
Yugoslavia and successor states: Reported and estimated abortions, 1948-2015

15 July 2016

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Abstract: This document summarizes compiled and estimated abortion figures for Yugoslavia and its successor states for 1948-2015.

Abortion figures for Yugoslavia and its constituent regions through 1991 are inconsistent in terms of geographic coverage, time coverage, and whether miscarriages are included or excluded. These inconsistencies also apply after 1991 to the successor states of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. Note that status of several states varied during the period 1991-2009 which was marked by multiple conflicts. Table 1 summarizes status changes at the level defining statistical reporting regions.

Table 2 provides adopted reported abortion figures and estimated figures for Yugoslavia and its constituent regions and successor states, with estimates by the author in yellow. Sources for reported figures for each region are given following the table. Specific information on reported or estimated figures by region are as follows:

- **Yugoslavia:** Figures for 1948-1952 are equal to those for Slovenia (the only available data for this period). Estimates for 1953-1961 and 1968-1991 are the totals of reported figures and/or estimates by constituent region. For 1955-1959, regional figures are not available for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro. Based on the trend for this period for Slovenia, estimated totals for the five regions together were estimated by scaling the Slovenia figures to match the five-region total in 1960, and this figure was added to the available estimates/figures for Serbia and Slovenia to produce estimates for Yugoslavia. For a number of these years, lower reported figures for Yugoslavia exist but have not been reconciled with totals across the regions. Typically, however, where reported figures are available they are within 10% of the estimates here, although some of these figures may include miscarriages.

Table 1: Status changes of Yugoslav successor states

Country	Date independence declared	Date internationally recognized	Notes
Yugoslavia	6 January 1929 (Yugoslavia declared)		dissolution in 1991-1992
Croatia	25 June 1991	8 October 1991	
Slovenia	25 June 1991	7 July 1991	
Macedonia	8 September 1991	8 April 1993	Recognized as The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1 March 1992	6 April 1992	2 internal self-governing entities: Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Serb Republic
Serbia and Montenegro	1 January 2003 (renaming of remnant of Yugoslavia)		Included Kosovo; Serbia and Montenegro separated in May 2006
Montenegro	21 May 2006	3 June 2006	
Serbia	22 May 2006	5 June 2006	continued to claim Kosovo
Kosovo	17 February 2008	1 January 2009	separate UN administration 1 January 1999 until independence in 2008

- **Bosnia and Herzegovina:** Estimates for 1960-1966 are based on scaling the figures for Kosovo for those years with the reported ratio from 1967 between these two regions (both Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo have significant Muslim populations, prompting use of Kosovo for this trend). Estimates for 1968-1970, 1972-1979, and 1981-1982 are linear interpolations between figures for reported years. Figures for 2001-2014 are mostly reported for the Serb Republic only, with incomplete reports for the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina for a few years. These figures do not include miscarriages. Figures for 1992-2000 are estimates assuming that abortions fell by 13,000 per year for 1992-1994, by 5,000 per year for 1995-1997, and exponentially dropped to 3,000 per year in 2000. This model for 1992-2000 is adopted to yield approximately 20,000 abortions per year in the mid-1990s based on postulated high abortions associated with the widespread rape of Bosnian women during the conflict with Serbia, followed by a decline to the much lower levels reported in the 2000s. The figure for 2015 is extrapolated based on the typical trend for the last 5 years of reported data.
- **Croatia:** Reported figures are available from 1960 to 2015. Reported figures from at least 1969 are understood to exclude miscarriages, and figures reported by Croatia since 1989 explicitly separate induced abortions from miscarriages.
- **Kosovo:** Figures for 1961-1964 and 1990-2004 are exponentially interpolated between figures for reported years given the large difference in reported figures bounding these gaps. Figures for 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972-1979, 1981-1985, and 1987-1988 are linear interpolations between figures for reported years. A figure of 122 abortions in 2015 was reported for one hospital and is assumed incomplete; an estimate of 300 abortions was

adopted for 2015 and figures for 2007-2014 were exponentially interpolated. Kosovo has reported annual miscarriages of 5,700 to 7,500 per year for 2002-2007 (KOS08b).

- **Macedonia:** Figures for 1961-1964, 1966, 1968-1969, 1971-1974, 1976-1979, and 1981-1983 are linear interpolations between figures for reported years. Figures for 2013-2015 are extrapolated based on the typical trend for the last 5 years of reported data. Reported figures from 1984 to 2012 are understood to exclude miscarriages.
- **Montenegro:** Estimates for 1960-1970 are based on scaling the figures for Croatia for those years with the reported ratio from 1971 between these two regions; these results were reduced slightly for 1966-1970 so as not to exceed the reported figure for 1971. Figures for 1972-1978 and 1980-1982 are linear interpolations between figures for reported years. Figures for 1985-1988 are differences between reported figures for Serbia plus Montenegro and for Serbia alone. Figures for 1993-1999 are exponentially interpolated between figures for reported years given the large difference in reported figures bounding this gap. Figures for 2013-2015 are extrapolated based on the typical trend for the last 5 years of reported data. Figures from 2000 to 2014, and possibly back to 1989, are understood to exclude miscarriages.
- **Serbia:** Reported figures for 1991 and 1999 indicate 4,000 miscarriages in each of those years. Figures for 1992-1998 are derived from reported figures including miscarriages, so we assumed and deducted 4,000 miscarriages per year. Figures for 1957-1959 are estimated assuming Serbia abortions were 9.9 times higher than Slovenian abortions each year, based on the ratio in 1960. Figures for 1953-1956 are a linear interpolation between bounding years. Figures for 1962-1964, 1973-1974, 1976-1977, and 1979 are linear interpolations between figures for reported years. Figures for 1993-1998 are exponentially interpolated between figures for reported years given the large difference in reported figures bounding this gap. Figures for 2014-2015 are extrapolated based on the typical trend for the last 5 years of reported data.
- **Serbia and Montenegro:** Figures for 1992-2005 are the totals for Serbia and Montenegro reported or estimated separately.
- **Slovenia:** Figure for 1966 is a linear interpolation between bounding years. Figures for 2014-2015 are extrapolated based on the typical trend for the last 5 years of reported data. Most reported figures are understood to exclude miscarriages.

**Table 2: Reported and estimated abortions for Yugoslavia
and its constituent regions/successor states.**

year	Yugoslavia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Croatia	Kosovo	Macedonia	Montenegro	Serbia	Serbia and Montenegro	Slovenia
1948	10,399						10,399	N/A	
1949	11,787						11,787	N/A	
1950	12,080						12,080	N/A	
1951	13,442						13,442	N/A	
1952	14,151						14,151	N/A	
1953	16,000						15,700	N/A	
1954	18,000						17,300	N/A	
1955	21,000						18,900	N/A	441
1956	24,000						20,400	N/A	800
1957	32,000						22,000	N/A	2,200
1958	68,000						47,000	N/A	4,700
1959	91,000						63,000	N/A	6,400
1960	118,000	5,000	10,720	1,300	9,366	1,400	81,516	N/A	8,229
1961	139,000	6,000	15,003	1,700	9,700	1,900	95,196	N/A	9,300
1962	150,000	8,000	21,309	2,100	10,000	2,800	89,800	N/A	9,500
1963	146,800	10,000	26,288	2,700	10,400	3,400	84,500	N/A	9,400
1964	158,600	12,000	30,751	3,400	10,700	4,000	79,200	N/A	9,400
1965	182,400	16,000	33,260	4,400	11,070	4,300	73,800	N/A	9,904
1966	219,537	20,000	36,710	5,700	8,900	4,500	122,900	N/A	10,000
1967	242,055	25,400	34,400	7,100	6,800	4,500	131,502	N/A	10,100
1968	250,000	26,200	39,577	6,200	8,900	4,600	154,700	N/A	9,400
1969	256,000	27,000	37,119	5,086	10,900	4,600	162,643	N/A	8,600
1970	256,000	27,900	38,529	5,100	15,074	4,600	156,100	N/A	8,505
1971	252,000	28,676	36,575	5,076	15,600	4,590	152,579	N/A	9,100
1972	265,000	30,300	37,139	5,400	16,100	4,700	161,800	N/A	9,100
1973	270,000	32,000	37,493	5,700	16,600	4,900	164,300	N/A	9,300
1974	280,000	33,800	39,441	6,000	17,100	5,000	170,100	N/A	8,600
1975	291,000	35,700	40,870	6,300	17,645	5,100	176,000	N/A	9,063
1976	306,000	37,700	41,216	6,700	19,500	5,300	184,600	N/A	10,900
1977	325,000	39,800	43,789	7,100	21,300	5,400	193,300	N/A	14,200
1978	339,000	42,000	42,332	7,500	23,100	5,600	201,900	N/A	16,100
1979	347,000	44,400	44,567	7,900	24,900	5,689	203,000	N/A	16,780
1980	358,000	46,874	47,827	8,327	26,726	6,000	204,100	N/A	18,194
1981	342,000	48,000	51,975	9,000	27,500	6,400	180,000	N/A	19,138
1982	369,000	49,200	51,534	9,600	28,200	6,700	204,200	N/A	19,744
1983	370,000	50,304	47,996	10,300	29,000	7,100	206,960	N/A	18,623

1984	384,000	54,453	48,775	11,000	29,731	7,400	214,129	N/A	18,591
1985	392,000	58,973	51,549	11,600	29,753	7,767	214,806	N/A	17,960
1986	392,298	61,256	50,058	12,270	30,467	7,859	212,400	N/A	17,988
1987	391,000	67,927	48,608	11,900	32,150	8,079	205,343	N/A	16,819
1988	367,000	67,769	42,864	11,400	27,089	8,028	193,558	N/A	16,531
1989	367,802	65,571	43,233	11,015	30,442	7,905	193,755	N/A	15,881
1990	346,000	66,625	38,644	10,000	21,894	5,800	188,194	N/A	14,731
1991	301,000	65,000	33,351	9,100	23,166	5,500	150,400	N/A	14,027
1992	N/A	52,000	26,223	8,300	19,855	6,300	131,900	142,300	13,258
1993	N/A	39,000	25,179	7,500	18,454	4,300	109,700	114,000	12,154
1994	N/A	26,000	19,673	6,800	16,480	3,600	90,400	94,000	11,324
1995	N/A	21,000	14,282	6,200	15,805	3,200	88,800	92,000	10,791
1996	N/A	16,000	12,339	5,700	14,164	2,800	76,000	78,800	10,218
1997	N/A	11,000	10,036	5,100	12,058	2,400	56,700	59,100	9,712
1998	N/A	7,000	8,907	4,700	12,015	2,600	51,400	54,000	9,116
1999	N/A	5,000	8,064	4,300	8,479	2,800	39,730	42,500	8,707
2000	N/A	3,000	7,534	3,900	11,407	2,776	37,913	40,689	8,429
2001	N/A	1,201	6,574	3,500	8,523	2,347	30,647	32,994	7,799
2002	N/A	2,364	6,191	3,200	7,876	2,140	27,348	29,488	7,327
2003	N/A	1,994	5,923	2,900	6,690	1,979	25,373	27,352	6,873
2004	N/A	2,336	5,232	2,600	7,524	1,783	24,296	26,079	6,403
2005	N/A	1,487	4,563	2,403	6,622	1,502	22,512	24,014	5,851
2006	N/A	1,845	4,733	1,651	6,164	1,309	21,079	N/A	5,632
2007	N/A	2,141	4,573	1,400	6,090	1,311	19,752	N/A	5,176
2008	N/A	2,576	4,497	1,200	5,900	1,166	19,535	N/A	4,946
2009	N/A	2,517	4,450	1,000	5,648	965	18,215	N/A	4,653
2010	N/A	2,344	4,043	800	5,078	851	17,466	N/A	4,328
2011	N/A	2,373	4,347	700	5,324	823	15,963	N/A	4,263
2012	N/A	2,173	3,572	600	5,387	762	15,301	N/A	4,106
2013	N/A	2,176	3,161	500	5,200	874	13,650	N/A	4,011
2014	N/A	1,871	3,020	400	5,000	943	12,700	N/A	3,900
2015	N/A	1,800	2,992	300	4,800	900	11,800	N/A	3,800

Sources for reported figures by region:

- Yugoslavia: A88a, C70a, T69a, T81a, UN76a, UN79a.
- Bosnia and Herzegovina: A88a, BOS09*b, BOS11*a, BOS12*a, BOS13*a, BOS14*a, BOS15*a, BOS16*a, T76a, UN03c, UN12b.
- Croatia: A88a, CE04ca, CRO08a, CRO15*b, T76a, T16*a, UN08a, UN11c, UN12b.
- Kosovo: A88a, KOS06a, KOS07b, KOS08b, O16*a, P11*a, R04c, T76a.
- Macedonia: A88a, CE04ma, UN11c, UN12b, UN16*a.
- Montenegro: A88a, R04b, R05a, UN09a, UN10a, UN12b, UN12f, UN16*a, UN16*c.
- Serbia: A88a, R04b, R04c, R08a, SERB06d, SERB07a, SERB08a, SERB09a, SERB12*a, SERB13*a,

SERB14*a, UN12b, UN12f, UN16*a.

- Serbia and Montenegro: A88a, CE04ya, R04b, S07a, UN08a, W02a.
- Slovenia: A88a, T69a, UN04*d, UN12b, UN12f, UN16*a, UN16*d.
- NOTE: Some reported figures may include miscarriages.

Table 3 provides totals for each region across the period of time they were distinct countries, compared to the estimated totals provided at *Johnston’s Archive* in 2015 (J15a).

Table 3: Total abortions in Yugoslavia and its successor states, 1947-2015

Country	Year range	Current estimate	Old estimate
Yugoslavia	1947-2015	9,505,000	8,961,000
Serbia and Montenegro	1992-2005	857,300	941,700
Serbia	2006-2015	165,500	196,900
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1992-2015	211,200	296,100
Croatia	1992-2015	200,100	305,000
Kosovo	2005-2015	11,000	30,400
Macedonia	1992-2015	220,500	220,300
Montenegro	2006-2015	9,900	10,000
Slovenia	1992-2015	172,800	172,200
Total, all regions	1947-2015	11,354,000	11,134,000

Figure 1 shows reported and estimated abortions over time for each region. Figure 2 shows trends for each region, with the maximum annual abortions in each region rescaled to one. Some consistency in trends is seen in a rapid rise from 1955 to the late 1960s, followed by a slower rise to a peak in the 1980s with the peak year varying from 1981 to 1988 depending on the region. All regions show significant and generally sustained post-Communist drops, with cumulative declines of 80-96% by 2015.

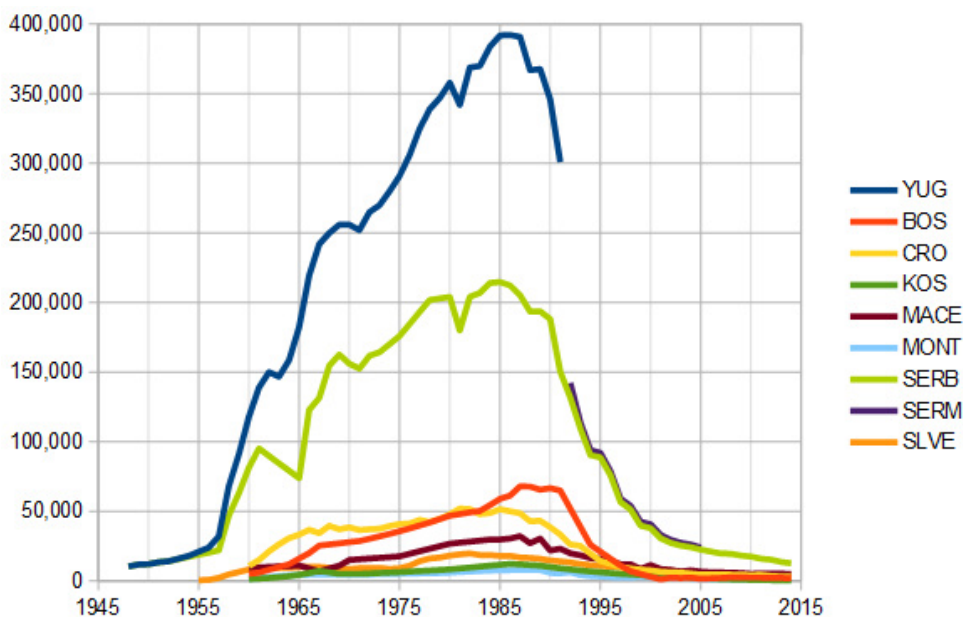


Figure 1. Abortions 1948-2015 for Yugoslavia and constituent regions/successor states.

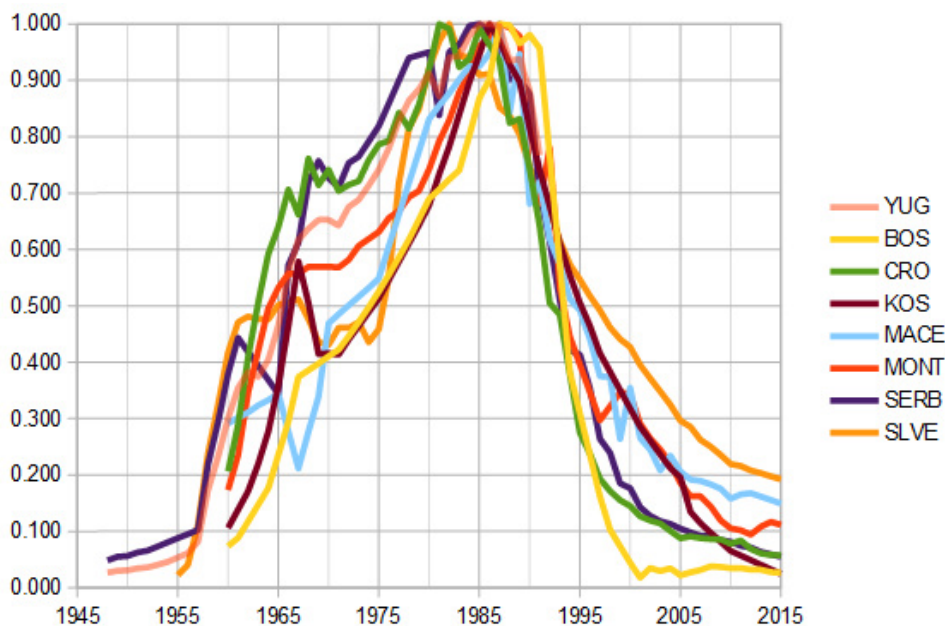


Figure 2. Abortion trends for Yugoslavia and constituent regions/successor states, 1948-2015.

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