



Dr Rajko Tomaš

## KRIZA I SIVA EKONOMIJA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI



## CRISIS AND GRAY ECONOMY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

FRIEDRICH  
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STIFTUNG

**KRIZA I SIVA EKONOMIJA  
U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI**

**CRISIS AND GRAY ECONOMY  
IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

**Izdavač**  
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung BiH  
Sva prava zadržana

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„Grafič“ Banja Luka

**Za štampariju**  
Branislav Ivanković

**Tiraž**  
300 primjeraka

CIP - Katalogizacija u publikaciji  
Nacionalna i univerzitetska  
biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine  
Sarajevo

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Sarajevo, 2010.



# *Predgovor*

***Ekonomija iskrivljenih podsticaja.*** Ugledni i uticajni američki analitičar Henri Hazlit je tvrdio da se ekonomija može opisati preko jedne jedine lekcije koja se svodi na objašnjenje kako ljudi reaguju na podsticaje, a ponudio je i razlikovanje istraživačkog postupka istinskih ekonomista od tumačenja koja nude laici i demagozi. Prava naučna analiza podrazumeva razmatranje posledica bilo koje ekonomске mere ili aktivnosti ne samo na jednu društvenu grupu, već na društvo u celini, kao i uzimanje u obzir njenih kako kratkoročnih, tako i dugoročnih posledica. Laici nešto od ovog previde, a demagozi vešto prečute. Ekonomске analize upravo bi trebalo da unesu jasnoću u razumevanje tržišnih procesa, posebno onih koji su kompleksni po uzrocima i načinu ispoljavanja, a dalekosežni po svojim posledicama.

Siva ekonomija je jedna takva tema. Reč je o pojavi koja nije laka za analizu, jer ona, po definiciji, nije u domenu regularnog, institucionalno uređenog, vidljivog, statistički merljivog. Ona se javlja u gotovo svim oblastima privredne aktivnosti i u različitim vidovima. Često su to mnogo sofisticiraniji postupci nego što bi se na prvi pogled moglo pretpostaviti. Sve u svemu, siva ekonomija se u bilo kojoj zemlji mora procenjivati i analizirati na osnovu dubinskog poznavanja načina na koji funkcioniše privredni sistem. Drugim rečima: ona se procenjuje posredno i za njen identifikovanje neophodna je suptilna analiza i odgovarajući istraživači. Tema je u ovom slučaju pronašla dostojnog pisca.

Siva ekonomija – ekonomski legitimna, ali pravno ilegalna aktivnost (autor ukazuje na razliku «sive» i «crne» ekonomije) – nije fenomen karakterističan samo za nerazvijene zemlje, niti samo za zemlje u procesu tranzicije. Ona je globalni fenomen, ali njena raširenost se dramatično razlikuje među zemljama, a te razlike, u krajnjoj liniji, ukazuju na razlike u kvalitetu poslovnog okruženja. Bosna i Hercegovina je u tom kontekstu u krajnje delikatnom položaju.

Politički nestabilna, ekonomski neefikasna, pravno nesigurna s visokim stepenom otvorenog i latentnog siromaštva, ona predstavlja izuzetno

ranjiv privredni i društveni organizam. Sve pomenute karakteristike deluju istovremeno, prepliću se, a često jedna drugu i podstiču. Tako se stvara začarani krug privredne neefikasnosti i siromaštva. na jednoj strani, i korupcije i sive ekonomije na drugoj strani. Autor konstatuje: «Nema aspekta ekonomskog, političkog i socijalnog života u BiH na koji ovi faktori ne vrše loš uticaj. Time nema ni jedne oblasti društvenog života u BiH u kojoj ne postoje ozbiljni problemi, koja normalno funkcioniše, koja nije u nekom obliku krize». A kriza je plodno tle za sivu ekonomiju.

Studiju koju čitalac drži u rukama čine tri strukturno vešto uskladene i logički povezane celine: Opšta kriza – ambijent pogodan za širenje sive ekonomije u BiH; Opšti pristup sivoj ekonomiji; Siva ekonomija u Bosni i Hercegovini. Na taj način analiza sive ekonomije je smeštena u odgovarajući kontekst, to jest bez razumevanja izazova s kojima se suočava (i suočavaće se u budućnosti) privredni sistem BiH, nema ni mogućnosti za pronicanje u postojeće i potencijalne laverinte sive ekonomije. Naime, bez razumevanja kanala uticaja svetske ekonomske krize na domaću privrednu nije moguće razumeti postojeće događaje u privredi BiH, a posebno je nemoguće predvideti procese koji će je očekivati u bližoj i daljoj budućnosti. Svetska kriza će se nesumnjivo preliti i na domaće privredne tokove preko finansijskog sektora, kao i preko uticaja na tržište finalnih proizvoda i tržište proizvodnih faktora. Svetska ekonomska kriza će, primećuje autor, produbiti već postojeću krizu u BiH, a to znači da će i nakon prolaska krize na globalnom nivou, lokalna privreda i dalje biti u ozbiljnim problemima.

Analizirani su ključni uzroci sive ekonomije: izbegavanje plaćanja obaveza državi (ovo je briljantno obrazloženo upotrebom standardne Laferove krive, ali uz originalne analitičke inovacije); zaštita od smanjenja rentabilnosti poslovanja; ponuda javnih dobara i usluga, prenormiranost. Prenormiranost privrednog života predstavlja važan podsticaj sivoj ekonomiji – visok stepen sive ekonomije u jednoj zemlji uvek ukazuje na to da sa sistemom formalnih pravila koji regulišu privredni život nešto nije u redu. A to dobija posebnu dimenziju kada je u pitanju «ekonomija zarobljenih resursa». Rajko Tomaš posebno naglašava činjenicu (koja se ponekad svesno ili nehotično previđa) da manji ili viši stepen sive ekonomije u nekoj zemlji istovremeno predstavlja pokazatelj sposobnosti vlasti da sinhronizuju ekonomske interese, kao i propusta u makroekonomskoj sveri.

Postoje direktnе, indirektne i statističke metode utvrđivanja sive ekonomije. U ovoј studiji autor se opredelio za upotrebu indirektnog metoda procene sive ekonomije na osnovu ponude na tržištu rada. Ukupan obim sive ekonomije autor izražava kao proizvod dela društvenog bruto proizvoda koji stvaraju zaposleni u sektoru sive ekonomije i koeficijenta produktivnosti rada u sektoru sive ekonomije. Usmerenje na tržište rada je izuzetno dobar analitički potez. Preko tržišta rada se u punoj snazi (i u punoj jasnoći) odražavaju sve posledice mera ekonomске politike, kao i logika funkcionisanja privrednog sistema u celini.

Stopa nezaposlenosti (registrovana nezaposlenost) u BiH je visoka, a to direktnо stvara snažan i trajan podsticaj sivom tržištu rada. Autor polazi od toga da se u ponudi na sivom tržištu rada kao učesnici ne javljaju samo nezaposleni (što bi se moglo i очekivati), nego i zaposleni sa niskim primanjima, studenti, srednjoškolci i penzioneri. Reč je o socijalnim grupama čija su primanja na niskom nivou, to jest grupama kojima siva ekonomija predstavlja «socijalni program» (način održanja egzistencije).

Na osnovu pomenute analitičke procedure izvedena je procena da je u ostvarenju celokupne ekonomске aktivnosti siva ekonomija učestvovala sa oko 23% u BiH, oko 25% u FBiH, 18% u RS i 25% u Brčkom. U sektoru sive ekonomije bilo je zaposleno oko 290 hiljada ljudi: od toga oko 196 hiljada u FBiH, oko 90 hiljada u RS i oko 7 hiljada u Brčkom. Ukoliko bi se 60 procenata postojeće sive ekonomije prevelo u regularnu, takvo stanje bi se moglo smatrati prihvatljivim za evropske standarde. S druge strane, povećali bi se i prihodi vanbudžetskih fondova što bi doprinelo njihovom normalnom funkcionisanju.

Siva ekonomija ima i određene pozitivne efekte (raste zaposlenost, bolje se koriste raspoloživi resursi, raste ukupan stepen ekonomске aktivnosti i slično), ali na dugi rok ona neminovno vodi koroziji (kvarenju) institucija i u krajnjoj liniji urušava vrednosni sistem društva. U ekonomskoj teoriji je odavno konstatovano i dokazano (a privredna praksa je to ubedljivo potvrdila) da bez odgovarajućeg sistema vrednosti nema ni efikasne privrede, niti stabilne zajednice. Tako da ono što u kratkom roku izgleda kao pozitivna posledica, dugoročno neminovno vodi degeneraciji privrednog života. Jednostavno, sistem umesto da podstiče kreativno preduzetništvo (zasnovano na permanentnom inoviranju, snažnoj konkurenciji i

stvaranju novih vrednosti), podstiče procese koji su sa funkcionisanjem istinske tržišne privrede u direktnoj suprotnosti. Ili, da upotrebimo izraz Vilijama Baumola, podstiče «degenerativno preduzetništvo».

Borba protiv sive ekonomije podrazumeva istovremenu primenu tri metoda: integracije, legalizacije i eliminacije. Svaki od njih podrazumeva drugaćiji vremenski rok, kao i drugaćije aktivnosti. U svakom slučaju, reč je o dugoročnom procesu u kojem moraju uzeti učešće svi ključni društveni akteri. Ipak, autor ove studije opravdano naglašava da su dve ključne poluge za smanjenje sive ekonomije: borba protiv korupcije i efikasno delovanje države. Na tom pitanju vlasti, pred »nepristrasnim ispitivačem», polažu ispit i na osnovu ostvarenog ispitnog rezultata može se nepogrešivo suditi o njihovom kvalitetu. Tu nikakva opravdanja ne pomažu.

\* \* \*

Prof dr. Rajko Tomaš je na izuzetno analitičan i stručno zasnovan, ali istovremeno pregledan, jasan i čitljiv način ukazao na uzroke, načine ispoljavanja i posledice sive ekonomije u Bosni i Hercegovini, ali i na neophodne mere u cilju njenog suzbijanja. Ova studija će nesumnjivo doprineti boljem razumevanju privrednih i društvenih procesa u BiH, unaprediće postojeći nivo stručne i javne rasprave, a istovremeno će predstavljati i važan oslonac za promišljanje odgovarajućih mera ekonomske politike. Pored toga, studija će usled visokih stručnih kvaliteta koje poseduje, nesumnjivo predstavljati pouzdan i nezaobilazan izvor komparativnih analiza sive ekonomije u užem i širem regionu.

Beograd, februar 2010. godine

Dr Božo Stojanović,  
profesor Ekonomskog fakulteta  
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# I

**OPŠTA KRIZA – AMBIJENT  
POGODAN ZA ŠIRENJE SIVE  
EKONOMIJE U BiH**



## **I OPŠTA KRIZA – AMBIJENT POGODAN ZA ŠIRENJE SIVE EKONOMIJE U BiH**

### **1. Osnovna obilježja opšte krize u Bosni i Hercegovini**

Širenje svjetske ekonomske krize na Bosnu i Hercegovinu (BiH) nije praćeno reagovanjem vlasti, poslovne zajednice, sindikata i udruženja građana na način kako slične grupacije reaguju u drugim zemljama. Nažalost, različiti oblici krize i njenog različitog intenziteta ovdje su prisutni godinama. Stanovništvo je ovdje naviknuto na težak život, neizvjesnost, na nizak standard, na izolovanost, na političku nestabilnost, na loš kvalitet javnih usluga, na lošu infrastrukturu, na korupciju, neefikasnost pravne države, kršenje prava, ograničavanje sloboda, gubitak imovine, gubitak posla... Pod dugogodišnjim dejstvom tih faktora, motivacija običnih ljudi bitno je modifikovana u odnosu na motivaciju ljudi u razvijenim zapadnim zemljama koje je zahvatila recesija. Zbog toga, ovdje su i reakcije na širenje krize slabijeg intenziteta. Slabiji intenzitet reagovanja na manifestacije krize pokazuju i građani i institucije. Kriza je u BiH postala ambijent u kome se živi, ambijent koji kreira pogled na svijet, na reforme, na budućnost... Nažalost, iznevjerena očekivanja, političke obmane, nesankcionisani kriminal, devastacija sistema vrijednosti, bijedan materijalni i duhovni život svakodnevno u ovoj zemlji ubijaju nadu u bolju budućnost. Iako je u poslijeratnom periodu BiH ostvarila značajan napredak u svim oblastima, ona je ipak bliže ocjeni o stanju kontinuirane opšte krize i izložena je snažnom riziku pogoršanja stanja pod uticajem globalne finansijske, ekonomske i socijalne krize.

Opšta kriza u BiH ima više uzročnika. Navećemo samo neke, bez namjere i mogućnosti da ih ovdje detaljnije obrazlažemo. Njima bi se trebalo posebno baviti. Naš cilj je da prikažemo ambijent u kome u BiH potпадa pod uticaj svjetske ekonomske krize i da na osnovu toga procijenimo intenzitet njegovog uticaja na razvoj sive ekonomije.

*1. Politička nestabilnost.* U čitavom poslijeratnom periodu BiH je zadržala relativno visok stepen političke nestabilnosti. Proces demokratskog odlučivanja, usaglašavanja i koordinacije teško je funkcionisao. Efikasnost uspostavljenih institucija je niska. Temeljna pitanja ustrojstva BiH često se dovode u pitanje, demokratske institucije su prilično krhke, nacionalna homogenizacija je daleko snažnija od građanske, OHR je najmoćnija politička, zakonodavna i

izvršna institucija...<sup>1</sup> Sukobljavanje unitarističkih i separatističkih koncepcija je svakodnevno i često opterećuje sve aspekte reformi. U BiH se u miru nastoji produžiti ostvarivanje ratnih ciljeva: u izmijenjenim okolnostima i drugim sredstvima. Na drugoj strani, predstavnici međunarodne zajednice nastoje da budućnost BiH smjeste u pojednostavljeni prototip male evropske zemlje, kakva nije ni jedna od evropskih zemalja, ne pitajući se da li je to moguće. Da bi se integrisalo podijeljeno društvo, potreban je dijalog glavnih partnera u BiH. Odlučujuća uloga međunarodne zajednice u svim važnim događajima u BiH stvara prostor za političke manipulacije u pregovaranju, odlučivanju i strateškom pozicioniranju ključnih partnera u BiH. Politička stabilnost predstavlja teško ostvariv cilj u BiH, jer podrazumijeva da bi se mnogi, trenutno snažni, politički akteri morali odreći vlastitog političkog identiteta i uloge koju imaju.

*2. Loše stanje ekonomije.* Ekonomija BiH je opterećena ozbiljnim strukturnim problemima u privredi, odsustvom strategije i politike korišćenja resursa, što se direktno manifestuje u stvaranju malog društvenog proizvoda, vrlo niskoj efikasnosti upotrebe resursa i neekonomskom valorizovanju doprinosa resursa stvaranju društvenog proizvoda. Neto cijena rada je niska, ali je relativno visokim stopama poreza i doprinosa na platu vještački dignuta na viši nivo u odnosu na ponudu i tražnju rada na tržištu. Nezaposlenost je velika.<sup>2</sup> Plate, iako niske, rastu brže od produktivnosti rada.<sup>3</sup> Kamatne stope su veće nego u nizu zemalja u okruženju, osiguranja kredita su često rigoroznija,

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<sup>1</sup> Opširnije o različitim aspektima ekonomskog stanja u BiH vidjeti u: Dr Rajko Tomaš, **Ekonomija zarobljenih resursa (Economy of Captured Resources)**, Nezavisne novine, Banja Luka, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> U februaru 2009. broj nezaposlenih u BiH iznosio je 491 672. Krajem 2008. godine stopa nezaposlenosti u BiH, po ILO definiciji, iznosila je 23,4% a u Republici Srbkoj 20,5% (Izvor: Agencija za statistiku BiH i Bilten br. 4/2008 Centralne banke BiH). Međutim, statistički podaci pokazuju da je administrativno verifikovani broj zaposlenih od septembra 2007. do septembra 2008. godine povećan za 14852 zaposlena radnika. Na osnovu Ankete radne snage za 2008. godinu, dobijen je podatak da je u 2008. godini stopa nezaposlenosti smanjena za 5,6%, ili za oko 75 000 radnika. Dakle, polazi se od pretpostavke da su ti radnici zaposleni u sektoru sive ekonomije. U nekim prethodnim godinama siva ekonomija imala je veće relativno učešće u društvenom proizvodu, tako da promjenu stope nezaposlenosti u 2008. godini ne treba pripisati većoj tražnji za radnom snagom, nego, prvenstveno, primijenjenom metodu izračunavanja stope nezaposlenosti.

<sup>3</sup> Prosječna isplaćena neto plata u BiH u 2008. godini bila je 752 KM (Izvor: Agencija za statistiku BiH).

procedure zaduživanja su takođe često komplikovanije... Cijene i troškovi poslovanja u BiH brže rastu nego u evro zoni, mada je konvertibilna marka fiksno vezana za evro.<sup>4</sup> Liberalizacija trgovine, bez primjene odgovarajuće regulative i podsticaja domaćoj proizvodnji, koje liberalizacija podrazumijeva, dodatno je uništila domaću proizvodnju i obezvrijedila raspoložive resurse. Uvoz robe je postao uslov egzistencije stanovništva. Deficit trgovinskog bilansa iz godine u godinu raste, čime socijalna i ekomska održivost postaje sve više zavisna od uvoza.<sup>5</sup> Deficit tekućeg računa platnog bilansa je veliki.<sup>6</sup> Stopa siromaštva je jedna od najviših u regionu. Javna potrošnja ima visoko učešće u društvenom proizvodu.<sup>7</sup> Socijalna politika je nametnuta preduzećima kao parametar poslovanja, što nije običaj u velikom broju zemalja, što značajno umanjuje konkurentnost preduzeća.

3. *Odsustvo pravne države.* Bez snažne pravne države nema uspostavljanja sistema vrijednosti, nema pravne sigurnosti poslovanja, nema moralnosti u međuljudskim odnosima, nema zaštite imovine, nema ostvarivanja sloboda... Tokom rata, a dijelom i poslije rata, pravna država je doživjela najveću devastaciju u BiH. Očito je da vlasti, prije svega zbog vlastitih interesa, nisu željele pravnu državu, jer ih u njenom uspostavljanju niko nije ograničavao. Čak ni entitetsko uređenje nije prepreka tome. Zbog neefikasnosti pravne države u široj javnosti prisutna je predstava o BiH kao zemlji korupcije, kriminala, sive ekonomije, nezaštićenih ekonomskih sloboda, kršenja ljudskih prava, ograničavanja slobode medija...<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Krajem decembra 2008. godine, godišnja stopa inflacije u BiH bila je 3,8%, a u evro zoni 1,6%. Prema mjerenjima Eurostata godišnja inflacija mjerena harmonizovanim indeksom potrošačkih cijena u martu 2009. godine u evro zoni bila je 0,6%, dok je u Bosni i Hercegovini inflacija u tom periodu bila 0,7% (Izvor: Saopštenje Agencije za statistiku BiH br. 3, 20.04. 2009).

<sup>5</sup> Opširnije u: Dr Rajko Tomaš, **Makroekonomска ograničenja ekonomskog razvoja u Bosni i Hercegovini**, u „*Republika Srpska – petnaest godina postojanja i razvoja*”, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Republike Srpske, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, knjiga 18, str. 429-450, Banjaluka, 2007.

<sup>6</sup> Visok deficit tekućeg računa platnog bilansa održava se u čitavom periodu samostalnosti BiH. Krajem 2008. godine, deficit trgovinskog bilansa iznosio je - 9,574,366,000 KM (Izvor: Agencija za statistiku BiH).

<sup>7</sup> Konsolidovani javni prihodi BiH učestvovali su 2007. godine sa 45,4% u društvenom bruto proizvodu BiH (Izvor: Ekonomski trendovi, januar – juni 2008, EPRU, str. 8). Po nalazima MMF budžet opšte vlade BiH ostvario je u 2008. godini deficit koji je jednak oko 4% procijenjenog društvenog bruto proizvoda BiH.

<sup>8</sup> Različite međunarodne institucije i asocijacije periodično objavljaju svoja istraživanja o ekonomskim slobodama, uslovima za kreiranje biznisa, konkurentnosti, efikasnosti

4. *Niska efikasnost reformi.* Najveći dio reformskih procesa u BiH pokrenule su, vodile i finansirale različite međunarodne organizacije. Isto tako, veliki dio reformskih procesa nastaje kao ispunjavanje uslova za pridruživanje CEFTA, EU i NATO-u. Gotovo da i nema autentične reforme koju su inicirale i provele vlasti BiH. Takav način reformisanja ekonomskog i društvenog sistema u BiH nije stvarao dovoljno odgovornosti domaćih vlasti za provođenje reformi i praćenje njihovih rezultata. Isto tako, u tim procesima često je izostajala harmonizacija rješenja i koordinacija provođenja, tako da su nepotrebno stvarani neujednačeni uslovi funkcionisanja privrede i ostvarivanja prava građana. BiH je imala jedan od relativno najskupljih tranzisionih procesa ali, po ocjeni relevantnih međunarodnih institucija, dostignuti nivo reformisanosti ekonomije i društva još uvijek nije zadovoljavajući da bi se moglo govoriti o uspješnoj tranziciji. Spore i nedosljedne reforme blokiraju korišćenje raspoloživih resursa za razvoj, prлив stranog kapitala i transver moderne tehnologije. Reforme i promjene često nismo posmatrali kao nova obilježja sistema, nego smo ih personalizovali i politizovali, odnosno identifikovali sa partijama i pojedincima. Djelimično, odnos prema reformama i njihovim dostignućima određen je i činjenicom da su najčešći njihovi inicijatori bile različite međunarodne institucije. Raskidanje sa starim navikama, naslijedenim iz socijalizma ili iz ratnog perioda, često je doživljavano kao nametanje volje međunarodne zajednice, a ne kao svjesni odnos prema mijenjanju društva.

5. *Visok stepen siromaštva.* Iako je siromaštvo jedno od socijalno, ekonomski i politički najtežih obilježja BiH, ne vrše se sistematična istraživanja siromaštva.<sup>9</sup> Gotovo trećina stanovništva BiH je siromašna,

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tranzicije i slično, uspostavljajući na osnovu njih rang liste zemalja koje privlače veliku pažnju poslovne javnosti u čitavom svijetu. Mnoge studije (**Doing Business 2009**, The World Bank Group, 2008; **The Global Competitiveness Report 2008-2009**, World Economic Forum, 2008; **Ten Economic Freedoms 2009**, The Heritage Foundation, 2009; **Nations in Transit 2008**, Freedom House, 2008, **Kreditni rejting BiH**, Dun&Bradstreet 2009; Standard and Poor's 2008; Moody's 2008...) prikazuju vrlo loš rang Bosne i Hercegovine po nizu pokazatelja. Zabrinjavajuće je to što su vrijednosti nekih pokazatelja i zbirnih ocjena za BiH u posljednjoj godini u opadanju.

<sup>9</sup> Prvo ozbiljnije istraživanje siromaštva u BiH objavljeno je pod naslovom “**Preliminarni izvještaj o stanju siromaštva u BiH za period 2001 – 2004. godine**“. Ovaj izvještaj je rezultat zajedničkih napora Agencije za statistiku BiH, Republičkog zavoda za statistiku RS, Federalnog zavoda za statistiku, Svjetske banke, DFID, Birks Sinclair, IBHI i EPPU. Prema ovom istraživanju, 2004. godine 17,8 % stanovništva

ili je na ivici siromaštva. Siromašnih ima i u najbogatijim zemljama svijeta, ali biti siromašan u BiH mnogo je teže jer su šanse za izlazak iz siromaštva vrlo male. Dugotrajno siromaštvo deformiše motivaciju ljudi, svodeći je na težnju ka biološkom preživljavanju. Siromašni ljudi nisu nosioci velikih razvojnih ideja. Njihova kupovna moć nije pokretač domaće privrede. Oni su savjest svake vlasti i bogatog sloja društva. Vlasti formalno podržavaju borbu protiv siromaštva, ali je malo dobrih programa kojima se ono rješava. Najefikasniji metod borbe protiv siromaštva je obezbjeđivanje zapošljavanja stanovništvu, a da bi došlo do otvaranja novih radnih mesta, do rasta produktivnosti i plata potrebno je provesti mnoge reforme u ekonomskom sistemu. Naravno, potrebno je i mnogo više odlučnosti za pravedniju raspodjelu postojećeg društvenog proizvoda. U BiH nema dovoljno iskrene i odlučne volje za djelovanjem u oba pravca.

*6. Nizak nivo koordinacije između različitih nivoa vlasti.* BiH je decentralizovana država. Ta činjenica podrazumijeva efikasne mehanizme koordinacije i saradnje između različitih nivoa vlasti da bi se mogli ostvarivati zajednički ciljevi razvoja. Nažalost, BiH ima ozbiljne probleme u ostvarivanju koordinacije politika različitih nivoa vlasti i u konstituisanju ekonomskih funkcija države, po mjeri tržišta i potreba tržišnih učesnika. Kroz politička sukobljavanja o načinu uspostavljanja BiH kao funkcionalne države često stradaju ekonomske slobode kao polazna osnova efikasne tržišne privrede i demokratskog društva. Na prostoru današnje BiH ne postoji kontinuirano funkcionisanje tržišta koje bi oblikovalo autentične ekonomske principe ponašanja pojedinaca, preduzeća i države, te se ti obrasci ne mogu spontano nametnuti kao okvir ponašanja. Isto tako, ne postoji kontinuitet stabilnog funkcionisanja države, čime nije izgrađen autentičan koncept odnosa državnih institucija prema slobodnom tržištu, privatnoj svojini, slobodnom preduzetništvu, političkim slobodama i demokratskim pravima. U takvom ambijentu nivo povjerenja u institucionalnoj i ekonomskoj sveri je nizak. Činjenica da ne postoje efikasni mehanizmi sintetizovanja ciljeva makroekonomske politike na nivou BiH, te da se neke mjere, neophodne za njihovo ostvarivanje uopšte i ne provode na bilo kom nivou vlasti, uz nemiravajuća je sa aspekta kreiranja dugoročnog i dinamičnog razvoja.

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BiH bilo je siromašno, odnosno 21% u Republici Srpskoj i 15% u Federaciji BiH (Navedena studija, str. 3).

7. *Nizak nivo efikasnosti institucija.* Institucije različitih nivoa vlasti u BiH ne odlikuje se visokim nivoom efikasnosti. One sporo mijenjaju obilježja sistema, nedovoljno štite prava građana i poslovne zajednice, ne stvaraju kvalitetne javne usluge i za sve to troše veliki dio društvenog proizvoda. Zajedničke institucije nemaju opšti autoritet. Njihovo uspostavljanje uglavnom se odvijalo pod mentorstvom međunarodne zajednice. Dobro plaćena i privilegovana državna birokratija obezbjediće njihovo kakvo-takvo funkcionisanje. Ali, u tim institucijama nije stvoreno mnogo zajedničkih ciljeva. One nisu postale integrativni faktor zemlje, niti su pokrenule razvoj. Ozbiljna država, kad se suoči sa neefikasnošću svojih institucija, pristupa njihovoj temeljnoj reformi i reformiše ih sve dotle dok one ne dostignu željeni nivo efikasnosti. U protivnom, vlast koja ne vidi rješenje u jačanju efikasnosti institucija a sklona je da ih zamjenjuje kvaziinstitucijama, ili traži od međunarodnih institucija da preuzmu njene funkcije, osuđena je na propadanje. Stiče se utisak da mnogima u BiH odgovara neefikasnost institucija, mada je politička pozadina tog zadovoljstva često potpuno suprotna. Kroz neefikasnost institucija jedni dokazuju nemogućnost funkcionisanja BiH, a drugi potrebu za ukidanjem entiteta. Naravno, time se BiH politički destabilizuje i stvara prostor za pojačanu ulogu međunarodnih institucija, pogotovo onih birokratske orijentacije.

8. *Velika uloga međunarodne zajednice.* Jedna od najsnažnijih integrativnih snaga BiH u proteklih četrnaest godina bila je međunarodna zajednica. Veliki broj reformi proteklih godina u BiH izvršen je na inicijativu i „po mjeri stranaca“. Oni oblikuju njenu političku i ekonomsku strukturu prema ciljevima raznih misija. Pri tome, bosanska stvarnost uvjek je u izvještajima međunarodnih institucija «oslikana» takvom da potvrđuje opravdanost i uspješnost misija. Nažalost, i pored toga, BiH je ostala podijeljeno društvo sa nejasnom integrativnom snagom. Politički partner čiji se interesi podudaraju sa stavom međunarodne zajednice, ili koji ubjedi međunarodnu zajednicu da ga podrži, motivisan je da opstrijše postizanje sporazuma, da ne čini ustupke u cilju postizanja kompromisa i slično, jer će međunarodna zajednica biti snaga koja će ostvariti njegove interese, uključujući i one pritajene. Takvo „strateško“ oblikovanje BiH ne čini je stabilnjom. Sadašnja uloga međunarodne zajednice ograničava efikasnost postizanja unutrašnjih konsenzusa o važnim pitanjima funkcionisanja i razvoja. Očekivanje da će

međunarodna zajednica stati na jednu stranu ili, čak, donijeti konačnu odluku, podstiče razvoj pregovaračkih strategija koje ne vode uspostavljanju autentičnog dogovora unutar zemlje. Na taj način zloupotrebljava se pozicija i uloga međunarodne zajednice u BiH. Međunarodna zajednica mora napustiti poziciju arbitra i stati na poziciju podrške dogovoru. Ona treba podržati dogovaranje i odlučivanje u institucijama vlasti.

Navedeni faktori djeluju simultano i kontinuirano u čitavom poslijeratnom periodu u BiH. Nema aspekta ekonomskog, političkog i socijalnog života u BiH na koji ovi faktori ne vrše loš uticaj. Time nema ni jedne oblasti društvenog života u BiH u kojoj ne postoje ozbiljni problemi, koja normalno funkcioniše, koja nije u nekom obliku krize... Zbog toga, prisustvo i intenzitet manifestovanja navedenih faktora dovoljni su za zaključak o opštoj krizi u BiH.

Globalna finansijska i ekomska kriza dolazi kao prijetnja krhkoi ekonomiji i socijalnoj sigurnosti BiH. Bosna i Hercegovina nije na bilo koji način uticala na razvoj finansijske i ekomske krize ali će, kao i mnoge zemlje svijeta, morati da se suoči sa njihovim posljedicama. Neosporno je da pojava krize bitno mijenja opšte okolnosti razvoja BiH, utiče na odnose unutar nje, na procese koordinacije i usaglašavanja, kao i na promjenu ponašanja poslovnih partnera i povećava neizvjesnost ostvarivanja zacrtanih ciljeva.

Svijet se još nije suočio sa ovakvim tipom finansijske i ekomske krize. Njene razmjere i posljedice još uvijek se ne mogu sagledati. Ne postoje iskustva u borbi protiv posljedica ovakvog tipa krize, a ni ekomska nauka nema još uvijek odgovore na sva pitanja koja se postavljaju.<sup>10</sup> Nad malim, nerazvijenim i uvozno zavisnim zemljama, kakva je BiH, ekomska kriza se nadvija kao viša sila, prijeteći njihovoj ekonomskoj i političkoj održivosti.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> U najnovijoj knjizi Georgea Sorosa ( **The New Paradigm for Financial Markets**, the credit crisis of 2008 and what it means, PublicAffairs, New York, 2008, p. 8) piše: „Da bismo razumjeli šta se dešava, trebamo novu paradigmu (obrazac ponašanja, model, prototip: primjedba R. Tomaš). Sada dominirajuća paradigma da finansijska tržišta teže ravnoteži je pogrešna i obnanjujuća, tako da je moguće da su naše sadašnje nevolje u velikoj mjeri uzrokovane činjenicom da je međunarodni finansijski sistem razvijen na toj paradigmi“.

<sup>11</sup> Neki ekonomisti i političari tvrde da naši građani mogu „mirno spavati“ jer ovdje će se osjetiti tek indirektni uticaj krize. Teško se u to može povjerovati. Ovaj stav dosta podsjeća na tvrdnje sovjetskih istoričara da se Velika ekomska kriza iz 1929. godine

## 2. Područja najintenzivnijeg uticaja svjetske ekonomske krize u Bosni i Hercegovini

Još uvijek se sa sigurnošću ne može tvrditi koje će razmjere imati i kakve će posljedice ostaviti globalna ekonomska kriza na BiH. Vlasti BiH nemaju jedinstvene ocjene o pravcima ispoljavanja uticaja globalne ekonomske krize, nemaju procjene o mogućim efektima, nemaju usaglašen sistem mjera za reagovanje, niti usaglašenu strategiju ublažavanja posljedica krize. Vlasti entiteta nastoje da preventivno djeluju, da mobilisu vlastite institucije i da motivisu sve relevantne subjekte kako bi ublažili uticaj krize. Iza takvih akcija često stoje politički motivi vladajuće strukture. Međutim, razloga za usaglašavanje mjera i koordinaciju njihovog provođenja ima mnogo. Zajedničko djelovanje na sprečavanju loših posljedica krize ne mora biti pretvoreno u centralizaciju, u stvaranje novih državnih institucija i prenos nadležnosti nižih na više nivoje vlasti. Jednostavno, kriza je pojava koja ne poznae političke, nacionalne, vjerske, regionalne i bilo koje druge granice. Ona se širi ekonomskim kanalima, otežavajući djelatnost i šireći siromaštvo. Suprotstavljanje njenom razornom djelovanju, u saradnji sa drugima, jeste pitanje političke zrelosti, političke mudrosti, ekonomske obrazovanosti i socijalne odgovornosti.

Nagovještaji ozbiljnih uticaja globalne ekonomske krize na BiH već su prisutni, mada to neki ne žele da prihvate. Ovdje su berze već doživjele krah. Mnogi investitori na berzama pretrpjeli su velike gubitke. I onako visoke, kamatne stope su povećane. Povećane su kamate i na ranije uzete kredite.<sup>12</sup> Pritisak na dužnike jača iz bankarskog sektora. Doznake

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gotovo nije ni osjetila u Sovjetskom Savezu. Naravno, kada je bio u izolaciji i kada se tamo živjelo lošije nego u zemljama koje je zahvatila kriza. I danas se u BiH potvrđuje vrlo niska elastičnost političkog raspoloženja građana na pokazatelje lošeg ekonomskog stanja u zemlji. Na primjer, ovdje je stopa nezaposlenosti 23,4% (istina, bila je ranije i veća) i to se prihvata kao normalna činjenica. Istovremeno, u martu 2009. godine stopa nezaposlenosti u SAD bila je 8,5% (Source: **The US Unemployment Rate January 1948 to March 2009**, p.17, <http://miseryindex.us>, 21.04.2009) i svuda se govorilo o velikoj recesiji i tragalo za mjerama kojima bi se dostigao prosperitet.

<sup>12</sup> Krajem 2008. godine, ponderisani prosjek svih aktivnih kamatnih stopa komercijalnih banaka u BiH iznosio je 8,21%. Ovaj prosjek veći je za 28 baznih poena u odnosu na stanje u septembru 2008. godine, a čak za 42 bazna poena u odnosu na septembar 2007. godine. Istovremeno, kamatna stopa na oročene i štedne depozite smanjena je preduzećima za 50 baznih poena u odnosu na septembar i iznosila je 2,99%, a za stanovništvo za 25 baznih poena i iznosila je 3,61%. Time je povećan raspon između aktivnih i pasivnih kamatnih stopa (Izvor: Bilten br. 4, CB BiH, str. 60-62).

naših građana iz inostranstva se smanjuju.<sup>13</sup> Potrošnja stranaca i strane donacije se, takođe, smanjuju. Promet mnoge robe opada.<sup>14</sup> U velikom broju djelatnosti opada proizvodnja.<sup>15</sup> Izvoz se smanjuje.<sup>16</sup> Bilježe se i prva otpuštanja radnika, skraćivanje radnog vremena, smanjenje proizvodnje, ukidanje smjena u proizvodnji... Kriza se postepeno širi na sve sektore i na sva tržišta. Uočimo područja njenog najintenzivnijeg rasprostiranja.

*1. Destabilizovanje finansijskog sektora.* Efekti finansijske krize već su prisutni i biće nastavljeni narednih mjeseci kroz multiplikovano djelovanje inicijalnih poremećaja. Prvu fazu finansijske krize već smo osjetili kao destabilizaciju finansijskog sektora. Ona se manifestovala

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<sup>13</sup> Doznaće građana BiH iz inostranstva smanjene su u 2008. godini za oko 300 miliona maraka.

<sup>14</sup> „Iako je Uprava za indirektno oporezivanje 2008. godine okončala sa rastom prihoda od indirektnih poreza od 6,13% u odnosu na 2007. godinu, četvrti kvartal je donio pad u naplati od 4,5%, ili 57 mil KM manje nego u četvrtom kvartalu 2007. godine. Pad je bio zabilježen kod PDV-a i carina, dok je kod prihoda od akciza došlo do blagog rasta. Analizirajući trend kumulativne naplate u posljednjih pet mjeseci (X-08 – II-09) i poredeći sa istim razdobljem iz prethodnih godina, tj. X-07 – II-08, uočavamo dalje pogoršanje u naplati koje je započelo negativnim trendom u četvrtom kvartalu 2008. godine, a koji se nastavlja i u 2009. godini. Kumulativno, promatrajući za pet mjeseci, naplaćeno je **4,12% manje prihoda, ili 80 mil KM manje**.“ (Izvor: **OMA bilten**, broj 45, mart 2009, str. 3).

<sup>15</sup> Entitetski zavodi za statistiku posljednjih mjeseci bilježe značajniji pad proizvodnje u velikom broju industrijskih djelatnosti. Tako je u prva tri mjeseca 2009. godine, u odnosu na isti period prethodne godine, u FBiH došlo do pada proizvodnje ruda metala (-24%), proizvodnje tekstila (-35,4%), prerade kože (-18,2%), prerade drveta (-29,5%), proizvodnje metala (-26,6%), proizvodnje metalnih proizvoda (-36,9%), proizvodnje električnih mašina (-27,7%)... Istovremeno, u Republici Srpskoj zabilježen je pad proizvodnje ruda metala (-81,2%), proizvodnje prediva i tkanina (-36,2%), proizvodnje odjevnih predmeta (-14%), proizvodnje kože i predmeta od kože (-15,6%), proizvodnje proizvoda od drveta (-49,5%), proizvodnje metala (-62,1%), proizvodnje metalnih proizvoda (-37,2%)... U oba entiteta duža je lista djelatnosti koje bilježe pad proizvodnje u prvim mjesecima 2009. godine od djelatnosti u kojima postoji rast. Sa aspekta obima resursa koji su zaposleni u tim djelatnostima (broj zaposlenih, vrijednost kapitala), može se već konstatovati da je veći dio industrije BiH zahvaćen padom proizvodnje (Izvor: Indeksi industrijske proizvodnje, mart 2009, Saopćenje br. 9.3, Federalni zavod za statistiku i Indeksi industrijske proizvodnje, Statistika industrije, mart 2009, Mjesečno saopštenje br. 54/09, Republički zavod za statistiku RS).

<sup>16</sup> Izvoz tekućih industrije u prva tri mjeseca 2009. godine bio je 15,5% manji nego u istom periodu 2008. godine, a izvoz kožarske industrije u istom periodu manji za 11,9%. U prva tri mjeseca 2009. godine, u odnosu na isti period prethodne godine, izvoz ruda metala bio je manji za 43,5% (Izvor: Statistika vanjske trgovine broj 3, Agencija za statistiku BiH, 22. 04. 2009, str. 3).

kroz uznemirenost finansijskog tržišta zbog rasta rizika. Došlo je do pada cijena akcija, neodlučnosti za investiranje, neodlučnosti za zaduživanje, neizvjesnosti očuvanja realne vrijednosti imovine, smanjenja priliva novca u zemlju, promjene strukture tražnje za kreditima (smanjuje se tražnja za potrošačkim kreditima, a povećava tražnja za kreditima za održavanje likvidnosti). Takođe, došlo je do umjerenog širenje nepovjerenja prema finansijskim institucijama, dezorijentisanosti potrošača i štediša, suzdržavanja od potrošnje, djelimičnog povlačenja novca iz banaka, rasta kamatnih stopa...<sup>17</sup> Reagovanjem vlasti i banaka spriječeno je nekontrolisano širenje panike i negativni poremećaji su zaustavljeni.<sup>18</sup> Međutim, zbog povezanosti ekonomskog sistema, jednom nastali poremećaj se multiplikuje i iz jednog sektora prenosi u druge sektore. Na to utiču i loše prognoze o razvoju u budućnosti koje dolaze iz najrazvijenijih zemalja svijeta i najuticajnijih međunarodnih institucija. Zbog toga, i u narednim mjesecima možemo očekivati nestabilno stanje na finansijskom tržištu, održavanje visokih kamatnih stopa i manju ponudu inostranih investicija.

2. *Destabilizacija realnog sektora* ogleda se kroz smanjenje tražnje za dugoročnim potrošnim dobrima (automobili, stanovi, kućanski aparati, namještaj...), usporavanje rasta proizvodnje zbog neizvjesnosti održivosti potrošnje, smanjenje inostranih porudžbi robe, smanjenje interesa za investiranje zbog rasta rizika, usporavanje rasta spoljnotrgovinske razmjene, stagniranje tražnje za radnom snagom, rast troškova servisiranja kamata, rast zaliha gotove robe, pad vrijednosti akcija kompanija, kratkoročno usporavanje rasta cijena...<sup>19</sup> U izvozno

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<sup>17</sup> U četvrtom kvartalu 2008. godine ostvaren je negativan saldo prodaje i kupovine konvertibilne marke u iznosu od 628,3 miliona maraka. Ovo je posljedica povlačenja depozita iz banaka koje se odrazilo na smanjenje bruto deviznih rezervi za 538,5 miliona maraka, tako da su one krajem 2008. godine iznosile 6,295 milijardi KM. Smanjenje rezervi odrazilo se i na smanjenje monetarne pasive za čak 9,7% (616,8 miliona KM). Izvor: Bilten br. 4/2008, CB BiH, str. 36.

<sup>18</sup> U četvrtom kvartalu 2008. godine, Centralna banka BiH smanjila je stopu obavezne rezerve za komercijalne banke sa 18, na 14%. Ovom mjerom oslobođena su likvidna sredstva komercijalnih banaka. Međutim, povlačenje depozita iz komercijalnih banaka dovelo je do smanjenja osnovice za obračun obavezne rezerve za čak 852,8 miliona KM (25,9%). Takođe, u decembru 2008. donesena je odluka da se poveća osigurani depozit fizičkih lica na 20000 KM. (Izvor: Bilten br. 4/2008, CB BiH, str. 46-50).

<sup>19</sup> „Tokom četvrtog kvartala (2008) dolazi do većeg usporavanja kreditne ekspanzije i prosječna mjesечna stopa rasta je za 6,2 procenatna poena manja u odnosu na prethodni

zavisnim sektorima (tekstilna, kožarska, drvna industrija, rudarstvo, metalurgija...), koje smatramo posebno osjetljivim na uticaj globalne krize, već se osjeća usporavanje rasta i smanjenje proizvodnje zbog pada inostranih porudžbi, što se već odrazilo i na blago smanjenje zaposlenosti u ovim djelatnostima.

Međutim, širenje recesije u najrazvijenijim zemljama svijeta neće se na BiH odraziti samo kao kratkoročni poremećaj ili destabilizacija određenog sektora, nego će, postepenim širenjem, prerasti u ekonomsku krizu sa dugoročnim posljedicama po ekonomiju BiH. Pod uticajem tog procesa u BiH možemo očekivati gubitak konjunktturnog izvoza, što će smanjiti ton poslove u tekstilnoj, kožarskoj, obućarskoj industriji.... Takode, možemo očekivati dugoročniji pad tražnje i cijena sirovina na globalnom tržištu, zbog čega će doći do smanjenja izvoza iz BiH rude željeza, boksita, zatim drveta, građevinskog materijala, metalnih proizvoda, ali i drugih izvoznih proizvoda. Ovakve tendencije u izvoznom sektoru mogu ugroziti mnoga radna mjesta i egzistenciju velikog broja porodica. To se, dalje, na domaćem tržištu, može manifestovati kao rast nezaposlenosti, smanjenje plata i smanjenje potrošnje, sa svim lošim efektima na javnu potrošnju. Pod uticajem globalne ekonomske krize u BiH će zbog pada tražnje, koja se uglavnom generiše iz kredita, doći do smanjenja prometa nekretninama, prodaje automobila, bijele tehnike, namještaja... To će se odraziti na smanjenje proizvodnje, zaposlenosti i plata u građevinarstvu, sa sličnim posljedicama u industriji građevinskog materijala i nizu uslužnih djelatnosti vezanih za građevinarstvo. Opadanje spoljnotrgovinskog prometa može dovesti do smanjenja tražnje u uslužnom sektoru kao što je špedicija, međunarodni transport, turizam, prevoz putnika i robe, osiguranje...<sup>20</sup> Pad tražnje i prometa uticaće na promjenu relativnih odnosa cijena i relativnog položaja djelatnosti, što će vršiti pritisak na uspostavljanje novih strukturnih odnosa u privredi.

*3. Destabilizovanje tržišta robe.* Najveći broj robnih tržišta biće destabilizovan uticajem svjetske ekonomske krize zbog naglih promjena na strani tražnje. Pad tražnje za velikim brojem roba, u prvoj fazi, izazvaće višak ponude i odgovarajući pad cijene. Troškovi zaliha

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kvartal. Naime, tokom cijelog četvrtog kvartala bilježi se pad stope rasta sa 27,9% u septembru, na 21,7% u decembru 2008<sup>“</sup>. (Izvor: Bilten br. 4/2008, CB BiH, str. 52).

<sup>20</sup> Broj noćenja stranih turista u BiH u februaru 2009. godine bio je manji za 13,6% nego u februaru prethodne godine. Slična je tendencija i kod domaćih turista (Izvor: Agencija za statistiku BiH, Statistika turizma).

će porasti, a likvidnost prodavaca će opasti. Na takav prvi šok trgovci će reagovati smanjenjem porudžbi, što će se odraziti na smanjenje proizvodnje i zaposlenosti resursa. Ova reakcija na domaćem tržištu manifestovaće se kao smanjenje uvoza i povećanje ponude domaće robe koja nije mogla biti izvezena zbog smanjenja inostrane tražnje. Međutim, time neće doći do kompenzovanja efekta smanjenja uvoza i efekta povećanje domaće ponude, jer se struktura tih efekata uglavnom ne podudara. Zbog toga, doći će do apsolutnog smanjenja uvoza, smanjenja izvoza i smanjenja domaće proizvodnje. Svatri navedena efekta uticaće na smanjenje tražnje na domaćem tržištu. Smanjenje uvoza direktno će uticati na smanjenje javnih prihoda (carine, akcize, PDV) i tražnju države i budžetskih potrošača. Smanjenje izvoza i proizvodnje smanjiće tražnju sektora privrede i zaposlenih.

4. *Destabilizovanje tržišta faktora proizvodnje.* Destabilizovanje finansijskog i realnog sektora, te tržišta robe odraziće se i na destabilizaciju tržišta faktora proizvodnje. Kapital će postati skuplji, a roba jeftinija. Proizvodnja koja koristi skuplji kapital da bi se proizvodila jeftinija roba nije ekonomski opravdana. Zbog toga, u tržišnim uslovima u kojima kapital postaje skuplji, a roba jeftinija, doći će do pada cijena i tražnje velikog broja sirovina, poluproizvoda, mašina, opreme, energije i radne snage. Razumljivo, reakcija proizvođača i prodavaca faktora proizvodnje biće smanjenje ponude sa svim lošim posljedicama na agregatne veličine. Smanjenje ponude uticaće na zaustavljanje pada cijena. Naravno, izuzetak će biti radna snaga. Njena ponuda će biti povećana. Zbog toga, ako kriza potraje duže, njene posljedice bi mogle biti najteže na tržištu radne snage, odnosno broj siromašnih u zemlji bi mogao naglo porasti.

5. *Oscilacije cijena.* Nagovještaji širenja krize u BiH pojavili su se kroz rast cijena u posljednjem kvartalu 2007. godine i u prvoj polovini 2008. godine.<sup>21</sup> Sve više cijene robe koja je najviše uvožena i trošena (hrana i

<sup>21</sup> Ne treba zaboraviti loše iskustvo ekonomije BiH sa rastom cijena hrane i nafte u zadnjem kvartalu 2007. i u prvoj polovini 2008. godine. Iako su ekonomisti upozoravali da na rast cijena na domaćem tržištu utiču i domaći faktori, ipak je u javnosti prihvaćeno stanovište da najveći uticaj na rast cijena na domaćem tržištu imaju poremećaji u globalnoj ekonomiji. Ti „poremećaji u globalnoj ekonomiji“ usko su povezani sa krizom u SAD. Ako uporedimo rast cijena robe široke potrošnje (avgust 2008/avgust 2007), vidjećemo da su one kod nas više porasle (9,4%) nego u SAD (5,4%) i EU (4,2%). U evro zoni, sa kojom bi se trebali porebiti zbog fiksne vezanosti kursa konvertibilne marke za evro, cijene su porasle 3,8%. Isto tako, ako uporedimo kamatne stope na kredite, lako ćemo uočiti da su opet prednosti na strani SAD i EU.

gorivo) povećavale su troškove proizvodnje i troškove života stanovništva. Privreda je postajala sve manje konkurentna, a stanovništvo siromašnije. Međutim, rast cijena povećavao je osnovicu za obračun javnih prihoda. Time se vlastima stvarala predstava da više javnih prihoda nastaje kao posljedica dobrog stanja u ekonomiji, a ne kao posljedica siromašenja privrede i stanovništva. Veći javni prihodi davali su veće mogućnosti potrošnje i budžeti su rasli. Javni prihodi su indeksirani automatski preko rasta poreske osnovice. Tako je država mogla da očuva realni nivo potrošnje, dok stanovništvo, sa fiksnim prihodima ili prihodima koji sporije rastu od rasta cijena, nije moglo. Takođe, preduzeća čije cijene nisu rasle, ili čije su cijene sporije rasle od prosjeka, te preduzeća kod kojih se smanjivala tražnja zbog rasta cijena, došla su u težu poziciju. To koliko se pogoršao položaj stanovništva i privrede predstavlja «umiranje» ekonomске moći društva. Naravno, u takvim okolnostima, i «blagostanje» države je ograničeno, a predstava o nepresušnom izvoru javnih prihoda iluzija koja navodi državu da učestvuje u destabilizovanju ekonomskog sistema. Svi nivoi vlasti u BiH iskoristili su inflacioni rast osnovice javnih prihoda iz 2008. godine za planiranje budžeta za 2009. godinu. Međutim, zaoštravanje krize u 2009. godini prisiliće ih da javnu potrošnju redukuju na nivo podnošljivosti za privredu i stanovništvo.

Širenje krize u realnom sektoru relativno brzo je dovelo do suprotnih tendencija opšteg nivoa cijena. Od novembra 2008. godine do danas (april 2009. godine) u BiH se registruje blaga deflacija. Ona je djelimično posljedica vraćanja cijena nafte i hrane na niži nivo na svjetskom tržištu zbog smanjenja ekonomске aktivnosti krajem 2008. i početkom 2009. godine. Međutim, posljednjih mjeseci pad cijena u BiH sve više postaje posljedica smanjenja domaće tražnje. Istina, deflacjiji se mnogi raduju, a pogotovo oni sa fiksnim dohocima. Ona kratkoročno popravlja njihovu kupovnu moć. Međutim, deflacija je pogubna za proizvodnju. U uslovima deflacijske pada rentabilnost kapitala u proizvodnji, zbog čega preduzeća smanjuju proizvodnju i zaposlenost faktora proizvodnje. To se dalje odražava na pad cijena faktora proizvodnje. Međutim, u uslovima deflacijske očekuje se kontinuirani pad cijena, tako da niža cijena faktora proizvodnje i finalnih proizvoda neće imati za posljedicu rast tražnje. Očekivanje smanjenja cijena utiče na dalji pad tražnje, a pad tražnje utiče na dalji pad cijena. Dakle, deflacija postepeno zaustavlja ekonomiju i dugoročno ne donosi dobro ni vlasnicima robe, a ni vlasnicima resursa. Ona, jedino, kratkoročno

pogoduje onima koji imaju obezbijedene prihode i koji samo učestvuju u potrošnji.

I razvijene zemlje svijeta susreću se sa deflacijom<sup>22</sup>. Međutim, one mnogo lakše rješavaju problem njenog razarajućeg djelovanja na ekonomiju. Deflaciјu pokreće pad tražnje, uglavnom, prouzrokovani skupim novcem. Zemlje koje vode diskrecionu monetarnu politiku u uslovima deflaciјe mogu povećati ponudu novca i smanjiti njegovu cijenu a da to ne izazove inflaciju. BiH nema klasičnu centralnu banku i ne može štampanjem novca rješavati problem manjka tražnje. Da bi povećala tražnju i oslobođila se razornog dejstva deflaciјe, BiH se mora zadužiti i opteretiti poreske obveznike u narednim godinama.

Naravno, ekonomski kriza nije dobar ambijent za bilo koju dimenziju društvenog života. Ona može uticati na dosljednost rada institucija, na ugrožavanje sistema vrijednosti, moralnosti i humanosti.

### **3. Zaoštravanja opšte krize u Bosni i Hercegovini**

Sa aspekta sadašnjeg razvoja krize u svijetu i njenih uticaja na BiH ekonomiju i društvo, može se prepostaviti da će zaoštravanje opšte krize u BiH biti generisano iz slijedećih pravaca:

*1. Pad ekonomске aktivnosti.* Prethodno je pokazano da se već registriraju ozbiljni poremećaji u funkcionalisanju ekonomije i da je neizvjesno koliko dugo i kojim intenzitetom će opadati ekonomski pokazatelji. Međutim, izvjesno je da je ekonomija BiH zabilježila u 2009. godini usporavanje rasta društvenog proizvoda, smanjenje obima spoljnotrgovinske razmjene, rast nezaposlenosti, smanjenje investicija, širenje siromaštva, smanjenje budžetskih prihoda, rast zaduženosti (države, preduzeća, stanovništva)<sup>23</sup>... Takve pojave su praćene širenjem

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<sup>22</sup> U evro zoni zabilježena je deflacija u kontinuiranom tromjesečnom trajanju: novembar 2008 – 0,5%, decembar 2008 – 0,1% i januar 2009 – 0,8% (Izvor: Eurostat). U SAD zabilježena je deflacija u kontinuiranom tromjesečnom trajanju: oktobar 2008 - 0,8%, novembar 2008 – 1,7% i decembar 2008 – 0,8%.

<sup>23</sup> Prema najnovijem stand by aranžmanu sa MMF BiH će se zadužiti za novih oko 2,4 milijarde maraka. Svi uslovi pod kojima će se provesti ovo zaduženje još uvijek nisu poznati javnosti. Ovim zaduženjem sadašnji inostrani dug od 4,2 milijarde maraka povećaće se za 57%. Već sada u našoj godišnjoj otplatni inostranog duga kamata učestvuje sa preko 47%. Poslije početka otplate novog zaduženja preći će 50%. Gore od toga je što taj novac neće biti potrošen za provođenje ključnih reformi koje su

korupcije, kriminala i sive ekonomije. Zbog toga, mnoga, makar i blaga poboljšanja u nizu sektora, koja su učinjena provođenjem reformi proteklih godina, biće eliminisana ili umanjeno njihovo pozitivno dejstvo.

*2. Usporavanje ili zaustavljanje reformi.* U BiH i do sada su teško i sporo provođene reforme. Kriza će usporiti ili potpuno zaustaviti reforme u nizu oblasti. Mogućnosti društva da finansira troškove provođenja reformi će se smanjiti, a bez reformi BiH ne može obezbijediti potrebni nivo političke stabilnosti i ne može se ekonomski razvijati.

*3. Politizacija krize i njenih posljedica.* Ekonomска kriza širom svijeta je ojačala ulogu države i djelimično ograničila slobodno preduzetništvo. Nisu rijetke i sumnje u ispravnost koncepta liberalnog tržišta. U takvom miljeu, postepeno se diferencira doktrina nove ekonomске uloge države, ali i nova koncepcija ekonomskog federalizma između različitih nivoa vlasti. Takav razvoj događaju u svijetu ohrabriće pristalice centralizma u BiH da pojačaju zahtjeve za jačanje centralne vlasti i prenos nadležnosti sa entiteta na državu. Naravno, pristalice decentralizacije i federativnog uređenja BiH neće to prihvati. Produbljavanje političke krize u BiH biće izvjesno.

*4. Zaoštravanje pitanja raspodjele javnih prihoda.* Masa javnih prihoda u BiH se smanjila tokom 2009. godine. U uslovima smanjenja javnih prihoda brzo će se postaviti pitanje ko više snosi posljedice uticaja svjetske ekonomске krize. Ovaj problem će biti prisutan na svim linijama raspodjele javnih prihoda: između opština i entiteta; entiteta i države; države i fondova... Već su se pojavili zahtjevi za promjenu poreskih stopa, akciza i stopa doprinosa. Što bude bio veći pritisak krize na javne prihode, to će sve više biti zahtjeva za promjenu odnosa u raspodjeli javnih prihoda, ali će i riješenost za očuvanje zatečenih pozicija biti jača.

*5. Smanjenje mogućnosti finansijske intervencije vlasti.* Kriza će ugroziti likvidnost privrede, banaka i domaćinstava, ali i budžeta. Na drugoj strani, potreba za socijalnim transverzima iz budžeta će rasti, ali će novca za intervencije biti manje. Vlast koja ima ograničene

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neminovne za opštu stabilizaciju stanja u BiH, nego, de facto, za pokrivanje deficit-a načinjenih u proteklim godinama i „rezervisanim“ za naredne godine. Takvim deficitima vlasti su „kupovale“ politički mir i „ukrašavale“ ambijent u kome vladaju.

mogućnosti intervencije u uslovima krize gubi autoritet kod birača. Zbog činjenice da Centralna banka BiH funkcioniše kao currency board, ne postoji mogućnosti da se vlade zadužuju kod centralne banke, tako da BiH nije u mogućnosti da koristi jedan od čestih mehanizama pribavljanja novca za intervenciju u kriznim situacijama. Za obezbjedenje makroekonomske stabilnosti vlasti BiH su, uglavnom, upućene na međunarodne finansijske institucije.

*6. Otežano postizanje konsenzusa povodom zaduživanja.* U uslovima slabe koordinacije ekonomskih politika i odsustva konzistentne zajedničke makroekonomske politike, posljedice svjetske ekonomske krize u BiH se ne doživljavaju kao jedinstven problem. Zbog toga svako ima „svoju krizu“. Kriza ne pogada jednakо sve sektore, jednakо svaki entitet, kanton, opština... Saglasno tome, potrebe za intervencijom su različite. U takvim uslovima, s razvojem krize, sve teže će biti postizati konsenzus o inostranom zaduživanju koji je neminovan da bi se zaduženje moglo realizovati.<sup>24</sup>

*7. Rast poreskog opterećenja.* Manjak javnih prihoda zbog smanjenja ekonomske aktivnosti vlasti će nastojati nadoknaditi povećanjem poreskih stopa, proširenjem poreske osnovice i povećanjem fiksnih naknada.<sup>25</sup> Ova tendencija će zaoštiti odnose između vlasti i poreskih obveznika. Sklonost ka poreskoj avaziji će se povećati, a poslovni ambijent će biti pogoršan.

*8. Socijalizacija gubitaka i investicionih promašaja.* U uslovima krize postoji tendencija da se troškovi lošeg poslovanja i loših plasmana „socijalizuju“, odnosno prevaljuju na poreske obveznike. Socijalna bijeda siromašnih u uslovima krize koristi se kao argument za iznuđavanje finansijske podrške od strane države, davanje drugih ustupaka poslodavcima na teret javnog novca i snižavanje plata zaposlenih. Zbog socijalnih prijetnji, vlasti nemaju dovoljno hrabrosti da preduzeća i banke upute na tržište da zarade novac.<sup>26</sup> Tako se slabí

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<sup>24</sup> Pregovori sa MMF o novom stand by aranžmanu već su potvrdili ovu tendenciju. Ispunjavanje uslova za povlačenje tranši kredita moglo bi da bude još komplikovanije.

<sup>25</sup> Ova tendencija već postoji. Smanjenje prihoda zbog smanjenja i ukidanja carina sa EU se nastoji nadoknaditi povećanjem akciza. Postoje i ideje o povećanju stope PDV i stope poreza na dohodak i dobit, te proširenju poreske osnovice poreza na dohodak na isplaćenu dobit, odnosno dividendu.

<sup>26</sup> Na primjer, u prva četiri mjeseca 2009. godine dobit na koju je obračunat i uplaćen porez u Republici Srpskoj porasla je za 20% u odnosu na isti period 2008. godine. U toku 2008. godine dobit na koju je obračunat i plaćen porez porasla je čak za 75% u

efikasnost cijelog sistema. Isto tako, time kriza otvara novi prostor za korupciju i zloupotrebu javnog novca.

*9. Sklonost ka protekcionizmu.* I najrazvijenije zemlje su, pritisnute recesijom, posegle za protekcionizmom. Protekcionizam je vrlo opasno „oruđe“ globalnog svijeta i ujedinjene Evrope. Međutim, na protekcionizam je legitimno odgovoriti protekcionizmom. Poslije niza mjera otvorenog i prikrivenog protekcionizma u zemljama najvećim spoljnotrgovinskim partnerima BiH, i vlasti BiH će, pod pritiskom domaćih proizvođača, posegnuti za protekcionizmom. Nažalost, BiH time neće uspjeti zaštiti i povećati domaću proizvodnju, ali će izazvati kontra mjere spoljnotrgovinskih partnera čime će ugroziti svoju poziciju u okviru CEFTA sporazuma. Takođe, zbog visoke uvozne zavisnosti, vraćanje carina na neke proizvode neće supstituisati uvoz, ali će uticati na povećanje cijena tih proizvoda na domaćem tržištu.<sup>27</sup>

*10. Usporavanje integracija.* Pogoršavanje stanja ekonomije, socijalnog položaja stanovništva, političke stabilnosti i jačanje sklonosti ka protekcionizmu ugroziće integrisanje BiH u Evropsku uniju. BiH sa produbljenom opštom krizom biće manje prihvatljiva za Evropsku uniju ali će, kao takva, biti i manje spremna da preuzme sve ekonomske i političke obaveze koje proističu iz integrisanja u EU.

Opšta kriza u BiH ima svoju ekonomsku, političku i socijalnu dimenziju. Svjetska ekonomska kriza zaoštice svatri aspekta krize. Istina, zbog niskog nivoa ekonomske aktivnosti ukupan apsolutni efekat gubitaka zbog krize u BiH, u poređenju sa drugim zemljama, može izgledati mali. Međutim, najveća šteta po BiH nastaje upravo kroz produbljavanje opšte krize. Sve što je učinjeno u BiH u poslijeratnom periodu na poboljšanju ekonomske, političke i socijalne stabilnosti zahtijevalo je mnogo truda i mnogo novca, a efekti su često bili lošiji

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odnosu na 2007. godinu. Po ovom pokazatelju, koji se ne smije potcijeniti, ne bi se moglo zaključiti o širenju ekonomske krize.

<sup>27</sup> BiH je otvorila raspravu o Zakonu o zaštiti domaće proizvodnje. Eventualnim usvajanjem Zakona, BiH će ugroziti svoju poziciju u okviru CEFTA sporazuma, a i proces integrisanja u EU bi mogao biti ozbiljno usporen. Domaća proizvodnja (poljoprivreda) tim zakonom neće biti ozbiljnije zaštićena. Istina, cijene će porasti, ali efekat tog rasta vrlo brzo bi mogao da završi kao profit trgovine, a ne kao podsticaj razvoja domaće proizvodnje. Očito, domaću proizvodnju treba štititi i podsticati drugim mjerama. Potrebne su mjere koje će podizati konkurentnost domaće proizvodnje i na domaćem i na inostranom tržištu, a ne mjere koje sprečavaju konkureniju i štite nekonkurentnost. Cijenu takve zaštite plaćaju domaći potrošači.

nego u nizu drugih zemalja u tranziciji. Produbljavanje krize u ambijentu koji se sporo progresivno mijenja može imati za posljedicu vrlo spor oporavak BiH u postkriznom periodu. Činjenica je da BiH više ne može računati na široku međunarodnu finansijsku podršku sličnu onoj neposredno poslije rata. Najveći dio tereta oporavka od krize i vođenja tranzicije moraće podnijeti građani BiH. Tokom trajanja ekonomске krize BiH će se vratiti unazad nekoliko koraka, a to bi je moglo dovesti u poziciju da za oporavak treba novi početak.

# **II**

**OPŠTI PRISTUP  
SIVOJ EKONOMIJI**



## **II OPŠTI PRISTUP SIVOJ EKONOMIJI**

### **1. Pojam sive ekonomije i kriterijumi razgraničenja**

**Definicija sive ekonomije.** Siva ekonomija predstavlja ekonomsku aktivnost koja se ne verifikuje u skladu sa propisima koji vrijede na datom području za obavljanje takve ekonomske aktivnosti. Ona predstavlja onaj dio ekonomske aktivnosti koji nije statistički registrovan, djelimično ili u cjelini, u skladu sa važećim propisima. Bilo koja definicija sive ekonomije teško se može prihvati kao univerzalna i potpuno precizna<sup>28</sup>, jer se siva ekonomija javlja u različitim oblicima, u različitim djelatnostima, ispoljava se različitim intenzitetom, uključuje različite kategorije stanovništva, temelji se na različitim regulacijama legalne ekonomije i slično. Zbog toga, navedena definicija se može prihvati kao opšta definicija koja održava samo zajedničku karakteristiku svih pojavnih oblika sive ekonomije. Međutim, definicija sive ekonomije izuzetno je važna za njenu procjenu, jer ona opredjeljuje izbor metoda procjene i obuhvatnost neformalnih djelatnosti. Bez obzira kako definisali sivu ekonomiju, ili koji naziv koristili za ono što ona u najširem smislu obuhvata, samo njeno pominjanje asocira na aktivnosti koje nisu formalno registrovane, koje nisu statistički iskazane, koje u nekom vidu krše postojeće propise, aktivnosti o kojima ne postoje informacije i koje donose koristi subjektima koji ih obavljaju na štetu opšteg interesa.

**Siva ekonomija – neformalni dio formalne ekonomije.** Na osnovu formalno-pravnog kriterijuma, sivu ekonomiju možemo označiti kao dozvoljeni oblik ekonomske aktivnosti, ali koja se ne odvija u okvirima važeće formalno-pravne regulative za taj oblik aktivnosti. Dakle, to je djelatnost koja je ekonomski legitimna, ali je pravno ilegalna. Nasuprot njoj je regularna ekonomija koja je istovremeno i legitimna i legalna.

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<sup>28</sup> Prva studija o sivoj ekonomiji u BiH je: Rajko Tomas (edit.), **Gray Economy in the Republic of the Srpska**, UNDP, 1997. Sljedeće istraživanje sive ekonomije u RS za 2000. godinu izvršili su R. Tomaš i G. Božović u studiji: »**Obim, struktura i metodi eliminacije sive ekonomije u Republici Srpskoj**«, Ekonomski fakultet Banja Luka, 2001. Prvo sveobuhvatno istraživanje sive ekonomije u BiH objavljeno je u studiji USAID-a: Roberto Dell'Anno and Marje Piirisild, „**Estimate of Non-Observed Economy in B&H**“, Financial Services Volunteer Corps, 2004. Bojan Nastav i Štefan Bojnc sa Fakulteta za menadžment iz Kopra objavili su 2006. godine komparativnu analizu sive ekonomije u BiH, Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji („**Shadow economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia**«, Faculty of Management Kopar, 2006).

Ovo je važno uočiti za razlikovanje sive ekonomije, jer u mnogim društvima postoje djelatnosti koje nisu zabranjene, ali za čije se obavljanje ne podrazumijeva ispunjavanje bilo kog oblika formalno pravne regulative (npr. svakodnevni rad u kući članova domaćinstva: spremanje hrane, čišćenje, pranje posuđa, podizanje djece...). Taj dio ekonomske aktivnosti ne možemo klasifikovati u sivu ekonomiju, ali on, kao i siva ekonomija, pripada neformalnoj ekonomiji. Tek ako bi neki od ovih oblika aktivnosti ispunio formalno-pravne uslove za prelazak iz neformalnog u formalni sektor (npr. ako bi počela prodaja tih usluga na tržištu), mogao bi se klasifikovati u sivu ekonomiju ako se ne bi odvijao po nekom od formalnih pravila poslovanja.

**Siva i crna ekonomija.** Siva ekonomija je, kao što smo objasnili, ekonomski legitimna, ali pravno ilegalna. Međutim, postoji dio ekonomskih aktivnosti koji je zabranjen. S obzirom na činjenicu da je zabranjen, on se ne može svrstati u sivu ekonomiju, mada ispunjava kriterijum ilegalnosti. Vrlo često ove aktivnosti se svrstavaju u takozvanu „crnu ekonomiju“ (npr. promet droga, prostitucija, „reket“, pljačka, trgovina ljudima, šverc oružja i drugo). Utaja poreza, u okviru registrovane djelatnosti (svjesno umanjenje prihoda, nerealno uvećanje troškova, primjena niže osnove i slično), takođe se može svrstati u „crnu ekonomiju“. Na tržištu djelatnosti iz oblasti „crne ekonomije“ vrijede „zakoni mafije“. Prihode na „crnom“, a ponekad i na „sivom“ tržištu, teže je sakriti od mafije („reketaša“) nego od poreznika. Zbog toga, na „crnim“ i „sivim“ tržištima koja kontroliše mafija, dolazi do konstituisanja, nazovimo to tako, **„sekundarne sive ekonomije“**, odnosno prikrivanja ukupnih prihoda pred mafijom.<sup>29</sup> Bez obzira na vrlo jasno razlikovanje sive i crne ekonomije, u valorizacijama njihovog iznosa teško je odrediti granicu. Po pravilu, o crnoj ekonomiji podaci se ne mogu dobiti putem anketa, a primjenom indirektnih metoda procjene teško je razdvojiti efekte sive i crne ekonomije. Zbog toga se uz procjene sive ekonomije navodi da li je obuhvaćena i crna ekonomija. Često se „siva“ i „crna ekonomija“ prepliću, jer obavljanje legalne aktivnosti na ilegalan način uvijek podrazumijeva i elemente „crne“ ekonomije (npr. promet robe na sivom tržištu uvijek uključuje i utaju poreza, ako utaju poreza klasifikujemo u „crnu ekonomiju“).

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<sup>29</sup> Ilustrativan primjer ove pojave („sekundarne sive ekonomije“) prikazan je u filmu Emira Kusturice „Dom za vešanje“ (1988), gdje glavni junak Perhan dio „prihoda“ od pljačke kuća bogatih Italijana skriva ispod mosta od „šef“ Ahmeda.

**Sinhronizacija interesa i „paradoks regulacije“.** Moderna pravna država uređuje poslovni ambijent, propisujući uslove obavljanja djelatnosti, pravila poslovanja, obaveze prema društvu, granicu između privatnih i javnih interesa, sankcije za odstupanja od propisanih normi i način rješavanja konflikata. Na taj način, ona štiti, ali i ograničava, interes pojedinaca, asocijacija, preduzeća i društva. Težnja za opstankom jeste univerzalno objašnjenje za čovjekovo ponašanje. Biološki opstanak i sve svoje ciljeve čovjek ostvaruje u uslovima različitih ograničenja, prirodnih i društvenih. Upravo zbog toga on se maksimirajuće ponaša u ostvarivanju svojih ciljeva. Taj princip ponašanja određuje i njegov stav prema regulativama države. Interesi pojedinca su potpuno legitimni, ali i interesi društva. Oni ne moraju biti u potpunoj harmoniji. Iz suprotnosti interesa društva i pojedinačnih subjekata (fizičkih i pravnih lica) nastaje odluka o neprimjenjivanju ili ograničenom primjenjivanju regulative o poslovanju koju je uspostavila država. Kroz ekonomski sistem i makroekonomsku politiku država određuje društvene ciljeve i pravila ponašanja za ekonomske jedinice koje djeluju u tom sistemu. Efikasnost ekonomskog sistema, a i drugih sistema u društvu, u velikoj mjeri će zavisiti od sinhronizovanosti makroekonomskih ciljeva i ciljeva ekonomskih jedinica. Što je nivo sinhronizacije veći, to će biti manje motiva da ekonomske jedinice odstupaju u svom poslovanju od utvrđene pravne regulative i manje motiva da skrivaju svoje poslovanje, čime će novo sive ekonomije biti manji. Dakle, viši ili manji nivo sive ekonomije u jednom društvu je istovremeno, u velikoj mjeri, i pokazatelj sposobnosti vlasti da sinhronizuje ekonomske interese. Međutim, određeni konkretni nivo sive ekonomije, sa kojim se jedno društvo susreće, uvjek je posljedica makroekonomске regulative, na jednoj strani, i suprotstavljenih interesa vlastitog opstanka ekonomskih jedinica, na drugoj strani. Država nastoji da uredi sistem tako da je poslovanje u sivoj zoni neisplativo, a ekonomski subjekti teže da pronađu isplative forme poslovanja u sivoj zoni. Povodom suprotstavljenosti motivacije o poslovanju u sivoj zoni, može nastati, nazovimo to, „paradoks regulacije“. Ako država, u cilju jačanja neisplativosti sive ekonomije, uredi poslovno okruženje tako da ono ugrožava opstanak ekonomskih subjekata, to će ojačati interes ekonomskih subjekata za poslovanje u sivoj zoni.

Dakle, siva ekonomija je tržišno verifikovani dio legalne ekonomije koja se obavlja na ilegalan način. Akteri sive ekonomije mogu se

odlučiti da legalnu djelatnost obavljaju u skrivenoj formi iz različitih razloga. Šnajder navodi četiri najčešća razloga:<sup>30</sup>

1. izbjegavanje plaćanja poreza na dodatu vrijednost ili nekog drugog poreza,
2. izbjegavanje plaćanja doprinosa za osiguranja,
3. izbjegavanje primjene propisanih standarda (minimalna plata, maksimalno radno vrijeme, zaštita na radu i slično),
4. izbjegavanje provođenja propisanih administrativnih procedura (slanje statističkih izvještaja o poslovanju).

Djelatnost sive ekonomije svojom ponudom i tražnjom utiče na vladajuće odnose na tržištu. Jedina je razlika u odnosu na formalnu ekonomiju što nadležne državne institucije nemaju uvid u niz pokazatelja koji određuju njene razmjere.

## 2. Siva ekonomija kao pratilac moderne države i tržišta

Siva ekonomija je stara koliko i oporezivanje. U ekonomskoj literaturi pojam sive ekonomije novijeg je datuma, mada je njeno postojanje staro koliko i država, državni prihodi i društveni računi.<sup>31</sup> Siva ekonomija počela je da značajnije privlači pažnju ekonomista uporedo sa transformisanjem države: od birokratske strukture, ka jednom od najznačajnijih tržišnih učesnika. U ekonomskom smislu, suština te transformacije je uspostavljanje novog odnosa između države i građana koji se sve više svodi na uvažavanje ekonomskih principa u vođenju državnih računa, a sve manje na ispostavljanje računa građanima. U takvim okolnostima, siva ekonomija postaje društvena pojava koja je zakonit izraz sukobljavanja ekonomske motivacije države i poreskih obveznika.

Na narednim stranicama pokušaćemo objasniti četiri, po našoj ocjeni, osnovna pokretača sive: (a) izbjegavanje plaćanja obaveza državi, (b) zaštitu od smanjenja rentabiliteta poslovanja, (c) ponuda javnih dobara i usluga i (d) prenormiranost.

<sup>30</sup> Friedrich Schneider, The Shadow Economy in Germany: A Blessing or a Curse for the Official Economy?, *Economic Analysis & Policy*, Vol. 38. No. 1, March 2008, p. 90.

<sup>31</sup> Jedan od prvih radova o sivoj ekonomiji je: A.F.W. Plumtre, **The Theory of the Black Market: Further Considerations**, *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. 13, No. 2, May 1947.

a) *Izbjegavanje plaćanja obaveza državi*

Država je motivisana da prikupi što više prihoda pomoću kojih će maksimirati javnu potrošnju i poboljšati socijalnu stabilnost društva. Ta motivisanost limitirana je spremnošću poreskih obveznika da plaćaju svoje obaveze prema budžetu. Plaćanje obaveza prema budžetu za poreske obveznike je trošak i razumljivo je da će sastavni dio njihove motivacije biti težnja ka njegovom smanjenju. Metod tog smanjenja može biti i svjesno izbjegavanje registrovanja prihoda koje država oporezuje ili umanjeno iskazivanje njihovog iznosa. Ukoliko poreska opterećenja rastu, a posebno ako su progresivna, poreski obveznici će smanjivati ili tako podešavati obim aktivnosti da njihova registrovana osnovica za oporezivanje bude što manja.<sup>32</sup> Naravno, takva motivacija biće praćena rastom sive ekonomije ako sankcije nisu takve da anuliraju efekte sive ekonomije. Međutim, subjekti koji posluju u sivoj zoni privrede često nisu u prilici da zadrže za sebe cijelokupni efekat neplaćenih obaveza državi. Plaćanje obaveza državi podrazumijeva određene sankcije za izbjegavanje plaćanja, tako da subjekti koji posluju u sivoj zoni privrede često mitom plaćaju korumpiranim vlastima cijenu opstanka, a preostala razlika poboljšava njihov ekonomski položaj. Dakle, mito koji uzimaju korumpirane vlasti je oblik sivog oporezivanja. Ako postoji siva ekonomija sa svim resursima koje angažuje i ako se na tržištu njena djelatnost verifikuje, tada mora postojati i sivo oporezivanje (mito, „reket“ i slično) kao cijena opstanka i sigurnosti.

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<sup>32</sup> Empirijska istraživanja su potvrdila ovu pojavu. Najpoznatija istraživanja su prezentovana u:

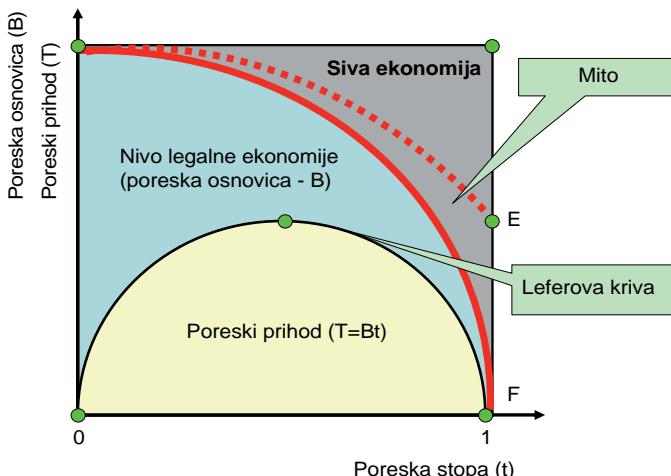
Schneider, F. (1994b). **Can the shadow economy be reduced through major tax reforms?** An empirical investigation for Austria, supplement to *Public Finance / Finances Publiques*. 49: 137-152;

Schneider, F. (2000). **The increase of the size of the shadow economy of 18 OECD-Countries:** Some preliminary explanations, Paper presented at the Annual Public Choice Meeting, March 10-12, 2000, Charleston, S.C. Schneider, F. (2005). **Shadow Economies around the World: What do we really know?**, *European Journal of Political Economy*. 21: 598-642.

Johnson, S., D. Kaufmann, and P. Zoido-Lobatón (1998a). **Regulatory discretion and the unofficial economy**, *The American Economic Review*. 88: 387-392.

Johnson, S., D. Kaufmann, and P. Zoido-Lobatón (1998b). **Corruption, public finances and the unofcial economy**, Washington, D.C., The World Bank, discussion paper.

Ako prepostavimo da će poreski obveznici reagovati na promjenu poreskih stopa po principu Leferove krive (The Laffer Curve)<sup>33</sup>, onda bismo logiku nastajanja sive ekonomije grafički mogli predstaviti na sljedeći način:



**Slika 1. Leferova kriva i siva ekonomija**

<sup>33</sup> »Priča o tome kako je Leferova kriva dobila ime počinje 1978. godine člankom Jude Wanniski u »The Public Interest« pod naslovom »Porezi, prihodi i Leferova kriva«. Prema sjećanju Wanniskog (u to vrijeme urednik saradnik u Wall Street Journal), u decembru 1974. godine večerao je sa mnom (tada profesor Univerziteta u Čikagu), Donaldom Rumsfeldom (načelnik Štaba predsjednika Gerald Forda) i Dick Cheney (Rumsfeldov zamjenik i moj školski drug sa Yale) u restoranu Two Continents u hotelu Washington u Distriktu Washington. U toku rasprave o prijedlogu predsjednika Forda o povećanju poreza (»WIN« - Whip Inflation Now), ja sam navodno uzeo moju salvetu i olovku i na salveti nacrtao krivu koja ilustruje odnos između poreskih stopa i poreskih prihoda. Ovaj odnos Wanniski je nazvao »Laferova kriva«.

Ja se lično ne sjećam detalja te večeri, ali verzija Wanniskog bi trebala biti tačna.(...) Usput, Laferovu krivu nisam ja izmislio. Na primjer, Ibn Khaldun, muslimanski filozof iz 14 vijeka, pisao je u svom radu *The Mugaddimah*: »Jasno je da na početku dinastije oporezivanje donosi velike prihode preko malih razreza poreza. Na kraju dinastije, oporezivanje donosi male prihode od velikih razreza poreza.«

Noviju verziju (nevjerovatne jasnoće) napisao je John Maynard Keynes«. (Arthur B. Laffer, »The Laffer Curve: Past, Present, and Future«, **Backgrounder** No. 1765, Published by Heritage Foundation June 1, 2004, p. 1)

Na slici 1. **T** označava masu državnih prihoda ostvarenu oporezivanjem poreske osnovice **B** po stopi **t**, pri čemu je  $0 < t < 1$ , odnosno poreska stopa može da se kreće minimalno od 0% do maksimalno 100%.<sup>34</sup>

Prema prikazanom na slici, s rastom poreske stope od 0 do 1 (od 0% do 100%) povećavaju se mogućnosti pojave sive ekonomije, što je predstavljeno sivim poljem u gornjem desnom uglu slike. Takođe je uočljivo, da s rastom poreske stope dolazi do smanjenja poreske osnovice (B), tako da bi ona iščezla u potpunosti ako bi poreska stopa bila 100%, jer niko ne bi htio da se bavi (legalno) bilo kojom djelatnošću ako bi sav rezultat te djelatnosti uzela država kao porez.<sup>35</sup>

Ako je  $0 < t < 1$ , poreski obveznik je dužan da dio svoga prihoda B daje državi u obliku poreza T. Taj iznos jednak je:  $T = B \cdot t$ . Međutim, ukoliko poreski obveznik odluči da dio svog prihoda ne podvrgne oporezivanju, tada će se njegov prihod dekomponovati na legalizovani dio (L) i ilegalni dio (G). Dakle,

$$B = L + G, \text{ odnosno } T = B \cdot t = (L + G) \cdot t = L \cdot t + G \cdot t$$

Tada će veličina poreza koju on plaća iznositi:  $T = L \cdot t$ , odnosno  $L = T / t$ , dok će G predstavljati ilegalni dio prihoda, a prihodi države biće manji za  $T' = G \cdot t$ , pošto je, sa aspekta oporezivanja  $G=0$ , odnosno sa aspekta poreskog obveznika za iznos G poreska stopa  $t=0$ . Međutim, kako je objašnjeno, da bi dati akter opstao u sivoj zoni privrede, on mora platiti mito korumpiranim vlastima. Kako je njegov profit povećan za  $Gt$ , iznos koji nije platio državi, on će morati platiti mito po nekoj stopi  $m < t$ , tako da će se njegov profit povećati za  $G(t-m) = Gt - Gm$ , odnosno iznos  $Gm$  predstavlja mito. Na slici 1. isprekidana crvena linija ilustruje iznos mita koji će se plaćati za opstanak u sektoru sive ekonomije pri različitim stepenima izbjegavanja plaćanja obaveza državi. Razumljivo, što poreski obveznik više djelatnosti obavlja u sivoj zoni, moraće platiti relativno više mita da bi opstao. Zbog toga se nagib linije mita (isprekidana linija) smanjuje u odnosu na nagib linije sive

<sup>34</sup> Leferovu krivu za objašnjenje nastajanja sive ekonomije prvi put sam koristio u: Rajko Tomas (edit.), **Gray Economy in the Republic of the Srpska**, UNDP, 1997.

<sup>35</sup> Laferova kriva podstakla je pokretanje "Reganomike". Predsjednik Ronald Regan, kada je započeo mandat, naslijedio je najvišu poresku stopu na dohodak od 70%. Na kraju njegovog mandata ta stopa je smanjena na 28%, a prihodi od tog poreza su povećani sa 517 na 1032 milijarde dolara. (Prema: Stephen Moore, *Real Tax Cuts Have Curves*, The Wall Street Journal, Sunday, June 19, 2005 )

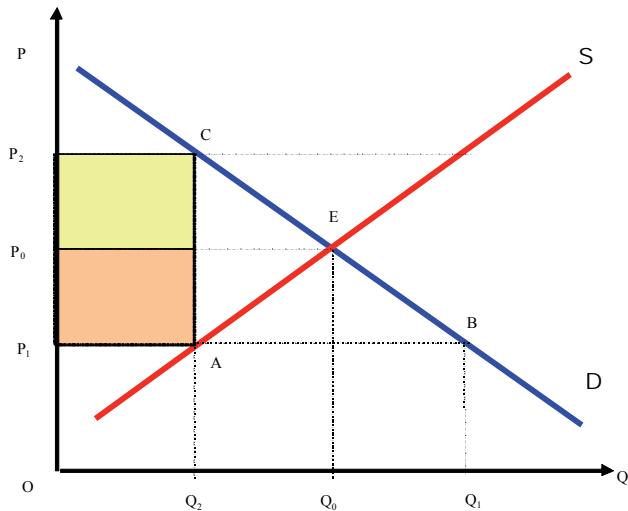
ekonomije (puna crvena linija) s povećanjem relativnog učešća djelatnosti poreskog obveznika u sivoj zoni privređivanja. Odstojanje tačaka E i F ilustruje iznos mita koji plaća poreski obveznik ako, na primjer, svu svoju djelatnost obavlja u sivoj zoni.

U gornjem modelu teško je postaviti optimalne odnose poreske stope i motivacije poreskih obveznika da pribjegavaju sivoj ekonomiji. Mogućnost države da prikupi što veću masu poreza svodi se, praktično, na sposobnost njenih organa da procijene reakcije poreskih obveznika na promjene poreske politike, s jedne strane, i da ukloni korupciju iz svojih institucija, s druge strane. Represivan obračun sa sivom ekonomijom, u uslovima široko rasprostranjene korupcije, može dovesti do pogoršanja stanja, jer se sa rastom represije povećava mito, kao cijena opstanka u sivoj zoni poslovanja.

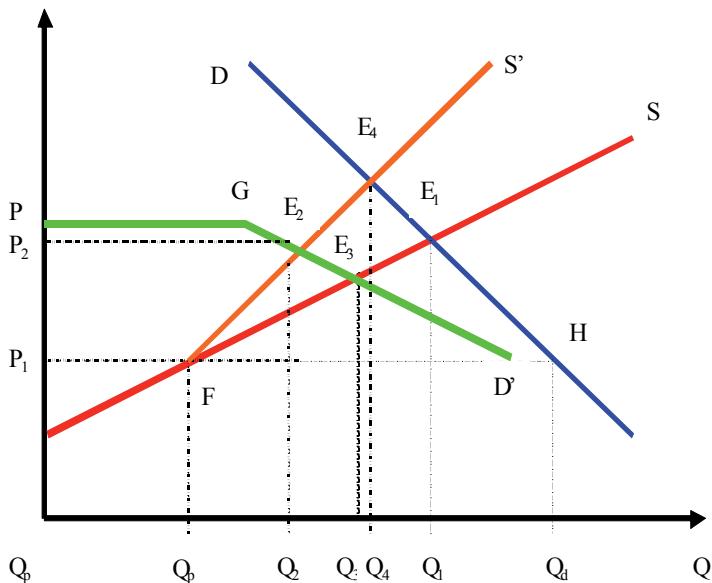
#### *(b) Zaštita od smanjenja rentabiliteta poslovanja*

Siva ekonomija ne mora nastajati samo kao posljedica izbjegavanja oporezivanja. Po pravilu, svaka restriktivna mjera ekonomske politike, odnosno državnog intervencionizma u privredi može izazvati reakcije tržišnih učesnika sa efektima sive ekonomije. Tako, ako država odredi niske cijene faktora proizvodnje ili robe u ime zaštite potrošača od monopola, to će imati za posljedicu smanjenje ponude i rast tražnje u čijem će se jazu naći prostor za sivo tržište (slika 2) na kome se promet odvija po višim cijenama. Tako, ako je  $P_0$  ravnotežna cijena, fiksiranje cijene na nižem nivou  $P_1$  imaće za posljedicu rast tražnje na nivo  $Q_1$ , a pad ponude na nivo  $Q_2$ . Dakle, pri cijeni  $P_1$  kupci su spremni da kupe robu u vrijednosti  $P_1 Q_1$ , a prodavci da prodaju u vrijednosti  $P_1 Q_2$ . Ovo je dovoljan razlog za konstituisanje sivog tržišta robe čija je cijena fiksirana. Pravougaonik  $P_2CAP_1$  pokazuje koji dio potrošačkog viška može predstavljati rentu koja se raspodjeljuje na sivom tržištu. Tamniji dio pravougaonika predstavlja dio potrošačkog viška koji pripada kupcu kao renta ako se odluči da kupuje na sivom tržištu, a svjetlijici dio pravougaonika rentu koji prisvaja prodavac na sivom tržištu. Očito je da obje strane imaju interes za transakcije na sivom tržištu. Ukupni efekat je smanjenje ponude i nepotpuno zadovoljavanje tražnje ("manjak ponude"). Takođe, ako država propiše visoke cijene ili ih izazove visokim oporezivanjem, to će sada u razlici ponude i tražnje stvoriti prostor za sivo tržište na kome se promet robe vrši po nižim cijenama, ali bez plaćanja poreza. Međutim, da bi učesnici sivog tržišta

opstali, oni će dio potrošačeve, odnosno proizvođačeve dobiti morati u obliku mita platiti korumpiranim vlastima.



**Slika 2. Nastajanje sivog tržišta**



**Slika 3. Sivo tržište**

Međutim, proces stvaranja sivog tržišta ne teče linearno i ne predstavlja direktnu reakciju tržišnih učesnika na mjere ekonomske politike koje, u određenim sektorima, provodi država. Država uređuje ekonomski sistem na način da predviđa odgovarajuće sankcije za tržišne učesnike koji ne budu dosljedno poštovali ono što je država propisala, tako da se, faktički, prostor za stvaranje sivog tržišta svodi na odnos između očekivane dobiti na sivom tržištu i rizika koji nosi poslovanje na njemu. Suštinu ovog problema prikazaćemo na primjeru državnog intervenisanja u oblasti cijena (slika 3)<sup>36</sup>. Pretpostavimo da država smatra da je cijena  $E_1Q_1$  previsoka jer ugrožava potrošače date robe, te se ona odlučuje da svojom uredbom odredi nižu cijenu  $P_1$ . Kao posljedica takve odluke doći će do rasta tražnje za robom po nižoj cijeni na nivo  $Q_d$  i pada ponude na nivo  $Q_p$ . Na ovaj način stvoren je nedostatak robe („manjak ponude“) na tržištu u iznosu  $\Delta Q = Q_d - Q_p$ . Kako tražnja nije zadovoljena u cijelini, nastale su pretpostavke za formiranje ilegalnog tržišta. Kako poslovanje na sivom tržištu podrazumijeva dodatne troškove i rizike, poslije tačke F formiraće se manje elastična kriva ponude, što znači da će se ista količina robe, u novim uslovima, prodavati po višoj cijeni. Jedan broj potrošača spreman je da robu kupuje po ranijoj višoj cijeni (odstojanje PG), dok preostali ne žele da se izlažu riziku učešća u transakcijama na sivom tržištu, tako da od tačke G kriva tražnje postaje elastičnija sve do tačke D', odakle je do tačke H savršeno elastična. Prema tome, na sivom tržištu kriva tražnje prikazana je linijom PGD'H.

Na sivom tržištu uspostaviće se nova ravnoteža koja na slici odgovara presjeku krive ponude i krive tražnje, odnosno u tački E<sub>2</sub> pri obimu prodaje Q<sub>2</sub> i cijeni P<sub>2</sub>.

Iz gornjeg modela možemo izvesti neke zaključke koji su indikativni za generisanje i ograničavanje sive ekonomije u jednoj privredi:

1. Cijena na sivom tržištu niža je od monopolске cijene, ali je viša od cijene u potpunoj konkurenciji, odnosno cijene koju je, pretpostavljajući odnose potpune konkurencije, odredila država kao oblik antimonopolističke borbe.
2. Prodata količina robe manja je nego što je bila prije državne intervencije, što znači da na nivo proizvodnje slabo utiču i država i

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<sup>36</sup> Kenet E. Boulding, **Economic Analysis, Microeconomics**, A Harper International Edition, 1969, pp. 204-206.

- sivo tržište, te da je za rast proizvodnje i održavanje njegovog stabilnog i visokog nivoa pretpostavka slobodno tržište.
- 3. Obim prometa i visina cijene koji se postižu na sivom tržištu u velikoj mjeri zavise od sankcija koje država primjenjuje za učesnike prometa na sivom tržištu. Sankcije mogu biti usmjerene i na kupce i na prodavce, ili samo na kupce, ili samo na prodavce. Ako država propiše sankcije samo za kupce na sivom tržištu, doći će samo do deformisanja krive tražnje, dok će kriva ponude ostati nepromjenjena, tako da će nova ravnotežna cijena ( $E_3$ ) biti viša od propisane, a manja od prvobitne. Obrnuto: ako država bude kažnjavala samo prodavce na sivom tržištu, to će imati za posljedicu zadržavanje istog stepena elastičnosti krive tražnje, dok će se elastičnost ponude smanjiti, a ravnotežna opcija ( $E_4$ ) odlikovaće se najvišom cijenom.
  - 4. Razmjere sivog tržišta zavisiće i od raširenosti korupcije u institucijama države. Ako je mito za opstanak na sivom tržištu manji od dobiti koju donosi poslovanje na tom tržištu, sivo tržište će se širiti.
  - 5. Razmjere prometa na sivom tržištu u velikoj mjeri će zavisiti i od elastičnosti tražnje i elastičnosti ponude.
  - 6. Administrativno određivanje niske cijene robe ili faktora proizvodnje ima za posljedicu stvaranje sivog tržišta.
  - 7. Prethodni model takođe pokazuje da opredjeljenje prodavaca da se pojave na sivom tržištu prvenstveno potiče od želje da se zaštite od pada rentabiliteta poslovanja koji bi izazvalo prihvatanje cijene koju je odredila država. Tako, ako bi najniži prosječni trošak preduzeća bio iznad linije  $P_1H$ , pokušaj da se postigne viša cijena na sivom tržištu bio bi od vitalnog interesa za opstanak preduzeća.

*(c) Ponuda javnih dobara i usluga*

Obim i kvalitet javnih dobara i usluga koje država nudi potrošnjom javnog novca takođe može biti uzročnik veće ili manje sklonosti preduzeća i pojedinaca za djelovanjem u sektoru sive ekonomije. Visoke stope poreza, u uslovima male ponude i lošeg kvaliteta javnih dobara i usluga, djelovaće kao dodatni pritisak na postojeći sektor formalne ekonomije da počne aktivnosti u sivoj ekonomiji. Ako se tome doda da uz mali obim i loš kvalitet javnih dobara i usluga ide i korupcija, odsustvo pravne države i slaba zaštita legalnog poslovanja, put ka širenju sive ekonomije biće otvoren. Činjenica je da

oporezivanje, samo po sebi, podstiče motivaciju poreskih obveznika ka sivoj ekonomiji, ali, upravo zato, vlast mora kombinovati poresko opterećenje, određeni nivo obima i kvaliteta ponuđenih javnih dobara i usluga, te obezbijediti funkcionisanje pravne države. Uspostavljanjem odnosa između ovih parametara, svaka vlast uspostavlja određeni „ekvilibrijum“ formalne i neformalne ekonomije. Istraživanja pokazuju da je manji obim sive ekonomije u zemljama sa nižim poreskim stopama, većim poreskim prihodima, manjim stepenom korupcije i dosljednjom primjenom zakona („dobar ekvilibrijum“). Takođe, zemlje sa visokim poreskim stopama, visokim stepenom korupcije, širokim diskrecionim pravima vlasti i lošim zakonodavstvom susreću se sa višom stopom sive ekonomije („loš ekvilibrijum“).<sup>37</sup> Međutim, svako smanjenje poreskih stopa ne vodi direktno eliminisanju sive ekonomije. Ako se smanje poreske stope, a nivo korupcije ostane visok, sve dok je mito koji se plaća korumpiranim vlastima manji od poreza koji se plaća državi, postojiće motivacija za poslovanje u sivoj zoni.

#### *(d) Prenormiranost*

Broj propisa, uslovi za njihovo izvršavanje i administrativni troškovi poslovanja u legalnom sektoru, često mogu biti motiv za djelovanje u neformalnom sektoru ekonomije i demotivirajući faktor za prelazak iz neformalne u formalnu ekonomiju. Tehnološki, tehnički, ekološki, pravni i administrativni uslovi za registrovanje biznisa, zapošljavanje resursa i samo poslovanje mogu često predstavljati veći trošak za lice koje donosi odluku o uključivanju u ekonomsku aktivnost od rizika otkrivanja neregistrovane djelatnosti u sektoru sive ekonomije. Nerijetko, lica koja su otkrivena da posluju u sektoru sive ekonomije svoju odluku upravo pravdaju činjenicom: da ako bi poslovali uz primjenu svih propisa ne bi mogli opstati na tržištu jer bi njihovi prihodi bili manji od troškova. Takođe, istraživanja su potvrdila snažnu vezu između broja propisa i stope sive ekonomije. Tako su Džonson, Kaufman i Šlajfer<sup>38</sup> pokazali da u rasponu ranga od 1 do 5, pri čemu 5

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<sup>37</sup> Johnson, Simon; Kaufmann, Daniel and Pablo Zoido-Lobaton, **Regulatory discretion and the unofficial economy**, *The American Economic Review*, No 88/2, pp. 387-393 (p. I)

<sup>38</sup> Johnson, Simon; Kaufmann, Daniel and Pablo Zoido-Lobatón, **Corruption, public finances and the unofficial economy**. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, Discussion paper, Washington 1998, ovdje navedeno prema: Friedrich Schneider, **Shadow**

označava najveći broj propisa, povećanje ranga za jedan poen ima za posljedicu povećanje učešća sive ekonomije u GDP per capita za 8,1%. Kasnija istraživanja drugih autora, pogotovo na primjeru zemalja u tranziciji, potvrdila su ovu tendenciju. Opšti zaključa na osnovu ovakvih istraživanja je da se povećanjem broja propisa ne može smanjiti obim sive ekonomije. Taj cilj se lakše dostiže dobrom primjenom zakona.

### **3. Pozitivne i negativne strane sive ekonomije**

#### **3.1. Pozitivne strane**

Iako se siva ekonomija obično javnosti predstavlja kao negativna pojava, jer zbog njenog postojanja država gubi dio javnih prihoda, ipak njeno postojanje, sa aspekta ukupne ekonomske aktivnosti, nije beskorisno. Prije bi se moglo reći da postojanje sive ekonomije otvara pitanja antagonizma javnih i privatnih interesa, zatim raspodjele i preraspodjele, te politike i ekonomije. Postojanje sive ekonomije u visokom procentu u jednoj zemlji, uvijek će za to činiti odgovornim i građane i vlast. Neprihvatljivo je objašnjenje u zemlji sa visokim nivoom sive ekonomije po kome su građani skloni sivoj ekonomiji, a vlasti su nemoće da suzbiju sivu ekonomiju. Plaćanjem javnih prihoda, u demokratski uređenoj zemlji, građani na racionalniji način kupuju javne usluge i plaćaju cijenu upotrebe javnih dobara. Vlasti bi morale da shvate, ako su demokratske, da se plaćanjem javnih prihoda ne plaća danak vlastima, nego se kupuje ono što vlasti treba da "proizvedu" kroz javne institucije. Dakle, sklonost ka sivoj ekonomiji nije samo izraz "pokvarenosti" naroda. Oni koji plaćaju javne prihode, očekuju da nešto i dobiju za taj novac. Ako vlasti neracionalno troše novac poreskih obveznika, pri tome nudeći loše i nedovoljne javne usluge i javna dobra, rašće sklonost ka sivoj ekonomiji. Takođe, ako su vlasti neefikasne u rješavanju socijalnih i ekonomskeh problema, građani će biti prinuđeni da se bave sivom ekonomijom. Naravno, ako su sankcije za djelovanje u sektoru sive ekonomije niske, te ako su vlasti uz to i korumpirane, siva ekonomija će da se širi u sve sektore, jer ona postaje „isplativiji“ oblik poslovanja od legalne ekonomije.

Djelatnost koja se odvija u sektoru sive ekonomije takođe je, najčešće, racionalna ekonomska djelatnost. Dakle, nije riječ o štetnoj, beskorisnoj ili zabranjenoj djelatnosti. Ona je jedino u neformalnom sektoru. Siva ekonomija, sa resursima koji se u njoj koriste i rezultatima koje ostvaruje, sastavni je dio stvarne ekonomske moći jednog društva. Kao takva, ona ima niz pozitivnih uticaja na ukupnu proizvodnju, ukupnu potrošnju, zaposlenost resursa, razvoj preduzetničke inicijative, razvoj inovacija, socijalnu stabilnost, standard stanovništva, stabilnost tržišta i cijena.

### 3.2. Negativne strane

Bilo bi pogrešno shvatiti, zbog postojanja pozitivnih strana sive ekonomije, da njene negativne strane i ne postoje, a pogotovo da je nepotrebnna akcija u njenom ograničavanju. Siva ekonomija ima katastrofalne dugoročne posljedice po jednu zajednicu. Njen visok nivo ukazuje na nefunkcionisanje sistema u svim dimenzijama: pokazuje se da je postojanje države i njenih institucija nepotretno, a sistem vrijednosti date zajednice počinje izlaziti izvan okvira koje je dostiglo civilizovano društvo. Dakle, o sivoj ekonomiji možemo govoriti kao o pojavi koja ima pozitivnih strana u korišćenju resursa, ublažavanju socijalnih tenzija i vršenju pritiska na vlast da uredi sistem u kome će biti manje sive ekonomije, ali to je, istovremeno, pojava koja svojim dugotrajnim djelovanjem i širenjem uništava sve državne institucije i vrijednosni sistem civilizovanog društva. Siva ekonomija direktno utiče na smanjenje javnih prihoda što ugrožava efikasnost poslovanja javnih institucija, prinuđavajući ih da nude manje i manje kvalitetnih javnih usluga i dobara. Time se smanjuje standard budžetskih korisnika, ali i svih građana. Saglasno tome, siva ekonomija indirektno povećava poresko opterećenje ekonomskih subjekata koji posluju u formalnom sektoru, jer se teret javne potrošnje raspoređuje na manji broj poreskih obveznika i na manju poresku osnovicu. Postojanje sive ekonomije utiče na umanjivanje autoriteta vlasti i povjerenja građana u javne institucije. Opstanku sive ekonomije potrebne su korumpirane vlasti, tako da je sektor sive ekonomije najveći i najčešći finansijer korumpiranih elita, a mito koji prima ta elita oblik sivog oporezivanja. Takođe, sama koegzistencija sive sa legalnom ekonomijom povećava poslovnu nedisciplinu, ugrožava pravni poređak zemlje, omogućujući spontano konstituisanje paralelnog sistema u više sfera društvenog života. Raširenost sive ekonomije pogoduje i širenju „crne“ ekonomije, odnosno širenju zabranjenih oblika

poslovne aktivnosti i konstituisanju mafije kao svojevrsnog menadžerskog sloja koji upravlja sivom i crnom ekonomijom. Kratkoročno, siva ekonomija može povećati konkurentnost nelegalnog sektora privrede u odnosu na legalni sektor privrede. Dugoročno, siva ekonomija vodi ka neracionalnoj upotrebi resursa. Zbog ilegalnog poslovanja, siva ekonomija nema pristup podsticajnim mjerama vlade, razvojnim kreditima, stručnoj pomoći profesionalnih asocijacija, privrednim i trgovinskim komorama i slično, tako da je neefikasna u obezbjeđivanju razvoja, primjeni moderne tehnologije i znanja.

Upravo zbog ovakvih slabosti, pridaje se veliki značaj borbi protiv sive ekonomije. Umjeće te borbe sastoji se u izgradnji institucija koje će biti sposobne da građane i preduzeća stimulišu da svoju ekonomsku aktivnost obavljaju u formalnom sektoru. Istinski demokratska vlast, koja ima viziju razvoja društva i koja je sposobna da racionalno trošeći javni novac, nudi građanima kvalitetne i jeftine javne usluge i dobra, ima šansu da riješi problem sive ekonomije i njen najveći dio prevede u formalni sektor. Vlast koja se odluči da smanji obim sive ekonomije, da bi bila autoritativna u tom nastojanju, prvo mora poći od sebe i provjeriti: koliko je demokratska; ima li viziju razvoja društva i institucija; da li je spremna i dovoljno časna da racionalno troši javni novac; nudi li kvalitetne i jeftine javne usluge i dobra...? Bez toga, borba protiv sive ekonomije može biti doživljena kao nasilje, a postojeća siva ekonomija se može transformisati u druge pojavnne oblike i još većim intenzitetom nagrizati osnove društva. Država mora ukloniti svoje barijere prelaska te djelatnosti iz neformalnog u formalni sektor. Vlasti treba da stimulišu građane i preduzeća da više posluju u formalnom sektoru ekonomije, te na taj način koriste niz prednosti po ekonomski sistem koji ne postoje u sektoru sive ekonomije. Tek tada vlasti stiču pravo da primjenjuju sankcije za dalje zadržavanje te djelatnosti u sivom sektoru. U protivnom, ako država primjeni sankcije i zadrži teške uslove privredivanja u formalnom sektoru privrede, posljedica će biti gušenje razvoja mnogih djelatnosti.



# III

**SIVA EKONOMIJA  
U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI**



### **III SIVA EKONOMIJA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI**

#### **1. Bosna i Hercegovina - korupcija, siromaštvo i siva ekonomija**

Prije više godina u jednoj kolumni napisao sam da je siva ekonomija u BiH jedini „socijalni program“ zahvaljujući činjenici da vlasti u BiH nemaju kompetentne odgovore za rješavanje razvojnih, političkih i socijalnih problema. Nažalost, ni danas priču o toj temi ne mogu početi nekom boljom konstatacijom. Istina, u međuvremenu su se desile mnoge reforme, sa većim ili manjim uticajem na obim i strukturu sive ekonomije, statističke institucije počele su uključivati sivu ekonomiju u obračun društvenog proizvoda, ali nemoć društva da nametne legalne metode poslovanja, da poveća povjerenje u institucije i da riješi socijalne probleme još uvijek su snažno izraženi.

Siva ekonomija je stara koliko i oporezivanje. Svaka vlast troši novac onih koji plaćaju porez. Međutim, svaka vlast nije jednakodgovorna prema istinskim vlasnicima toga novca.<sup>39</sup> Vlasti, same po sebi, ne teže velikoj demokratičnosti i transparentnosti u radu. Na to ih prinuđava biračko tijelo preko izbora i kroz kontrolu javnih institucija. Maksimirajuće ponašanje ljudi podesilo je našu logiku tako da težimo da što više dobijemo od države kroz potrošnju javnih dobara, a da što manje damo državi kroz plaćanje poreza. S druge strane, vlast se trudi da ubijedi poreske obveznike da daju što više novca da bi država ponudila što više kvalitetnih javnih dobara i usluga (dobru bezbjednost, dobar javni red, dobre puteve, dobre škole, dobru socijalnu zaštitu...). Kroz demokratske izbore građani biraju onu vlast od koje očekuju da će im sa što manje njihovog novca, uzetog kroz poreze, ponuditi najviše javnih usluga. To je dominirajući princip ponašanja birača u zemljama sa razvijenom demokratijom i efikasnim funkcionisanjem tržišta. Međutim, u zemljama sa zaostalom demokratijom i nemoćnom ekonomijom, porezi i javna potrošnja postaju predmet političkih manipulacija, skrivanja i netransparentnog trošenja.

U takvim uslovima obično se kao prioritet svakom građaninu od strane vlasti postavlja neki ideološko - politički cilj kao što je očuvanje države, uspostavljanje jedinstva, očuvanje religije, borba za ravnopravnost... Na taj način pažnja birača skreće se sa toga koliko se

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<sup>39</sup> Opširnije vidi u: Dr Rajko Tomaš, **Ekonomija zarobljenih resursa**, Nezavisne novine, Banja Luka, 2008.

od njih uzima novca i kako se on troši. Borba vlasti za očuvanje države, uspostavljanje jedinstva, ravnopravnosti i slično ima svoju cijenu u budžetu, podrazumijeva određeni stepen oporezivanja, ali i javnost potrošnje tog novca i mogućnost kontrole. Međutim, vlasti koje nisu spremne da biračima predoče koliko troše, kako troše, na šta troše i kakve efekte postižu tom potrošnjom, uvjek će svoje rezultate iskaziva u nemjerljivim veličinama kao što je: povećana politička stabilnost zemlje, ojačan moral, porastao patriotizam, povećana odgovornost, povećana bezbjednost, porastao ugled zemlje, poboljšani uslovi investiranja i slično. Vlasti koje, trošeći javni novac, ne uspiju da ubijede građane da oni zbog plaćanja poreza bolje žive, jer žive u okruženju javnih institucija koje im nude dobre usluge, postaju u očima građana korumpirane vlasti. Društvo sa razvijenom sviješću poreskih obveznika podrazumijeva mnogo veću odgovornost vlasti i veći rizik od gubitka vlasti. Razvoj svijesti da je budžet novac poreskih obveznika, a ne nacionalni novac, ne ugrožava ni jednu naciju - nego čak stvara pretpostavke za njen prosperitet. Zemlja bez transparentne javne potrošnje i sa korumpiranom vlašću, ma koja nacija u njoj živjela, biće siromašna zemlja i prvi kapital koji će je napustiti biće vlasništvo domicilnog stanovništva, dakle pripadnika date nacije. Percepcija građana o sivoj ekonomiji, njihov moralni stav i reakcije izuzetno su važni faktori u određivanju razmjera sive ekonomije u jednoj zemlji. Postoji niz empirijskih studija koje su istraživale poreski moral ljudi koji posluju u sektoru sive ekonomije. Interesantno je da one potvrđuju, čak i na primjeru Njemačke, da ljudi nemaju loš moralni osjećaj zbog toga što djeluju u sveri sive ekonomije.<sup>40</sup>

Ne postoje velike tajne i velike doktrine oporezivanja, niti je siva ekonomija nesavladivi bauk. Problem je jednostavniji nego što na prvi pogled izgleda iz jednog zamršenog ambijenta kakav je naš. Sve počinje od odgovornih vlasti. Odgovornim djelovanjem vlasti uspostavljaju uslove legalnog sticanja bogatstva i čine neisplativim poslovanje u sivoj zoni. Ako građani i preduzetnici budu svjesni da svoje blagostanje bar djelimično duguju društvenom ambijentu koji je stvorila država, oni će u vlastitom interesu biti spremni da plaćaju poreze kako bi se taj ambijent održao i unaprijedio. Suprotno tome, ako su vlasti korumpirane i ako se bogatstvo stiče zahvaljujući korupciji,

<sup>40</sup> Friedrich Schneider, *The Shadow Economy in Germany: A Blessing or a Curse for the Official Economy?*, *Economic Analysis & Policy*, Vol. 38. No. 1, March 2008, p. 94.

društveni sloj koji ima koristi od korupcije snažno će se protiviti bilo kakvim promjenama, jer je svjestan da će se brzo naći na udaru demokratskih i nekorumpiranih vlasti. Korupcija je najuspješniji biznis kvazidemokratskih vlasti; siva ekonomija je njihov najsnažniji socijalni program, a "reket" najomiljeniji metod "oporezivanja". I korupcija je neka vrsta sive ekonomije. Ona je, u krajnjoj instanci, nelegalni način oporezivanja. Akterima sive ekonomije potrebni su korumpirani državni službenici, a korumpiranim službenicima siva ekonomija. Buehn i Schneider su istraživali odnos korupcije i sive ekonomije.<sup>41</sup> Istraživanje je pokazalo da postoji pozitivna veza između ove dvije pojave, te da siva ekonomija u većem stepenu generiše nastanak korupcije, nego što korupcija podstiče sivu ekonomiju.

Raširenost sive ekonomije kod nas nije izazvana nedostatkom propisa koji je ograničavaju, mada oni nisu savršeni, nisu moderni, niti dovoljno efikasni. Prije bi se moglo reći da je uticaj korupcije na profitabilnost sive ekonomije jedan od njenih snažnijih pokretača. U uslovima korumpiranog društva, moralni sud o poslovanju u sveri sive ekonomije se mijenja. Stanovništvo angažovano u sveri sive ekonomije lakše prašta vlastima korupciju. Na taj način, uspostavlja se „loši ekvilibrijum“ legalne i ilegalne ekonomije.

Ne treba potcijeniti ni siromaštvo širokih slojeva stanovništva, koje je iz egzistencijalnih pobuda prisiljeno da privređuje u sveri sive ekonomije. To siromaštvo često je čvrsta prepreka ograničavanju sive ekonomije. Pošto vlast nema šta da ponudi kao alternativu siromašnima koji žive od sive ekonomije, ona gubi moralno pravo da primjeni represiju prema njima. Upravo ta činjenica je potrebna glavnim "menadžerima" sive ekonomije. Njima treba bijeda i siromaštvo velikog broja ljudi, jer ti ljudi postaju »infrastruktura« njihovog "biznisa". Oni počinju da rade "za gazdu" i svojim siromaštvom štite "gazdin biznis" pred organima vlasti koji pokušavaju da uvedu red. "Gazde" postaju spasioci i dobrotvori, jer u njihovom "biznisu" ljudi koji su upravo ostali bez posla u državnim firmama dobijaju šansu da zarade za hleb. Na drugoj strani, "gazde" su sponzori svega što postoji, od stranaka do dječijih vrtića, i izgleda da je bez njih i njihovog "biznisa" život nezamisliv. To je velika zabluda koja nas je počela

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<sup>41</sup> Andreas Buehn and Friedrich Schneider, **Corruption and the Shadow Economy: A Structural Equation Model Approach**, ?, Institut für Angewandte Wirtschaftsforschung, Discussion Paper No. 4182, Tübingen, May 2009, p. 27

nagrizati sa svih strana. Veliki broj siromašnih koji zavise od raznih ilegalnih i polulegalnih "gazdinskih biznisa" pribjjava se da će vlast učiniti nešto ozbiljno u suzbijanju sive ekonomije. Njima je nezamislivo da mirno sjede u toploem kiosku i prodaju cigarete; nezamislivo im je da s ponosom kažu da su zaposleni; nezamislivo je da kažu da su pristojno plaćeni; nezamislivo je da bez straha prođu pored policajca; nezamislivo je da im neko daje platu i kad se razbole; nezamislivo je da im bude plaćeno socijalno osiguranje... Naprosto, njima je nezamisliv normalan svijet i normalan život. Međutim, realno gledajući, u ovoj zemlji, iako je siromašna, opustošena ratom i s teškim nasljeđem, može se proizvoditi toliko vrijednosti da pristojniji život ne bi trebao biti samo privilegija odabranih. Upravo to su razlozi zbog kojih, u ime građana i u ime budućnosti zemlje, vlasti moraju ući u oštar obračun sa sivom ekonomijom, korupcijom i kriminalom.<sup>42</sup> Naravno, preduslov za to je da građani prvo izaberu odgovorne vlasti koje će biti spremne da to provedu.

## **2. Metodi procjene sive ekonomije**

### **2.1. Izbor metoda procjene sive ekonomije**

Moderni način primjene sistema nacionalnih računa (SNA)<sup>43</sup> u iskazivanju makroekonomskih agregata sve više se udaljava od tradicionalnog oblika sabiranja podataka o registrovanim ekonomskim aktivnostima i orijentiše se na primjenu različitih metoda obuhvatanja neregistrovane ekonomske aktivnosti u cilju sveobuhvatnog iskazivanja makroekonomskih agregata jedne zemlje, za određeni vremenski period. Ovakvim pristupom, te svakodnevnim usavršavanjem metoda procjene,

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<sup>42</sup> Međutim, pri tome ne treba zaboraviti nešto što je davno rekao Duško Radović: «Kad lopovi počnu da brane ono što su stekli, neće biti ljučih boraca za poštenje, a protiv lopova» (D. Radović, «**Beograde, dobro jutro!**»).

<sup>43</sup> Prve standarde za uporedivo iskazivanje nacionalnih računa (**A Standardised System of National Accounts**) usvojila je 1952. godine Organizacija za evropsku ekonomsku saradnju (OEEC). Ujedinjene nacije su objavile Sistem nacionalnih računa 1953. godine (*A System of National Accounts and Supporting Tables, Studies in Methods, Series F No 2 Rev. 1, New York*). OEEC je izvršio manje promjene u Sistemu nacionalnih računa (SNA) 1958. godine (*A Standardised System of National Accounts, 1958 Edition*). Značajnije promjene u Sistemu nacionalnih računa izvršene su 1968, 1993 i 2008. godine. Navedeno prema: **System National Accounts 2008**, Pre-edited version of Volume 1, CEC, IMF, OECD, UN and WB, page xxxi

iskazani makroekonomski agregati<sup>44</sup> sve više su utemeljeni na osnovu stvarne, a ne samo formalno registrovane aktivnosti. Na ovaj način ostvaruje se osnovni cilj SNA: uspostavljanje integrisanog, međunarodno potpuno uporedivog sistema računa svih značajnijih ekonomskih aktivnosti. Time se postepeno mijenja i odnos prema sivoj ekonomiji, mijenjaju i prilagođavaju metode njene procjene.<sup>45</sup>

Iako se siva ekonomija istražuje već relativno dugo, još uvijek nije uspostavljena unificirana metodologija njenog praćenja, obuhvatanja i procjene. U osnovi postoje tri grupe metoda procjene sive ekonomije: (1) **direktni metodi**, koji se provode putem ankete na mikroekonomskom nivou (pojedinac, domaćinstvo, preduzeće) u određenom trenutku; (2) **indirektni metodi**, koji se provode na osnovu dostupnih makroekonomskih pokazatelja i (3) **statistički metodi**, koji, uz pomoć statističkih alata, sivu ekonomiju procjenjuju kao „skrivenu“ varijablu.<sup>46</sup> Neki autori sve metode procjene sive ekonomije razvrstavaju na naučne i ostale metode, svrstavajući navedene grupe metoda u naučne metode, a u ostale metode uključujući i pristup Eurostata.<sup>47</sup>

Direktne metode procjene sive ekonomije imaju niz prednosti u odnosu na sve ostale metode. Putem ankete od ispitanika se mogu dobiti različiti odgovori koji omogućuju analizu različitih aspekata sive ekonomije. Kvalitet procjene sive ekonomije, putem direktnih metoda, u velikoj mjeri zavisi od reprezentativnosti anketiranog uzorka i od stepena zastupljenosti sistematskih grešaka koje nastaju zbog neiskrenih odgovora i prikrivanja intenziteta uključenosti u sivu ekonomiju. Ako se tome doda da su takva istraživanja skupa, da zahtijevaju angažovanje istraživačkih timova, terenski rad i kontakt sa

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<sup>44</sup> Prema SNA postoje dvije vrste agregata: (1) **agregati koji predstavljaju neposredne transakcije u sistemu** (proizvodnja dobara, proizvodnja usluga, ostvarena finalna potrošnja, ukupne investicije u fiksni kapital, plaćanje zaposlenih i slično) i (2) **agregati koji predstavljaju poravnavajuće iznose računa** (društveni bruto proizvod, nacionalni dohodak, štednja, saldo tekućeg računa inostranstva i slično).

<sup>45</sup> Obračun bruto domaćeg proizvoda u BiH zasniva na System of National Accounts SNA, 1993. i European System of Accounts – ESA, 1995.

<sup>46</sup> Friedrich Schneider, *The Shadow Economy in Germany: A Blessing or a Curse for the Official Economy?*, *Economic Analysis & Policy*, Vol. 38. No. 1, March 2008, p. 91.

<sup>47</sup> Željko Lovrinčević, Davor Mikulić i Biserka Nikšić Paulić, **Procjena veličine neslužbenog gospodarstva u Republici Hrvatskoj u razdoblju 1998-1999**, *Ekonomski pregled*, 53 (1-2) 3-48, Zagreb, 2002, str. 4.

velikim brojem ljudi, postaje jasnije zbog čega se ovi metodi ne koriste često.

Indirektni metodi su jeftiniji u odnosu na direktne metode. Takođe, do procjene sive ekonomije dolazi se u mnogo kraćem vremenu. Međutim, njihova mana je što je teško odabrati indirektni metod koji autentično opisuje stvarno stanje u jednoj ekonomiji. Procjena se uglavnom vrši na osnovu podataka koji su već raspoloživi i sve „slabosti“ tih podataka prenose se i na rezultate procjene. Takođe, najčešće, na osnovu raspoloživih podataka, moguće je izvršiti samo globalnu procjenu ukupnog obima sive ekonomije, te na osnovu dobijenih rezultata procijeniti njen uticaj na veličinu društvenog proizvoda, budžetskih prihoda i poresko opterećenje.

Zbog prednosti i nedostataka direktnih i indirektnih metoda, često se, kada raspoloživi resursi to dozvoljavaju, primjenjuju kombinovani metodi procjene sive ekonomije. Ovi metodi koriste prednosti direktnih i indirektnih metoda.

Od 2004. godine, statističke institucije Bosne i Hercegovine (Agencija za statistiku BiH, Republički zavod za statistiku RS i Federalni zavod za statistiku FBiH) uključene su u Projekat procjene nepokrivenе ekonomije koji je podržan od strane EUROSTAT-a i OECD-a.<sup>48</sup> BiH se uključila u drugu fazu projekta mjerjenja neobuhvaćene ekonomije u izračunavanju društvenog proizvoda (Tabular approach). Prva faza projekta 1998-2000. godine imala je slijedeću strukturu:

- T1: Nezabilježeno zbog statističkih razloga (neodaziv),
- T2: Nezabilježeno zbog statističkih razloga (neažurni registri),
- T3: Nezabilježeno zbog statističkih razloga (subjekti nisu registrovani),
- T4: Nezabilježeno zbog ekonomskih razloga (podizvještavanje),
- T5: Nezabilježeno zbog ekonomskih razloga (subjekti nisu registrovani).
- T6: Neformalni sektor (neregistrovani subjekti, podizvještavanje).
- T7: Nelegalne aktivnosti.
- T8: Ostali oblici neobuhvaćanja BDP.

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<sup>48</sup> Autor se zahvaljuje statističkim institucijama BiH koje su pokazale interesovanje za ovo istraživanje i stavile na raspolaganje podatke kojima raspolažu. Posebnu zahvalnost za ljubaznost i profesionalnost autor duguje Dijani Mlikota, pomoćniku direktora Agencije za statistiku BiH i Radmili Čičković, direktoru Republičkog zavoda za statistiku RS.

Ovakva klasifikacija neobuhvaćene ekonomije nije bila obavezna, jer je zemljama ostavljena mogućnost da je prilagode prema vlastitim ekonomskim i pravnim uslovima.

Druga faza projekta Tabular approach (2002-2003) uključuje sedam tipova neobuhvatanja<sup>49</sup>:

**N1 - Proizvođači namjerno izbjegavaju registraciju** (preduzetnici koji pripadaju sektoru domaćinstva, izbjegavaju registraciju zbog plaćanja obaveza i zadržavanja socijalnih pogodnosti);

**N2 - Ilegalne aktivnosti** (djelatnost neregistrovana zbog zabrane obavljanja: promet droge, prodaja ukradene robe, krijumčarenje ljudi, prostitucija...);

**N3 - Neregistrovane aktivnosti domaćinstva** (neregistrovana djelatnost zbog naturalne proizvodnje ili nepostojanja obaveze registrovanja takve djelatnosti u okviru domaćinstva);

**N4 - Neobuhvat** (registrovana pravna lica, ali su njihovi izvještaji koji se uključuju u obračun društvenog proizvoda manjkavi);

**N5 - Registrovani preduzetnici koji nisu u obuhvatu** (registrovani preduzetnici ali su njihovi izvještaji nedostupni ili manjkavi);

**N6 - Namjerno podizvještavanje** (namjerno prikazivanje prihoda manjim, a rashoda većim u cilju izbjegavanja plaćanja poreza na dohodak, doprinosa za osiguranje, PDV, zatim prikrivanje isplata u kešu, prikrivanje sekundarnih djelatnosti, PDV prevare i slično) i

**N7 - Druge statističke greške** (sve ono što bi trebalo da uđe u obračun društvenog proizvoda, a nije obuhvaćeno od N1 do N6).

Statističke institucije BiH koriste prethodnu strukturu (N1 – N7) za uključivanje u izračunavanje društvenog proizvoda neobuhvaćene ekonomije. Pri tome, procijenjena neobuhvaćena ekonomija se smatra integralnim dijelom bruto društvenog proizvoda i ne iskazuje se kao posebna komponenta. Treba imati na umu da Eurostatov model uključivanja sive ekonomije obuhvata samo donju (najnižu) granicu sive ekonomije,<sup>50</sup> tako da, pogotovo u neuređenim zemljama i zemljama sa raširenom korupcijom, najveći dio sive ekonomije može ostati neobuhvaćen.

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<sup>49</sup> **Eurostat Tabular Approach**, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe Statistical Division, UNECE, Baku, 24-26 September 2008, p. 1

<sup>50</sup> Više o tome u: Lovrinčević, Željko, Marić, Zdravko i Mikulić, Davor (2006), **Maastrichtski kriteriji i uključivanje sive ekonomije – slučaj Hrvatske**, Privredna kretanja i ekomska politika 106/06, Zagreb, str. 61.

Statističke institucije BiH u izračunavanje društvenog proizvoda uključuju: neregistrovanu djelatnost sektora stanovništva koja prema važećim propisima podliježe registraciji; neregistrovanu djelatnost domaćinstava koja nema obavezu registrovanja u smislu posebne djelatnosti (zakupnine, studentski rad, autorski honorari, rad po ugovoru, ribarenje za vlastite potrebe); imputiranu aktivnost pravnih lica koji formalno nisu podnijeli izvještaje, a postoje kao aktivni subjekti u važećim registrima; imputiranu aktivnost samostalnih preduzetnika koji nisu u obuhvatu izvještavanja za obračun društvenog bruto proizvoda; korekcije namjernog podizvještavanja o poslovanju i druge statističke greške u izvještavanju. Ilegalne aktivnosti se djelimično procjenjuju, ali se ne uključuju u obračun. Ovim pristupom, statističke institucije BiH otklonile su niz grešaka u izvještavanju pri obračunu društvenog proizvoda, poboljšale kvalitet podataka o nacionalnim računima i povećale kompatibilnost statističkih izvještaja. Time je i dio društvenog proizvoda, koji je ranije, zbog statističkih grešaka i grešaka u izvještavanju, bio u sveri sive ekonomije, sasvim opravdano prikazan u formalnom sektoru. Međutim, time problem sive ekonomije u BiH nije riješen: ona nije u cijelini obuhvaćena, razlozi njenog postojanja nisu uklonjeni, niti je ona prevedena u formalnu ekonomiju. Statističke institucije mogu samo usavršavati metode obuhvata djelatnosti u neformalnoj zoni i procjenu njihovog obima uključivati u društveni proizvod. One nemaju moć da uklone motive ljudi da posluju u sivoj zoni, niti prinudu za eliminisanje sive ekonomije. Isto tako, statističke institucije sagledavaju statističku stranu sive ekonomije, koristeći pri tome raspoložive statističke metode u datim uslovima. Siva ekonomija je paralelni sistem formalnoj ekonomiji i ima svoje implikacije u svim sferama društva. Često formalni sektor ekonomije, koji je registrovan i obuhvaćen izvještavanjem, dio svoje aktivnosti obavlja u sivoj zoni i koristi usluge subjekata iz sive zone. Eliminacija podizvještavanja u ovim slučajevima nije potpuno efikasna. Statističke institucije su nemoćne da u cijelini obuhvate taj dio sive aktivnosti. Isto tako, ankete usmjerene na otkrivanje obima i strukture aktivnosti u sivoj zoni nisu potpuno pouzdane, jer veliki broj ljudi koji djeluje u sivoj zoni, pogotovo ako je to djelovanje povezano sa korupcijom i kriminalnom, ne žele o tome da govore ni anonimno. Zbog svega toga, ima smisla sivu ekonomiju procjenjivati i drugim metodama, te poređenjem rezultata i eliminacijom slabosti primjenjenih metoda težiti objektivizovanju procjene o sivoj ekonomiji.

U ovoj studiji, zbog niza praktičnih razloga<sup>51</sup>, biće primijenjen indirektni metod procjene sive ekonomije na osnovu ponude na tržištu rada. Pri tome, metod će biti modifikovan djelimičnom primjenom podataka iz ankete o radnoj snazi koju su provele statističke institucije, te izuzimanjem već obuhvaćenog dijela sive ekonomije u društvenom proizvodu.

U BiH je krajem 2008. godine bilo zaposleno oko 700 hiljada ljudi. Anketa o radnoj snazi statističkih institucija u BiH pokazuje da bi taj broj realno mogao biti oko 900 hiljada.<sup>52</sup> Istovremeno, formalno je bilo registrovano više od 480 hiljada nezaposlenih, a prema Anketi oko 270 hiljada. I druga istraživanja pokazuju da je tržište rada u BiH vrlo značajan indikator obima i strukture sive ekonomije u BiH. Na primjer, prema Panel anketi domaćinstava, u 2003. godini, 30% domaćinstava u BiH nije imalo ni jednog člana stalno zaposlenog.<sup>53</sup> Isto tako, sindikati i različite nevladine organizacije permanentno upozoravaju javnost da većina zaposlenih u BiH službeno prima platu manju od vrijednosti potrošačke korpe. Na drugoj strani, na ulicama gradova u BiH vlada zagušenost u saobraćaju, broj automobila u poslijeratnom periodu u većini gradova je utrostručen, veliki trgovački centri, kao simboli potrošnje, šire se po čitavoj BiH, uvoz je višestruko veći od izvoza... Očigledno, realni život u BiH je u velikom raskoraku sa službenim statističkim podacima. Taj raskorak ukazuje na relativno visok značaj sive ekonomije u očuvanju postojećeg nivoa socijalno-ekonomske stabilnosti.

## 2.2. Metod ponude na tržištu rada

Anketna istraživanja u nizu zemalja pokazala su da je stopa odnosa aktivnog i ukupnog stanovništva veća od zvanične stope do koje se dolazi na osnovu službenih statističkih podataka. Stopa neaktivnosti u BiH za 2008. godinu iznosila je 56,1%.<sup>54</sup> Takođe, na osnovu anketnih

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<sup>51</sup> Direktne, detaljne i sveobuhvatne metode procjene sive ekonomije podrazumijevaju angažovanje obimnih resursa. Autoru su dostupni samo javno publikovani podaci statističkih institucija u BiH.

<sup>52</sup> Anketa o radnoj snazi za 2008. godinu (Agencija za statistiku BiH, TB 10), str. 36

<sup>53</sup> Radne i socijalne politike u BiH: Razvoj politika djelovanja i mjera ublažavanja negativnih uticaja privatizacije, Panel anketa domaćinstava, DFID, 2005, str. 4.

<sup>54</sup> Prema Anketa o radnoj snazi za 2008. godinu (Agencija za statistiku BiH, TB 10), stopa aktivnosti u BiH je iznosila 43,9%, u Federaciji BiH 42,7%, u RS 47% i u Brčkom 36,8%.

istraživanja o radnoj snazi dobije se niža stopa nezaposlenosti. Na osnovu ovih razlika može se zaključiti da siva ekonomija ostavlja tragove na tržištu rada koji se ogledaju u niskim stopama participacije i u visokim stopama nezaposlenosti. Na osnovu ovih indikatora i pretpostavke o produktivnosti rada, može se dobiti približan okvir o razmjerama sive ekonomije. Stope participacije se mogu korigovati sa visokim stepenom pouzdanosti kroz anketu o radnoj snazi. Međutim, pretpostavku o produktivnosti rada u sektoru formalne i sektoru sive ekonomije teško je pouzdano provjeriti, što dobrim dijelom umanjuje pouzdanost ovog metoda procjene.

Primjenom metoda ponude na tržištu rada, u ovoj studiji ukupni obim sive ekonomije ( $Ge$ ) izražićemo kao proizvod dijela društvenog bruto proizvoda koji stvaraju zaposleni u sektoru sive ekonomije i koeficijenta procijenjene produktivnosti rada ( $\varepsilon$ ) u sektoru sive ekonomije:

$$(1) \quad Ge = \left( \frac{Z_s}{Z_a} GDP \right) \varepsilon ,$$

pri čemu je  $Z_s$  - procijenjeni broj zaposlenih u sektoru sive ekonomije sveden na puno radno vrijeme;  $Z_a$  – ukupan broj zaposlenih dobijen na osnovu ankete o radnoj snazi koju su provele statističke institucije, takođe sveden na puno radno vrijeme i  $GDP$  – bruto društveni proizvod iz službenih izvještaja statističkih institucija.

Pri procjeni ukupnog broja zaposlenih u sektoru sive ekonomije pošlo se od pretpostavke da su nezaposleni, zatim zaposleni sa niskim primanjima, studenti, penzioneri sa niskim primanjima i srednjoškolci potencijalno najznačajnije grupe iz kojih se generiše ponuda rada na sivom tržištu. Najveći dio navedenih kategorija ima na raspolaganju mjesecni budžet iz regularnih izvora koji je manji od vrijednosti potrošačke korpe i od prosječne neto plate u BiH. Preko 60% zaposlenih prima neto platu koja je ispod prosječne plate, a preko 90% penzionera, studenata i srednjoškolaca raspolaže mjesечно manjim regularnim budžetom od prosječne plate. U takvim okolnostima, siva ekonomija postaje logično objašnjenje socijalne održivosti tih kategorija stanovništva.

Ukupan broj zaposlenih u sektoru sive ekonomije ( $Z_s$ ) utvrđen je kao zbir službeno nezaposlenih lica koja su angažovana u sektoru sive ekonomije ( $Nz_s$ ); zaposlenih u sektoru formalne ekonomije koji dio

prihoda ostvaruju metodama sive ekonomije ili dopunskim radom u sivom sektoru ekonomije ( $Zp_s$ ); broja redovnih studenata koji rade u sektoru sive ekonomije ( $St_s$ ); broja srednjoškolaca koji rade u sektoru sive ekonomije ( $Sr_s$ ) i broja penzionera angažovanih u sektoru sive ekonomije ( $Pn_s$ ), tj:<sup>55</sup>

$$(2) \quad Zs = Nz_s + Zp_s + St_s + Sr_s + Pn_s = \\ = \alpha Nz + \beta Zp + \gamma St + \delta Sr + \omega Pn$$

Broj neregularno zaposlenih iz svake navedene kategorije utvrđen je korigovanjem ukupnog broja sa procijenjenom stopom participacije u sivoj ekonomiji. Tako u gornjem izrazu primijenjene stope imaju sljedeće značenje:

- $\alpha$  - stopa uključenosti nezaposlenih u sivu ekonomiju,
- $\beta$  - stopa uključenosti zaposlenih u sivu ekonomiju,
- $\gamma$  - stopa uključenosti studenata u sivu ekonomiju,
- $\delta$  - stopa uključenosti srednjoškolaca u sivu ekonomiju i
- $\omega$  - stopa uključenosti penzionera u sivu ekonomiju.

Izračunavanje zaposlenosti u neformalnoj sveri za pojedine grupe izvršeno je na sljedeći način:

$$(3) \quad Nz_s = \alpha Nz = \left[ \frac{\% Nz_t}{\% Nz_{t-1}} (1 - 0,4) \right] Nz$$

ili za RS

$$(4) \quad Nz_s = \alpha Nz = \left[ \frac{\% Nz_t}{\% Nz_{t-1}} (1 - 0,35) \right] Nz$$

Vrijednost stope  $\alpha$  utvrđena je kao proizvod promjene stope zaposlenosti i procijenjenog obima angažovanja službeno nezaposlenih lica u sektoru sive ekonomije.

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<sup>55</sup> Ovdje je riječ o procjeni angažovanja cjelokupne grupe svodenjem na puno radno vrijeme, što znači da se različita dužina trajanja angažovanja u sivoj ekonomiji pojedinaca pripadnika iste grupe posmatra homogeno, odnosno iskazuje kao broj pojedinaca na bazi punog radnog vremena, tako da stvarni broj lica koja su tokom određenog perioda uzela učešće u sivoj ekonomiji može biti veći.

Kod utvrđivanja broja zaposlenih angažovanih u sektoru sive ekonomije pošlo se od pretpostavke da je u prosjeku svaki 20. angažovan u sektoru sive ekonomije ( $\beta = 0,05$ ). Ova pretpostavka ne obuhvata samo angažovanje zaposlenih na dopunskim poslovima u sektoru sive ekonomije, nego i primanje dijela dohotka u formalnom sektoru kroz formu sive ekonomije (isplate dijela plate u kešu bez plaćanja poreza i doprinosa):

$$(5) \quad Zp_s = \beta Zp = 0.05 Zp$$

Broj redovnih studenata angažovanih u sivoj ekonomiji utvrđen je na osnovu obrasca:

$$(6) \quad St_s = \gamma St = 0.033 St$$

pod pretpostavkom da je u prosjeku svaki 30. student angažovan u sektoru sive ekonomije ( $\gamma = 0,033$ ). Na sličan način utvrđen je i broj srednjoškolaca angažovanih u neformalnom sektoru privrede, ali uz pretpostavku da je svaki 100. srednjoškolac radio u sektoru sive ekonomije ( $\delta = 0,01$ ):

$$(7) \quad Sr_s = \delta Sr = 0.01 Sr$$

Broj penzionera angažovanih u sivoj ekonomiji utvrđen je pod pretpostavkom da svaki 40. penzioner ostvaruje puno radno vrijeme u neregistrovanoj ekonomiji ( $\omega = 0,025$ ):

$$(8) \quad Pn_s = \omega Pn = 0.025 Pn$$

Na osnovu uvrštavanja relacija od (3) do (8) u (2) dobijen je obrazac za izračunavanje ukupnog broja angažovanih lica u sektoru sive ekonomije:

$$(9) \quad Zs = \left[ \frac{\% Nz_t}{\% Nz_{t-1}} (1 - 0,4) \right] Nz + 0,05 Zp + 0,033 St + 0,01 Sr + 0,025 Pn$$

U modelu se pošlo od pretpostavke da je produktivnost rada u sektoru sive ekonomije niža za 20% nego u sektoru regularne ekonomije. Za ovu pretpostavku teško je naći ubjedljive dokaze. Polazi se od pretpostavke da je proteklih godina kroz reforme poreskog sistema i poreskih institucija došlo do povećanja rizika poslovanja na sivom tržištu. Isto tako, učesnicima na sivom tržištu nije dostupan sistem državnih podsticaja, krediti za razvoj i niz drugih pogodnosti koje daju državne institucije i asocijacije, te se u ovoj sveri često primjenjuje manje produktivna tehnologija i angažuju manje sposobni radnici. Takođe, pretpostavilo se da na sivom tržištu postoje određeni troškovi skrivanja kojima nisu izloženi učesnici regularne ekonomije.

Model polazi od pretpostavke da između visoke stope neaktivnosti radno sposobnog stanovništva i angažovanja u sektoru sive ekonomije postoji visoka stopa korelacije. Ovu pretpostavku pojačava činjenica da i oni koji su angažovani u regularnoj ekonomiji i oni koji su korisnici javnih fondova najčešće ne ostvaruju prihode dovoljne za normalnu egzistenciju prosječne porodice. Naravno, model je orijentisan na procjenu, a ne na egzaktno utvrđivanje veličine sive ekonomije, tako da tu činjenicu treba imati na umu pri korišćenju njegovih rezultata. Siva ekonomija, po prirodi, jeste takva da se ne može egzaktno utvrditi.

### **3. Procjena obima sive ekonomije u BiH u 2008. godini**

#### **3.1. Pojavni oblici sive ekonomije u BiH**

U BiH su registrovani vrlo različiti oblici sive ekonomije. Navešćemo neke najraširenije i socijalno - ekonomski najznačajnije oblike sive ekonomije, koje su registrovali različiti kontrolni organi, ali koje su potvrdili i neposredni učesnici djelatnosti u sivoj zoni kao vlastito iskustvo<sup>56</sup>:

##### **b\*!Oblast prometa robe i usluga**

1. nelegalan uvoz robe i usluga,
2. stavljanje u promet neevidentirane domaće i inostrane robe,

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<sup>56</sup> U cilju registrovanja nekih oblika sive ekonomije autor je obavio brojne razgovore sa ljudima iz različitih institucija, kao i sa ljudima koji su neposredno angažovani u sivoj ekonomiji. Svima im se zahvaljujem na saradnji.

3. stavljanje u promet robe čija je evidentirana nabavna cijena višestruko manja od proizvođačke i tržišne cijene,
4. stavljanje u promet robe bez dokazanog porijekla,
5. stavljanje u promet robe bez dokaza o plaćenoj carini, akcizi ili porezu,
6. višestruka dokumentacija za istu robu na različitim mjestima i u različitim fazama prometa;
7. fiktivni tranzit robe kroz BiH;
8. prodaja robe na teritoriji jednog entiteta za koju su akciza, carina i PDV plaćeni na teritoriji drugog entiteta;
9. neažurno i nepotpuno vođenje poslovnih knjiga i netačno izvještavanje o ostvarenom prometu,
10. neovlašćeno obavljanje prometa robe i usluga (neregistrovani promet),
11. komisiona prodaja robe bez odgovarajuće evidencije,
12. promet robe preko neovlašćenih institucija, najčešće bez plaćanja poreza (npr. sindikati u preduzećima),
13. prodaja robe bez dokazanog kvaliteta i ispravnosti,
14. neizvršavanje obaveza iz ugovora o prometu,
15. budžetsko neregistrovanje prihoda državnih institucija,
16. naturalni oblici razmjene bez registrovanja kupoprodajnih transakcija,
17. izbjegavanje plaćanja obaveza putem fiktivnih ugovora i fiktivnih isporuka roba nepostojećim firmama u Federaciju BiH,
18. prikrivanje dobiti putem transvernih cijena,
19. nabavka robe po nižim carinskim i poreskim tarifama, a stavljanje u promet po cijeni robe za koju su propisane više tarife,
20. promet robe široke potrošnje industrijskog porijekla u prodavnicama registrovanim kao "kućna radinost".

#### *C\*/Oblast platnog prometa*

1. stvaranje nelegalnog tržišta novca van poslovnih računa učesnika platnog prometa (novac od dnevnog pazara, prometa robe na crno ...),
2. međusobno plaćanje obaveza u "kešu" bez dokumentacije predviđene zakonima,
3. uplata na vlastiti račun po "ovlaštenju" firme kojoj je "izvršena" fiktivna isporuka robe,
4. isplata plata u gotovini koja ne potiče sa računa,

5. uslovljavanje prodaje robe gotovinskim plaćanjem unaprijed,
6. prodaja za gotovinu bez evidentiranja i plaćanja poreza,
7. nekontrolisana i neregistrovana plaćanja u stranom novcu u zemlji i preko granice od strane domaćih lica,
8. povlačenje gotovog novca iz platnog prometa i obavljanje gotovinskih plaćanja na sivom tržištu.

*d\*!Oblast kreditno - monetarnog sistema i bankarskog poslovanja*

1. neregistrovano unošenje i iznošenje inostranog novca,
2. formiranje sivog tržišta deviza,
3. davanje kredita uz skrivenu cijenu (posebne naknade, garancije...),
4. kreditiranje mimo bankarskog sistema (zelenašenje).

*e\*!Tržište rada i radni odnosi*

1. zapošljavanje radnika "na crno",
2. izbjegavanje penzionisanja radnika koji su ispunili zakonske uslove,
3. fiktivno vođenje većeg broja zaposlenih zbog povlačenja većih prinadležnosti iz fondova i budžeta,
4. fiktivno vođenje velikog broja sezonskih radnika zbog izbjegavanja plaćanja obaveza "mimo sezone",
5. postojanje dvojnog sistema plata: niže plate u knjigama zbog izbjegavanja plaćanja obaveza i isplata neevidentiranog dijela plate u gotovini,
6. korupcija u institucijama za evidentiranje prijava o zapošljavanju radnika: prijava predana ali "zbog zauzetosti" nije provedena.

*f\*!Oblast građevinarstva, stambeno - komunalna djelatnost i promet nekretnina*

1. bespravna gradnja,
2. prisvajanje zajedničkih prostorija u stambenim zgradama i njihova dogradnja za vlastite potrebe mimo zakonskih propisa,
3. špekulacije prilikom prometa nekretnina (prikrivanje kapitalne dobiti),
4. izdavanje stambenog i poslovnog prostora bez prijavljivanja prihoda,

5. prisvajanje napuštene imovine lica koja su u izbjeglištvu zbog rata,
6. prisvajanje imovine preduzeća iz drugih bivših jugoslovenskih republika poslije raspada SFRJ.

*g\*/Ostalo*

1. različiti oblici sponzorisanja sportskih društava, političkih stranaka, vjerskih zajednica i slično od strane poreskih obveznika koji nisu predviđeni propisima,
2. neodgovarajuće deklarisanje prihoda, odnosno podvođenje pod niži porez,
3. fiktivno iskazivanje većih troškova s ciljem izbjegavanja plaćanja poreza na dobit,
4. nepotpuno i nerealno obuhvatanje prihoda od poljoprivrede,
5. korišćenje državnih sredstava u privatnom privređivanju i potrošnji (oprema, materijal, automobili, telefon, telefaks...),
6. korišćenje radnog vremena u preduzećima i institucijama za vlastito privređivanje,
7. nekontrolisana sječa državnih šuma,
8. neregistrovano širenje i promjena djelatnosti preduzeća,
9. samoinicijativna naplata cijene usluga javnih institucija za koje je država predvidjela da su besplatne,
10. niska osnovica paušalnog oporezivanja,
11. aktivnosti u tzv. „crnoj ekonomiji“ (prostitucija, trgovina oružjem, trgovina drogom, trgovina ljudima...).

### 3.2. Procijenjeni obim sive ekonomije u BiH u 2008. godini

Više autora do sada se bavilo sivom ekonomijom u BiH, primjenjujući različite metode procjene. Iako pri tome nije postignuta opšta saglasnost u izboru metoda procjene i dobijenih rezultata, sve procjene ukazuju na relativno visok stepen učešća sive ekonomije u službeno verifikovanom bruto društvenom proizvodu. Istraživanja u kojima je autor učestvovao do sada su bila ograničena samo na Republiku Srpsku. Istraživanje iz 1997. godine<sup>57</sup> pokazalo je da je siva ekonomija 1996. godine učestvovala sa 56,3% u bruto društvenom proizvodu RS, a istraživanje

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<sup>57</sup> Rajko Tomas (edit.), **Gray Economy in the Republic of the Srpska**, UNDP, 1997.

za 2000. godinu da se nivo sive ekonomije smanjio na 51,2%.<sup>58</sup> Važno je imati na umu da bruto društveni proizvod za 1996. i 2000. godinu za RS nije bio iskazan po sistemu nacionalnih računa, što je imalo za posljedicu povećanje relativnog učešća sive ekonomije. Prvo sveobuhvatno istraživanje sive ekonomije za BiH izvršeno je 2004. godine za period 2001-2003. godine. Istraživači Roberto Dell' Ano i Marje Piirisild<sup>59</sup> utvrdili su da je ukupna neosmatrana ekonomija (NOE) u 2001. godini iznosila 57,74%, 2002. godine 55,92% i 2003. godine 52,60% bruto društvenog proizvoda BiH.

Od vremena prvih istraživanja sive ekonomije, BiH je prošla naporan put ekonomskih reformi, uspostavljanja pravne države i transparentnosti u radu. Iako je BiH još uvijek daleko od efikasne države, provedene reforme dale su rezultate u redukovaju obima sive ekonomije. Značajan doprinos tome dao je ekonomski razvoj zemlje, uvođenje PDV, reforma direktnih poreza, reforma funkcionisanja entitetskih poreskih uprava, uspostavljanje revizije javnog sektora, provođenje Zakona o javnim nabavkama i Zakona o slobodi pristupa informacijama.

Primjenom prethodno objašnjеног metoda procjene, dobijeno je da je u 2008. godini ukupna siva ekonomija u BiH iznosila 26,52% statistički verifikovanog bruto društvenog proizvoda ili 6,56 milijardi maraka (Tabela 1).

**Tabela 1. Procijenjeni obim sive ekonomije u BiH za 2008. Godinu**

Procijenjena siva ekonomija u milionima KM	% učešća entiteta i Brčkog u GDP BiH	% učešća u ukupnoj sivoj ekonomiji BiH	% učešća sive ekonomije u GDP
FBiH	4645,01	63,35	70,86
RS	1737,62	34,26	26,51
Brčko	172,69	2,39	2,63
<b>Ukupno BiH</b>	<b>6555,32</b>	<b>100,00</b>	<b>26,52</b>

<sup>58</sup> R. Tomaš i G. Božović, **Obim, struktura i metodi eliminacije sive ekonomije u Republici Srpskoj**, Ekonomski fakultet Banja Luka, 2001.

<sup>59</sup> Roberto Dell'Anno and Marje Piirisild, „**Estimate of Non-Observed Economy in B&H**“, Financial Services Volunteer Corps, 2004. Autori su ukupnu neosmatrano ekonomiju (NOE) iskazali kao zbir relativnih učešća u bruto društvenom proizvodu ilegalne aktivnosti, sive ekonomije i statističkih odstupanja.

Ovo je iznos, ako je data procjena prihvatljiva, koji je tokom 2008. godine ukupno bio dostupan privredi i stanovništvu BiH a nije bio registrovan od strane statističkih i drugih institucija. Ovaj iznos ima velike implikacije po funkcionisanje cijelog društva. Iz njega nisu plaćeni odgovarajući porezi i doprinosi, zbog čega je prosječno poresko opterećenje registrovanih poreskih obveznika bilo veće od potencijalno mogućeg opterećenja. Pri tome, u FBiH stopa je iznosila 29,67%, u RS 20,52% i u Brčkom 29,22%. Na relativno nižu stopu sive ekonomije u RS uticalo je povećanje zaposlenosti, rast prosječnih plata i brži rast društvenog bruto proizvoda. Takođe, Panel anketa domaćinstava pokazala je da je (a) „veća vjerovatnoća kod osoba koje žive u RS nego kod osoba koje žive u FBiH da su poduzetnici, da obavljaju sezonski rad, da imaju ugovore na određeno vrijeme ili da rade u porodičnom poslu“ i (b) da „postoji veća vjerovatnoća kod domaćinstava u RS nego kod domaćinstava u FBiH da imaju dvije ili više zaposlenih osoba u domaćinstvu“.<sup>60</sup>

Statističke institucije BiH utvrdile su ukupni bruto domaći proizvod u iznosu od 24,716,589 hiljada maraka. U ovaj iznos uključeno je 1,128,851 hiljadu maraka imputirane rente ili 4,57% i 1,342,030 hiljada maraka neosmatrane ekonomije (NOE), ili 5,43%, odnosno 6,46% od ukupne bruto dodate vrijednosti.<sup>61</sup> Primjenjeni metod procjene obuhvata ova dva iznosa. Dakle, ukupno neverifikovana siva ekonomija iznosi **4.084.439.000** maraka ili **16,53%** iskazanog bruto društvenog proizvoda (tabela 2).

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<sup>60</sup> Radne i socijalne politike u BiH: Razvoj politika djelovanja i mjera ublažavanja negativnih uticaja privatizacije, Panel anketa domaćinstava, DFID, 2005, str. 4.

<sup>61</sup> Bruto domaći proizvod za Bosnu i Hercegovinu 2008, Saopštenje Agencije za statistiku BiH, broj 1, Sarajevo, 17.07.2009. Bruto domaći proizvod se izračunava kao zbir bruto dodate vrijednosti i razlike ukupnih poreza i datih subvencija za proizvodnju.

**Tabela 2. Registrovana i neregistrovana siva ekonomija u BiH za 2008. godinu<sup>62</sup>**

			- u milionima KM	
	GDP 2008. u milionima KM	Siva ekonomija u milionima KM	Registro- vani dio sive ekonomije	Neregistro- vani dio sive ekonomije
FBiH	15657	4645,01	1751	2894
RS	8468	1737,62	655	1083
Brčko	591	172,69	65	108
<b>Ukupno BiH</b>	<b>24716</b>	<b>6555,32</b>	<b>2471</b>	<b>4084</b>

### 3.3. Efekti procijenjenog obima sive ekonomije

Siva ekonomija obezbjeđuje rast prihoda privrede i stanovništva, poboljšavajući njihov ekonomski položaj. Na drugoj strani, ona umanjuje javne prihode, siromašeći korisnike javnih prihoda i prinuđavajući državu da povećava poreske stope kako bi obezbijedila potrebni nivo javnih prihoda. Vrlo često prihodi u sektoru sive ekonomije su povezani sa korupcijom i kriminalom, tako da siva ekonomija umanjuje i efikasnost državnih institucija na datom nivou javne potrošnje.

**Siva ekonomija i ukupna ekonomska aktivnost.** Primjenom metoda ponude na tržištu rada došlo se do procjene o sivoj ekonomiji u BiH u 2008. godini u iznosu od 6,5 milijardi maraka. Od ovog dijela, statističke institucije su primjenom svoje metodologije u obračun društvenog proizvoda za 2008. godinu uključile 2,5 milijardi maraka. Razliku od 4 milijarde maraka predstavlja neotkriveni dio sive ekonomije. Ako taj iznos dodamo bruto društvenom proizvodu za 2008. godinu, dobićemo obim ukupne ekonomske aktivnosti (tabela 3).

<sup>62</sup> Iznos registrovane i neregistrovane sive ekonomije utvrđen je korišćenjem stope učešća entiteta i Brčkog u ukupnoj procijenjenoj sivoj ekonomiji. Autoru nisu bili dostupni podaci o NOE za entitete i Brčko, tako da su moguća odstupanja ovdje prikazanih podataka o registrovanoj ekonomiji od podataka kojima raspolažu statističke institucije.

**Tabela 3. Učešće sive ekonomije u ukupnoj ekonomskoj aktivnosti  
- u milionima KM**

	GDP 2008.	Neregistro- vani dio sive ekonomije	Procje- njena siva ekonomija	Ukupna ekonomkska aktivnost	% učešća sive ekono- mije u ekonomskoj aktivnosti
FBiH	15657	2894	4645,01	18551	25,04
RS	8468	1083	1737,62	9551	18,19
Brčko	591	108	172,69	699	24,71
<b>Ukupno BiH</b>	<b>24716</b>	<b>4084</b>	<b>6555,32</b>	<b>28801</b>	<b>22,76</b>

Dakle, po našoj procjeni, obim ukupne ekonomiske aktivnosti u BiH za 2008. godinu iznosio je oko 29 milijardi maraka. Siva ekonomija je učestvovala u stvaranju ukupne ekonomске aktivnosti sa oko 23% u BiH, a oko 25% u FBiH, 18% u RS i 25% u Brčkom.<sup>63</sup> Da je cjelokupni procijenjeni iznos sive ekonomije registrovan kao regularna ekonomija, društveni proizvod BiH u 2008. godini bio bi veći za 16,53%: FBiH za 18,5%, RS za 12,8% i Brčkog za 18,3%.

Relativno smanjenje učešća sive ekonomije u bruto društvenom proizvodu i ukupnoj ekonomskoj aktivnosti ne znači da se ekonomski aktivnost u sivoj zoni smanjivala ili stagnirala. Pokazatelji govore o tome da se siva ekonomija samo sporije razvijala od razvoja regularne ekonomije.<sup>64</sup> Na primjer, prosječna nominalna stopa rasta registrovanog društvenog proizvoda u RS u periodu od 1996. do 2000. godine iznosila je 12,5%, a rast sive ekonomije 9,8%. U periodu od 2000. do 2008. godine, nominalni bruto društveni proizvod RS povećao se oko 5 puta, a siva ekonomija 2 puta. Uporedivi podaci za BiH nisu dostupni, ali se i u ovom slučaju, na osnovu učešća entiteta u BDP BiH i učešća u sivoj ekonomiji u 2008. godini, može zaključiti da je u istom periodu u

<sup>63</sup> Istim metodom procjene utvrđeno je da je u RS 1996. godine učešće sive ekonomije u ukupnoj ekonomskoj aktivnosti iznosilo 36%, a 2000. godine 33,9% (opširnije u: R. Tomaš i G. Božović, **Obim, struktura i metodi eliminacije sive ekonomije u Republici Srpskoj**, Ekonomski fakultet Banja Luka, 2001.) Autor ne raspolaze uporedivim podacima za FBiH, ali se na osnovu podataka o učešću entiteta u bruto društvenom proizvodu BiH i učešću entiteta u procijenjenom obimu sive ekonomije za 2008. godinu, može zaključiti da je i u FBiH s rastom bruto društvenog proizvoda opadao relativni značaj sive ekonomije u ukupnoj ekonomskoj aktivnosti.

<sup>64</sup> Opširnije u: R. Tomaš i G. Božović, **Obim, struktura i metodi eliminacije sive ekonomije u Republici Srpskoj**, Ekonomski fakultet Banja Luka, 2001.

cijeloj BiH bila prisutna tendencija smanjenja relativnog značaja sive ekonomije u ekonomskoj aktivnosti.

**Siva ekonomija i zaposlenost.** Siva ekonomija kreira neregistrovanu zaposlenost, čime pozitivno utiče na socijalno-ekonomsku stabilnost društva, održavanje dostačnog nivoa potrošnje i standarda stanovništva, održavanje dostačnog nivoa tražnje za radnom snagom i platu, zatim povećanje indirektnih javnih prihoda. Konkurentnost radne snage na sivom tržištu uglavnom se ostvaruje kroz niže plate za iznos poreza i doprinosa koji se plaćaju državi u regularnom sektoru. Često su niže plate osnova za formiranje nižih cijena robe i usluga koji potiču iz sektora sive ekonomije. Dio djelatnosti u sivoj zoni obavljaju i registrovani zaposleni (dopunski rad), ili se njihovi prihodi ne registruju u cjelini (prijavljivanje manje osnovice za obračun plata i doprinosa, a isplata razlike u gotovini bez registrovanja). U svakom slučaju, rad angažovanih u sivoj zoni ekonomije doprinosi povećanju društvenog proizvoda, mada cjelokupni doprinos nije formalno registrovan, jer je u određenim fazama procesa prisutno podizvještavanje.

Provedena analiza pokazuje da je u sektoru sive ekonomije u BiH tokom 2008. godine bilo zaposleno skoro 290 hiljada ljudi, od toga oko 196 hiljada u FBiH, oko 90 hiljada u RS i oko 7 hiljada u Brčkom.<sup>65</sup> Od toga oko 80% su bila nezaposlena lica. Pod pretpostavkom da su zaposleni u sivoj ekonomiji ostvarivali istu neto zaradu kao i zaposleni u regularnom sektoru, procjenjujemo da su ukupne neto plate u 2008. godini iznosile preko 2,6 milijardi maraka (tabela 4).

**Tabela 4. Plate u sektoru sive ekonomije u 2008. godini**

- u hiljadama KM

	Godišnje bruto plate*	Godišnje neto plate*	Neplaćeni doprinosi i porez	Neplaćeni doprinosi	Neplaćeni porez na dochodak
FBiH	2596009	1765291	830718	772568	58150
RS	1219494	813355	406139	351804	54336
Brčko	99869	63950	35919	33167	2752
<b>Ukupno BiH</b>	<b>3915372</b>	<b>2642596</b>	<b>1272776</b>	<b>1157539</b>	<b>115238</b>

<sup>65</sup> Prema rezultatima istraživanja uticaja recesije na tržište rada koje su proveli stručnjaci Univerziteta Johannes Kepler iz Linca, u 2009. godini će u Njemačkoj na crno raditi čak 8,27 miliona ljudi, a u Austriji gotovo 700.000 ljudi.

\* Za izračunavanje su korišćeni službeni statistički podaci o prosječnoj bruto i neto plati u entitetima i Brčkom u 2008. godini. Prosječna bruto plata u FBiH bila je 1104,85 KM, u RS 1132 KM i u Brčkom 1139,29 KM. Prosječna neto plata u FBiH iznosila je 751,3 KM, u RS 755 KM i u Brčkom 729,53 KM.

Upravo ovaj novac obezbijedio je egzistenciju velikom broju nezaposlenih i onima koji nedovoljno zarađuju u regularnom sektoru. Ti prihodi povećali su socijalnu, ekonomsku i političku stabilnost u BiH. Međutim, na dohodak ostvaren u sivoj ekonomiji nisu plaćeni pripadajući doprinosi za penzijsko, zdravstveno i osiguranje od nezaposlenosti. Taj iznos predstavljao je prihod poslodavaca u sivoj zoni ili uvećanje ličnog prihoda ako je u pitanju samostalno djelovanje u sektoru sive ekonomije. Na drugoj strani, to je istovremeno izgubljeni prihod vanbudžetskih fondova i dijelom izgubljeni prihod budžeta entiteta, kantona i opština (porez na dohodak). Dakle, zbog sive ekonomije doprinosi i porez na dohodak u BiH su bili manji u 2008. godini za preko 1,2 milijarde maraka: od toga doprinosi za vanbudžetske fondove više od 1,1 milijardu maraka i porez na dohodak preko 115 miliona maraka. Naravno, nerealno je pretpostaviti da se cjelokupna siva ekonomija može prevesti u regularnu ekonomiju. Međutim, ako bismo pretpostavili da se 60% sadašnje sive ekonomije prevede u regularnu ekonomiju efikasnijim djelovanjem države i eliminisanjem korupcije, tada bi nivo sive ekonomije u BiH bio u granicama prihvatljivim i u Evropskoj uniji, a prihodi vanbudžetskih fondova bili bi povećani upravo za iznos najčešće procjenjivanih nedostajućih sredstava za njihovo normalno funkcioniranje. U tom slučaju, prihodi vanbudžetskih fondova u FBiH mogli bi biti veći za preko 463 miliona maraka, u RS za 211 miliona maraka i u Brčkom za oko 20 miliona maraka.

**Siva ekonomija i poresko opterećenje.** Ukupni javni prihodi svih nivoa vlasti u 2008. godini iznosili su 10,9 milijardi maraka. Taj iznos, poređen prema statistički iskazanom bruto društvenom proizvodu, daje stopu poreskog opterećenja od 44,11% (tabela 5).<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Entitetske stope poreskog opterećenja su relativno niže jer prihodi državnih institucija nisu raspoređeni na entitete, nego dodati ukupnim javnim prihodima entiteta i Brčkog.

**Tabela 5. Javni prihodi i siva ekonomija u 2008. godini**  
- u milionima KM

Ukupni javni prihodi <sup>67</sup>	Stopa poreskog opterećenja*	Registrovani GDP, bez NOE	Stopa poreskog opterećenja**	Stopa poreskog opterećenja***
FBiH	6537,5	41,75	13906	47,01
RS	3264,5	38,55	7813	41,78
Brčko	236,6	40,03	526	44,98
<b>Ukupno BiH</b>	<b>10903,1</b>	<b>44,11</b>	<b>22245</b>	<b>49,01</b>
				<b>37,86</b>

\* Stopa poreskog opterećenja izračunata kao odnos javnih prihoda i službeno objavljenog GDP.

\*\* Stopa poreskog opterećenja izračunata kao odnos javnih prihoda i GDP umanjenog za iznos NOE.

\*\*\* Stopa poreskog opterećenja izračunata kao odnos javnih prihoda i GDP uvećanog za sivu ekonomiju.

Međutim, javni prihodi su naplaćeni u prikazanom iznosu, dok iskazani bruto društveni proizvod sadrži imputiranu rentu i NOE, koji nisu stvarno registrovani kao ekonomska aktivnost poreskih obveznika. Zbog toga je relativno opterećenje regularne ekonomije (isključena imputirana renta i NOE iz BDP) veće od prikazanog iznosa. Po našoj procjeni, realno poresko opterećenje regularne ekonomije u BiH u prosjeku je iznosilo 49%. U FBiH bilo je 47%, u RS 42% i u Brčkom 45%. Ako bi siva ekonomija bila i cjelini registrovana, ukupni javni prihodi BiH od 10,9 milijardi maraka mogli bi se ostvariti uz prosječno poresko opterećenja od 38%, odnosno 35% u FBiH, 34% u RS i Brčkom. Time bi regularna ekonomija mogla biti manje poreski opterećena ili bi se, uz isto opterećenje, mogli ostvariti veći javni prihodi i poboljšati ponuda javnih dobara i usluga. To je jasna poruka iz prikazanih podataka i ona treba da bude orientacija vlastima u vođenju politike legalizovanja ekonomske aktivnosti, mada je to teško ostvariv cilj.

**Siva ekonomija i izgubljeni javni prihodi.** Dakle, činjenica je da u sektoru sive ekonomije svi nivoi vlasti u BiH izgube godišnje značajan dio javnih prihoda (tabela 6), te da je zbog toga regularna ekonomija relativno više poreski opterećena.

<sup>67</sup> Podaci iz Biltena br. 2/09, CBBiH, str. 232.

**Tabela 6. Izgubljeni javni prihodi u 2008. godini**

- u milionima KM

Stopa poreskog opterećenja**	Procijenjeni iznos sive ekonomije	Izgubljeni prihodi u sivoj ekonomiji – 100% naplata	Izgubljeni prihodi u sivoj ekonomiji – 60% naplata
FBiH	47,01	4645,01	2184
RS	41,78	1737,62	726
Brčko	44,98	172,69	78
<b>Ukupno BiH</b>	<b>49,01</b>	<b>6555,32</b>	<b>3213</b>
			<b>1928</b>

Na osnovu procijenjenog obima sive ekonomije, uz pretpostavku o istoj stopi poreskog opterećenja kojom je opterećen regularni sektor, dolazimo do procjene o izgubljenim javnim prihodima. U toku 2008. godine, u BiH u sektoru sive ekonomije sakriveno je 3,2 milijarde maraka. Međutim, nerealno je očekivati da se sva siva ekonomija, na koju se odnosi ovaj iznos, može prevesti u legalnu ekonomiju. Ali, ako pretpostavimo da je realno očekivati da efikasna država može preuzeti mjeru kojima će prevesti 60% sive ekonomije u legalnu, realno bi bilo očekivati da se i javni prihodi mogu povećati za 1,9 milijardi maraka godišnje. Naravno, siva ekonomija se ne može jednokratno prevesti u legalnu ekonomiju. To je proces prilagodavanja i države i aktera sive ekonomije.

Tek detaljnijim istraživanjem sive ekonomije može se doći do saznanja o realno mogućem povećanju javnih prihoda kroz njenu legalizaciju. Kroz tu analizu mora se utvrditi koji nivo poreskog opterećenja mogu podnijeti akteri sive ekonomije. Bez obzira što je siva ekonomija ilegalni oblik ekonomske aktivnosti, nisu svi akteri sive ekonomije prirodno skloni utajama i kriminalu. Dio sive ekonomije je u tom sektoru, jer svojom produktivnošću ne bi mogao izdržati poresko opterećenje regularne ekonomije. Ulazak u sferu regularne ekonomije za takve aktere sive ekonomije značio bi propadanje. Sa aspekta ekonomskih principa, prihvatljivo je da neproduktivni učesnici tržišta propadaju. Međutim, siva ekonomija ima i socijalnu dimenziju. Veliki dio sive ekonomije je izvor prihoda za egzistenciju najsirošašnjih. Eliminacija sive ekonomije s ciljem povećanja javnih prihoda može završiti sa istim nivoom prikupljenih javnih prihoda i većim potrebama socijalnih transvera siromašnim.

**Siva ekonomija u BiH i integracija u Evropsku uniju.** Kao što je ranije objašnjeno, BiH je uključena u projekt procjene nepokrivenе ekonomije, koji je podržan od strane EUROSTAT-a i OECD-a. U podatke o nacionalnim računima statističke institucije BiH uključuju imputiranu rentu (stambenu rentu) i neosmatranu ekonomiju (NOE). Zemlje kandidati za prijem u EU obavezne su da koriguju svoj bruto društveni proizvod za iznos sive ekonomije.

Uključivanje sive ekonomije u službeno iskazani bruto društveni proizvod ima odgovarajuće posljedice po zemlju koja teži da postane članica EU.<sup>68</sup> Zemlja sama prikazuje da raspolaže većim vlastitim raspoloživim sredstvima, te da umanjuje svoja prava na povlačenje sredstava iz određenih fondova EU. Istovremeno, zemlja se pred članicama Unije pokazuje kao ekonomski jača i sposobnija da uplaćuje veći iznos u zajednički budžet Unije. Efekti mogu nastati i na strani pokazatelja makroekonomske stabilnosti i ekonomske održivosti zemlje. Tako, sa uvećanim bruto društvenim proizvodom, smanjiće se stopa učešća spoljnog duga u bruto društvenom proizvodu, stopa učešća javne potrošnje u GDP, stopa učešća deficit-a javne potrošnje u GDP... Dakle, posljednjih godina BiH je djelimičnim uključivanjem sive ekonomije u GDP popravila neke pokazatelje o poslijeratnom napretku i uljepšala njeno kretanje ka članstvu u EU. Istina, to su radile i druge zemlje u procesu priključivanja EU, tako da je ona postala uporediva sa tim zemljama.

#### **4. Smanjivanje obima sive ekonomije u BiH**

Iz prethodne analize postalo je očito da se ograničavanje sive ekonomije i njeno suočenje na podnošljiv obim svodi na provođenje tri grupe mjera:

1. Mjere koje stimulišu tržišne učesnike da djeluju u formalnom sektoru;
2. Mjere koje prinuđavaju tržišne učesnike da djeluju u formalnom sektoru i
3. Mjere kojima se kažnjavaju oni koji djeluju u sivoj zoni poslovanja.

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<sup>68</sup> Opširnije u: Lovrinčević, Željko, Marić, Zdravko i Mikulić, Davor (2006), **Maastrichtski kriteriji i uključivanje sive ekonomije – slučaj Hrvatske**, Privredna kretanja i ekonomska politika 106/06, Zagreb

U suštini, sve tri grupe mjera su u domenu oblikovanja društvenog i ekonomskog sistema. Ekonomski sistem, prije svega, treba da bude stimulativan za legalno poslovanje, legalno posjedovanje imovine, legalno sticanje bogatstva i legalno stupanje u obligacione odnose. S druge strane, on mora biti nestimulativan, odnosno proizvoditi daleko veći rizik gubitka, nego vjerovatnoću ostvarivanja dobiti iz neformalne djelatnosti. I, na kraju, sistem mora imati jasno definisane sankcije i dosljednost primjene tih sankcija za one koji djeluju u sektoru sive ekonomije.

Jedan od značajnih aspekata sive ekonomije u BiH koji određuje njene dimenzije i motivaciju ljudi da se bave njome je pravna nesinhronizovanost realnog bogatstva i izvora prihoda. Posjedovanje bogatstva, njegova registracija i legalizacija ne dovode se u vezu sa legalno ostvarenim prihodima. To je dobar način za „pranje“ novca stečenog u sivoj ekonomiji, pa čak i u „crnoj ekonomiji“. Dakle, početni oblik borbe za smanjenje obima sive ekonomije mora biti pravna regulativa koja direktno povezuje sticanje imovine (nekretnine, akcije, novac u banci, udjeli u preduzećima, automobili i slično) sa legalnim prihodima. Ovaj princip je vrlo jednostavan: za svaki oblik imovine koji neko stiče treba imati porijeklo novca kojim je imovina nabavljena. Ovim metodom snažno bi se stimulisalo da iz sektora sive ekonomije izaju oni koji u njoj najviše zarađuju. Najmanje šanse za prelazak iz sive u regularnu ekonomiju ima za najsiromašnije. Njihov prihod iz sive ekonomije služi im za očuvanje egzistencije. Oni ne stiču bogatstvo baveći se sivom ekonomijom. Tek snažniji privredni razvoj, kroz kreiranje novih radnih mesta, može veliki dio siromašnih „prevesti“ u regularnu ekonomiju.

BiH ne može voditi organizovanu i efikasnu borbu protiv sive ekonomije sve dok vlasti ne budu spremne da eliminišu korupciju. Sprega korupcije, sive ekonomije i kriminala (crne ekonomije) je najgore stanje ekonomije koje se najteže može prevesti u regularnu ekonomiju. Polazna tačka oslobođanja od ove sprege je uklanjanje korupcije. Korumpirane vlasti ohrabruju sivu ekonomiju, nemaju autoriteta niti morala da je ograniče... Korupcija podstiče najteže oblike sive ekonomije, odnosno one oblike koji su u sveri sive ekonomije zbog povećanja profita, a ne očuvanja egzistencije. BiH je potrebna revolucija transparentnosti kao polazna osnova borbe protiv kriminala i sive ekonomije. Tek vlasti koje nemaju ništa zajedničko sa korupcijom

mogu biti iskreni pokretači reformi i uspostavljanja pravne države, koja je pogodan ambijent za prevođenje sive ekonomije u regularnu zonu.

Zakonodavni okvir u kome se odvija poslovanje u BiH nije idealan, ali je činjenica da on definiše obaveznost legalnog poslovanja. I pored toga, visok nivo sive ekonomije u BiH pokazuje da pravna država ne funkcioniše efikasno. Institucije vlasti ne primjenjuju zakone dosljedno, ili ih čak primjenjuju selektivno. U takvim okolnostima ne može se ni provjeriti objektivnost zakonskih rješenja. Očito je da u sistemu vlasti ne postoji odgovornost za primjenu zakona. Zbog raširenosti korupcije, kriminala i sive ekonomije, što su očiti oblici kršenja zakona, niko od funkcionera nije pozvan na odgovornost ili smijenjen. Cjelokupni iznos sive ekonomije nije socijalnog karaktera, te se raširenost sive ekonomije ne može isključivo pravdati siromaštvo ljudi koji privređuju u sivoj zoni. Dobar dio sive ekonomije, u kojoj se dobro zarađuje, kreiran je u BiH na siromaštvu velikog broja ljudi. Siromaštvo velikog broja ljudi je plašt kojim se štite kreatori unosnih poslova u sivoj zoni. Vlasti nemaju pravo da u ime siromaštva velikog broja ljudi amnestiraju od odgovornosti za sivu ekonomiju one koji zloupotrebljavaju to siromaštvo da bi nelegalno ostvarivali velike zarade. Za vlasti koje to tolerišu opravdano se može sumnjati da su korumpirane, odnosno da su partneri velikih bosova sive ekonomije.

## Prilog 1.

### OSNOVNI POKAZATELJI VEZANI ZA OBIM I EFEKTE SIVE EKONOMIJE U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI U 2008. GODINI

P O K A Z A T E L J	Federacija BiH	Republika Srpska	Brčko distrikt	Ukupno BiH
GDP 2008. u milionima KM	15657	8468	591	24716
Siva ekonomija u milionima KM	4645,01	1737,62	172,69	6555,32
Neobuhvaćeni dio SE u milionima KM	2894	1083	108	4084
Ukupna ekonomska aktivnost u milionima KM	18551	9551	699	28801
% GDP entiteta u GDP BiH	63,35	34,26	2,39	100,00
% SE entiteta u SE BiH	70,86	36,51	2,63	100,00
% SE entiteta u GDP entiteta	29,67	20,52	29,22	26,52
% SE u ukupnoj ekonomskoj aktivnosti	25,04	18,19	24,71	22,76
Broj zaposlenih u SE, u (000)	196	90	7	293
% učešća zaposlenih u SE u radnoj snazi	25,5	22,8	25,4	24,6
Isplaćene neto plate „na crno“ u (000) KM	1765291	813355	63950	2642596
Neplaćeni doprinosi u (000) KM	772568	351804	54336	1157539
Neplaćeni porez na dohodak u (000) KM	58150	54336	2752	115238
Ukupni javni prihodi u milionima KM	6537,5	3264,5	236,6	10903,1
% poreskog opterećenja službeno objavljenog GDP*	41,75	38,55	40,03	44,11
% poreskog opterećenja formalnog GDP (stvarna)**	47,01	41,78	44,98	49,01
% potencijalnog poreskog opterećenja GDP***	35,24	34,18	33,85	37,86
Izgubljeni javni prihodi u SE, u milionima KM	2184	726	78	3213
Potencijalno naplativi javni prihodi u SE, u milionima KM	1310	436	47	1928

\*Stopa poreskog opterećenja izračunata kao odnos javnih prihoda i službeno objavljenog GDP. \*\* Stopa poreskog opterećenja izračunata kao odnos javnih prihoda i GDP umanjenog za iznos NOE.

\*\*\* Stopa poreskog opterećenja izračunata kao odnos javnih prihoda i GDP uvećanog za sivu ekonomiju.

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**Rajko Tomaš, Ph. D.**

**CRISIS AND GRAY ECONOMY  
IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

Sarajevo, 2010.

**KRIZA I SIVA EKONOMIJA  
U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI**

**CRISIS AND GRAY ECONOMY  
IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

**Publisher**  
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung BiH

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**For the publisher**  
Dr. Paul Pasch

**Consulting Editor**  
Božo Stojanović, Ph.D., Faculty of Economy, University of Belgrade

**Proofreading**  
Tatjana Marić, M.Sc.

**Translation**  
Tatjana Rađenović

**Print**  
„Grafid“ Banja Luka

**For printing office**  
Branislav Ivanković

**Circulation**  
300 copies

CIP – Cataloging in Publication Data  
National and University Library of Bosnia and  
Herzegovina, Sarajevo

## ***Foreword***

***Economy of distorted incentives.*** An eminent and influential American analyst Henry Hazlitt claimed that economy can be described through a single lesson that is reduced to an explanation how people react to incentives, and he also offered a differentiation of research procedures of true economists from interpretations offered by laics and demagogues. Actual scientific analysis implies consideration of consequences of any economic measure or activity to not only a single social group, but to the society as a whole, as well as taking into consideration its short term and long term consequences. Laics oversee some of this, and demagogues conveniently get silent about it. Economic analysis should precisely need to bring in the clarity in understanding of market processes, especially in those that are complex by their causes and manner of their manifestation, while being far reaching by their consequences.

Grey economy is one such topic. It is the occurrence not easy to analyze, as by its definition, it is not in the domain of a regular, institutionally regulated, visible, statistically measurable. It occurs in almost all areas of economic activities and in different forms. Often those are more sophisticated procedures than it can be assumed at the first sight. All in all, gray economy in any country must be assessed and analyzed on the basis of an in-depth intelligence on how the economic system is functioning. In other words: it is assessed indirectly and a subtle analysis and appropriate researchers are necessary for its identification. In this instance, the topic has met a worthy writer.

Grey economy – economically legitimate, but lawfully illegitimate activity (the author indicates the difference between „gray“ and „black“ economy) – is not a phenomenon that is characteristic for underdeveloped countries only, nor only for the countries in the process of transition. It is a global phenomenon, and its outspread is dramatically different among countries, and those differences, ultimately, indicate the differences in the quality of business environment. In that context, Bosnia and Herzegovina is in an utterly delicate position.

Politically unstable, economically inefficient, legally insecure, with a high degree of open and latent poverty, it represents an exceptionally vulnerable economic and social organism. All the mentioned

characteristics are acting simultaneously, they are intertwining, and often they are encouraging one another. Thus, a vicious circle of economic inefficiency and poverty is created on one side, and on the other, the one of corruption and gray economy. The author concludes: „There is not an aspect of economic, political or social life in BH which these factors are not impacting harmfully. Thus, there is not a single area of social life in BH where there are no serious problems, which is functioning normally or which is not in some form of a crisis.“ And the crisis is a fertile ground for gray economy.

The study in the reader's hands is composed of three units, structurally harmonized and logically linked in a clever way: the general crisis – an ambiance suitable for the spread of gray economy in BH; the general approach to gray economy; the gray economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, the analysis of the gray economy is accommodated in an appropriate context, i.e. in the absence of understanding the challenges the BH economic system is facing (and will be facing in the future), there can be no possibility to penetrate the existing and potential labyrinths of the gray economy. Namely, without understanding of the channels by which the world economic crisis impacts the domestic economy, it is not possible to comprehend the existing events in the BH economy, and it is especially impossible to envisage processes that await in the closer and more distant future. The world crisis will undoubtedly spill over as well to the domestic economic flows through the financial sector, and through impact to the final products market and production factors market. The author notes that the world economic crisis will deepen the already existing crisis in BH, and this means that even after the crisis is over at the global level, domestic economy will continue to be in serious problems.

Key causes of the gray economy have been analyzed: tax evasion (this is brilliantly elaborated on by usage of a standard Laffer's Curve, but with original analytical innovations); protection from decrease in business activities' profitability; public goods and services offer; excessive standardization. Excessive standardization of economic life represents an important incentive for gray economy – a high degree of gray economy in a country always indicates that something is not right with the system of formal rules that regulate economic life. And this takes a special dimension when it comes to the issue of „economy of confined resources“. Rajko Tomaš is especially stressing the fact (that is sometimes intentionally or unintentionally overlooked), that a lower or a

higher level of gray economy in a country is a simultaneous indicator of the authorities' capability to synchronize economic interests, as well as of omissions in the macroeconomic area.

There are direct, indirect and statistical methods for determining gray economy. In this study, the author has opted for an indirect method of the gray economy assessment based on the labor market offer. The author expresses total scope of the gray economy as a product of a part of the gross domestic product generated by the employed persons in the gray economy sector and the coefficient of labor productivity in the gray economy sector. Orientation to the labor market is an extremely good analytical trait. All consequences of economic policy measures, as well as the logic behind the economic system's functioning as a whole are entirely reflected in full force (and full clarity) through the labor market.

Rate of unemployment (registered unemployment) is high in BH, and that directly creates a powerful and permanent incentive for the gray labor market. The author departs from the point that not only the unemployed appear at the gray labor market offer (as it could be expected), but also the employed with low incomes, students, high school students and pensioners. These are the social groups the incomes of which are at a low level, i.e. the groups to which gray economy represents a „social program“ (method for sustaining existence).

Based on the mentioned analytical procedure, an assessment was made that the gray economy has participated in the realization of the overall economic activity with circa 23% in BH, 25% in FBH, 18% in the RS and with 25% in Brčko. There were approximately 290 thousand people employed in the gray economy sector: out of that, circa 196 thousand in FBH, 90 thousand in the RS and around 7 thousand in Brčko. If 60 percent of the existing gray economy is to be transferred to the regular one, such a situation would be considered acceptable for the European standards. On the other hand, revenues of the extra budgetary funds would increase, which would contribute to their normal functioning.

Gray economy has certain positive effects (employment is growing, available resources are better used, total level of economic activity is growing, etc.), but in the long run, it inevitably leads to corrosion (deterioration) of institutions and ultimately it undermines the society's system of values. It has been a long ago stated and proven by economic theory (and the business practice has firmly confirmed this), that there can be neither efficient economy nor a stable community without

appropriate system of values. So, what looks like a positive consequence in a short term, it inevitably leads to degeneration of economic life in the long run. Simply, instead of encouraging creative entrepreneurship (based on permanent innovation, powerful competition and creation of new values), the system encourages processes that are in direct opposition to the functioning of a genuine market economy. Or, to use William Baumol's expression, it encourages a „degenerative entrepreneurship“.

Struggle against gray economy implies simultaneous application of three methods: integration, legalization and elimination. Each of those implies a different timeline, as well as different activities. At any rate, it is a long-term process in which all key social actors must take part. However, the author of this study rightly accentuates the two key levers for decrease of gray economy: fight against corruption and efficient performance by the state. The authorities take an exam on the topic, before the „unbiased examiner“, and based on the realized exam result, their qualities can be judged without a mistake. No justifications help with that.

\* \* \*

Rajko Tomaš, Ph.D. has indicated in an exceptionally analytical and expertly-based manner, but at the same time in a clear and readable way, the methods of manifestation and consequences of gray economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also the necessary measures aimed at its suppression. This study will without a doubt contribute to a better understanding of economic and social processes in BH, it will improve the existing level of expert and public discussion, and at the same time it will also present an important support for deliberation on appropriate measures of economic policy. Besides, the study will, undoubtedly present a reliable and unavoidable source of comparative analysis of gray economy in the wider and closer region.

Belgrade, February, 2010.

Božo Stojanović, Ph.D.  
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I

**GENERAL CRISIS –  
FAVORABLE AMBIANCE  
FOR SPREAD OF GRAY  
ECONOMY IN BH**



## I GENERAL CRISIS – FAVORABLE AMBIANCE FOR SPREAD OF GRAY ECONOMY IN BH

### 1. Main characteristics of general crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Expansion of the world economic crisis to Bosnia and Herzegovina (BH) has not been followed by reaction of the authorities, business community, unions and associations of citizens in a way in which similar affiliations react in other countries. Unfortunately, different forms of crisis and its different intensity have been present here for years. The population here is accustomed to a difficult life, uncertainty, low standard of living, isolation, political instability, low level of public services, bad infrastructure, corruption, inefficiency of the rule of law, violation of rights, limitation of freedoms, loss of property, loss of employment... Due to a years-long influence of these factors, motivation of common people is significantly modified in comparison to that of people from the developed western countries hit by the recession. Therefore, the reactions to the spread of crisis are of a lower intensity here. Both citizens and institutions show a lower intensity of reactions to manifestations of crisis. In BH, the crisis has become an ambiance where you live, the one that is creating a view of the world, reforms, future... Unfortunately, betrayed expectations, political deceptions, non-sanctioned crime, devastation of the system of values, poor material and spiritual life kill a hope of a better future in this country every day. Although BH has made a significant progress in all areas in the post-war period, it is still closer to a status of a continued general crisis and is exposed to a powerful risk of deterioration of the situation under the influence of the global financial, economic and social crisis.

There are several causes of the general crisis in BH. We shall list only a few without any intention or possibility to elaborate on them in more details here. They should be separately addressed. Our aim is to show the ambiance in which BH falls under the influence of the world economic crisis and on basis of that, estimate the intensity of its impact to development of gray economy.

*1. Political instability.* In the entire post-war period, BH has retained a relatively high level of political instability. The process of democratic decision-making, harmonization and coordination was functioning with

difficulties. The efficiency of the established institutions is low. Basic issues on BH constitution are often questioned , democratic institutions are quite fragile, national homogenization is far more powerful than that of the citizens, the OHR is the most powerful political, legislative and executive institution...<sup>1</sup> A clash of unitaristic and separatistic concepts is an every-day occurrence and often burdens all aspects of reforms. Realization of war-time goals is endeavored to be continued in BH; but in different circumstances and with different means. On the other hand, representatives of the international community are trying to fit the future of BH in a prototype of a small European country, unlike any other European country, without asking whether this is possible or not. Integration of a divided society implies a dialog of main partners in BH. A deciding role of the international community in all important happenings in BH creates room for political malversations in negotiations, decision-making and strategic positioning of all the key partners in BH. Political stability represents a goal difficult to attain in BH because it implies that many, currently strong political actors would have to give up their own political identity and the role they have.

2. *Poor economic status.* BH economy is burdened by serious structural problems in industry, by absence of strategy and resource usage policy, which is directly manifested in creation of a low domestic product, very low efficiency in resources usage and non-economic valorization of resources' contribution to creation of the domestic product. Net price of work is low but it is raised at a higher level by a relatively high tax and contributions rates, when compared to offer and demand for labor at the market. Unemployment is high.<sup>2</sup> Salaries, although low, raise faster that

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<sup>1</sup> More on different aspects of economic situation in BH: Rajko Tomaš, Ph.D., **Economy of Captured Resources**, Nezavisne novine, Banja Luka, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> In February 2009, the number of the unemployed in BH was 491 672. At the end of 2008, the rate of unemployment in BH under the ILO definition was 23,4% and 20,5% in the Republic of Srpska (Source: BH Agency for Statistics and BH Central Bank Bulletin no. 4/2008). However, the statistical data show that the administratively verified number of employees was increased by 14852 employed workers from September 2007-September 2008. Based on the labor survey for 2008, data was obtained that the unemployment rate was decreased in 2008 by 5,6% or 75 000 workers. Therefore, it comes from the assumption that these workers were employed in the gray economy sector. In some previous years the gray economy used to have a higher relative participation in the domestic product, so that the change of unemployment rate in 2008 should not be contributed to a higher demand for labor, but primarily, to the changed method for calculation of employment.

work productivity.<sup>3</sup> Interest rates are higher than in a range of neighboring countries, loan insurance is often more rigorous, crediting procedures are also often more complicated... Prices and costs of business activities in BH grow faster than in the euro zone, although the convertible mark has a fixed tie to Euro.<sup>4</sup> Trade liberalization, without application of appropriate regulations and incentives to domestic production, which liberalization implies, has additionally ruined domestic production and devalued the available resources. Import of goods has become a condition for the populations' existence. Trade balance deficit grows every year, due to which the social and economic sustainability becomes more and more dependant on imports.<sup>5</sup> Current account payment balance is high.<sup>6</sup> The poverty rate is one of the highest in the region.<sup>7</sup> Social policy has been imposed to enterprises as a parameter for business activities, which is not a standard in a large number of countries. That significantly depreciates the companies' competitiveness.

3. *Absence of the state of law.* Without a powerful state of law, there is no establishment of the system of values, no legal safety of business activities, no morality in people's relations, no property protection, no realization of freedoms... During the war, and party after the war, the state of law has met its highest devastation in BH. Obviously, the authorities, due to their own interests primarily, did not want the state of law, as nobody was limiting them in its establishment. Even the

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<sup>3</sup> The average net salary in BH for 2008 was KM 752 KM (Source: BH Agency for Statistics).

<sup>4</sup> At the end of December 2008, an annual inflation rate in BH was 3,8% and 1,6% in the euro zone. According to measurements taken by EUROSTAT, an annual inflation measured by a harmonized index of consumers' prices in March 2009 in euro zone was 0,6%, while inflation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in that period was 0,7% (Source: Announcement by the BH Agency for Statistics, no. 3, 04.20.2009.).

<sup>5</sup> More in: Rajko Tomaš, Ph.D., **Macroeconomic limitations of economic development in Bosnia and Herzegovina**, in "*the Republic of Srpska – fifteen years of existence and development*", Academy of Science and Art of the Republic of Srpska, Department for social sciences, book 18, pg. 429-450, Banja Luka, 2007.

<sup>6</sup> A high deficit of the payment balance current account is being maintained throughout the entire period of BH independence. At the end of 2008., the deficit of the trade balance was KM - 9,574,366,000 (Source: the BH Agency for Statistics).

<sup>7</sup> In 2007, the BH consolidated public revenues have participated with 45,4% in BH gross domestic product (Source: Economic trends, January – June 2008, EPRU, pg. 8). Under the IMF findings, the budget of the BH general government has realized a deficit in 2008 which is equal to approximately 4% of the estimated gross domestic product in BH.

entity organization is not an obstacle to that. Due to the inefficiency of the state of law, the general public has a vision of BH as of a country of corruption, crime, gray economy, unprotected economic freedoms, violations of human rights, limitation of the freedom of media...<sup>8</sup>

*4. Low efficiency of reforms.* The majority of economic processes in BH have been initiated, led and financed by different international organizations. Also, a large part of reform processes occur as a fulfillment of conditions for accession to CEFTA, EU and NATO. There is almost no authentic reform initiated and implemented by BH authorities. Also, these processes often lacked harmonization of solutions and coordination of implementation, so that unbalanced conditions for economic functioning and realization of citizens' rights were being unnecessarily created. BH has had one of the relatively most expensive transition processes, but according to the estimates of the relevant international institutions, the reached level of economic and social reform is still not satisfactory in order to be able to speak about a successful transition. Slow and inconsistent reforms block usage of resources available for development, influx of foreign capital, transfer of modern technology. Often, we did not observe reforms and changes as new characteristics of the system, but rather we personalized and politicized them, i.e. we identified with parties and individuals. Partly, the attitude to reforms and their results is determined by the fact that most often their initiators were different international institutions. Abandonment of old habits, inherited from the socialism, was often viewed as imposition of the international community's will, and not as a conscious regard for changing of the society.

*5. High level of poverty.* Although poverty is one of the most difficult characteristics of BH in a social, economic and political sense, no

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<sup>8</sup> Different international institutions and associations periodically publish their research on economic freedoms, conditions for creation of businesses, competitiveness, transition efficiency, etc., using these for establishment a ranking list of countries that attract great attention of the business community in the entire world. Many studies (**Doing Business 2009**, The World Bank Group, 2008; **The Global Competitiveness Report 2008-2009**, World Economic Forum, 2008; **Ten Economic Freedoms 2009**, The Heritage Foundation, 2009; **Nations in Transit 2008**, Freedom House, 2008, **BH Credit Rating**, Dun&Bradstreet 2009; Standard and Poor's 2008; Moody's 2008...) show a very bad ranking of Bosnia and Herzegovina, based on a range of indicators. It is disturbing that values of some indicators and sum ratings for BH have been declining in the last year.

systematic research of poverty is performed.<sup>9</sup> Almost one-third of BH population is poor or at the verge of poverty. There are poor people in the wealthiest countries of the world as well, but to be poor in BH is much more difficult because the chances from stepping out of the poverty are very small. Long-term poverty deforms people's motivation, reducing it to an aspiration for biological survival. Poor people are not bearers of great development ideas. Their purchasing power is not a driver of domestic economy. They are the conscience of each government and the wealthy class of society. Formally, the authorities support the struggle against poverty, but there are few good programs by which it is being resolved. The most efficient method to fight against the poverty is to provide employment to the population, and in order to open new work posts, to increase productivity and salaries, it is necessary to implement many reforms in the economic system. Of course, a lot more determination is also necessary for a more righteous distribution of the existing domestic product. In BH, there is not enough of a sincere and determined will to act in both directions.

*6. Low level of coordination between different levels of government.* BH is a decentralized state. That fact implies efficient mechanisms of coordination and cooperation between different levels of the government in order to attain joint goals of development. Unfortunately, BH has serious problems in attaining coordination of policies between the different levels of government and in constituting economic functions of the state, suited for the market and the needs of the market participants. Often, economic freedoms as a starting point of an efficient market economy and democratic society become a casualty through political clashes about the method for establishment of BH as a functional state. At today's territory of BH there is no continued functioning of the market that would shape authentic economic principles for behavior of individuals, companies and the state, and those patterns cannot spontaneously be imposed as a framework of behavior. Also, there is no continuity for a stable functioning of the

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<sup>9</sup> A first more serious research on poverty in BH was published under the title „**The preliminary report on the status of poverty in BH, for period 2001 – 2004**“. This report is a result of joint efforts of the BH Agency for Statistics, the RS Republic Institute of Statistics, the Federal Institute of Statistics, the World Bank, DFID, Birks Sinclair, IBHI and EPPU. According to this research, in 2004, 17,8 % of BH population was poorer, i.e., 21% in the Republic of Srpska and 15% in BH Federation (The mentioned study, pg. 3).

state, and thus an authentic concept was not built for the state institutions' relation towards the free market, private property, free entrepreneurship, political freedoms and democratic rights. In such an ambiance, the level of confidence in institutional and economic area is low. The fact that no efficient mechanisms exist to synthesize goals of the economic policy at BH level, and that some measures necessary for their realization are not being implemented at all at any level of the government, is disturbing from the aspect of creating a long-term and dynamic development.

*7. Low level of institutions' efficiency.* Institutions of different levels of the government in BH are not characterized by a high level of efficiency. They slowly change characteristics of the system, insufficiently protect rights of citizens and the business community; they do not provide good-quality public services and for all that they spend a large portion of the domestic product. Joint institutions do not have a general authority. The well-paid and privileged state bureaucracy provides for their so-so functioning. But, not many common goals have been created in such institutions. They have not become an integration factor of the country and haven't initiated the development. When a serious state faces inefficiency of its institutions, it commences their thorough reform until such time when they reach the intended level of efficiency. Otherwise, the government that does not see the solution in strengthening of the institutions and is inclined to substitute them with quasi-institutions or requests from the international institutions to take over its functions, is doomed to downfall. One gets the impression that inefficiency of the institutions agrees with the many in BH, although the political background of that satisfaction is in complete contrast. There are those who prove by the institutions' inefficiency that BH is not able to function, while others see the need to abolish the entities. Naturally, BH is being politically destabilized with this, and room is created for an increased role of the international institutions, especially of those with bureaucratic orientation.

*8. Large role of the international community.* One of the most powerful integration powers in BH in the last fourteen years was the international community. A large number of reforms in the previous years have been carried out in BH at the initiative of and „custom-tailored“ by the foreigners. They shape its political and economic structure according to the goals of the different missions. At the same time, the Bosnian reality is always „painted“ in reports of the international community as

such that it confirms the justification and success of the missions. Unfortunately, even this is the case; BH has remained a divided society with unclear integrative power. A political partner whose interests overlap with the position of the international community, or the one which convinces the international community to support it, is motivated to obstruct reaching agreements, not to make concessions with the aim to reach compromise, and like, because the international community will be the power to obtain those goals, including the secret ones. Such a „strategic“ shaping of BH is not making it more stable. The present role of the international community limits the efficiency for reaching internal consensus on important issues of functioning and development. An expectation that the international community would favor on side, or even, make a final decision, encourage the development of negotiation strategies which do not lead to establishment of an authentic agreement within the country. In that way, the position and the role of the international community in BH is being abused. The international community must abandon the position of an arbitrator and stand on a position of support to agreement. It needs to support agreement and decision-making in the government's institutions. The said factors are acting simultaneously and continuously during the entire post-war period in BH. There is not a single economic, political or social life aspect in BH which these factors do not impact. Therefore, there is no area of a public life in BH where serious problems do not exist, which functions normally, which is not in some form of a crisis... For that reason, the presence and the intensity by which the said factors manifest themselves are enough to come to a conclusion about a general crisis in BH.

The global financial and economic crisis comes as a threat to the fragile economy and social security in BH. Bosnia and Herzegovina has in no way impacted the development of the financial crisis but, as many other countries of the world, it will have to face with its consequences. No doubt that occurrence of the crisis significantly changes the general development circumstances in BH, it impacts relations within it, impacts the process of coordination and harmonization, as well as change of business partners' behavior and it increases uncertainty for realization of the fixed goals.

The world has never encountered this type of a financial and economic crisis before. Its proportions and consequences still cannot be assessed. There is no experience in fight against consequences of this type of

crisis, and economic science still has no answers to all the questions being raised.<sup>10</sup> Economic crisis is coming over small, under-developed and import-dependant countries as a higher force, threatening their economic and political sustainability.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. Areas most intensely impacted by the world economic crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina

It still cannot be determined with certainty what proportions and consequences will the global economic crisis have on BH. The BH authorities don't have common positions about a direction in which global economic crisis will manifest its impact, they do not have estimates on possible effects, a harmonized system of reactive measures, or a harmonized strategy for alleviation of the crisis' consequences. Entity governments are trying to act preventively, to mobilize their own institutions and to motivate all relevant subjects in order to alleviate the impact of the crisis. Behind such actions are often political motivations of the governing structure. However, there are a lot of reasons for harmonization of measures and coordination of their implementation. The joint activity with purpose to prevent bad consequences of the crisis does not have to be turned in centralization, creation of new state institutions and transfer of authorities from lower to higher levels of the government. Simply, the crisis is an occurrence

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<sup>10</sup> In his newest book, (**The New Paradigm for Financial Markets**, the credit crisis of 2008 and what it means, Public Affairs, New York, 2008, page 8) George Soros writes: „In order for us to understand what is happening, we need a new paradigm (pattern of behavior, model, prototype: remark by R. Tomaš). The now dominating paradigm that the financial markets are striving for balance is a wrong and a deceiving one, so it is possible that our present misfortunes are at great extent caused by the fact that the international financial system has been developed on the basis of that paradigm“.

<sup>11</sup> Some economists and politicians state that our citizens can „sleep peacefully“ because only an indirect impact of the crisis will be felt here. That is hard to believe. This position reminds a great deal on claims of the Soviet historians that the Great Economic Depression from 1929 was almost not felt at all in the Soviet Union. Naturally so, because it was in isolation and the life there was worse than in the countries impacted by the crisis. A very low elasticity of the citizens' political frame of mind about the indicators of a poor economic situation in the country is being confirmed presently in BH, as well. For example, the unemployment rate here is 23,4% (truly, it was even higher before) and that is accepted as a normal fact. At the same time, in March 2009, the unemployment rate in the USA was 8,5% (Source: **The US Unemployment Rate January 1948 to March 2009**, page 17, <http://miseryindex.us>, 04.21.2009), and the great recession was talked about all over and measures were sought after in order to reach prosperity.

that does not recognize political, national, religious, regional or any other divisions. It is spreading through economic channels, making the activity difficult and spreading the poverty. Opposition to its devastating influence, in cooperation with others is an issue of a political maturity, political wisdom, economic education and social responsibility.

Allusions about a serious impact of the global economic crisis to BH are already present, although some are not inclined to accept that. The stock exchange here has already collapsed. Many investors at the stock exchanges have suffered great losses. Already very high, the interest rates have been increased. Interest rates on already-taken loans have also been increased.<sup>12</sup> Pressure to debtors is getting stronger from the banking sector. Transfers by our citizens from abroad are decreasing.<sup>13</sup> Consumption by foreigners and foreign donations are decreasing. Turnover of many goods is dropping.<sup>14</sup> Production in a great number of activities is dropping.<sup>15</sup> Export is decreasing.<sup>16</sup> Also being recorded are

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<sup>12</sup> At the end of 2008, the weighted average of all active interest rates on commercial banks in BH was 8,21%. This average is higher by 28 basis points in comparison to the situation in September 2008, and by as many as 42 basis points in comparison to September 2007. At the same time, the interest rate at time deposits and savings deposits is decreased for enterprises by 50 basis points in comparison to September and was 2,99%, and by 25 basis points for the population and was 3,61%. This has increased the span between active and passive interest rates (Source: Bulletin no. 4, CBBH, pg. 60-62).

<sup>13</sup> Transfers by BH citizens from abroad have been decreased in 2008. by circa KM 300 million.

<sup>14</sup> "Although the Indirect Taxation Agency has ended the year 2008 with an increase of revenues from the direct taxes of 6,13% in comparison to year 2007, in the fourth quarter there was a drop in payment of 4,5% or KM 57 million less than in the fourth quarter of 2007. The drop was registered with the VAT and customs, while excise revenues have slightly increased. Analyzing the trend of a cumulative payment in the past five months (X-08 – II-09) and comparing it with the same period from the previous years, i.e., X-07 – II-08, we can identify further deterioration in payment which has started with a negative trend in the fourth quarter of 2008. which is also continuing in 2009. Cumulatively, when observing a five-month period, **4,12% or KM 80 million** less revenues were collected." (Source: **OMA bulletin**, no. 45, March 2009, pg. 3).

<sup>15</sup> The entity institutes of statistics record in the past months a more significant drop in production in a large number of industrial activities. So, in the first three months of 2009. in comparison to the same period last year, in FBH there was a drop in production of metal ore (-24%), textile production (-35,4%), leather processing (-18,2%), wood processing (-29,5%), metal production (-26,6%), production of metal products (-36,9%), electrical machines production (-27,7%)... At the same time, a drop

the first lay-offs of workers, decrease of production, abolishment of shifts in production... The crisis is gradually spreading to all sectors and to all markets. Let's identify the areas of its most intensive spreading.

*1. Destabilization of financial sector.* The effects of the financial crisis are already present and will be continued in the following months through a multiplied activity of the initial disturbances. We have already felt the first phase of the crisis as a destabilization of the financial sector. It has manifested itself through disturbance of the financial market due to the increase of risk. There was a drop in prices of shares, indecisiveness about investment, uncertainty about preserving a realistic value of property, decrease of cash inflow into the country, change of loan demand structure (demand for consumers' loans drops, and demand for liquidity-maintaining loans increases). Also, there has occurred a mild spreading of distrust in financial institutions, disorientation of consumers and savers, refraining from consumption, partial withdrawal of money from the banks, increase of interest rates...<sup>17</sup> By reaction of the authorities and banks, an uncontrolled spreading of panic has been prevented and negative

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was registered in the Republic of Srpska in the production of metal ore (-81,2%), production of yarn and fabric (-36,2%), production of clothing items (-14%), production of leather and leather goods (-15,6%), production of wood products (-49,5%), metal production (-62,1%), metal products production (-37,2%)... Both entities have a longer list of activities in which a drop of production was registered in the first months of 2009, than a list of activities in which growth is registered. From the aspect of the scope of resources engaged in these activities (number of the employed people, value of capital), it can be stated that the larger part of the BH industry has been stricken by drop of production (Source: Indexes of industrial production, March 2009, Announcement no. 9.3, the Federal Institute of Statistics and Indexes of Industrial Production, Industry Statistics, March 2009, Monthly announcement no. 54/09, the RS Republic Institute for Statistics).

<sup>16</sup> Export of textile industry for the first three months of 2009 was by 15,5% lower than in the same period of 2008, and export of leather industry in the same period is lower by 11,9%. In the first three months of 2009, in comparison to the same period from the previous year, export of metal ore was lower by 43,5% (Source: Statistics of foreign trade, no. 3, BH Agency for Statistics, 04.22.2009., pg 3).

<sup>17</sup> In the fourth quarter of 2008, a negative balance of sale and purchase of the convertible mark was realized, in the amount of KM 628,3. This is a consequence of withdrawing deposits from banks which has reflected to decrease of gross foreign currency reserves by KM 538,5 million, so that at the end of 2008 they were KM 6,295 billion. Decrease of the reserves has also reflected to a decrease of monetary liabilities by as much as 9,7% (KM 616,8), Source: Bulletin no. 4/2008, CBBH, pg. 36.

disturbances have been stopped.<sup>18</sup> However, due to the connection of the economic system, a once-occurred disturbance is being multiplied and is transferred from one sector to others. This is also impacted by bad forecasts on the development in the future, coming from the most-developed countries of the world and the most influential international institutions. For that reason, in the months to follow we can also expect an unstable situation at the financial market, maintenance of high interest rates and lower offer of foreign investments.

*2. Destabilization of real sector* is reflected through a decrease of demand for long-term consumption goods (cars, apartments, house appliances, furniture...), slow-down of production growth due to uncertainty of consumption sustainability, decrease in foreign orders of goods, decrease of interest for investment due to an increased risk, slow-down of foreign trade exchange growth, stagnation of demand for labor, increased expenses for servicing interest rate, growth of ready-made goods supplies, drop in value of companies' shares, short-term slow-down of prices increase...<sup>19</sup> In export-dependant sectors (textile, leather, wood industry, coal mining, metallurgy...), which we consider specially susceptible to impact of the global crisis, slow-down of growth and decrease of production is already being felt due to a drop of foreign orders, which has already reflected on a mild decrease of employment in those areas.

However, spread of the recession in the most developed countries of the world will not be reflected to BH only as a short-term disturbance or destabilization of a certain sector, but it will, by its gradual spreading, grow into an economic crisis with long-term consequences for BH economy. Under the influence of that process in BH, we can expect loss of a conjecture export, which will lower loin businesses in textile,

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<sup>18</sup>In the first quarter of 2008, the BH Central Bank has decreased the rate of mandatory reserve for commercial banks from 18 to 14%. This measure has freed the liquid assets of commercial banks. However, withdrawal of deposits from commercial banks has lead to a decrease of base for calculation of mandatory reserve for as much as KM 852,8 million (25,9%). Also, in December 2008, a decision was made to increase the insured deposit of physical persons to KM 20000. (Source: Bulletin no. 4/2008, CBBH, pg. 46-50).

<sup>19</sup> "During the fourth quarter (2008) there is a higher slow-down of credit expansion and the average monthly rate of growth is 6,2 percent points lower in comparison to the previous quarter. Namely, during the entire fourth quarter, a drop of growth rate is recorded from 27,9% in September to 21,7% in December 2008". (Source: Bulletin no. 4/2008, CBBH, pg. 52).

leather, shoe industry... Also, we can expect a longer-term drop of demand and price of raw materials at the global market, which will result in decrease of BH export of steel, bauxite, wood, construction material, metal products, and other products as well. Such tendencies in export sector can endanger many work posts and existence of a large number of families. This can further be manifested as a growth of unemployment, decrease of salaries and decrease of consumption, with all the bad effects on the public consumption. Under the influence of the global economic crisis, in BH will occur, due to a drop in demand that is usually generated from loans, a drop in turnover of real estate, cars, home appliances, furniture... This will reflect on decrease of production, employment and salaries in construction industry, with similar consequences in industry of construction material and a range of service activities related to the construction industry. A drop in foreign trade turnover may lead to the decreased demand in the services sector, such as transportation, international transport, tourism, transportation of passengers and goods, insurance...<sup>20</sup> A drop in demand and turnover will impact the change of relative ratio of prices and relative position of activities, which will put pressure to establishment of a new structure of relations in economy.

*3. Destabilization of goods market.* The majority of goods markets will be destabilized by the impact of the world economic crisis due to a sudden changes on the side of demand. A drop in the demand for a large number of goods, in the first phase, will cause an excess of offer and an appropriate drop in prices. Expenses of supplies will increase, and liquidity of sellers will drop. The traders will react to such a first shock by decreasing orders, which will reflect on decrease of production and employment of resources. This reaction at the domestic market will be manifested as a decrease of imports and increase of offer of domestic goods that could not be exported due to decrease of the foreign demand. However, this will not compensate the effect of imports decrease and the effect of the domestic offer increase, because the structure of those effects is mainly not coinciding. For that reason, there will occur an absolute decrease of import, decrease of export and decrease of domestic production. All the three said effects will impact

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<sup>20</sup> Number of foreign tourists' overnight stays in BH in February 2009 was lower by 13,6% when compared to February of the previous year. The similar tendency is with the domestic tourists, as well (Source: the BH Agency for Statistics, Tourism Statistics).

the decrease of demand at the domestic market. Decrease of import will directly impact the decrease of public revenues (customs, excise, VAT) and demand by the state and budgetary users. Decrease of export and production will lower the demand in the economic sector and the demand for employees.

*4. Destabilization of production factors' market.* Destabilization of financial and real sector, as well as market of goods will also reflect on destabilization of production factors' market. Capital will become more expensive, and goods will become cheaper. Production that is using a more expensive capital in order to produce cheaper goods is not economically justified. Therefore, in such market conditions where capital becomes more expensive and the goods become cheaper, there will occur a drop of prices and demand for a large number of raw materials, semi-finished products, machines, equipment, energy and labor. Understandably, the reaction of producers and sellers of production factors will be decrease of offer with all bad consequences to aggregate sizes. Decrease of offer will impact the stopping of drop of prices. Of course, labor will be an exception. Its offer will be increased. For that reason, if the crisis is to last a longer time, its consequences could be the most difficult at the labor market, i.e., the number of the poor in the country could suddenly go up.

*5. Oscillations of prices.* Indications of crisis expansion in BH have occurred through growth of prices in the last quarter of 2007 and the first quarter of 2008.<sup>21</sup> The constantly increasing prices of goods that have been imported and spent the most (food and fuel) have increased production expenses and living expenses of the population. The economy has become less competitive, and the population poorer.

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<sup>21</sup> One should not forget a bad experience of BH economy because of the growth of prices of food and oil in the last quarter of 2007 and the first half of 2008. Although the economists have been warning that the growth of prices at the domestic market is impacted by the domestic factors as well, still the standpoint was adopted in the public that the biggest impact on the growth of prices at the domestic market is caused by disturbances in the global economy. Those „disturbances in the global economy“ are closely linked with the crisis in the United States. If we are to compare growth of consumer goods' prices growth (August 2008/August 2007), we will see they have grown here more (9,4%) than in the US (5,4%) and the EU (4,2%). In the euro zone, with which we should be compared because of the convertible mark exchange rate linked to the euro, the prices have grown by 3,8%. Also, if we are to compare interest rates on loans, we can easily identify that advantages are again on the side of the US and the EU.

However, the growth of prices has increased the basis for calculation of public revenues. With that, the authorities were being given an idea that more public revenues occur as a consequence of a good situation in the economy, and not as a consequence of a poorer economy and population. Higher public revenues were giving more possibilities for consumption and the budgets were growing. Public revenues were being indexed automatically through the growth of tax base. Thus the state could preserve the real level of consumption, while the population, with fixed revenues or revenues growing slower than the prices, could not do so. Also, companies whose prices did not go up or whose prices were growing slower than the average, as well as the companies where the demand was decreasing due to growth of prices, have found themselves in a more difficult position. That deterioration of the population's and the economy's position represents „perishing“ of the society's economic power. Of course, in such circumstances, „prosperity“ of the state is limited, as well, and an idea about an unfailing source of public revenues is an illusion which makes the state to take part in destabilization of the economic system. All levels of BH government used the inflation growth of public revenues base from 2008 to plan the budget for 2009. However, worsening of the crisis in 2009 will force them to reduce the public consumption at a level tolerable for economy and the population.

Expansion of crisis in the real sector has relatively soon led to opposing tendencies of general level of prices. Since November 2008 until the present day (April 2009), a mild deflation is being registered in BH. It is partially a consequence of returning the price of oil and food to a lower level at the world market, due to decrease of economic activity at the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009. However, in recent months, drop of prices in BH becomes more and more a consequence of a decreased domestic demand. Truly, many are looking forward to the deflation, especially those with fixed revenues. It improves their purchase power on a short term basis. However, the deflation is devastating for production. In the conditions of deflation, profitability of capital in production drops, because of which the companies decrease production and employment of production factors. That further reflects on the drop of prices of production factors. However, in conditions of deflation, a continued drop of prices is expected, so that the lower prices of production factors and final products will not have as a consequence the increase of demand. Expectation for prices to drop

impacts the further drop in demand, and the drop of demand impacts the further drop of prices. Therefore, the deflation is gradually stopping the economy and in a long term does not bring any good to neither owners of goods nor to the owners of resources. It only has a short-term benefit to those who have secured incomes and who participate in the consumption only.

The developed countries also face the deflation.<sup>22</sup> However, they much more easily resolve a problem of its devastating effect to economy. The deflation is triggered by the drop of demand, caused by expensive money, most of all. The countries which exercise discretionary monetary policy in conditions of deflation can increase offer of money and decrease its price, without this causing an inflation. BH does not have a classic central bank and cannot resolve the problem of lack in demand by printing the money. In order to increase the demand and set itself free from the devastating impact of the deflation, BH must go in debt and burden the taxpayers in the years to come.

Of course, economic crisis is not a good ambiance for any kind of a public life dimension. It can impact the consistency of the institutions' operations, jeopardizing the system of values, morality and humanity.

### **3. Worsening of the general crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

From the aspect of the present development of the crisis in the world and its impact on BH economy and society, it can be assumed that worsening of the general crisis in BH will be generated from the following directions:

*1. Drop of economic activities.* It has previously been shown that serious disturbances are noted in the functioning of the economy and that it is unclear how long and by which intensity the economic indicators will be dropping. However, it is definite that in 2009 the BH economy has shown a slow-down of the domestic product growth, decreased scope of foreign-trade exchange, increase of unemployment, decrease of investments, spreading of poverty, decrease of budget revenues, growth

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<sup>22</sup> A deflation was recorded in a continued three-month duration in the euro zone: November 2008 – 0,5%, December 2008 – 0,1% and January 2009 – 0,8% (Source: Eurostat). A deflation was recorded in the US in the continued three-month period: October 2008 - 0,8%, November 2008 – 1,7% and December 2008 – 0,8%.

of indebtedness (of state, companies, population)<sup>23</sup>... Such occurrences are followed by spreading of corruption, crime and gray economy. Therefore, many of the improvements, be it even mild ones, which were made by implementation of reforms in the previous years, shall be eliminated or their positive effect will be depreciated.

2. *Slowing down or suspending reforms.* Even until now, reforms in BH have been implemented with difficulties and slowly. The crisis will slow down or completely put to a halt reforms in a range of activities. Society's capability to finance expenses for reforms implementation will be decreased, and without reforms BH cannot provide a necessary level of political stability nor it can be developing economically.

3. *Politicizing the crisis and its consequences.* Throughout the world, the economic crisis has strengthened the role of a state and partially limited free entrepreneurship. Doubts about the correctness of liberal market concept are not rare. In such an environment, the doctrine of the state's new economic role is gradually being differentiated, but also the new concept of economic federalism between different levels of the government. Such a development of events in the world will encourage supporters of centralism in BH to strengthen their requests for strengthening the central government and transfer of authorities from the entities to the state. Of course, supporters of decentralization and federal order of BH will not accept that. Deepening of the political crisis in BH will be realistic.

4. *Worsening of the public revenues distribution issue.* Public revenues mass in BH has decreased during 2009. In the conditions of decreased public revenues, a question will soon be raised who bears more consequences of the world economic crisis impact. This problem will be present at all lines of the public revenues distribution: between municipalities and entities; entities and the state; the state and the funds... Requests were already made for change of tax rates, excise and

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<sup>23</sup> According to the newest IMF stand-by arrangement, BH will get indebted by another KM 2,4 billion approximately. This debt will increase the present foreign debt of KM 4,2 billion by 57%. Even now, in our annual repayment of debt, the interest rate participation is over 47%. After the beginning of repayment of the new debt, it will go over 50%. Worse than that is that this money will not be spent on implementation of key reforms that are inevitable for general stabilization of the situation in BH. Instead, the fact, it will be used to cover the deficits made in the previous years and those "reserved" for future years. With such deficits the authorities have been "buying" political peace and have been "decorating" the ambiance in which they rule.

contributions rates. The higher the pressure of crisis to public revenues, the more requests will be to change the ratio for distribution of public revenues, but the determination to preserve the obtained positions will be stronger as well.

*5. Decreasing possibility for financial intervention by the government.* The crisis will endanger the liquidity of economy, banks and households, as well as the budget. On the other hand, a need for social transfers from the budget will grow, but there will be less money for intervention. The government that has limited possibilities of interventions in the conditions of crisis loses authority with its voters. Due to the fact that the BH Central Bank functions as a currency board, there is no possibility that the governments get indebted with the central bank, so BH cannot utilize one of the common mechanisms for acquiring funds for intervention in the situation of a crisis. In order to ensure macroeconomic stability, the BH authorities can mostly lean towards the international financial institutions.

*6. Difficulties with reaching consensus on indebtedness.* In the conditions of poor coordination of economic policies and in the absence of a consistent joint macroeconomic policy, the consequences of the world economic crisis in BH are not being experienced as a common problem. For that reason, everyone has their „own crisis“. The crisis does not equally hit all sectors, each entity, canton, municipality... Pursuant to that, the needs for intervention are different. In such conditions, with the development of the crisis, it is going to be more difficult to reach a consensus on foreign indebtedness which is inevitable in order for indebtedness to be realized.<sup>24</sup>

*7. Tax duty growth.* The government will try to compensate the lack of public revenues due to the decrease of economic activities by increasing the tax rates, expansion of the tax base and by increase of fixed compensations.<sup>25</sup> This tendency will worsen the relations between

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<sup>24</sup> Negotiations with the IMF about a new stand-by arrangement have already confirmed this tendency. Fulfillment of conditions for withdrawal of loan tranches could be even more complicated.

<sup>25</sup> This tendency already exists. Decrease of revenues due to the decrease and abolishment of customs with the EU is attempted to be compensated by the increase of excise. There are also ideas about an increase of a VAT rate and the income and profit tax rate, and about an extension of the tax base from income tax to the profit paid, i.e. the dividend.

the government and the taxpayers. Adherence to tax evasion will be increased, and business ambiance will be worsened.

8. *Socialization of losses and investment errors.* In the conditions of crisis, there is a tendency that the expenses of bad business activities and bad placements are „socialized“, i.e., they are transferred on taxpayers. Social pest of the poor in the conditions of crisis is used as an argument to extort financial support by the state, giving other concessions to employers at the expense of the public money and of lowering workers’ salaries. Due to the social threats, the authorities do not have enough courage to direct companies and banks to earn money at the market.<sup>26</sup> Thus, the efficiency of the entire system is getting weakened. Also, the crisis opens a new space for corruption and misuse of public money.

9. *Affinity for protectionism.* Pressed by the recession, even the most developed countries have reached for protectionism. Protectionism is a very dangerous „tool“ of the global world and the united Europe. However, it is legitimate to answer to protectionism with protectionism. After a range of measures and the hidden protectionism in the countries which are the biggest foreign-trade partners to BH, the BH authorities pressed by the domestic producers, will reach for the protectionism. Unfortunately, BH will not succeed in protecting and increasing the domestic production with this, but will cause counter-measures by foreign-trade partners, by which it will jeopardize its position under the CEFTA agreement. Also, due to a high import dependency, returning custom fees on some products will not substitute the import, but will impact the increase of prices of those products at the domestic market.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> For example, in the first four months of 2009, the profit on which tax was paid and calculated in the Republic of Srpska has grown by 20% compared to the same period of 2008. During 2008, the profit on which tax was paid and calculated increased by as much as 75% in comparison to 2007. According to this indicator, which is not to be underestimated, conclusion could not be made about the spread of the economic crisis.

<sup>27</sup> BH has started a discussion about the Law on protection of the domestic production. If the Law is possibly adopted, BH will endanger its position within the CEFTA agreement, and the process of the EU integration could be seriously slowed down. Domestic production (agriculture) will not be significantly protected with this law. Truly, the prices will go up, but the effect of that increase could soon end up as a trade profit, and not as an incentive for development of the domestic production. Obviously, domestic production must be protected and stimulated by other measures. Such measures are necessary which will raise competition at the domestic and foreign

*10. Slow-down of integration.* Deterioration of economic situation, social position of the population, political stability and strengthening susceptibility for protectionism will endanger BH integration to the European Union. With the deepened general crisis, BH will be less acceptable for the European Union, but as such it will also be less prepared to take over all the economic and political liabilities coming from integration with the EU.

General crisis in BH has its economic, political and social dimension. The world economic crisis will taper all the three aspects of the crisis. Truly, because of the low level of economic activity, the overall absolute effect of loss due to the crisis in BH can appear to be low in comparison to other countries. However, the greatest damage for BH will occur precisely through deepening of the general crisis. All that has been done in BH in the post-war period in order to improve economic, political and social stability required a lot of effort and money, and often the effects were poorer than in a range of other transitional countries. Deepening of the crisis in an ambiance that is slow in changing progressively, can have as a consequence a slow recovery of BH in the post-crisis period. The fact is that BH can no longer count on wide international financial assistance, similar to that immediately after the war. The majority of the burden of recovery from the crisis and conducting the transition will have to be taken by the BH citizens. For the duration of the economic crisis, BH will return a couple of steps back, and this could put it in a position where a recovery would require a new beginning.

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market, and not the ones that are preventing competition and protect non-competitiveness. The price of such protection is paid by domestic consumers.



# III

## GENERAL APPROACH TO THE GRAY ECONOMY



## **II GENERAL APPROACH TO THE GRAY ECONOMY**

### **1. Concept of gray economy and criteria of demarcation**

**Definition of gray economy.** Grey economy represents an economic activity which is not formally registered in accordance to regulations existing for its execution on a given territory. It represents that part of the overall economic activity which is not formally registered or statistically expressed, partially or as a whole, in accordance to existing regulations. Any definition of grey economy can with difficulty be accepted as a universal one and entirely precise<sup>28</sup>, because grey economy manifests itself in different forms, different activities, by different intensity, involves different categories of citizens; it is based on different regulations of legal economy, etc. Therefore, the above definition can be embraced as a general definition which reflects only a common characteristic of all grey economy manifestation forms. However, the definition of grey economy is exceptionally important for assessment of gray economy, as it determines selection of methods for assessments and coverage of informal activities. Regardless of how one defines gray economy or which term is used for what it represents in the widest sense possible, the very reference to it associates to activities that are not formally registered, not statistically expressed; the ones that violate existing rules; activities about which information do not exist and which are beneficial to the subjects which exercise it, at the detriment of common interest.

**Gray economy – informal part of formal economy.** Based on formally legal criterion, gray economy can be denoted as an allowed form of economic activity, but the one that is not exercised within the existing formal-legal regulations for that type of activities. Therefore,

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<sup>28</sup> The first study on gray economy: Rajko Tomas (edit.), **Gray Economy in the Republic of the Srpska**, UNDP, 1997. The following research of gray economy in the RS for year 2000 was carried out by R. Tomaš and G. Božović in a study: »Scope, structure and methods for elimination of gray economy in the Republic of Srpska«, Faculty of Economy Banja Luka, 2001. The first all-encompassing research of gray economy in BH was carried out in a USAID study: Roberto Dell'Anno and Marje Piirisild, „Estimate of Non-Observed Economy in B&H“, Financial Services Volunteer Corps, 2004. In 2006., Bojan Nastav and Štefan Bojneč from the Faculty of Management Koper have published a comparative analysis of gray economy in BH, Croatia and Slovenia („Shadow economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia“, Faculty of Management Kopar, 2006).

this is an economically legitimate activity, but illegal in the terms of law. In contrast to it, there is a regular economy that is at the same time legitimate and legal. It is important to note this for differentiation of gray economy, because in many societies there are activities that are forbidden and the execution of those does not imply fulfillment of any form of formally legal regulation (e.g. daily house work by members of household: food preparation, cleaning, dishwashing, care for children...). That part of economic activity cannot be classified as gray economy, but just like gray economy, it falls under the category of an informal economy. Only if some of the forms of these activities would fulfill a formally legal condition for transitioning from an informal to a formal sector (e.g. if these services would get sold at the market), it could be classified as a gray economy, should it not be operating under some of the formal rules of business operations.

**Gray and black economy.** Gray economy is, as it is explained, economically legitimate, but legally unlawful. However, there exist economic activities which are prohibited but people still exercise them. Because of the fact that they are prohibited, they cannot fall in the category of gray economy, although they meet the criterion of illegality. Very often, these activities are grouped in a so-called „black economy“ (e.g., drugs circulation, prostitution, „racketeering“, robbery, human trafficking, smuggling of weapons, etc.). Tax evasion, within a registered activity (conscious depreciation of revenues, unrealistic increase of expenses, application of lower base, etc.), can also fall into a category of „black economy“.<sup>29</sup> „Laws of mafia“ rule at the market of services from the area of „black economy“. It is more difficult to hide revenues at the market of services from the area of „black economy“ from the mafia („racketeers“), rather than from the tax authorities. For that reason, a „**secondary grey economy**“, to call it so, gets constituted at „black“ and „gray“ markets controlled by the mafia, i.e. total revenues are hidden from the mafia.<sup>30</sup> Regardless of the very clear distinction between gray and black economy, it is very difficult to set a boundary when evaluating their scope. As a rule, information on black

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<sup>29</sup> More on definition of gray economy: R. Tomaš and G. Božović, »Scope, structure and methods for elimination of gray economy in the Republic of Srpska«, Faculty of Economy Banja Luka, 2001.

<sup>30</sup> An illustrative example of this occurrence („secondary gray economy“) is shown in a film by Emir Kusturica Kusturice “Dom za vešanje” (1988), where the main character Perhan hides under the bridge from his „boss“ Ahmed a portion of „revenues“ from robbing houses of rich Italians.

economy cannot be obtained via surveys and it is difficult to separate effects of gray and black economy by application of indirect assessment methods. For that reason, it is stated in the assessment of gray economy if the black economy has also been encompassed. Often the „gray“ and the „black economy“ intertwine, because the legal activities performed in an illegal way always imply elements of „black“ economy, as well (e.g. circulation of goods at gray market always includes tax evasion as well if we are to classify tax evasion as „black economy“).

**Synchronization of interests and „regulation paradox“.** Modern law-governed state regulates a business environment, prescribing conditions for execution of activities, rules of operations, obligations for society, a boundary between private and public interests, sanctions for deterioration from the prescribed norms and method for conflict resolution. In this way, it protects but does not limit interests of individuals, associations, companies and societies. An aspiration to survive represents a universal explanation for human behavior. Biological survival and all the goals a man exercises in conditions of different limitations, both natural and social. For that reason precisely, one tends to obtain one's goals at a maximum level. That principle of behavior also determines one's position towards state's regulations. Interests of individuals are completely legitimate, but so are the interests of society. They do not have to be in total harmony. A decision on non-application or limited application of regulations on business operations established by the state occurs from the opposing interests of society and individual subjects (physical persons and legal entities). Through its economic system and macroeconomic policy, a state determines social goals and rules of behavior for economic units which are active in that system. Efficiency of an economic system and other systems in the society as well, shall depend to a great extent on synchronization of macroeconomic goals and those of economic units. The higher the level of synchronization, the less motive for economic units to defer in their business operations from the determined legal regulations and the less motive to hide their business operations, because of which the level of gray economy would be lower. Therefore, a higher or a lower lever of grey economy in one society is at the same time, to a great extent, also an indicator of the government's capability to synchronize economic interests. However, certain concrete level of gray economy that one society faces is always a consequence of macroeconomic regulations, on one hand, and opposed interests for

economic units' own survival, on the other. The state endeavors to regulate a system in such a way that operation in the gray zone is not profitable, and that economic entities have more difficulty in identifying profitable forms of operation in the gray zone. For the reason of opposing motivations on operations in the gray zone, there can occur, for the lack of better expression, a „regulation paradox“. If the state, with the aim to strengthen non-profitability of the gray economy, regulates business environment in such a way so that it jeopardizes survival of economic entities, that shall strengthen the interest of economic entities to operate in the gray zone.

Therefore, grey economy is a market-verified part of a legal economy which is carried out in an illegal way. Active participants of gray economy can opt to perform a legal activity in a hidden form for different reasons. A tailor states the four most common reasons.<sup>31</sup>

1. Evasion to pay a value-added or some other tax,
2. Evasion to pay contributions for insurance,
3. Evasion to apply the prescribed standards (minimal wages, maximum working time, safety at work, etc.),
4. Evasion of implementing the prescribed administrative procedures (sending statistical reports on operations).

With its offer and demand, the activity of gray economy impacts the governing relations at the market. The only difference in comparison to formal economy is that the authorized state institutions do not have an insight into a range of indicators which determine its scope.

**Positive and Negative in Gray Economy.** Although gray economy is usually presented to the public as a negative occurrence, because due to its existence, the state loses a part of its public revenues. Nevertheless its existence, from the standpoint of overall economic activity is not useless. Gray economy, with resources used in it and the results it exercises represent a constituent part of a real economic power of one society. As such, it has positive interests on total production, total expenditure, employment of resources, development of enterprising activity, development of innovations, social stability, standard of living, stability of market and prices. Therefore, we can talk about gray

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<sup>31</sup> Friedrich Schneider, The Shadow Economy in Germany: A Blessing or a Curse for the Official Economy?, *Economic Analysis & Policy*, Vol. 38. No. 1, March 2008, p. 90.

economy as of an occurrence that has positive sides in exploitation of resources, alleviation of social tensions and exerting pressure on the government to regulate the system in which there would be less gray economy, but at the same time, that is an occurrence that by its long-term activity and expansion destroys state institutions and the civilized society's system of values.

Gray economy has catastrophic long-term consequences for a community. A high level of it indicates a non-functioning of the system in all dimensions: it indicates that existence of state and its institutions is not necessary, and the value system of the given community starts to come out of the framework the civilized society has reached. Gray economy directly impacts decrease of public revenue which jeopardizes efficiency of public institutions' operations, forcing them to offer less and less good-quality public services and goods. This decreases the living standard of budget users and all citizens. Conformably to that, the gray economy indirectly increases tax burden of economic entities operating in a formal sector because the burden of public expenditure is distributed among a smaller number of taxpayers and at a lower tax base. Existence of gray economy impacts the decrease of government's authority and citizens' confidence in public institutions. Corrupted authorities are necessary for survival of gray economy, so the sector of gray economy is the biggest and the most common financier of the corrupted elite and the bribe this elite is receiving represents a form of gray taxation. Also, the very co-existence of gray and legal economy increases business indiscipline, jeopardizes the country's legal order, making possible the spontaneous establishment of a parallel system in several areas of social life. A wide spread of gray economy is favorable for expansion of „black“economy as well, i.e. expansion of forbidden forms of business activities and establishment of mafia as a managerial class of its own kind that governs the gray and black economy. In short-term, gray economy may increase competition of illegal economic sector in comparison to a legal economic sector. In long-term, the gray economy leads to an irrational exploitation of resources. Due to illegal business activity, gray economy does not have access to government incentive measures, development loans, expert assistance of professional organizations, chambers of economy and commerce, etc., so that it is inefficient in providing development, application of new technologies and knowledge.

## 2. Gray economy as a companion of modern state and market

The term of gray economy in economic literature is of a more recent date, although its existence is as old as state, state revenues and social accounts.<sup>32</sup> Gray economy has started to attract a greater attention of economists simultaneously with the transformation of a state from a bureaucratic structure towards one of the most important actors at the market. In the economic sense, the essence of that transformation is establishment of a new relation between state and citizens which is more and more being reduced to respecting economic principles in maintaining state's accounts, and less and less in presenting accounts to citizens. In such circumstances, gray economy becomes a social occurrence which is a legal expression of a clash between economic motivation of the state and that of the taxpayers.

On the following pages we will try to explain the four, in our estimation, main drivers of the gray economy: (a) evasion to pay duties to the state – tax duty, (b) protection from decreasing business activity's profitability, (c) scope and quality of public goods and services' offer and (d) excessive norms and non-tax duties.

### a) Evasion to pay duties to the state – tax duty

A state is motivated to accumulate as much revenues as possible, with which it will maximize public expenditure and improve society's social stability. That motivation is limited by readiness of taxpayers to pay their duties to the budget. Payment of duties to the budget represents an expense for the taxpayers and it is understandable that the constituent part of their motivation will be a tendency to decrease it. The method of that decrease can also be a conscious avoidance to register revenues taxable by the state or decrease reporting of their value. If the tax duties are rising, and especially if they are progressive, taxpayers will decrease or adjust the scope of activities in such a way that their registered taxable base is as low as possible.<sup>33</sup> Of course, such a

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<sup>32</sup> One of the first works on gray economy: A.F.W. Plumtre, **The Theory of the Black Market: Further Considerations**, *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. 13, No. 2, May 1947.

<sup>33</sup> An empirical research has confirmed this occurrence. The best-known research is presented at:

motivation will be accompanied by increase of gray economy if sanctions are not such as to annul the effects of the gray economy. However, subjects operating in the gray zone often do not have an opportunity to keep for themselves the overall effect of non-paid duties to the state. Payment of duties to the state implies certain sanctions for payment evasion, so that the subjects operating in the gray zone often bribe the corrupted authorities as a price of their survival, and the left-over difference improves their economic position. Therefore, the bribe taken by the corrupted authorities is a form of gray taxation. If gray economy exists with all the resources it engages and if its activity is verified at the market, then there should exist a gray taxation (bribe, „racketeering“, etc.) as a price for survival and security.

If we are to assume that the taxpayers will react to the change of the tax rates under the principle of the Laffer's Curve<sup>34</sup>, then the logic of the

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Schneider, F. (1994b). **Can the shadow economy be reduced through major tax reforms?** An empirical investigation for Austria, supplement to *Public Finance / Finances Publiques*. 49: 137-152;

Schneider, F. (2000). **The increase of the size of the shadow economy of 18 OECD-Countries:** Some preliminary explanations, Paper presented at the Annual Public Choice Meeting, March 10-12, 2000, Charleston, S.C. Schneider, F. (2005). **Shadow Economies around the World: What do we really know?**, *European Journal of Political Economy*. 21: 598-642.

Johnson, S., D. Kaufmann, and P. Zoido-Lobatón (1998a). **Regulatory discretion and the unofficial economy**, *The American Economic Review*. 88: 387-392.

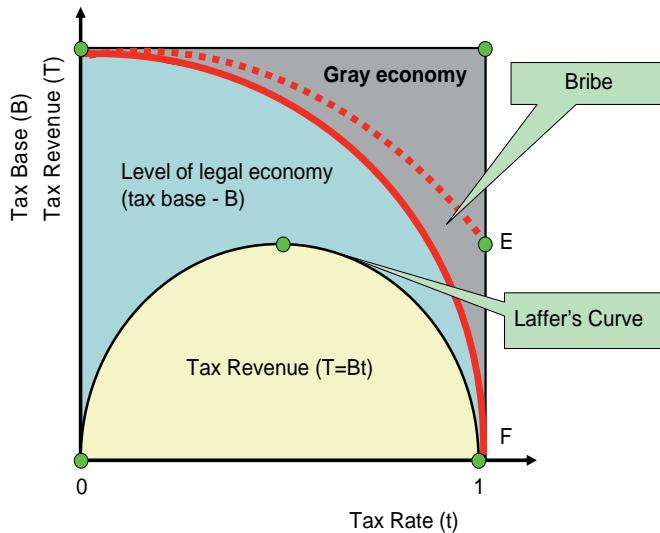
Johnson, S., D. Kaufmann, and P. Zoido-Lobatón (1998b). **Corruption, public finances and the unofficial economy**, Washington, D.C., The World Bank, discussion paper.

<sup>34</sup> "The story of how the Laffer Curve got its name begins with a 1978 article by Jude Wanniski in The Public Interest entitled, "Taxes, Revenues, and the 'Laffer Curve.'" As recounted by Wanniski (associate editor of The Wall Street Journal at the time), in December 1974, he had dinner with me (then professor at the University of Chicago), Donald Rumsfeld (Chief of Staff to President Gerald Ford), and Dick Cheney (Rumsfeld's deputy and my former classmate at Yale) at the Two Continents Restaurant at the Washington Hotel in Washington, D.C. While discussing President Ford's "WIN" (Whip Inflation Now) proposal for tax increases, I supposedly grabbed my napkin and a pen and sketched a curve on the napkin illustrating the trade-off between tax rates and tax revenues. Wanniski named the trade-off "The Laffer Curve."

I personally do not remember the details of that evening, but Wanniski's version could well be true. (...)

The Laffer Curve, by the way, was not invented by me. For example, Ibn Khaldun, a 14th century Muslim philosopher, wrote in his work The Muqaddimah: "It should be known that at the beginning of the dynasty, taxation yields a large revenue from small assessments. At the end of the dynasty, taxation yields a small revenue from large assessments."

gray economy's occurrence could be graphically presented in the following way:



**Picture 1. Laffer's Curve and Gray Economy**

On picture 1.  $T$  denotes a mass of state revenues realized by taxation of tax base  $B$  under the rate  $t$ , when  $0 < t < 1$ , i.e., tax base can move from minimum of 0% to maximum of 100%.<sup>35</sup>

According to the picture shown, with increase of tax rate from 0 to 1 (from 0% to 100%), probabilities for occurrence of gray economy increase, which is shown in the gray field in the upper right-side corner of the picture. It is also perceivable that, with the growth of tax rate there is a decrease of tax base ( $B$ ), so that it would completely vanish should the tax rate be 100%, as no-one would want to be (legally) involved in any activity if the state is to take the entire result of that activity as a tax.<sup>36</sup>

A more recent version (of incredible clarity) was written by John Maynard Keynes.” (Arthur B. Laffer, »The Laffer Curve: Past, Present, and Future«, **Backgrounder** No. 1765, Published by Heritage Foundation June 1, 2004, p. 1)

<sup>35</sup> I first used Laffer's Curve for explanation of the gray economy occurrence in: Rajko Tomas (edit.), **Gray Economy in the Republic of the Srpska**, UNDP, 1997.

<sup>36</sup> *The Laffer's curve has prompted the initiation of »Reaganomics«. President Ronald Reagan. When he took over the office, President Ronald Reagan has inherited the highest income tax rate of 70%. At the end of his mandate that rate was*

If  $0 < t < 1$ , the taxpayer is required to give part of his revenue B to the state, in the form of tax T. That amount equals to:  $T = B t$ . However, if the taxpayer is to decide not to succumb a part of his/her revenue to taxation, then his revenue shall be divided into the legal part (L) and an illegal part (G). Therefore,

$$B = L + G, \text{ i.e., } T = B t = (L + G) t = L t + G t$$

Then, the scope of taxes he pays will be:  $T = L t$ , i.e.  $L = T / t$ , while G will represent illegal part of revenues, and revenues of the state will be lower by  $T' = G t$ , because, from the aspect of taxation  $G=0$ , i.e. from aspect of taxpayer for amount G, the tax rate is  $t=0$ . However, as it is explained, in order for the given actor to survive in the gray zone of economy, he/she must pay bribe to the corrupted authorities. Because his profit is increased by  $Gt$ , the amount he hasn't paid to the state, he will have to pay bribe under a certain rate  $m < t$ , so that his profit will increase by  $G(t-m) = Gt - Gm$ , i.e. the amount  $Gm$  represents the bribe. The doted red line on picture 1 represents the amount of bribe that will be paid for survival in the gray economy sector with different levels of evading payment liabilities to the state. Understandably, the more activities the taxpayer is carrying out in the grey zone, the relatively more bribe he will have to pay in order to survive. Therefore the curve of the bribe line (the doted line) is decreased in comparison to the curve of the gray economy line (uninterrupted red line) with the increase of a relative participation of taxpayer's activity in the gray economy zone. The distance between points E and F illustrates the amount of bribe which the taxpayer pays if, for instance, he performs all his activities in the gray zone. In the upper model, it is difficult to establish optimal relations of tax rate and motivation of taxpayers to opt for gray economy. The capability of the state to accumulate as big a mass of taxes as possible is practically reduced to the capability of its institutions to assess taxpayers' reactions to changes in tax policy, on one hand, and to remove corruption from its institutions, on the other. Repressive confrontation with the gray economy, in conditions of a wide-spread corruption, may worsen the situation, because with the

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*decreased at 28%, while revenues from that tax were increased from \$517 to \$1032 billion. (Source: Stephen Moore, Real Tax Cuts Have Curves, The Wall Street Journal, Sunday, June 19, 2005)*

increase of the repression, the bribe is increased as a price for survival in the gray zone of business activities.

*(b) Protection from decrease of business activity's profitability*

Gray economy does not have to occur only as a consequence of tax evasion. As a rule, each restrictive economic policy measure, i.e. state interventionism at the market may provoke reactions of market participants with effects of gray economy. Thus, if the state sets low prices for production factors or goods in order to protect consumers from monopole, the consequence of that will be decrease of offer and increase of demand, between which a space will be found for gray market at which turnover is made by higher prices. Also, if the state prescribes high prices or causes them by high taxation that would create a space in the difference between offer and demand for the gray market, in which the turnover is carried out at lower prices, but without taxation. However, in order for the gray market participants to survive, they will have to pay a part of consumer's i.e. producer's profit in the form of a bribe to the corrupted authorities. However, the process of creating the gray market is not flowing linearly and does not represent a direct reaction of market actors to measures of economic policy that the state is implementing in certain sectors. The state regulates economic system in such a way that it envisages certain sanctions for market actors should they not be consistently obeying what the state has prescribed, so that, basically, the space for creation of a gray market is reduced to the relation between the expected profit at the gray market and the risk born by operating on it. The sanctions that the state is applying to sellers or buyers, or both of them, impact the decrease of turnover at the gray market. Whether it would be completely eliminated, depends upon efficiency of applying measures. However, as long as the revenue from activities in the gray zone is more certain and higher than the sanctions for operating in the gray zone, market actors will make an effort to optimize their position by establishing an equilibrium between the regular and irregular business operations.

*(c) Scope and quality of public goods and services' offer*

Scope and quality of public goods and services that the state if offering by consumption of pubic funds can also be a cause of lower or higher inclination of a company or an individual to act in the sector of gray

economy. High tax rates, in conditions of low offer and low quality of public goods and services, shall act as an additional pressure to the existing sector of formal economy to get motivated to start activities in the gray economy. If we are to add that the corruption goes along with the low scope and poor quality of goods and services, absence of the state of law and poor protection of legal business operations, the path shall be opened for the spreading of the gray economy. The fact is that taxation by itself encourages motivation of the taxpayers towards the gray economy, but, for that reason precisely, the government must combine tax fees, a certain level of scope and quality of offered public goods and services, and to ensure functioning of the state of law. By establishment of relation between these parameters, every government establishes a certain „equilibrium“ of formal and informal economy. A research shows that the scope of the gray economy is lower in the countries with lower tax rates, higher tax revenues, lower level of corruption and consistent application of the law („good equilibrium“). Also, countries with high tax rates, high level of corruption, comfortable discretionary rights of government and bad legislation face a higher level of gray economy („bad equilibrium“).<sup>37</sup> However, each decrease of tax rates does not lead directly to elimination of gray economy. If tax rates are decreased, and the level of corruption stay high, as long as the bribe being paid to the corrupted authorities is lower than the tax being paid to the state, there will exist a motivation for operating in the gray zone.

*(d) Excessive standardization and non-tax duty*

Number of regulations, conditions for their execution and administrative expenses for operations in the legal sector, often can be a motive for operating in an informal sector of economy and a demotivating factor for transitioning from an informal to a formal economy. Technological, technical, environmental, legal and administrative conditions for business registration, employment of resources and the very operation can often represent a higher expense for a person that is making a decision on joining an economic activity than the risk of unveiling a non-registered activity in a gray economy

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<sup>37</sup> Johnson, Simon; Kaufmann, Daniel and Pablo Zoido-Lobaton, **Regulatory discretion and the unofficial economy**, *The American Economic Review*, No 88/2, pp. 387-393 (p. I)

sector. Frequently, persons detected to operate in the grey economy sector justify their decision precisely by the fact that, if they were to operate by application of all regulations they would not be able to survive at the market because their revenues would be lower than expenditures. Also, the research has confirmed a strong bond between number of regulations and gray economy rate. Thus, Johnson, Kauffman and Schneider<sup>38</sup> have shown that on a scale of 1 – 5, where 5 denotes the highest number of regulations, increase on a scale by one point has a consequence of an increase of gray economy participation in the GDP per capita by 8,1%. Later research of other authors, and especially on example of transitioning countries, has confirmed this tendency. The general conclusion on the basis of such research is that the scope of gray economy cannot be lowered by increasing the number of regulations. That goal is more easily reached by good application of the law.

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<sup>38</sup> Johnson, Simon; Kaufmann, Daniel and Pablo Zoido-Lobatón, **Corruption, public finances and the unofficial economy**. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, Discussion paper, Washington 1998, here cited according to: Friedrich Schneider, **Shadow Economies around the World: What do we really know?**, Institut für Angewandte Wirtschaftsforschung, *Discussion Paper 16*, Tübingen, July 2004, p. 12

# **III**

## **GRAY ECONOMY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**



### **III GRAY ECONOMY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

#### **1. Bosnia and Herzegovina – corruption, poverty and gray economy**

**Gray economy as a „social program“.** A couple of years ago, I have written in a column that gray economy is the only „social program“ in BH, owing to the fact that authorities in BH do not have competent answers to resolve development, political and social issues. Unfortunately, even today I cannot begin to talk on the subject by using any better remark. The truth is, many reforms have happened in the meantime, with less or more impact on the scope and structure of gray economy; statistical institutions have begun to take into account gray economy when calculating the gross domestic product, but incapability of society to impose legal methods of business activities, to increase confidence in institutions and resolve social issues is still strongly pronounced.

Gray economy is as old as taxation, and shall sustain as long as taxation does. Every government spends the money from those who pay taxes. However, every government is not equally responsible to the actual owners of that money.<sup>39</sup> Authorities themselves do not strive to high democracy and transparency at work. Democratic institutions force them to do so. Maximizing behavior of people has adjusted our logic in such a way that we strive to obtain from the state as much as possible through consumption of public goods, and to give as little as possible to the state through tax payment. On the other side, the government is making an effort to convince the taxpayers to give as much money as possible in order for the state to offer more good-quality public goods and services as possible (good safety, good public order, good roads, good schools, good social care...). Through democratic elections, the citizens are electing the government from which they expect that it will offer the most public services with as little of their money taken through taxes. This is a dominating principle of voters' behavior in countries with a developed democracy and an efficient functioning of the market. However, in countries with underdeveloped democracy and an impotent economy, taxes and public spending become a subject of political manipulations, hiding and non-transparent consumption.

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<sup>39</sup> More in: Dr Rajko Tomaš, **Economy of confined resources**, Nezavisne novine, Banja Luka, 2008.

In such conditions, the government sets as a priority for each citizen a certain ideological-political goal such as preservation of state, establishment of unity, preservation of religion, and fight for equality... In that way, attention of voters is diverted from how much money is being taken from them and how it is spent. Struggle of the government to preserve the state, establishment of unity, equality and similar has its price in the budget, implies certain level of taxation, but also the publicity of spending that money and the possibility of control. However, the governments that are not prepared to bring before the voters how much they are spending, how are they spending, what are they spending on and what kind of effects they are producing with this spending, shall always express their results in non-measurable quantities, such as: increased political stability of the country, strengthened morale, increased patriotism, increased responsibility, increased security, increased reputation of the country, improved investment conditions, etc. Authorities which, by spending the public money, do not succeed in convincing the citizens that they live better due to paying taxes, because they live in an environment of public institutions that offer them good services, in the eyes of the citizens become corrupted authorities. A society with a developed taxpayer mentality implies a much higher responsibility of the government and a higher risk of loosing the power. Development of awareness that the budget is the taxpayers' money, and not national money, does not jeopardize any nation, but even more, creates preconditions for its prosperity. A country without transparent public spending and with the corrupted government, no matter which nation lives in it, shall be a poor country and the first capital to leave it will be the one owned by the domicile population, i.e. members of the given nation. Citizens' perception of gray economy, their moral position and reactions are extremely important factors in determining the scope of gray economy in a country. There is a range of empirical studies which have researched tax morale of people operating in the gray economy sector. It is interesting that those confirm, even on an example of Germany, that people do not have a bad moral feeling because they act in the area of gray economy.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Friedrich Schneider, **The Shadow Economy in Germany: A Blessing or a Curse for the Official Economy?**, *Economic Analysis & Policy*, Vol. 38. No. 1, March 2008, p. 94.

There are no big secrets or large taxation doctrines, and the gray economy is not an insurmountable obstacle, either. The problem is simpler than it looks at the first sight from one such complicated ambiance as ours is. Everything starts from the responsible authorities. With responsible actions, the authorities establish conditions for a legal acquisition of wealth and make operations in they gray zone unprofitable. If citizens and entrepreneurs are aware that they at least partially owe their well-being to the social ambiance created by the state, they will in their own interest be inclined to pay taxes in order to sustain and improve that ambiance. In contrast to that, if the authorities are corrupted and if the wealth is acquired owing to corruption, the class of society that benefits from the corruption will energetically oppose to any changes, being aware that very soon they will be exposed to an attack of democratic and non-corrupted authorities. Corruption is the most successful business of quasi-democratic authorities; gray economy is their most powerful social program, and „racketeering“ is the favorite method of „taxation“. Corruption is also one form of gray economy. Ultimately, it is an illegal method of taxation. The gray economy actors need corrupted civil servants, and the corrupted civil servants need gray economy. Buehn and Schneider have been researching the relation between the corruption and the gray economy.<sup>41</sup> The research has shown that there is no positive connection between these two occurrences, and that that the gray economy provokes an occurrence of corruption to a higher extent, rather than the corruption encourages the gray economy.

**„Bad equilibrium“.** The wide spread of gray economy here is not caused by a deficiency of regulations that are limiting it, although they are not perfect, modern or efficient enough. It could rather be said that the impact of corruption to profitability of the gray economy is one of its more powerful drivers. In conditions of the corrupted society, the moral judgment on activities in the area of gray economy is changing. The population engaged in the area of gray economy more easily forgives corruption to authorities. In that way, a „bad equilibrium“ between legal and illegal economy is being established.

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<sup>41</sup> Andreas Buehn and Friedrich Schneider, **Corruption and the Shadow Economy: A Structural Equation Model Approach**, ?, Institut für Angewandte Wirtschaftsforschung, Discussion Paper No. 4182, Tübingen, May 2009, p. 27

Also, one should not underestimate the poverty of wide classes of population, which is forced to make earning in the area of gray economy, due to existential reasons. That poverty is often a harsh obstacle for limiting the gray economy. Because the government has nothing to offer as an alternative to the poor who live on the gray economy, it is stripped of a moral right to apply repression towards them. This is precisely the fact that the gray economy main „managers“ need. They need misery and poverty of a great number of people, because those people become the „infrastructure“ of their „business“. They start to work for the „boss“ and with their poverty they protect the boss's „business“ before the authorities who are trying to put things in order. „Bosses“ become saviors and benefactors because the people who have just lost their jobs in state-owned companies are getting a chance to earn their bread in their „business“. On the other hand, the „bosses“ are sponsors of everything that exists, from parties to kindergartens, and it seems like life is unimaginable without them and their „business“. This is a big misconception that has started to erode us from all sides. A large number of the poor who depend on different illegal and semi-illegal „boss businesses“ are afraid that the government will do something serious to repress the gray economy. It is unimaginable to them to peacefully sit in a warm kiosk and sell cigarettes; it is unimaginable to them to say they have a decent salary; it is unimaginable that they pass by a policeman without a fear; it is unimaginable that somebody is giving them a salary even when they get sick; it is unimaginable that their social costs are paid for... Simply, a normal world and a normal life is unimaginable to them. However, speaking realistically, in this country, although it is poor, devastated by the war and a difficult heritage, enough values can be produced so that a more decent life should not be a privilege of the fortunate ones only. These are precisely the reasons why, for the sake of the citizens and for the sake of the country's future, the government needs to vigorously confront the gray economy, corruption and crime.<sup>42</sup> Of course, the precondition for that is that the citizens first elect responsible authorities that will be prepared to implement this.

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<sup>42</sup> However, one should not forget what Duško Radović once said: «Once the crooks start defending what they've earned, you won't find more spirited fighters for fairness and against the crooks. » (D. Radović, **«Good morning, Belgrade!»**).

## 2. Assessment of gray economy scope

### 2.1. Selection of assessment methods

In this study, due to a range of practical reasons,<sup>43</sup> and indirect method shall be applied for gray economy assessment based on the labor market offer. Also, the method shall be modified by a partial application of the data from a survey on labor implemented by the statistical institutions, and by excluding the previously-incorporated part of the gray economy in the domestic product.

At the end of 2008, there were circa 700,000 people employed in BH. The survey on labor by statistical institutions in BH shows that realistically, this number could be circa 900,000.<sup>44</sup> At the same time, more than 480,000 of people have been registered as unemployed, and 270,000 of them according to the survey. Other research shows that the labor market in BH is a significant indicator of the scope and structure of gray economy in BH. For instance, according to the Panel survey, 30% percent of households in BH have not had a single permanently-employed member in 2003.<sup>45</sup> Likewise, unions and different non-governmental organizations are constantly warning the public that the majority of the employed in BH are officially receiving a salary lower than the value of consumer's basket. On the other hand, the streets of BH cities are clogged with traffic, the number of cars in the post-war period is tripled in most of the cities, large malls, as symbols of consumption, are spreading all over BH, import is multiply higher than export... Obviously, realistic life in BH is at a large discrepancy with the official statistical data. That discrepancy indicates a relatively high importance of the gray economy in the preservation of existing level of social and economic stability.

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<sup>43</sup> Direct, detailed and all-inclusive methods for assessment of the gray economy imply engagement of extensive resources. Only publicly issued data by the BH statistical institutions are available to the author.

<sup>44</sup> Survey on labor for 2008. (BH Agency for Statistics, TB 10), pg. 36

<sup>45</sup> Labor and social policies in BH: Development of effects policies and measures for alleviation of negative privatization impact, Panel survey of households, DFID, 2005, pg. 4.

## 2.2. Method of offer at labor market

Survey research in a range of countries have shown that the rate of ratio between active and total population is higher than the official rate obtained on the basis of official statistical data. The rate of inactivity in BH for year 2008 was 56,1%.<sup>46</sup> Also, based on the survey research on labor, a lower unemployment rate is obtained. Based on these differences, one could conclude that the gray economy is leaving its marks at the labor market, which are reflected in low rates of participations and high rates of unemployment. Based on these indicators and the assumption on work productivity, an approximate framework on the scope of gray economy can be obtained. Rates of participation can be corrected with a high level of reliability through the survey on labor. However, the assumption on the labor productivity in the sector of formal and gray economy can be checked with difficulty, which decreases the reliability of this method of assessment a great deal.

By applying a method of offer at the labor market, a total scope of gray economy in this study ( $Ge$ ) shall be expressed as a product of a part of the gross domestic product generated by those employed in the gray economy sector and of a coefficient of the estimated labor productivity ( $\varepsilon$ ) in the gray economy sector:

$$(1) \quad Ge = \left( \frac{Zs}{Za} GDP \right) \varepsilon ,$$

where  $Zs$  – an estimated number of the employed in the gray economy sector is reduced to a full working time;  $Za$  – total number of the employed obtained on the basis of survey on labor conducted by statistical institutions, also reduced to a full working time and  $GDP$  – gross domestic product from official reports by statistical institutions.

When assessing a total number of the employed in the gray economy sector, it has been assumed that the unemployed, followed by the employed with low incomes, university students, pensioners with low incomes and high-school students are potentially the most important groups from which offer of labor at the gray market is being generated.

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<sup>46</sup> According to the Survey on labor for 2008 (BH Agency for Statistics, TB 10), activity rate in BH was 43,9%, 42,7% in BH Federation, 47% in the RS and 36,8% in Brcko.

The largest part of the said categories has at its disposal a monthly budget from the regular sources which is lower than the value of the consumer's basket and the average net salary in BH. Over 60% of the employed are receiving net salary which is lower than the average salary, and over 90% of pensioners, university students and high-school students dispose with a monthly regular budget that is lower than the average salary. In such circumstances, gray economy becomes a logical explanation of the social sustainability for those categories of population.

A total number of the employed in the gray economy sector ( $Z_s$ ) is determined as a sum of officially unemployed persons who are engaged in the gray economy sector ( $Nz_s$ ); employed in the sector of formal economy who generate a part of their income via methods of the gray economy or by additional work in the gray economy sector ( $Zp_s$ ); number of regular students working in the gray economy sector ( $St_s$ ); number of high-school students working in the gray economy sector ( $Sr_s$ ) and the number of pensioners engaged in the gray economy sector ( $Pn_s$ ), i.e.:<sup>47</sup>

$$(2) \quad Z_s = Nz_s + Zp_s + St_s + Sr_s + Pn_s = \\ = \alpha Nz + \beta Zp + \gamma St + \delta Sr + \omega Pn$$

Number of irregularly employed from each of the listed categories is determined by correcting a total number by an estimated rate of participation in the gray economy. Thus, in the above expression the applied rates have the following meaning:

$\alpha$  - rate of involvement of the unemployed in the gray economy,  
 $\beta$  - rate of involvement of the employed in the gray economy,  
 $\gamma$  - rate of involvement of university students in the gray economy,  
 $\delta$  - rate of involvement of high-school students in the gray economy and  
 $\omega$  - rate of involvement of pensioners in the gray economy.

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<sup>47</sup> This is about the assessment of engagement of the entire group by reduction to a full working time, which means that the different duration of engagement in the gray economy by individuals which belong to the same group is observed homogeneously, i.e. it is expressed as a number of individuals on the basis of a full working time, so that the actual number of persons involved in the gray economy during a certain period could be higher.

Calculation of employment in informal area for certain groups has been carried out in the following way:

$$(3) \ Nz_s = \alpha Nz = \left[ \frac{\% Nz_t}{\% Nz_{t-1}} (1 - 0,4) \right] Nz$$

or for the RS

$$(4) \ Nz_s = \alpha Nz = \left[ \frac{\% Nz_t}{\% Nz_{t-1}} (1 - 0,35) \right] Nz$$

Value of rate  $\alpha$  is determined as a product of change in unemployment rate and the assessed scope of officially unemployed persons in the gray economy sector.

When determining a number of the employed engaged in the gray economy sector, it has been assumed that, in average, each 20th is engaged in the gray economy sector ( $\beta = 0,05$ ). This assumption does not encompass only the engagement of the employed at additional jobs in the gray economy sector, but also obtaining a part of the income in the formal sector through a form of gray economy (payment of a part of salary in cash without paying taxes and contributions):

$$(5) \ Zp_s = \beta Zp = 0.05 Zp$$

Number of regular university students engaged in gray economy is determined on the basis of a pattern:

$$(6) \ St_s = \gamma St = 0.033 St$$

Under the assumption that, in average, each 30th student is engaged in the gray economy sector ( $\gamma = 0,033$ ). Number of high school students engaged in the informal sector of economy is determined in a similar way, but under the assumption that every 100th high-school student has been working in the gray economy sector ( $\delta = 0,01$ ):

$$(7) \ Sr_s = \delta Sr = 0.01 Sr$$

Number of pensioners engaged in gray economy is determined under the assumption that each 40th pensioner is performing a full working time in non-registered economy ( $\omega = 0,025$ ):

$$(8) \quad Pn_s = \omega Pn = 0.025 Pn$$

Based on inclusion of relations from (3) to (8) in (2), a pattern is obtained for calculation of a total number of persons engaged in the gray economy sector:

$$(9)$$

$$Zs = \left[ \frac{\%Nz_t}{\%Nz_{t-1}} (1 - 0,4) \right] Nz + 0,05Zp + 0,033St + 0,01Sr + 0,025Pn$$

It was assumed in the model that labor productivity in the gray economy sector is lower by 20% than in the sector of regular economy. It is difficult to find a convincing evidence for this assumption. It is assumed that, through reforms of the tax system and tax institutions in the previous years, there has been an increase in risk for operating at the gray market. Also, participants at the gray market cannot access the system of government subsidies, loans for development and a range of other privileges offered by state institutions and associations, and very often a less productive technology is applied and less capable workers are engaged in this area. Also, it is assumed that there are certain hidden expenses at the gray market to which participants of regular economy are not exposed.

The model departs from the assumption that there is a high level of correlation between a high rate of inactivity of work-capable population and engagement in the gray economy sector. This assumption is fortified by the fact that both those who are engaged in regular economy and those who are utilizing public funds most often do not generate enough revenues for normal existence of an average family. Naturally, the model is oriented to assessment and not to exact determination of gray economy's scope, so that fact should be taken into consideration when using its results. Gray economy by its nature is such that it cannot be exactly determined.

### **3. Assessment of scope and effects of gray economy in BH in 2008.**

#### **3.1. Scope of gray economy**

Several authors so far have addressed the gray economy in BH by applying different assessment methods. Although a general conformity was not reached on selection of assessment methods and the results obtained, all assessments indicate to a relatively high level of gray economy's participation in officially verified gross domestic product.

The research in which the author has participated in so far was limited to the Republika Srpska only. The research from 1997<sup>48</sup> shows that in 1996. the gray economy has participated with 56,3% in the RS gross domestic product, and research for 2000. shows that the level of gray economy had decreased at 51,2%.<sup>49</sup> It is important to note that the gross domestic product for 1996. and 2000. for the RS was not expressed by the system of national accounts, the consequence of which was an increase of relative participation of gray economy. The first all-encompassing research of gray economy for BH was undertaken in 2004. for the period from 2001-2003. The researchers, Roberto Dell'Ano and Marje Piirisild<sup>50</sup> have determined that the overall non-observed economy (NOE) for BH in 2001. was 57,74%; 55,92% in 2002. and 52,60% of gross domestic product.

Since the time of the first gray economy research, BH has passed a grueling path of economic reforms, establishment of the state of law and transparency at work. Although BH is still far from an efficient state, the implemented reforms have given results in reducing the scope of gray economy. A significant contribution to this is owed to the economic development of the country, introduction of the VAT, reform of direct taxes, reform in functioning of entity tax administrations, establishment of public sector audit, implementation of the Law on Public Procurements and the Law on the Free Access to Information.

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<sup>48</sup> Rajko Tomas (edit.), **Gray Economy in the Republic of the Srpska**, UNDP, 1997.

<sup>49</sup> R. Tomaš and G. Božović, **Scope, structure and methods for elimination of gray economy in the Republic of Srpska**, Faculty of Economy Banja Luka, 2001.

<sup>50</sup> Roberto Dell'Anno and Marje Piirisild, „**Estimate of Non-Observed Economy in B&H**“, Financial Services Volunteer Corps, 2004. The authors have expressed the overall non-observed economy (NOE) in gross domestic product as a sum of relative participations of illegal activity, gray economy and statistical deviations .

By application of the previously explained method of assessment, it turned out that in 2008. the total gray economy in BH was 26,52% of the statistically verified gross domestic product or KM 6,56 billion (Table 1). This is the amount, should the given estimation be acceptable, that was accessible to BH economy and population during 2008., but was not registered by the statistical and other institutions. This amount has great implication to functioning of the entire society. Appropriate taxes and contributions were not paid out of it, and therefore the average tax duty of registered taxpayers was higher than the potentially possible duty. The rate of gray economy participation in the officially published gross domestic product was 29,67%, in the FBH, 20,52% in the RS and 29,22% in Brčko. A relatively low rate of gray economy in RS was impacted by increase of employment, increase of average salaries and faster growth of gross domestic product. Also, Panel survey of households has shown that (a) „there is a higher probability for people living in the RS rather than in the FBH to be entrepreneurs, to perform seasonal work, to have definite-time contracts, or to work in a family business“ and (b) that „there is a higher probability for the RS households rather than those from the FBH to have two or more persons from the household employed.“<sup>51</sup>

BH statistical institutions have **established** the total gross domestic product in the amount of KM 24,716,589. This amount includes KM 1,128,851 of imputed annuity or 4,57% and KM 1,342,030 of non-observed economy (NOE) or 5,43%, i.e., 6,46% out of the total gross added value.<sup>52</sup> The applied method of assessment includes these two amounts. Therefore, the total verified gray economy is KM **4,084,439** (KM 4 billion) or **16,53%** of the expressed gross domestic product.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Labor and Social Policies in BH: Development of effects policies and measures for alleviation of negative privatization impact, Panel survey of households, DFID, 2005, pg. 4.

<sup>52</sup> Gross domestic product for Bosnia and Herzegovina 2008, Announcement by the BH Agency for Statistics, No. 1, Sarajevo, July 17, 2009. Gross domestic product is calculated as a sum of gross added value and the difference of total taxes and subsidies given for production.

<sup>53</sup> The amount of registered and non-registered gray economy is determined by using the participation rate of entities and Brčko in the total estimated gray economy. The author did not have access to NOE for entities and Brčko; therefore, discrepancies are possible between the data on registered economy shown here and the data from the statistical institutions.

### 3.2. Effects of assessed scope of gray economy

Gray economy provides growth of economy's revenues and that of the population, thus improving their economic status. On the other hand, it decreases public revenues, impoverishing public revenues beneficiaries and forcing the state to increased tax rates in order to provide the necessary level of public revenues. Very often the revenues in the gray economy sector are related to corruption and crime, so the gray economy also decreases efficiency of state institutions at the given level of public consumption.

**Gray economy and overall economic activity.** By application of method of offer a the labor market, an estimation was made that gray economy in BH in 2008 was KM 6,5 billion. Out of this, the statistical institutions have included KM 2,5 billion by application of their methodology in calculation of the domestic product for 2008. The difference of KM 4 billion represents a non-discovered part of gray economy. If we add that amount to the gross domestic product from 2008. we will get a scope of total economic activity (Chart 1). Therefore, in our estimation, the scope of overall economic activity in BH in 2008 was KM 29 billion. Gray economy participated in creation of the overall economic activity in BH with circa 23%; circa 25% in FBH, 18% in RS and 25% in Brčko.<sup>54</sup> If the overall estimated amount of the gray economy had been registered as a regular economy, the domestic product for BH in 2008 would have been higher by 16,53%; by 18,5% in FBH, by 12,8% in the RS and by 18,3% in Brčko.

Relative decrease of participation of the gray economy in the gross domestic product and the overall economic activity does not mean that the economic activity in the gray zone has been decreasing or stagnating. The indicators show that the gray economy was only

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<sup>54</sup> Using the same method of assessment, it has been established that participation of gray economy in the overall economic activity in the RS in 1996 was 36%, and 33,9% in 2000, (further in: R. Tomaš and G. Božović, **Scope, structure and methods for elimination of gray economy in the Republic of Srpska**, Faculty of Economy Banja Luka, 2001.) The author does not dispose of the data for the FBH, but based on the data on participation of entities in the BH gross domestic product and participation of the entities in the assessed scope of the gray economy for 2008, it can be concluded that a relative importance of the gray economy in the overall economic activity has been declining with the growth of the gross domestic product in the FBH, as well.

developing slower than the regular economy.<sup>55</sup> For example, the average nominal rate of registered domestic product in the RS for the period 1996. – 2008. was 12,5%, and growth of gray economy was 9,8%. In the period 2000- 2008., nominal gross domestic product of the RS has increased by circa 5 times, and the gray economy by 2 times. Comparative data for BH are not available, but based on the entities' participation in BH GDP and gray economy for 2008, it can be concluded in this instance as well that in the same period in the entire BH a tendency was present of decreasing a relative significance of the gray economy in the economic activity.

**Gray economy and employment.** Gray economy creates non-registered employment, which positively impacts social-economic stability of the society, maintenance of the reached level of consumption and population's standard of living, maintenance of the reached level of labor demand and salaries, increase of indirect public revenues. Competency of labor at the gray market is mainly attained through salaries lower by the amount of taxes and contributions being paid to the state in the regular sector. Often, lower salaries are basis for establishment of lower prices of goods and services originating from the gray economy. Part of activities in the gray zone is performed by registered employees (additional work) as well, or their incomes are not registered completely (reporting of a lower base for calculation of salaries and contributions, and payment of the difference in cash without registered it). At any rate, the work of those engaged in the gray zone of economy contributes to increase of the domestic product, although the overall contribution is not formally registered because under-reporting exists in certain phases of the process.

The analysis carried out shows that during 2008, over 290 thousand people were employed in the gray economy sector; out of that circa 190 thousand in FBH, circa 90 thousand in RS and circa 7 thousand in Brčko.<sup>56</sup> Out of that, around 80% were unemployed persons. Under the assumption that the employed in the gray economy were realizing the

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<sup>55</sup> Further in: R. Tomaš and G. Božović, **Scope, structure and methods for elimination of gray economy in the Republic of Srpska**, Faculty of Economy Banja Luka, 2001.

<sup>56</sup> According to the results of research on impact of recession on labor market, carried out by experts from Johannes Kepler University from Linz, as many as 8, 27 million people will be working unregistered in Germany, and almost 700.000 of them in Austria.

same net salary as those employed in the regular sector, we are estimating that total net salaries in 2008 were over KM 2,6 billion.<sup>57</sup> This money precisely has provided for existence of a large number of the employed and of those who do not earn enough in the regular sector. Those revenues have increased social, economic and political stability in BH. However, the appropriate contributions for pension, health and unemployment insurance were not paid on the income realized in the gray economy. That income represented revenue of the employer in the gray zone or increase of personal income if it is about independent activity in the gray economy sector. On the other hand, that is at the same time the revenue lost in extra budgetary funds and partly the lost revenue of entities, cantons and municipalities (income tax). Therefore, due to gray economy, contributions and income tax in BH were lower by KM 1,2 billion in 2008: out of that amount, contributions for extra-budgetary funds over KM 1,1 billion and income tax over KM 115 million. Of course, it is not realistic to assume that the entire gray economy can be transferred to regular economy. However, if we are to assume that 60% of the present gray economy is transferred to regular economy by a more efficient activity of the state and by elimination of corruption, then the level of the gray economy in BH would be within boundaries that are acceptable in the European Union as well, and the revenues of extra-budgetary funds would be increased exactly for the amount of the most-often-assessed missing assets for their normal functioning. In that case, revenues of extra-budgetary funds in the FBH could be higher by more than KM 463 million, in the RS, by KM 211 million and in Brcko by circa KM 20 million.

**Gray economy and tax duty.** Overall public revenues of all levels of the government for 2008. were KM 10,9 billion. That amount, compared in accordance to the statistically expressed gross domestic product, provides a rate of tax duty of 44,11%.<sup>58</sup> However, public revenues were paid in the stated amount, while the stated gross domestic products contains an imputed annuity and NOE, which are not actually registered as taxpayers' economic activity. Because the relative

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<sup>57</sup> Official statistical data on average gross and net salary in the entities and Brcko for 2008 were used for calculation. The average gross salary in FBH was KM 1104,85; KM 1132 in the RS and KM 1139,29 in Brcko. The average net salary in FBH was KM 751,3; KM 755 in the RS and KM 729,53 in Brcko.

<sup>58</sup> Entitity rates of tax duties are relatively lower because revenues of the state institutions are not distributed to entities, but added to total public revenues of entities and Brcko.

burden of regular economy (imputed allowance and NOE from the GDP excluded) is higher than the shown amount. In our estimation, realistic tax duty of regular economy in the BH would in average be 49%. In the FBH, it was 47%, in the RS 42% and in Brčko 45%. Should the gray economy be registered in entirety, the total BH public revenues of KM 10,9 billion could be realized with average tax duty of 38%, i.e. 35% in the FBH, 34% in the RS and Brcko. Thus, the regular economy could be less tax-burdened or higher public revenues and better offer of public goods and services could be realized with the same amount of duty. That is a clear message from the shown data and it should be an orientation to authorities for governing a policy of economic activities legalization, although that is a difficult goal to attain.

**Gray economy and public revenues lost.** Therefore, the fact is that in the sector of gray economy all levels of the BH government annually lose a significant part of public revenues, and because of that the regular economy is relatively more tax-burdened. Based on the estimated scope of gray economy, under the assumption the tax duty is identical to the one in the regular sector, we come to an estimation on the public revenues lost. During 2008, there was KM 3,2 billion hidden in the gray economy sector in the BH. However, it is not realistic to expect that all the gray economy to which this amount refers to can be transferred to a regular economy. But, if we are to assume that it is realistic to expect that an efficient state can undertake measures with which it would transfer 60% of the gray economy to a legal one, it would be realistic to expect that the public revenues could increase by KM 1,9 billion per year. Of course, the gray economy cannot be transferred to the legal economy on a one-time basis. That is a process of adjustment of both the state and the gray economy actors. Only with a more detailed research of gray economy could one come to a finding on realistically possible increase of public revenues through legalization of gray economy. Through this analysis, it needs to be determined which level of tax duty could be sustained by the gray economy actors. Regardless of the fact that gray economy is an illegal form of economic activity, not all actors of gray economy are naturally susceptible to embezzlement and crime. Part of the gray economy is placed in that sector because it could not sustain with its productivity the tax duty of the regular economy. Entrance into the regular economy realms for such actors of the gray economy would mean decaying. From the aspect

of economic principles it is acceptable that unproductive market participants whither. However, gray economy also has a social dimension. A big part of gray economy is a source of income for existence of the poorest. Elimination of gray economy with the aim of increasing public revenues can end up with the same level of collected public revenues and higher needs for social transfers to the poor.

**Gray economy in BH and European Union Integration.** As it was earlier described, BH is participating in the project for assessment of non-observed economy supported by EUROSTAT and OECD. BH statistical institutions include the imputed annuity (housing annuity) and non-observed economy (NOE) in the data on national accounts. The EU candidate countries are required to correct their gross domestic product by the amount of the gray economy.

Inclusion of the gray economy in the officially presented gross domestic product has appropriate consequences for the country that is striving to become a member of the EU.<sup>59</sup> The country itself shows that it disposes of higher own available assets, and that it depreciates its rights to withdraw assets from certain EU funds. At the same time, the country shows itself before the EU members as an economically stronger and more capable to pay a higher amount into the EU joint budget. The effects also can occur on the side of indicators for macroeconomic stability and economic sustainability of the country. Thus, with the increased gross domestic product, there will be a decrease in the rate of foreign debt participation in the gross domestic product, the rate of public consumption in the GDP, participation rate of public consumption deficit in the GDP...Therefore, in the past years BH has corrected some indicators on the post-war improvement and has embellished its movement towards the EU by partial inclusion of the gray economy in the GDP. Truly, other countries have also done it during the process of the EU accession, so that it has become more comparable to those countries.

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<sup>59</sup> Further in: Lovrinčević, Željko, Marić, Zdravko and Mikulić, Davor (2006), **The Maastricht criteria and the inclusion of gray economy – Case of Croatia**, Economic movements and economic policy 106/06, Zagreb

#### **4. Decrease of gray economy scope in BH**

It has become evident from the previous analysis that limiting the gray economy and its reduction to a bearable scope is reduced to implementation of the three groups of measures:

1. Measures stimulating market participants to act in a formal sector;
2. Measures forcing market participants to act in a formal sector; and
3. Measures by which those operating in the gray zone of activities are punished.

Essentially, all three groups of measures are in the domain of shaping a social and economic system. Economic system, before all, should be stimulous for legal operations, legal ownership of property, legal acquiring of wealth and legal entering into obligatory relations. On the other hand, it must be unstimulative i.e. must produce a much higher risk of loss, rather than a probability for obtaining profit from an informal activity. And, finally, the system must have clearly-defined sanctions and a consistency in application of those sanctions for those operating in the sector of gray economy.

One of the most important aspects of the gray economy in BH which determines its dimensions and motivation of people to be engaged in it is a lack of legal synchronization of realistic wealth and sources of income. Owning wealth, its registration and legalization are not being put in connection with legally attained revenues. That is a good way for „laundering“ the money obtained in the gray economy, and even in the „black economy“. Therefore, the initial form for decrease of gray economy's scope must be legal regulations which directly connect obtaining of property (real estate, shares, money in bank, shares in companies, cars, etc.) with legal revenues. This principle is very simple: for each form of property that somebody is obtaining, there must be an origin of money with which it has been purchased. This method would strongly stimulate those who earn the most in the gray economy to step out of it. The poorest stand the least chance for transferring from the gray to the regular economy. Their revenue from the gray economy serves the purpose of preserving the existence. They do not obtain wealth by being involved in the gray economy. Only a stronger economic development, through creation of new work posts, can „transfer“ a large part of the poor into the regular economy.

BH cannot conduct an organized and an efficient struggle against the gray economy until authorities are not ready to eliminate corruption. Corruption, gray economy and crime (black economy) put together is the worst status of economy which is most difficult to transfer to a regular economy. The starting point for liberating from this bracing is to remove corruption. The corrupted authorities encourage gray economy, do not have authority or morale to limit it... The corruption encourages the most difficult forms of the gray economy, i.e. those forms which are in the realm of gray economy for purpose of profit increase, and not for the purpose of preserving existence. BH is in a need of a revolution of transparency as a starting point in fighting crime and the gray economy. Only the authorities that have nothing in common with the corruption could be honest initiators of reforms and establishment of the rule of law which is a favorable ambiance for transferring the gray economy to a regular zone.

Legal framework in which business is performed in BH is not ideal, but the fact remains that it does define the obligatory nature of legal business operations. In spite of that, a high level of gray economy in BH indicates that the rule of law does not function efficiently. Government institutions are not applying laws consistently or they are even applying them selectively. In such circumstances, the objectivity of legal solutions cannot even be checked. It is obvious that there is no responsibility for application of laws in the system of the government. Due to the wide spread of the corruption, crime and gray economy, which are all the obvious forms of law violation, none of the officials have been called to responsibility or have been removed from the duty. The overall amount of the gray economy is not of a social character, and the outspread of gray economy cannot be solely justified by poverty of the people in the grey economy. A good portion of the gray economy in BH in which earnings are good is created on the poverty of a large number of people. Poverty of a large number of people is a mask by which creators of profitable businesses in the gray zone are protecting themselves. The authorities do not have the right to give amnesty in the name of poverty of a large number of people to those who are ill-using this poverty to illegally obtain high earnings. It is justified to suspect that the authorities tolerating this are corrupted, i.e. that they are partners of the gray economy's big bosses.

**Chart 1.****BASIC INDICATORS RELATED TO SCOPE AND EFFECTS OF GRAY ECONOMY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN YEAR 2008.**

<b>INDICATOR</b>	<b>BH Federation</b>	<b>Republic of Srpska</b>	<b>BH District of Brcko</b>	<b>Total BH</b>
GDP 2008. in millions of KM	15657	8468	591	24716
Gray economy in millions of KM	4645,01	1737,62	172,69	6555,32
Non-observed part of GE in millions of KM	2894	1083	108	4084
Total economic activity in millions of KM	18551	9551	699	28801
% GDP of entity in GDP of BH	63,35	34,26	2,39	100,00
% GE of entity in GE of BH	70,86	36,51	2,63	100,00
% GE of entity in GDP of entity	29,67	20,52	29,22	26,52
% GE in total economic activity SE	25,04	18,19	24,71	22,76
Number of persons employed in GE, in (000)	196	90	7	293
% participation of employed in GE in labor	25,5	22,8	25,4	24,6
Paid net salaries „unreported“ in (000) KM	1765291	813355	63950	2642596
Unpaid contributions in (000) KM	772568	351804	54336	1157539
Unpaid income tax in (000) KM	58150	54336	2752	115238
Total public revenues in millions of KM	6537,5	3264,5	236,6	10903,1
% of tax duty for officially published GDP*	41,75	38,55	40,03	44,11
% of tax duty for formal GDP (actual)**	47,01	41,78	44,98	49,01

% of potential tax duty for GDP ***	35,24	34,18	33,85	37,86
Public revenues lost in gray economy, in millions of KM	2184	726	78	3213
Potentially payable public revenues in gray economy, in millions of KM	1310	436	47	1928

\*The tax duty rate calculated as a relation of public revenues and the officially published GDP.

\*\* Rate of the tax duty calculated as a relation of public revenues and the GDP depreciated by NOE amount.

\*\*\* Rate of the tax duty calculated as a relation of public revenues and the GDP increased by the gray economy.

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