Scheltens) has expressed its interest in collaboration and knowledge exchange on this issue. By means of policy papers I will also exchange my research findings with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Engineering (IDEA; Sam van der Staak) in Stockholm and the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) in Brussels.

#### *Decentralization:*

Providing essential insights into the benefits and downsides of organizing politics on a small scale, the findings of this study are also highly relevant to ongoing discussions about the merits and downsides of decentralization, both in advanced Western democracies and in developing countries. The project builds on existing collaboration on decentralization and local government with Pepijn van Houwelingen of the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (*Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau*, SCP), and toward the end of the project together with SCP I will organize a conference on the relevance of small states to debates about decentralization, during which academics and policy practitioners can exchange their perspectives and experiences. Building on my earlier professional publications about the advantages and disadvantages of decentralization, I will publish my findings in professional public journals like *Binnenlands Bestuur* and the *VNG Magazine*, and I will write an editorial piece in a Dutch quality newspaper.

#### *Politics and Democracy in Small States:*

The players who will benefit most from this research, however, are the small states themselves. Due to their limited capacities most of these countries lack an academic infrastructure, and they are clearly not on the radar of the international scholarly community. The outcomes of this study will be of vital interest to citizens, journalists, academics, and politicians in the 46 small states included in this research. Since many small states are isolated, it is my explicit aim to also help expand the transfer of knowledge between these small states, so that the analyzed countries may also learn from the experience of others.

My field research in each of the four small states is hosted by local academic institutions (mentioned in Table 4), and I will present my findings there during guest lectures and public presentations. Building on my existing experience with publications in the news media of small states, I will also publish opinion articles and interviews in newspapers and journals of all countries in which fieldwork is conducted.

### **Implementation:**

During the course of this project I aim to exchange and discuss my findings with various non-scientific audiences and institutions. I will use diverse publication strategies to target

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different audiences in the Netherlands and in small states (see Table 4). Collaboration with organizations involved in democracy promotion and decentralization will occur primarily by means of presentations, public seminars, and policy papers, while I will use publications in newspapers and professional journals and magazines to reach the broader Dutch public. The results of my field research are presented at academic institutions and in local media outlets in the selected small states. Finally, as I have done before, I will disseminate my research findings in various (semi-) academic blog posts, such as [democraticaudit.com](http://democraticaudit.com), [crickcentre.org](http://crickcentre.org), and [stukroodvlees.nl](http://stukroodvlees.nl).

Table 4: Action Plan

Target Audience	Partners	Output Type	Period
Academics	UL (Ingrid van Biezen & Petr Kopecký)	4 Articles in International <b>Academic Journals</b>	2017 – 2019
	KITLV (Gert Oostindie & Rosemarijn Hoefte)	3 International <b>Conferences</b> (ECPR, IPSA, APSA)	2017 – 2019
	Jack Corbett (Griffith University)	1 <b>Monograph</b>	2019
Democracy Promotion Organizations	NIMD (Jerome Scheltens)	<b>Guest Lecture</b> Small States Democratization	2017
	IDEA (Sam van der Staak)	<b>Policy Paper</b> on Informal Politics & Democratization	2018
	EPD	<b>Policy Paper</b> on Informal Politics & Democratization	2018
Policy Practitioners (Decentralization)	SCP (Pepijn van Houwelingen)	Decentralization <b>Conference</b>	2019
	Binnenlands Bestuur	<b>Professional Article</b> (Smallness, Governance, and Decentralization)	2018
	VNG Magazine	<b>Professional Article</b> (Lessons for Dutch municipalities)	2019
General Public (Netherlands)	Volkskrant / NRC Handelsblad / Trouw	<b>Opinion Article</b>	2017
General Public (Small States)	Media Small States	<b>Newspaper Articles</b> (Fieldwork Results)	2018 – 2019
	ISSI (Malta; Lino Briguglio)	<b>Presentation</b> of fieldwork findings at local universities	2018 – 2019
	Anton de Kom University (Suriname)		
University of Comoros			
	University of the South Pacific (Vanuatu)		
Mixed Audience	Stukroodvlees.nl	<b>Blog posts</b> about research findings	2017 – 2019
	Democraticaudit.com		
	Crickcentre.org		

**2c. Number of words used: section 2a** 2.000 (max. 2000 words)

**Number of words used: section 2b** 748 (max. 750 words)

## 2d. Literature references

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**Cost estimates**

**3a. Budget**

Also check the Explanatory Notes accompanying the form.

The maximum amount of a Veni grant is € 250,000 spread over a period of maximum 3 years. If the proposed research is of shorter duration, the maximum amount will be reduced accordingly.

Staff	Description			Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Total
		FTE**	Months				
WP*	<b>Applicant</b>	1.0	36	69,369	72,876	76,790	<b>219,035</b>
NWP*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<b>Total Staff</b>		1.0	36	69,369	72,876	76,790	<b>219,035</b>
Equipment	Laptop			1,000			1,000
	External hard disk			300			300
	Audio recorder			55			55
<b>Total Equipment</b>							<b>1,355</b>
Investments	Conference organization					7,000	7,000
	Expenses open source publications				1,000	1,000	2,000
<b>Total Investments</b>							<b>9,000</b>
Materials	Books & articles to be purchased during field research				1,000	500	1,500
<b>Total Materials</b>							<b>1,500</b>
Travel	Travel costs field research				11,000	4,000	15,000
	Travel costs conferences			750	1,500	1,500	3,750
	Registration fees IPSA & APSA conferences (\$100 + \$271)				92	247	339
<b>Total Travel</b>							<b>19,089</b>
Other	..			..	..	..	..
<b>Total Other</b>				..	..	..	..
<b>Grand total</b>				..	..	..	<b>249,979</b>

- Use for each staff member, type of equipment, type of investment or type of material one row. You can add rows under the (bold print) headings. You cannot add headings.
- Years are Project Years. For example: if your intended starting date is 1 October 2016, then Year 1 ranges from 1 October 2016 to 30 September 2017. Etcetera.

\* WP = Scientific Staff; NWP = Non Scientific Staff

\*\* Fill out the time you spend on your Veni (including any FTE that your university may pay for work on your Veni). If your university pays (part of) the time you spend on your Veni you can indicate this in 3b.

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**3b. Cofinancing 'in kind'**

Cofinancer/party	Description	Estimated value in Euro
..	..	..

**3c. Cofinancing 'in cash'**

Cofinancer/party	Description	Euro
..	..	..

**3d. Totals**

<b>Grand total</b>	<b>249,979</b> (=3a)
<b>Requested budget</b>	<b>249,979</b> (=3a minus 3b/3c)

**3e. Intended starting date** (see Notes)

1 January 2017.

**3f. Have you requested any additional grants for this project either from NWO or from any other institution, and/or has the same idea been submitted elsewhere?** yes/no (if 'yes', see Notes)

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**Veni scheme**

**Curriculum vitae**

**4a. Personal details**

Title(s), initial(s), first name, surname: Dr. W.P. (Wouter) Veenendaal  
Date and place of birth: 14 March 1986, Amsterdam  
Nationality: Dutch

**4b. Master's ('doctoraal')**

University/College of Higher Education: Leiden University  
Date (dd/mm/yy): 01/09/09  
Main subject: Political Science (Research Master)

**4c. Doctorate**

University/College of Higher Education: Leiden University  
Starting date (dd/mm/yy): 01/09/09  
Date of PhD award (dd/mm/yy): 10/04/13  
Supervisor ('Promotor'): Prof. dr. Ingrid van Biezen  
Title of thesis: Politics and Democracy in Microstates

**4d. Work experience since completing your PhD**

Current and previous positions. Specify per appointment: period, number of fte, type of position and institution.

Position	Period (date-date)	Number of fte	Type of position (fixed term, permanent, tenure track, other)	Institution
Lecturer	01/04/2013 - 01/09/2014	1.0 (0.8 from 01/09/2013 - 01/09/2014)	Fixed Term	Institute of Political Science, Leiden University
Postdoctoral Research Fellow	01/09/2014 -	1.0	Fixed term	Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV)

**Work experience in months spent since completing your PhD**

Please include the calculation (see notes)

**CV**

April 2013: Doctorate

- I. April – August 2013: 1,0 fte position. 100% to be spent on education.
- II. September 2013 – August 2014: 0,8 fte position. 100% to be spent on education.
- III. September 2014 – December 2015: 1,0 fte position. 100% to be spent on research.

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**Calculation of Months of Research:**

- I. 5 months \* 1,0 fte position \* 1,0 spent on education = 5,0 months
- II. 12 months \* 0,8 fte position \* 1,0 spent on education = 9,6 months
- III. 16 months \* 1,0 fte position \* 1,0 spent on research = 16,0 months

Experience	Number of months
Research activities	16
Education	(5,0 + 9,6 =) 14,6
Care or sick leave	
Management tasks	
Other, please specify	

**4e. Academic staff supervised**

		Please indicate your (formal) role
<b>PhDs</b>		
Ongoing		
Completed		
<i>Subtotal PhDs</i>		
<b>Postdocs</b>		
<i>Subtotal postdocs</i>		
<b>Master students</b>	3949044 (UU) - 2015-2016 1144340 (UL) - 2014-2015	Advisory role on Dutch Caribbean islands
<i>Subtotal master students</i>	<u>2</u>	
<b>Other</b>	Thesis supervision of 12 BSc-students, Political Science, Leiden University (4 in 2013 and 8 in 2014)	Formal supervisor
<i>Subtotal other</i>	<u>12</u>	

**4f. Brief summary of research over the last five years**

(Max. 250 words)

My research is guided by the overarching question of how a small state size affects politics and democracy. In my PhD research, I examined the characteristics of democratic competition and participation in four sovereign microstates in different world regions. This PhD thesis was awarded the Annual Thesis Prize of the Dutch and Flemish Political Science Associations, and has been published as a monograph with Routledge. Whilst occupying a fulltime teaching position, in the aftermath of my PhD I published the findings of my research in various top journals in my academic field. In addition, in this period I conducted field research in the Principality of Liechtenstein to analyse a semi-authoritarian small state.

In my current position at KITLV, I examine politics and democracy in non-sovereign territories in the Caribbean and elsewhere, with a particular focus on the former Netherlands Antilles. As part of this research I have recently organized and executed a large-scale opinion survey on six Dutch Caribbean islands, during which 3,000 residents on these islands were interviewed.

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My research has been published in the most high-ranking journals within my scholarly discipline of comparative politics. I have published about political competition, representation, democratization, and institutional legitimacy in small states, and the broader relevance of small states to comparative politics. In addition, I have published about decentralization and the foreign policies of small states in journals outside my direct academic field. I have presented my research during many international conferences and guest lectures, and in Dutch and international news media.

**4g. International activities** (see Notes)

Visiting Positions:

January 2014	Visiting Research Fellow at the <i>Liechtenstein Institut</i> (Liechtenstein Institute), Bendern, Principality of Liechtenstein.
February/March 2011	Visiting Research Fellow at the <i>University of Seychelles</i> , Anse Royale, Mahé, Republic of Seychelles.

Field Research:

January/June/ August/September 2015	Field Research in Six Dutch Caribbean Islands (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, St. Eustatius, and St. Maarten).
January 2014	Field Research in the Principality of Liechtenstein.
July 2011	Field Research in the Republic of Palau.
February/March 2011	Field Research in the Republic of Seychelles.
January 2011	Field Research in the Federation of St. Kitts and Nevis.
November 2010	Field Research in the Republic of San Marino.

Survey Research:

2014 – 2015	Organized and coordinated an opinion survey on six Dutch Caribbean islands (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, St. Eustatius, and St. Maarten) as part of which approximately 3,000 respondents were interviewed by means of paper questionnaires and face-to-face interviews.
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**4h. Other academic activities** (see Notes)

Academic Reviewing:

Reviewer for *Democratization, Environmental Policy and Governance, Island Studies Journal, Journal of International and Global Studies, Pacific Review, Party Politics, Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Regional & Federal Studies, and Swiss Political Science Review.*

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Teaching:

- 2014 *Small States in World Politics* (BA Thesis Supervision), Leiden University, Spring 2014.
- Comparative Analysis of Political Systems* (BA-3), Leiden University College (LUC), Spring 2014.
- 2013 *Conflict and Cooperation: The Classics* (MA), Leiden University, Fall 2013.
- The Netherlands and the World* (MA), Leiden University, Fall 2013.
- Transnational Actors and Norms* (BA Thesis Supervision), Leiden University, Spring 2013.
- 2007 – 2013 Tutorials for Courses on *Comparative Politics, Dutch Politics, International Organizations, International Relations, International Security, Introduction to Political Science, Methods of Data Collection, Politics & Political Science, and Rational Choice Theory* (BA-1 and BA-2), Leiden University.

Academic Training:

- 2010 - 2011 ICLON Course on Interviewing Skills and Techniques, Leiden University.
- 2010 ECPR Summer School on Methodologies of Case Studies, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.

**4i. Scholarships, grants and prizes**

Please list the research scholarships/grants and a link to the website for which you have successfully applied and/or prizes that you have won and indicate the amount of money involved.

\*In case of a consortium grant please specify the amount allocated for your own group or lab.

<b>Scholarship/Grant/ Prize Formal applicant</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>Year of award</b>
<b>Winner</b> of the 2014 <i>Jaarprijs Politicologie</i> of the Dutch and Flemish Political Science Associations (NKWP)	€ 500		2014
<b>Subsidy</b> of the Institute of Political Science of Leiden University for field research in the Principality of Liechtenstein	€ 800		2014
<b>Grant</b> of the Netherlands Institute of Government (NIG) for field research in St. Kitts and Nevis and Seychelles	€ 3,000		2011
<b>Grant</b> of the Leiden University Fund (LUF) for field research in the Republic of Palau	€ 2,000		2011

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**Veni scheme**

<b>Grant</b> of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) to attend Summer School in Methods and Techniques in Ljubljana, Slovenia	€ 500		2010
<i>Subtotal</i>	€ 6,800		
<b>Scholarship/Grant/Prize Formal co-applicant</b>			
<i>Subtotal</i>			
<i>Total</i>	<b>€ 6,800</b>		

## Output

### 5a. Output indicators

Please identify the most important output indicators in your field.

The most important output indicators in my scholarly field of comparative politics are peer-reviewed journal articles, and to a decreasing extent books and chapters in edited volumes. The academic field is very international, and only 1 of my 13 refereed articles was published in a Dutch-language journal. Most publications are single-authored, and publications rarely have more than 3 authors.

### 5b. Output

Please number your items consecutively and also indicate the total number per category. For publications and letters: only mention those that have been published or have been accepted for publication starting with the most recent publication, do **not** list any forthcoming publications. Please mark key publications that are directly relevant to the proposed research with an S (the S stands for significant).

#### - Refereed articles

Veenendaal, Wouter. (2015). 'Smallness and Status Debates in Overseas Territories: Evidence from the Dutch Caribbean.' *Geopolitics* (accepted). 5-year impact factor: 0.966.

**S** Veenendaal, Wouter. (2015). 'Origins and Persistence of Federalism and Decentralization in Microstates.' *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* (accepted). 5-year impact factor: 1.094.

Veenendaal, Wouter. (2015). 'The Dutch Caribbean Municipalities in Comparative Perspective.' *Island Studies Journal* 10 (1), 15-30. 1-year impact factor: 0.714.

**S** Veenendaal, Wouter, and Corbett, Jack. (2015). 'Why Small States Offer Important Answers to Large Questions.' *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (4), 527-549. 5-year impact factor: 2.808.

Veenendaal, Wouter. (2015). 'A Big Prince in a Tiny Realm: Smallness, Monarchy, and Political Legitimacy in the Principality of Liechtenstein.'

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**Veni scheme**

*Swiss Political Science Review* 21 (2), 333-349. 5-year impact factor: 0.922.

- S** Veenendaal, Wouter. (2015). 'Democracy in Microstates: Why Smallness Does Not Produce a Democratic Political System.' *Democratization* 22 (1), 92-112. 5-year impact factor: 0.977.
- S** Erk, Jan, and Veenendaal, Wouter. (2014). 'Is Small Really Beautiful? The Microstate Mistake.' *Journal of Democracy* 25 (3), 135-148. 5-year impact factor: 1.250.
- Veenendaal, Wouter. (2014). 'Analyzing the Foreign Policies of Microstates.' *Foreign Policy Analysis* (accepted). 5-year impact factor: 1.000.
- S** Veenendaal, Wouter. (2013). 'How Democracy Functions Without Parties: The Republic of Palau.' *Party Politics* (accepted). 5-year impact factor: 2.286.
- S** Veenendaal, Wouter. (2013). 'Klein maar Fijn? De Effecten van Kleinschaligheid op het Karakter van Politiek en Democratie.' *Beleid en Maatschappij* 40 (4), 354-377.
- S** Veenendaal, Wouter. (2013). 'Size and Institutional Legitimacy: the Case of St. Kitts and Nevis.' *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 51 (3), 343-361.
- S** Veenendaal, Wouter. (2013). 'Size and Personalistic Politics: Political Competition in Four Microstates.' *The Round Table* 102 (3), 245-257.
- S** Veenendaal, Wouter. (2013). 'Political Representation in Microstates: St. Kitts and Nevis, Seychelles, and Palau.' *Comparative Politics* 45 (4), 437-452. 5-year impact factor: 1.417.

- **Non-refereed articles**

Selection of Media Publications:

- 2015 'Geef de Caribische 'Gemeenten' Gevoel Zeggenschap Terug', *Volkskrant*, 12 October 2015.
- 2015 'Sint-Eustatius, Zoek Je Toekomst in Cariben', *Trouw*, 7 July 2015.
- 2015 'Groeiende Onvrede met de Nieuwe Status', *Antilliaans Dagblad*, 23 March 2015.
- 2014 'Het Democratisch Tekort in Ons Koninkrijk: Een Oplosbaar Probleem?', *Antilliaans Dagblad*, 23 September 2014.

Selection of Blog Posts:

- 2015 'The Island Experience', *KITLV Blog*, 6 August 2015.
- 2014 (with Jack Corbett) 'Is Small Really Beautiful? Lessons on Devolution From Small Island States', *Crickcentre.org*, 5 December 2014.

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2014 (with Jack Corbett) 'Democracy Does Take Root in Poor Countries, But Only If We Look at Small States', *Democraticaudit.com*, 26 November 2014.

2014 'Het Democratisch Tekort in Ons Koninkrijk: Een Oplosbaar Probleem?', *Stukroodvlees.nl*, 23 September 2014.

- **Letters (to editors)**

- **Books**

**S** Veenendaal, Wouter. (2014). *Politics and Democracy in Microstates*. London: Routledge.

- **Book chapters**

In press: 2016 Veenendaal, Wouter. 'Palau.' In Levine, Stephen (ed.). *Pacific Ways*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

**S** In press: 2016 Veenendaal, Wouter, and Wolf, Sebastian. 'Concluding Remarks: Achievements, Challenges, and Opportunities of Small State Research.' In Wolf, Sebastian (ed.). *State Size Matters: Politik und Recht im Kontext von Kleinstaatlichkeit und Monarchie*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

In press: 2016 Veenendaal, Wouter. 'Monarchy and Democracy in Small States.' In Wolf, Sebastian (ed.). *State Size Matters: Politik und Recht im Kontext von Kleinstaatlichkeit und Monarchie*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

- **Patents**

- **Other**

Selection of Academic Conference Presentations:

2015 (with Laurenz Ennser-Jedenastik) 'Population Size and Turnout: A Quasi Experiment.' Paper Presented at the 2015 Annual Conference of the European Political Science Association (EPSA), 25-27 June 2015, Vienna, Austria.

2015 'Non-Sovereignty: A Blessing or a Curse? Smallness, Insularity, and Political Reforms in the Dutch Caribbean.' Paper Presented at the 2015 Caribbean Studies Association (CSA) Conference, 25-29 May 2015, New Orleans, United States.

2014 "'Ohne Fürst Sind Wir Nichts": Smallness, Monarchy, and Political Legitimacy in the Principality of Liechtenstein.' Paper Presented at the 2014 ECPR Joint Sessions, 10-15 April 2014, Salamanca, Spain.

2013 (with Jan Erk) 'Putting All Our Eggs in the Freedom House Basket: Democracy, Democratization, and Research Methodology.' Paper Presented at the 2013 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), 29 August – 1 September 2013, Chicago, United States.

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2012 'Introducing the Size Factor: Political Representation in Microstates.' Paper Presented at the 2012 ECPR Joint Sessions, 10-15 April 2012, Antwerp, Belgium.

2011 'The Economic Crisis and the Republic of San Marino: A Comparative Case Study.' Paper Presented at the 6<sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, 25-27 August 2011, Reykjavik, Iceland.

Selection of Invited Lectures:

2015 'Clientelism and Citizenship in the Caribbean', Invited Lecture at the Symposium 'Verkiezingen als Ruilhandel: Burgerschap in Patronage-Democratieën', *Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences (KNAW)*, Amsterdam, 13 October 2015.

2014 'Politiek en Democratie in Microstaten', Invited Lecture at the *Radboud University Nijmegen*, Nijmegen, 16 December 2014.

2014 'Democratiseringsprocessen in Microstaten', Invited Lecture at the *Dutch United Nations Students Association*, Leiden, 30 September 2014.

2013 'Effecten van Kleinschaligheid op Politiek en Democratie in de Caribische Landen van het Koninkrijk', Invited Lecture at the *Directie Koninkrijksrelaties van het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties (BZK)*, Den Haag, 1 October 2013.

2013 'Politiek en Democratie in Microstaten', Invited Lecture at the *Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (SCP)*, 27 June 2013.

2011 'Politics and Democracy in Small States', Invited Lecture at the *University of Seychelles*, Mont-Fleuri, Seychelles, 2 March 2011.

Selection of Interviews in the Media:

2015 'Kwart Bonairianen Verlang Terug Naar Antillen', Interview at *NTR Caribisch Netwerk*, 22 December 2015.

2015 (with Gert Oostindie and Stacey Mac Donald) 'Groot Onderzoek naar Caribische Rijksdelen', Radio Interview at *Dichtbij Nederland (NMO)*, 2 April 2015.

2015 'Opposition Victory in St. Kitts and Nevis Unlikely to Make Waves', Printed Interview in *World Politics Review*, 27 February 2015.

2013 'Behoud de Kloof tussen Burger en Politiek', Radio Interview at *OBA Live (HUMAN)*, 6 May 2013.

2013 'Koester Kloof tussen Burger en Bestuur', Printed Interview in *Binnenlands Bestuur*, 3 May 2013.

2013 'Koester de Kloof met de Burger', Radio Interview at *BNR Nieuwsradio*, 1 May 2013.

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- 2013 'Koester de Kloof', Radio Interview at *Hoe? Zo! Radio* (NTR), 23 April 2013.
- 2013 'Kloof tussen Politiek en Burger Moet Blijven Bestaan', Printed Interview in *Nederlands Dagblad*, 18 April 2013.
- 2013 'Quattro Microstati a Confronto: il Titano Fa la Parte del Saggio', Printed Interview in *La Tribuna Sammarinese*, 16 April 2013.

Professional Reviewing:

- 2015 Reviewer of Transparency International's 2015 National Integrity Systems (NIS) Report on St. Maarten.

**5c. Top- publications** (see Notes, **max. 5**)

- Veenendaal, Wouter. (2014) *Politics and Democracy in Microstates*. London: Routledge.
- Veenendaal, Wouter, and Corbett, Jack. (2015) 'Why Small States Offer Important Answers to Large Questions.' *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (4), 527-549.
- Veenendaal, Wouter. (2015) 'Democracy in Microstates: Why Smallness Does Not Produce a Democratic Political System.' *Democratization* 22 (1), 92-112.
- Veenendaal, Wouter. (2013) 'Political Representation in Microstates: St. Kitts and Nevis, Seychelles, and Palau.' *Comparative Politics* 45 (4), 437-452.
- Veenendaal, Wouter. (2015) 'Origins and Persistence of Federalism and Decentralization in Microstates.' *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* (accepted).

**5d. Median impact factors for your own field**

Compulsory for ZonMw applications. For other NWO divisions, this is only compulsory if you have mentioned impact factors of the journal under question 5a (See Notes).

**0.734**

**Statements by the applicant**

**My thesis manuscript has been approved and I will send the official declaration to NWO.**

(Compulsory for Veni applicants who have not yet received their doctorates, to be sent by post and as a PDF using the electronic system.)

**Ethical aspects**

	Not applicable	Not yet applied for	Applied for	Received
Approval from a recognised medical ethics review committee				
Approval from an animal experiments committee				
Permission for research with the population screening Act				

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If applicable you need to send a copy of (one of) the aforementioned documents to NWO when your application has been granted and before the start of your project.

By signing this form I endorse the code of conduct for laboratory animals and the code of conduct for biosecurity/possibility for dual use of the expected results and will act accordingly if applicable.

- √ I have completed this form truthfully.
- √ By submitting this document I declare that I satisfy the nationally and internationally accepted standards for scientific conduct as stated in the *Netherlands Code of Conduct for Scientific Practice 2012*<sup>1</sup> (Association of Universities in the Netherlands) I have submitted non-referees.<sup>2</sup>

Name: Wouter P. Veenendaal

Place: Leiden

Date: 23 December 2015

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<sup>1</sup> More information:

[http://www.vsnu.nl/files/documenten/Domeinen/Onderzoek/The Netherlands Code of Conduct for Scientific Practice 2012.pdf](http://www.vsnu.nl/files/documenten/Domeinen/Onderzoek/The_Netherlands_Code_of_Conduct_for_Scientific_Practice_2012.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> It is possible to indicate non-referees (maximum of three names). The non-referees will NOT be asked to assess your application. Do not incorporate the names in the application. Please submit a separate PDF file with the names of non-referees via the electronic system at the same time as your proposal.

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Please submit the application to NWO in electronic form (PDF format is required!) using the ISAAC system, which can be accessed via the NWO website ([isaac.nwo.nl](http://isaac.nwo.nl)). The only exception to this rule concerns applications within the Medical Sciences. The Medical Sciences division uses a similar system called ProjectNet, to which access is provided via the division's own website ([www.zonmw.nl](http://www.zonmw.nl)). For any technical questions regarding submission, please contact the ISAAC helpdesk ([isaac.helpdesk@nwo.nl](mailto:isaac.helpdesk@nwo.nl)).