LEVELES AND FACTORS OF TRANSITIONAL CRISIS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, MONTENEGRO, AND SERBIA

ABSTRACT. This paper analyzes and explores the perception of the relevant subjects on impact degree of the five negative factors: a) path dependence – inherited crisis factors in socialism, b) globalization of geopolitics and geo-economics, c) the responsibilities of governing structures, d) deficit of realistic and pluralistic institutional changes, and e) neoliberal economic policies at the level of the transition crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro. The aim is to determine the perceptions of respondents about the individual and the overall impact of selected factors on the transitional crisis. It starts from the hypothesis that in the transitional period all these countries had an increased level of socio-economic turmoil with dominating negative impact of the above mentioned factors. The conclusion is that overcoming the crisis requires consistent implementation of many social changes and economic reforms, which will induce the reduction and/or neutralization of all explored negative factors of influence, regardless of the expressed perception of their importance. The starting hypothesis has been fully proven using the multi linear regression analysis and a multiple hierarchical regression analysis.

JEL Classification: D02, O17, P31, P37

Keywords: transition crisis, path dependence, geoeconomics, nomenclature of authorities, institutions.

Introduction

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro are on a bumpy road to joining the European Union. For them, it has been the most important political and economic long-term goal. However, that road had and still has numerous obstacles, which are manifested as negative factors of influence on the social and economic realities. They generate and determine the low level of social and economic development. In fact, despite some positive processes and advances (in business, tourism, liberalization, civil society, civil and political rights, democracy, freedom of the media, the development of a knowledge society, environment for investments, etc.), the social, political and economic crisis have been reproducing and intensifying for the last 25 years. It is manifested through a number of indicators, including:
- **Social**: unsuccessful and palliative reforms, weak rule of law, poor governance, absence of formal and informal institutions, strong alternative institutions, criminalization of society, poverty, large social stratification, high administrative barriers, slow progress towards the European Union, gender inequality, systemic corruption, etc..

- **Political**: dominance of politics over the economy, the fight for the preservation of government, street protests, strikes, incidents in the assembly, political corruption, political privileges, the conviction of high political officials for criminal activities, charges of election fraud and dictatorship, turbulent political events, etc.

- **Economic**: underdevelopment (Montenegro has 41%, Serbia has 35%, Bosnia and Herzegovina has 29% of the EU-28 development), high unemployment (27% in BiH, 16% in Montenegro, 23% in Serbia), high public debt (70% of GDP – about €3 billion) with a tendency of rapid increase, high level of gray economy, inadequate economic policy (neoliberal), heavy dependence on foreign direct investment and its tendency to fall, collapsed economic infrastructure, weak competitiveness, etc (CBCG, 2014; Vlada Crne Gore, 2014).

It is difficult to empirically determine the real level (degree) of those indicators. Therefore, but also because of the heterogeneity of these indicators, it is impossible to objectively determine the real and the overall level of crisis. Due to partial evaluations, we have decided to present the survey of 1500 respondents (500 respondents per country). They spoke about their perception of the socio-economic crisis level as a dependent variable, and the five key factors of influence, that we selected as independent variables: a) path dependence – factors inherited from the crisis of socialism, b) globalization, geopolitical and geo-economic impacts, c) the responsibility of governing structures, d) deficit of realistic and pluralistic institutional changes, and e) the neoliberal economic policy. Understandably, all these factors have acted synergistically, although, they had various degrees of influence on the level of crisis, both individually, and together in all three countries that have been the subject of the research. In addition, the crisis has been constantly intensifying and increasing throughout the whole transitional period, but again is differently observed in the monitored countries. Therefore, the main task of the above research is to show the perceptions of respondents about the level of the current crisis and the degree of the certain factors of influence, both individually and as a whole (average) for all three countries.

1. **Theoretical framework**

These three countries are relatively small and underdeveloped in terms of their geographical size and population, geopolitical importance, market size and aggregate demand, production, investment, export, and technological potential. According to many non-economic indicators (political stability, democratization, liberalization and institutionalization of society, law, infrastructure development, safety, security, investment, compliance with environmental and social standards, efficiency of the legal system, human rights respect, etc.), as well as economic indicators (purchasing power, rate of economic growth, foreign trade balance, current account deficit, public debt, inflation rate, unemployment rate, public expenditure, investments, etc.), they are characterized by a long-term transitional crisis of structural type.

Many authors believe that the main developmental constraint was a slow and inadequate pace of systemic, institutional, and other civilization changes (Draskovic, 2006). It has been hindering the convergence towards the developed countries. Regardless of the disagreement of the various economist groups (neoliberals, dirigist, institutionalists) regarding the method of convergence (gradualist or shock therapy), they are unanimous in their assessment that, in addition to the above, many other crisis elements were involved:
consequences of the breakup of Yugoslavia, civil war and international economic sanctions, palliative and slow reforms, ballasts of the past and the transition (socio-pathological phenomena, deficit of democracy and the rule of law, illegal privatization process and misuse of state resources – Draskovic, 2006; Delibasic and Grgurevic, 2013) as well as the impacts of globalization (primarily geopolitical and geo-economic). Thus, during the 25 years of transition, these countries have failed to significantly overcome the negative effects of the following factors:

The first factor of influence relates to the legacy of the socialist ballasts (path dependence), of which the most important are: tendency toward paternalism, underdeveloped entrepreneurial culture, socio-pathological phenomena, NATO aggression, taking care of displaced persons, uniquely high hyperinflation, lack of political consensus, deep internal political and other divisions, administrative controls, anachronistic behavior that is characteristic for patriarchal societies, inefficient economic system, dogmatic notions of non-alternative development, cramped financial and non-existent factor market, undeveloped property structure, the dominance of politics over the economy and all areas of life and work, redistributive behavior, the institutionalization of privileges, procedural forms of domination and totalitarianism, unlimited political power, tendency toward soft budget policy, paternalism, factor income redistribution, minimum safety standards and various state guarantees, collectivist mentality of the people in relation to the authorities, fear of change, etc (Sueldo, Streimikeine, 2016; Saulius et al., 2016).

The second factor is related to the globalisation, geopolitics and geo-economics, the intensification of mutual relations between the great powers, and the increased struggle for resources (Engdahl, 2011; Luttwak, 1990; Lorot, 1999; Becerra-Alonso et al., 2016). There has been a breakup of the country, ambience of war, international economic sanctions, and increased dependence of foreign countries. Many authors (Berkowitz et al., 2003; Polterovich, 2012) have pointed to the negative phenomenon of “inappropriate” imported institutions (bad fit). Geopolitical and geo-economic impacts have been explained by Draskovic and Jovovic (2006), as well as Seekic et al. (2016). Also, P. Drucker (1999, pp. 63-65) has predicted the formation of global political structures and supranational authorities.

The third factor is the impact of the government, which has been analysed by O. Williamson (2000, p. 605). He believes that the ruling politic-economic structure (nomenclature of authorities) is always responsible for the development of institutions changes (Cvivilkas, Jurkonyte-Dumbliauskiene, 2016; Škare & Hasić, 2016). A similar opinion represent Denzau A. and D. North (1994). Starting from the above understanding, there is no doubt that this is one of the major causes of failure of transition reforms. The negative impact of nomenclature of authorities and their opportunistic behavior associated with their continuity throughout the transition period, palliative and slow reforms, the deficit of the rule of law and democracy, illegal privatization process, abuse and erosion of state resources, which in practice proved detrimental for the economy and society (Draskovic et al., 2016; Jovovic, Draskovic, 2016; Infante, Smirnova, 2016).

The fourth factor is the deficit of real, effective, and pluralistic institutional changes (Draskovic, 2006; Draskovic, Bauk, and Delibasic, 2016). L. Csaba (1995, pp. 13-15) has argued long time ago that the “systemic changes are the only possible source of economic growth”. Among the systemic changes, the most significant are institutional changes, and within them the ownership changes, because the "efficient institutional structure (primarily the property rights) are the most important condition for economic growth and development" (North, 1997; Clague, 1997; Acemoglu et al., 2005; Hodgson, 2006; Ostrom, 2007). Postponement of real institutional changes in the considered countries meant the postponement of their economic and social progress. This has predominantly determined the reproduction of crisis. Besides, D. North (1987, 1990), D. Acemoglu et al. (2004), G. Hodgson (2006) and
D. Rodrik (2000, 2007), have clearly pointed out that countries with weak institutional structures are much more prone to crises, which is measured by a drop in production and a variety of other economic indicators. However, this postponement is not accidental, nor "natural". On the contrary, it is the result of deliberate and interests establishment of various forms of quasi-institutional relations, where the force of institutional monism of the market type dominates, as well as privileged and inti-institutional individualism (Yerznkyan et al., 2014; Ząbkowicz, 2017). The basic method of implementing the anti-development reform has been monopolistic substitution of formal and informal institutions by alternative institutions and opportunistic behavior in practice (Delibasic, 2016; Delibasic and Grgurevic, 2013; Vitola, & Senfelde, 2015). As a result of the planned deficit of institutional changes in society, the economy have established new forms of dictation, dogmas, domination, alienation, and major social differences. D. North, J. Wallis, and B. Weingast (2009) call those phenomena "violence" or "limited access order".

The fifth factor is neoliberal ideology (Kovacevic, 2015) and the corresponding neoliberal economic policy (Lakic and Draskovic, 2015) and the corresponding neoliberal economic policy (Lakic and Draskovic, 2015). It has had a monistic character (oriented to unlimited and uncontrolled market regulation), and in practice it turned into a quasi-neoliberal (being based on quasi-neoliberal values – Domazet, 2010; Delibasic and Grgurevic, 2013). It was constantly supported by the neoliberal rhetoric (Draskovic and Delibasic, 2014), giving priority to the improvised and monistic institutional choices of the market-type (Scekic et al., 2016), as well as to the privileged individualism (Vukotic, 2004; Draskovic, 2006), which is, according to its dictate, opposite to the logic of social reforms and civilized norms of behavior, because it leads to inequality in the treatment of economic operators, neutralizing the possibilities for improvement of economic and political institutions. Neoliberalism has not accidentally gained in importance in the 1990s, especially in the period 2002-2005 (Boas and Gans-Morse, 2009, p. 139). The main reason was an absolutisation of the global neoliberal ideology and geo-economic aspirations. Their task was to create high dependence on the centers of power and their transnational corporations (Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005, p. 1; Palley, 2005; O’Hara, 2014), using the so-called "minimal state". In all these countries, quasi-neoliberalism has manifested as an exploitative system of manipulative rationality, which caused the substitution of competitive liberalism through monopolistic totalitarianism, economic reductionism and dogmatism of the so-called "rapacious state," led by the so-called "new elite". In terms of development, such system is irrational and crisis-related, because it has allowed the increase of inequality, social pathology, great losses for the society, and enormous wealth of a few (privileged) individuals.

2. Methodological approach in researching the perception of a negative impact degree of the four independent variables on the level of socio-economic crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia

The idea for this study is based upon the opinion of many authors (Draskovic, 2006; Draskovic, 2008; Mesaric, 2011; Polterovich, 2012; Delibasic, 2016; Androniceanu, 2017), who point out that the reproduction of the crisis in these countries is dominantly influencing those five groups of factors. In this regard, we have researched their impact as independent variables on the level of transitional crisis in Montenegro, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (as dependent variable). The survey included 1,500 respondents (500 per country). The idea of this paper, applying multiple linear regression analysis and the mathematical model, is to determine the functional connection between the dependent variable (\( \bar{Y} \)) and five independent variables (\( X_1, X_2, X_3, X_4, X_5 \)), defined as a theoretical framework.
3. Conducting research and results

Through the quantitative part of the research, the focus was on data collecting, processing, and analysis. A nine-level Likert scale was used to measure the perceptions and assessments of the respondents, on the dependent variable (transitional crisis), as well as the independent variables (heritage of socialism, geopolitics, nomenclature authorities, deficit of institutional changes, and neoliberal ideology), in a survey that was applied during the research. In measuring the dependent variable (transitional crisis), the scale marks were set from the lowest (1) to the highest (5). Regarding the independent variables, the negative impact was measured from the minimum negative (1) to the maximum (5) on the dependent variable. The survey included filling out 500 questionnaires for each country (Montenegro, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina), which made a total of 1,500 respondents. Collected data for this study were processed by SPSS software. According to the purpose defined in the hypothesis of work, descriptive statistics were used for the data analysis, correlation analysis, and multi-correlation. The multiple linear regression model was applied after (the method of least square), as well as hierarchical multiple regression model.

3.1. Application of multiple linear regression analysis

Before the regression analysis the descriptive statistics was performed. From the obtained results, the relevant results were singled out in the Table 1 and Table 2.

Table 1. Means end standard deviation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Montenegro</th>
<th>Serbia</th>
<th>Bosnia and Herzegovina</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Standard dev.</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Standard dev.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crisis</td>
<td>2.7590</td>
<td>.73655</td>
<td>3.2590</td>
<td>.73655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Path depend.</td>
<td>2.8679</td>
<td>1.07412</td>
<td>3.8120</td>
<td>1.09666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalization</td>
<td>3.8940</td>
<td>.67652</td>
<td>4.3060</td>
<td>.52241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>2.6320</td>
<td>1.28720</td>
<td>3.1120</td>
<td>1.25363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>3.5990</td>
<td>.78161</td>
<td>4.0870</td>
<td>.76229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neoliberalide.</td>
<td>3.3236</td>
<td>.88945</td>
<td>4.4260</td>
<td>.53861</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Coefficients correlation (R) and determination (R square)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Montenegro</th>
<th>Serbia</th>
<th>Bosnia and Herzegovina</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>.906</td>
<td>.507</td>
<td>.699</td>
<td>.504(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.820</td>
<td>.502</td>
<td>.489</td>
<td>.254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard error of the estimate</td>
<td>0.39577</td>
<td>0.5190</td>
<td>0.51880</td>
<td>0.72317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean square</td>
<td>38.35</td>
<td>25.16</td>
<td>25.39</td>
<td>53.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P value</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistical analysis of the data showed that the assumptions of normality and linearity of multi-correlation were met, which justifies the use of regression analysis model of the first order. All extreme values and atypical points were verified, and they also meet the prerequisites for the application of multiple linear regression model, for determination of the
relationship between a dependent and independent variables. As shown, the correlation coefficient R and the coefficient of determination ($R^2$) are sufficiently high (Table 2), and that also justifies the use of a multiple linear regression model. Using the model of linear multiple regression resulted in obtaining coefficients for each variable (Montenegro, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina). They show the contribution of independent variable predictions, both in the national and the aggregate level. Those coefficients are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Coefficients

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Montenegro</th>
<th>Serbia</th>
<th>Bosnia and Herzegovina</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>5.942</td>
<td>5.896</td>
<td>6.870</td>
<td>4.635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Path depend.</td>
<td>-.080</td>
<td>-.364</td>
<td>-.361</td>
<td>-.212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalisation</td>
<td>-.087</td>
<td>-.243</td>
<td>-.147</td>
<td>-.232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>-.099</td>
<td>-.220</td>
<td>-.244</td>
<td>.038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions</td>
<td>-.085</td>
<td>-.096</td>
<td>-.243</td>
<td>.314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neoliberalideo.</td>
<td>-.617</td>
<td>.198</td>
<td>.210</td>
<td>-.261</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The coefficients were obtained for each of the analyzed countries. Montenegro, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, the coefficients were determined in a function of the dependent variable, that is, the slice on the Y-axis ($b_0$) and coefficients ($b_1, b_2, b_3, b_4, b_5$), which correspond to the independent variables, $X_i, i = \overline{1,5}$ seriatim. Based on these values and average values estimated by the respondents, for each of the independent variables, were calculated „average“ values of the dependent variable $\overline{Y}_i$. These values are shown in Table 1. Using model was obtained the values: 2.76; 3.26 and 3.74, respectively for the case of Montenegro, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Given that the participants have evaluated the level of transition crisis by one number on a scale of 1 to 5, this is a relatively high level (>2.5).

Based on the mean estimated values of influences caused by independent variables on the dependent variable, which are relatively high in all cases (see Table 1 and Table 3). It can be concluded the predicted $\overline{Y}_i$, as follows:

For Montenegro:

$$\overline{Y} = b_0 + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_5$$

$Zax_1 = 2.86, X_2 = 3.89, X_3 = 2.63, X_4 = 3.59, X_5 = 3.32$

$$\overline{Y} = 5.942 + 0.08X_1 - 0.08X_2 - 0.09X_3 - 0.08X_4 - 0.61X_5$$

$\overline{Y} = 2.76$

For Serbia:

$$\overline{Y} = b_0 + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + b_5X_5$$

$Zax_1 = 3.81, X_2 = 4.30, X_3 = 3.31, X_4 = 4.08, X_5 = 4.42$

$$\overline{Y} = 5.896 - 0.364X_1 - 0.243X_2 - 0.221X_3 - 0.09X_4 - 0.19X_5$$

$\overline{Y} = 3.26$
For Bosnia and Herzegovina
\[ \bar{Y} = b_0 + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + b_3 X_3 + b_4 X_4 + b_5 X_5 \]
\[ \text{ZaX} \_1 = 3.86. X_2 = 4.05. X_3 = 3.54. X_4 = 4.50. X_5 = 3.92 \]
\[ \bar{Y} = 6.87 - 0.36X_1 - 0.14X_2 - 0.24X_3 - 0.24X_4 - 0.21X_5 \]
\[ \bar{Y} = 3.74 \]

For all three countries:
\[ \bar{Y} = b_0 + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + b_3 X_3 + b_4 X_4 + b_5 X_5 \]
\[ \text{ZaX} \_1 = 3.51. X_2 = 4.08. X_3 = 3.09. X_4 = 4.08. X_5 = 4.12 \]
\[ \bar{Y} = 4.63 - 0.21X_1 - 0.23X_2 - 0.03X_3 - 0.31X_4 - 0.26X_5 \]
\[ \bar{Y} = 3.25 \]

The main conclusions based on the presented data are the following:

(i) Standard error of estimate (Mean absolute percent error) in all three analyzed cases (Montenegro, Serbia, and Bosnia i Herzegovina) is medium, and amounts seriatim: 38%, 25% i 25%.

(ii) \( \bar{Y} \) value can vary based on standard error of regression estimate (SE) for the values: \( \pm 0.39577 \) in the case of Montenegro, \( \pm 0.51908 \) in the case of Serbia, and \( \pm 0.51880 \) in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(iii) Correlation coefficient values (r) are above 0.6 in all three analyzed cases, suggesting a linear dependence, which is very strong.

(iv) The data provide sufficient evidence to conclude that the model significantly contributes to the prediction \( \bar{Y} \) (p-value < 0.01. for all tree cases p-value = 0.000).

(v) Coefficient of determination (R\(^2\)) indicates that \( \bar{Y} \) is determined in 72% on the basis of the independent variables in the model (in the case of Montenegro), 52% (in the case of Serbia), and 48% (in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina). These means that the variance of the dependent variable is high volume explained by variance of independent variables, especially in the case of Montenegro.

### 3.2. Application of multiple hierarchical regression analysis

Furthermore, the analysis tested the ability of the model in order to predict the dependent variables without the direct influence of other variables. This was performed using hierarchical multiple regression model. The statistics of change is shown in Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Montenegro R Square</th>
<th>Montenegro R Square Change</th>
<th>Serbia R Square</th>
<th>Serbia R Square Change</th>
<th>Bosnia and Herzegovina R Square</th>
<th>Bosnia and Herzegovina R Square Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>.377</td>
<td>.377</td>
<td>.399</td>
<td>.399</td>
<td>.379</td>
<td>.379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>.425</td>
<td>.425</td>
<td>.433</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>.388</td>
<td>.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>.500</td>
<td>.500</td>
<td>.485</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>.458</td>
<td>.069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>.510</td>
<td>.510</td>
<td>.496</td>
<td>.012</td>
<td>.478</td>
<td>.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>.714</td>
<td>.714</td>
<td>.507</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>.489</td>
<td>.011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first step was entering the variable – heritage of socialism; the second step – globalization; the third step – nomenclature authorities; the fourth step – deficit of institutional change; the fifth step – neoliberal ideology. Multiple hierarchical regression analysis indicates that each variable in all countries largely explains the significant percentage of change in relation to the variable $Y$. Therefore the variables have not been excluded from the analysis.

3.3. Examination and analysis of the results

Correlation and multi regression analysis were used to research the relation between the dependent variable (transitional crisis) and independent variables of socialism heritage, globalization, nomenclature of power, deficit of institutional changes and neoliberal ideology. They provided defining the model of functional connection which has previously been shown. On the basis of coefficients $(b_1, b_2, b_3, b_4, b_5)$ it is reliably predicted change of the mean of the variable $Y$.

In case of Montenegro: if $X_1$ is increased by one unit and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.08; if $X_2$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant $Y$ will be decreased by 0.08; if $X_3$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.09; if $X_4$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.09; if $X_5$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.09.

In case of Serbia: if $X_1$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.36; if $X_2$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.24; if $X_3$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.22; if $X_4$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.09; if $X_5$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.19.

In case of Bosnia and Herzegovina: if $X_1$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased 0.36; if $X_2$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.14; if $X_3$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.24; if $X_4$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.24; if $X_5$ is increased by one unit, and other independent held constant, $Y$ will be decreased by 0.21.

Results of linear regression analysis and hierarchical regression confirm the validity of the basic hypothesis according to which the perceived value of transitional crisis is relatively high and influence of independent variable is relatively high (subjectively rated by the respondents). Hierarchical regression analysis shows that each variable significantly contributes to the explanation of the variance of dependent variable.

The level of transitional crisis is the largest in Bosnia and Herzegovina (mean is 3.75), then in Serbia (mean is 3.25) and the lowest is in Montenegro (2.75). Comparation of means by variables is shown on the Graph 1.
Graph 1. Comparison data by countries

The *Graph 1* shows that the level of different perception of independent variables in different countries. Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding the level of transition crisis is in worst situation than Serbia and Montenegro. Also, the negative influence of independent variables is the stronger in Bosnia and Herzegovina, after that in Serbia, then in Montenegro. Montenegro is in better situation than other countries, in all researched aspects. The existence of differences is expected because in the previous process of transition various economic, political, institutional and social changes have been realized. There are also other factors which have not been examined in this paper. Still, presented results clearly show similarity of models of influence and functional dependency, on the basis of common factors of influence research.

**Conclusion**

Theoretical part of this paper explains that the transitional crisis is influenced by different institutional, economic, political, cultural, and the following factors: conflicts of formal and alternative institutions, global processes, liberalization of economy, domination of politics, etc. Characteristically, they had a multiple impact through several independent variables which we have analyzed in three countries in transition (Montenegro, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina). During the socialist period, these countries had centrally-planned economies, limited economic growth, and spiral reproduction of the crisis. However, they are a typical example of the general situation in the Eastern Europe. Therefore, the results of this research are expected to contribute to the understanding the transitional crisis in the most Eastern European countries. Apart from some positive processes and improvements (in business environment, tourism, liberalization, civil society, civil and political rights, democracy, freedom of the media, the development of a knowledge society, environment for investments, etc.) the observed countries experienced the intensification of the social, political and economic crisis for the last 25 years. Conducted Empirical research has verified it. A number of negative factors provoked the transitional crisis. The most important of them (from my perspective) are selectively identified and explored in this research.

Empirical part of the research has confirmed that the transition crisis is dominant in all three countries. The multiple linear regression analysis, through chosen mathematical model, has determined the functional relationship between a dependent variable and the five independent variables, defined by the theoretical framework of this study. It has been confirmed that the independent variables largely explain the level of transitional crisis.
Particularly negative were the effects of neoliberal ideology and institutional deficit. Thus, the perception of the respondents and the results obtained after statistical data analysis have shown the correctness of the initial hypotheses of this paper – the transitional crisis is present to a worrying extent, and it is greatly affected by: the legacy of socialism, globalization and geopolitics, the nomenclature authorities, the deficit of institutional changes, and neoliberal ideology. Also, the linear relationship has been a fascinating display of functional dependence, describing the observed phenomena (relatively high value of the correlation coefficient).

References


