

**SUMMARY OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATION “THE EFFECTIVENESS
OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC MICROSTATES
AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH AND 21ST CENTURIES”**

The main aim of this dissertation is to evaluate the effectiveness of political systems of the following countries: Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino. Thus, they are a territorial framework of the thesis. The second part of the title – at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries – involves setting the research topic in the broad context of integration and globalization which we face in the modern world.

The context was narrowed down to *the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries*, when all the four countries were under a far-reaching democratization process of the political systems. The category of the European microstates, which is included in the dissertation title, is meant to indicate that the subject of this work is based only on the four above-mentioned European countries. Putting the adjective *democratic* in the dissertation title means that within the territorial dissertation the smallest country in the world – Vatican City is not included.

Being aware of the of political systems which are the subject of the dissertation and the impact of globalization and integration processes of the modern world on political systems, and in particular on their effectiveness, the aim of the dissertation is the diagnosis of the current state of affairs. It has been made by analyzing the functioning of political systems of: Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino and the confirmation of the thesis, according to which political systems of European democratic microstates have high level of effectiveness. There are also two hypotheses. According to the first one, the growth of openness of European democratic microstates to both integration and globalization, as well as to democratization, determines the high effectiveness of the political systems in these countries. However, according to the other one, institutions developed in the historical process in these countries have become elements of the identity of the inhabitants, and thus most likely had, and still have, a significant impact on the high effectiveness of the political system. In order to confirm the thesis and verify both hypotheses the author took attempts:

- to identify the main terms related to the topic (in particular – *the European microstates*) and to justify the exclusion of the Vatican City State from the study;

- to identify historical outline of the democratic European microstates, with a particular emphasis on political events at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries;
- to set apart the currently existing acts constituting the political systems of the microstates ;
- to identify and to undertake a critical analysis of the effectiveness concept;
- to define the criteria of the effectiveness of political systems in the conditions of a democratic rule-of-law state;
- to determine conditions of the effectiveness of each of the four democratic European microstates;
- to identify determinants of the effectiveness of political systems of these countries.

The study formulates a number of research questions. Among them, the Author attempts to answer, the following questions:

- how historical events in the 20th century influenced the democratization and the level of effectiveness of political systems of European democratic microstates;
- where the specificity of the political systems of these countries manifests itself;
- whether the political systems of democratic European microstates allow to realize the interests of social groups operating in these countries.

The time frame of the dissertation is based on the period from the early 80's of the 20th century to the end of February 2015. The turning point is the beginning of dynamism of the process of democratization in all European microstates. In turn, the final turning point is to show the indication of the future fate of these four entities, as well as the reference to the results of the recent parliamentary elections, which in the case of Andorra took place in 2011, San Marino in 2012, and in the case of both Liechtenstein and Monaco in 2013.

Literature lacks both the current and the complementary recognition of the specificity of the political system of each of the four mentioned countries. This justifies the choice of this issue, as the topic of this dissertation.

The selection of appropriate test methods was subordinated to the research goals. Those methods do not compete with each other, but complement each other and allow to analyze the undertaken research problem better. The most important method used in the dissertation was a comparative method resulting from the need to compare the effectiveness of political solutions and political systems of the four European countries, resulting in the indication and explication of political institutions properties. The main aim of the Author was, by using this method, to indicate both common and unique features that are specific for each

political system. Conclusions based on a comparative analysis of all four countries are presented in the last chapter, which is to indicate the conditions of effectiveness of the political system of a European microstate.

In turn, the legal and institutional method made it possible to delimit the field of the legal rules governing the constitutional system of each of the four countries which are the subject of this dissertation. The specificity of the political system of Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino points to the need to analyze the legal systems of these countries with regard to the different standards of political norms functioning in the political system in particular. They stand at the base of the effectiveness of the political system with a particular emphasis on the Sammarinese system, which is characterized by a constitutional system similar to the British one.

In view of the fact that the structure of current political systems of the four microstates is deep-rooted in history, it was necessary to use one of the historical methods. By using the historical-genetic method, it is possible to indicate a causal relationship in the political history of a complex nature. In addition, it allows to indicate the evolution of political institutions and party systems on the background of the changes in Europe at the turn of the century.

The analysis of political systems of four microstates was also possible thanks to the system analysis, in which each of the four political systems is treated as a separate one with all its components, with a particular emphasis on system environment, which, according to the Author, played a huge impact on the change within the political systems of Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino.

Achieving the goal of the dissertation was possible thanks to appropriate research techniques. The dissertation has benefited from the analysis and criticism of writing, supplemented by studies of the sources. In particular, the analysis of the sources was necessary due to the high dynamics of change in the European microstates in the last few years. In addition to the analysis of sources, scientific studies and the press, the Author used a standardized interview questionnaires, as well as observation techniques, which were, however, purely complementary in order to confirm the thesis, to verify hypotheses and to answer the research questions. The observation was based on a non-standardized form and sole.

Taking the adopted plans into account, deliberations were divided into an introduction, 6 chapters and a conclusion. The work has been complemented with a list of bibliography, as well as a list of abbreviations, contents, tables and diagrams. The subject of the 1st chapter are theoretical problems. In the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th chapters the Author carries out a detailed

analysis of selected elements of the political reality that - according to the Author - have a decisive impact on the effectiveness of political systems of the four countries (in order: Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino). In the last chapter the Author shows the results of the comparative analysis of the effectiveness factors of democratic political systems of the European microstates presented in the second, third, fourth and fifth chapters. The aim of the sixth chapter is to give the answer to the question of how much the individual institutional and non-institutional elements of political systems determine the effectiveness of the political systems of Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino. In conclusion, the author refers to the original assumptions confirmation or denying.

The thesis placed in the introduction, according to which the political systems of these four countries are highly effective, has been confirmed. All of the analyzed political systems have a relatively high degree of effectiveness. According to the Author, the Principality of Andorra has the most effective political system. A relatively high (though significantly lower than Andorran) level of effectiveness is the case of Liechtenstein political system. The effectiveness of the two political systems in other countries is high (San Marino) or moderate (Monaco). According to the author, a highly effective system of each country under discussion comes from, the merger of two aspects: the opening of the democratization processes and globalization on the one hand (which implies the first of the hypotheses), and the distinctiveness of the body (which largely comes down to confirm the second hypothesis). In other words: the adoption of a democratic system while maintaining the framework of the existing institutions has enabled a high degree of effectiveness of modern political systems of these countries.