

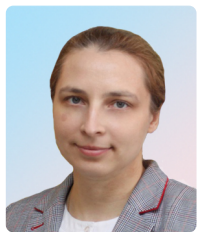
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METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE SUBSTANTIATION OF RESEARCH ON ABORTION PRACTICES IN MODERN SOCIETY



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The article examines methodological approaches to the study of abortion practices and reproductive behavior, as well as the sociological research instruments used to refine statistical data on pregnancy termination. Special attention is paid to the theoretical justification of the sociological measurement of women's motives, value orientations, and social determinants of abortion practices. The outcome of this work is a systematization of sociological approaches to the study of abortion practices, including the investigation of the motivation behind reproductive choice, the assessment of subjective well-being, and the influence of the institutional environment and value orientations on reproductive behavior and abortion practices. The study identifies the conditions and factors affecting reproductive behavior that lead to abortion practices (e.g., birth order, material circumstances, religiosity, among others). It is revealed that income stability and housing security can have multidirectional effects on the family's reproductive cycle. Unstable income can both impede childbearing and, in cases where social support networks or state benefits compensate for economic instability, exert no direct influence. The study of value orientations, including individual religious beliefs and public discourses on the acceptability

of abortion practices, allows for the characterization of the cultural norms that shape reproductive choice. Health assessments serve as the basis for differentiating between abortions performed for medical indications and those motivated by socio-economic reasons. The practical significance of the work lies in the fact that the obtained results will be used to develop a research instrument for the study of abortion practices among Serbian women. Prospects for further development of the work include identifying, through a mass survey, the conditions and factors underlying the abortion practices of Serbian women, as well as assessing the intensity of abortion practices within the structure of reproductive behavior. This will enable the characterization of women's decision-making strategies regarding pregnancy termination or continuation in the context of contemporary demographic processes.

Reproductive behavior, reproductive cycle, abortion practices, value orientations, methodological approaches.

Introduction

The United Nations (UN) published the second edition of the Abortion Assistance Guide in 2025, which states that “globally, abortion is a common procedure: 6 out of 10 unplanned pregnancies end in induced abortion”¹. The publication also states that the introduction of medical abortions has contributed to revolutionary changes in the field of abortion, as medical products “can be safely and effectively administered in a medical institution or independently outside the institution (for example, at home)”². If statistics from the late 20th – early 21st centuries showed the number of abortions accurately enough, for example, in Western Europe the number of intentional abortions was 12 per 1,000 women, and in Eastern Europe it exceeded 40 per 1,000 women (Johnston, Keenneth, 1996) aged 15–44 years, then in the modern world the situation is the opposite. The tasks of clarifying the Westoff model³, based on determining the correlation between the total rate of abortions, the total fertility rate and the structure of

contraceptive use, are being updated. Currently, it is necessary to separate the use of traditional and emergency contraception, drugs for medical abortions used in medical institutions and at home.

Global statistics on registered abortions are collected by national statistical committees, health system institutions, and international organizations such as the Guttmacher Institute, the World Health Organization (WHO), and the United Nations Human Reproduction Program (HRP)⁴. At the same time, it is difficult to get an accurate answer about the number of abortions. This is what leading experts say: for example, in the United States, the number of abortions is recorded by the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and the Guttmacher Institute, but they give different data because they use different techniques⁵.

The problem of a large number of abortions has been relevant since the Second World War. It was recorded that the number of abortions steadily increased (Sakevich et al., 2016; Sakevich et al., 2021; Sakevich and

¹ Abortion care guideline, second edition. World Health Organization 2024. Available at: <https://iris.who.int/server/api/core/bitstreams/dd3d3a9c-6446-4e79-a43c-093a41df46bd/content>. P. XX.

² Ibidem.

³ Westoff C. (2007). A New Approach to Estimating Abortion Rates, CICRED International Seminar on Measurement of Abortion Incidence, Abortion-Related, Morbidity and Mortality, Paris, 7–9 November 2007.

⁴ For the first time in history, country-level estimates of unwanted pregnancy and abortion rates have been published. World Health Organization 2022. Available at: <https://www.who.int/ru/news-room/24-03-2022-first-ever-country-level-estimates-of-unintended-pregnancy-and-abortion>

⁵ Diamant J., Mohamed B., Leppert R. (2024). What the data says about abortion in the U.S. Pew Research Center. Available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2024/03/25/what-the-data-says-about-abortion-in-the-us/>

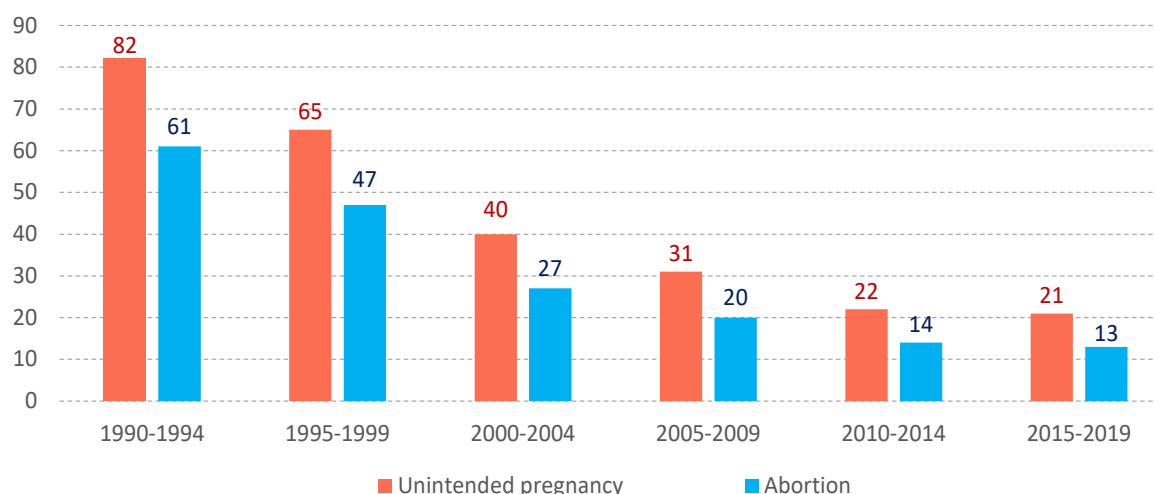


Figure 1. Average annual number of unplanned pregnancies and abortions per 1,000 women aged 15–49 years, Serbia

Source: data from the Guttmacher Institute. Available at: <https://www.guttmacher.org/regions/europe/serbia>

Denisov, 2024) from the beginning to the end of the 20th century, which is explained by their gradually expanding legalization. In 1969, abortions were fully allowed, and almost all abortions were performed in state clinics and registered, so in 1969, there were 162,643 abortions, and in 1985, there were 214,806 (Rašević, 2008). Current statistics show a decrease in the number of abortions in the 21st century, however, this statement needs to be verified because not all abortions are taken into account in statistics due to the proliferation of private clinics that do not register abortions, the introduction of the practice of using medical abortions by women at home without knowledge of doctors, etc. The most comprehensive up-to-date statistics on the number of abortions in the world, including in Serbia, is presented on the website of the Guttmacher Institute (*Fig. 1*).

Due to the incomplete availability of statistical data, the Guttmacher Institute models a system for assessing the prevalence of abortions, i.e. traditional economic and

statistical indicators of abortive practices (number of abortions per 1,000 women of fertile age; ratio of abortions to the number of births; share of repeated abortions; age profile of abortions in women of reproductive age; share of abortions for medical reasons; share of medications abortions, etc.) are supplemented by data obtained during population surveys⁶.

At the same time, sociological research is always based on a specific methodology. Depending on the methodology, research tools are being developed. The methodology of international organizations – the Guttmacher Institute, WHO, UNFPA – the United Nations Population Fund, including the United Nations Human Reproduction Program – is based on political ideas to protect women's right to use their bodies (Plotnikova, 2022), and therefore on the principles of promoting choice and providing contraceptives for universal access to family planning⁷.

The theoretical problem of the work is the search for basic methodological approaches

⁶ Unintended Pregnancy and Abortion Worldwide: Country-Level Estimates Explained. The Guttmacher Institute. 2022. Available at: <https://www.guttmacher.org/fact-sheet/unintended-pregnancy-and-abortion-country-level-estimates-explained>

⁷ Promoting greater choice and provision of contraceptives for universal access to family planning in Eastern Europe and Central Asia: The UNFPA Regional Contraceptive Framework Strategy for 2017–2021. Available at: https://eeca.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/EECA%20Regional%20Contraceptive%20Security%20Strategic%20Framework_RUS_final.pdf

to the sociological study of abortive practices, going beyond the conceptual field of political discourses. The novelty of the approach lies in the fact that the research is aimed not at systematizing statistical data, but at searching for sociological approaches that make it possible to record not only the fact of the implementation of abortive practices, but also to assess the factors and causes that influenced reproductive choice, as well as the attitude of actors toward these practices. The identification of social factors influencing the formation of reproductive behavior and the study of abortive practices are necessary conditions for a better understanding of demographic processes.

Thus, the aim of the work is to systematize methodological approaches to the study of abortive practices, which will allow identifying indicators for assessing the conditions, factors and motives of women's implementation of abortive practices. The main tasks are to define a basic concept within which abortive practices and concepts will be explored, allowing assessing the conditions, factors and motives for women's implementation of abortive practices. Based on this, to obtain verifiable empirical data, it is necessary to identify a pool of concepts and studies that have made a significant contribution to the study of abortive practices.

Given that a large number of abortions are performed in modern society, it is necessary to formulate the question: how are abortive practices implemented in the structure of women's reproductive behavior, what motives underlie reproductive choice – reduction or implementation of abortive practices? For a sound analysis of the conditions of reproductive choice, it is necessary to study not only abortive practices, but also their impact on a woman's daily life. An equally important problem is the study of the reverse effect, i.e. the impact of demographic policy, legal order, political paradigms, and public discourses on women's abortive practices.

Methodological and methodical approaches to the analysis of abortive practices

The concepts of reproductive behavior are basic for the study of abortive practices. Reproductive behavior is a system of actions and daily practices related to the birth or refusal to have children (contraception, termination of pregnancy, abortion). In sociology and demography, the concept of "reproductive behavior" is closely related to the concept of "reproductive cycle", which captures the sequence of reproductive events. The individual reproductive cycle and the reproductive cycle of the family are distinguished. In the first case, the beginning of the reproductive cycle is associated with the entry of the actor into reproductive age, in the second case – with the creation of a family. The reproductive cycle includes the birth of a child, the intervals between the birth of children, the use of contraception, abortive practices, etc., i.e. the whole set of events and actions implemented within the framework of reproductive behavior. At the heart of every decision to have a child or terminate a pregnancy is a reproductive choice.

The concepts of reproductive behavior allow forming the logic of the sociological measurement of reproductive behavior and reproductive attitudes of actors (*Fig. 2*), revealing themselves within the framework of the tradition of Russian family sociology (Antonov, Karpova, 2024) and demography (Borisov et al., 2021). An important concept in Russian sociology is reproductive attitudes, which are the result of personal socialization. In the process of personality development and assimilation of social norms, socio-demographic characteristics of an individual, value orientations, norms of childhood, and needs for children are formed. The realization of the need for children is influenced by internal reproductive attitudes and external conditions (economic situation, social support measures, etc.).

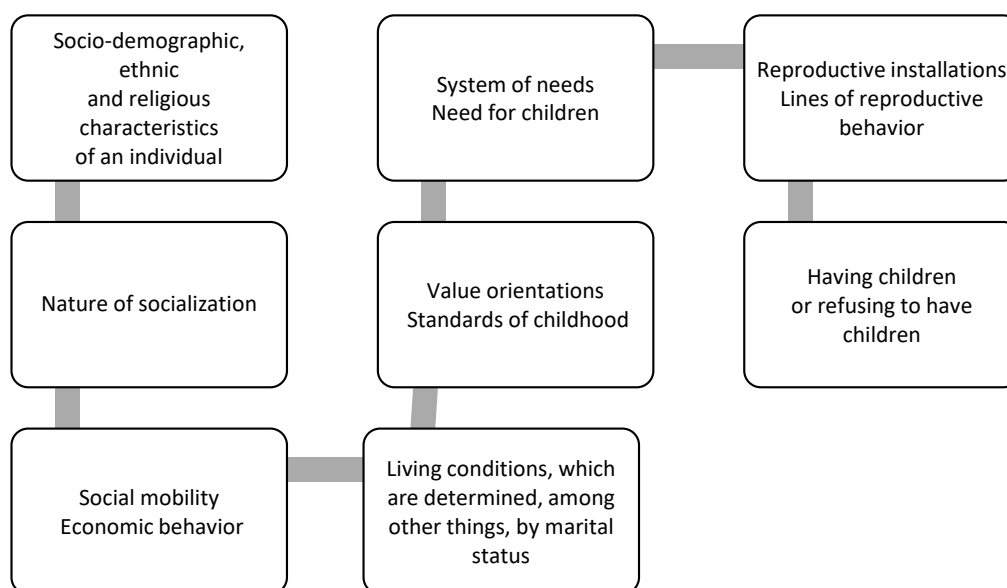


Figure 2. Structure of reproductive behavior and its determinants

According to: (Antonov, Karpova, 2024; Borisov, et al., 2021).

Thus, the methodological basis for the study of abortive practices are the concepts of reproductive behavior, since abortive practices are part of reproductive behavior and the reproductive cycle, at the same time, reproductive behavior and the reproductive cycle do not always include abortive practices. Let's consider two basic scenarios when an actor or a family is faced with a reproductive choice regarding termination or retention of pregnancy. The first case is an unplanned pregnancy. In this regard, in Serbia, according to the statistics shown in Figure 1, in less than 30% of cases, a decision is made to maintain pregnancy, and more than 60% of decisions are made to terminate pregnancy. Assuming that the results of sociological research will allow for the consideration of abortion practices that are not included in statistics, it is necessary to formulate questions and answers correctly in order to obtain high-quality empirical data.

The second case is abortions performed under duress. In this regard, pregnancy can be either planned or unplanned, but under pressure from a partner, family, or circumstances (abortions for medical reasons), a woman chooses to terminate

her pregnancy. Such abortive practices should be considered as forced.

The researcher's task is to answer the question, within the framework of which theoretical approaches can the conditions for maintaining or terminating pregnancy be systematized? First of all, let us turn to the theory of rational choice. External conditions and the objective situation are overestimated by the actor, and a subjective perception of objective living conditions is formed. Assessing the situation, the actor strives to rationalize behavior, including economic behavior (Becker, 1974; Becker et al., 1986), as a result, lines of reproductive behavior are formed, then the result is a social action – the birth of children or the refusal to give birth to a child. The reasons for a reasonable rational choice may be career priority, incomplete education, insufficient income, housing difficulties, etc. (Rostovskaya et al., 2024). As the number of working women increases, abortions are increasingly used as a means of birth control, combining work and parenthood, adapting to a new organization of life, increasing the importance of a professional career, etc.

For example, women who do not have children or have one child mostly refer to objective circumstances, from their point of view, such as medical indications or lack of marital relations (Samuticheva, 2023). However, among women with two children, the dominant reason is the refusal to increase the number of children in the family: the actors openly declare that they “do not want to add”, emphasizing the need to pay sufficient attention to children who have already been born. Moreover, it is in this group that women most often appeal to their legislative right to abortion “at the request of a woman”, which indicates the transformation of the perception of abortion from a forced measure to an ordinary, legitimate way of family planning with an increase in the number of children in it. The reasons for the implementation of abortive practices include economic, financial and material problems; housing problems, income of women and families (households). At the same time, both high and low incomes increase the risk of abortion in the event of an unplanned pregnancy. Institutional factors include the difficulties of combining work and care, the availability and duration of paid maternity and child care leave, the availability of institutional support (nursery, maternity leave), the absence of which allows pregnancy to be considered a career threat, increases the likelihood of abortion. Rationalization of choice can cause psychological unpreparedness for the birth of a child as the reason for abortion.

Separately, it is necessary to single out the orientation of actors toward self-preserving behavior (Kalachikova, Shabunova, 2016; Ratmanov et al., 2020) – the state of health, fetal developmental abnormalities, self-assessment of health, and the practice of using postcoital emergency contraception (“Have you ever used emergency contraception?”), which is part of

reproductive behavior aimed at prevention of pregnancy, and correlates with the willingness to implement abortive practices.

The discussion of the factors determining reproductive choice in the context of unplanned pregnancy lies within the framework of a broad scientific discussion. It is necessary to find patterns depending on life circumstances or value orientations, to identify the influence of different discourses discussing abortive practices (Salazar, Starr, 2018). The task of sociology and demography is to identify the values and motives (Varlamova et al., 2020) underlying reproductive behavior, including abortive practices, to characterize the influence of internal and external causes – reproductive attitudes, the structure of value orientations, the influence of institutions such as religion, politics, civil society, family, etc.⁸

As we have already mentioned in the introduction, the issues of a woman’s right to abortion are widely discussed in the public discourse of Europe and North America, as well as within the framework of the tasks of international organizations. The discussion develops within the framework of the discussion of relations between the sexes, the introduction of new reproductive technologies (government subsidies for artificial insemination programs, etc.), rethinking the functions of the institution of marriage and family, affecting the implementation of cycles of reproductive behavior, reproductive and abortive practices⁹. It allows promoting the ideas of legal regulation of abortions, defines the matrix of attitudes toward them. The position of supporters of this trend is characterized by confidence in the safety of modern abortions, which is not always true, and women are not always aware of the possible negative consequences of aborting a pregnancy (Maleva et al., 2015).

⁸ Indagine. L’idea del futuro tra i giovani: prima e dopo la pandemia (2020) // Rapporto Italia, giunto alla 33a. Available at: <https://eurispes.eu/news/indagine-lidea-del-futuro-tra-i-giovani-prima-e-dopo-la-pandemia-2020/> (accessed: 20.03.2026).

⁹ Data and Statistics. Reproductive Health. 2024. Available at: https://www.cdc.gov/reproductive-health/data-statistics/index.html#cdc_generic_section_2-data-and-statistics-reference-links

It is advisable to search for factors determining reproductive choice in the case of pregnancy, which is planned by a woman but not supported by her spouse/partner, based on the concepts of marital behavior (Sinelnikov, 2024). The instability of marriage and the growing number of divorces in the 21st century are becoming factors in aborting pregnancy (Sinelnikov, 2017). Without serious and reliable support from a man, women are more likely to decide to terminate their pregnancy. The family – parental as the basis of socialization and partner as the basis for the realization of reproductive behavior – is a system-forming institution for the formation and implementation of lines of reproductive behavior and reproductive attitudes. In this regard, the questionnaire should include questions about the marital and reproductive behavior of the parent family and the respondent's family.

The options for implementing the reproductive cycle are presented in the work of A.O. Makarentseva and S.S. Biryukova, devoted to the factors of sustainability and realization of reproductive intentions in Russia (Makarentseva, Biryukova, 2023). It has been revealed that abortion acts as

one of the reasons why positive intentions may remain unfulfilled. The study uses the category “did not give birth to a child at the desired time”, which combines a variety of trajectories: from abortion and miscarriage to the dissolution of a partnership or conscious postponement. The presence of stable marital or partnership relations is a factor in the realization of intentions, and the age over 35 and the presence of two or more children are significantly associated with the abandonment of previously announced reproductive plans. Thus, the study of intentions allows outlining the contextual framework in which abortive practices are more likely to be formed, and the search for external and internal causes allows building a scheme for developing tools for researching abortive practices (Fig. 3).

In the modern world, there is a growing urgency in researching the ethical aspects of abortion, as they are crucial for understanding abortive practices. Research on public opinion regarding abortion is relevant, including the influence of the discourse of religious institutions and public organizations. Understanding the motives of reproductive behavior, including abortions, is

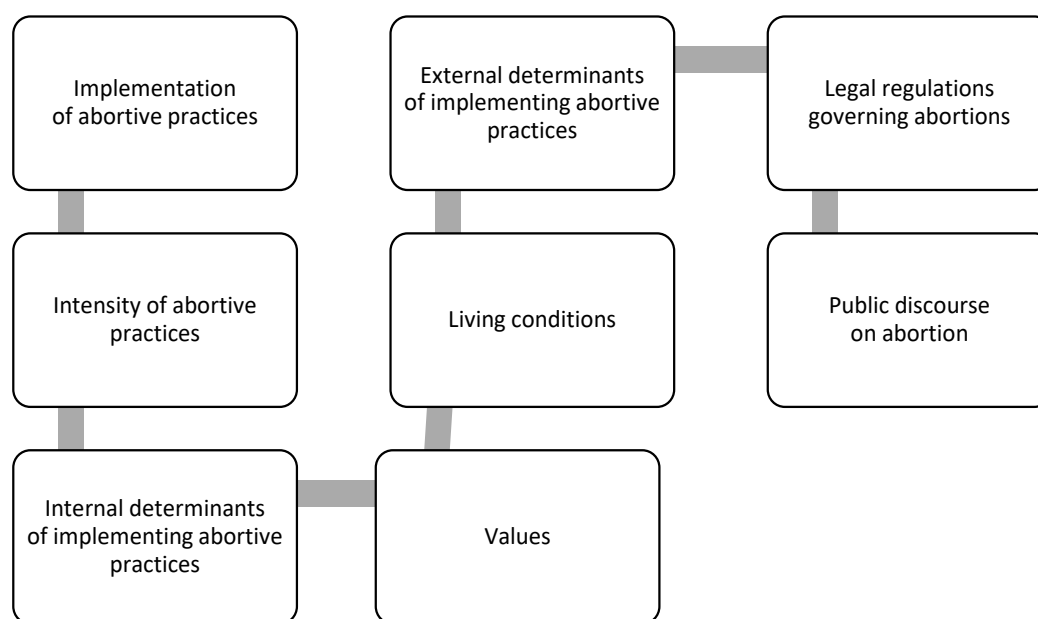


Figure 3. Scheme of development of tools for studying abortive practices

Source: own compilation.

the basis for shaping demographic strategies and demographic policy of public authorities. The problem of abortion has many aspects, causes, and factors contributing to its prevalence among the population (Tuch et al., 2003; Wadman, 2015). The study should consider the influence of social and religious factors on women's motivation to have an abortion. The birth rate in religious families is significantly higher than in non-religious families. For example, the average number of children in the families of Orthodox priests in Belgrade is about three, which is about twice the national average. Thus, religious values, social position, etc. They determine the attitude of actors toward abortion (Rašević, Sedlecky, 2009).

Questions aimed at identifying value orientations capture attitudes toward abortion as a social and moral action, as well as willingness to use it (Kurakov et al., 2014). The permissibility of abortion as a social action, the attitude to situations and actions (the scale "quite acceptable – absolutely unacceptable") allows measuring the level of social legitimization of abortion in the public consciousness of women. It is advisable to compare value attitudes with situational ethics. The identification of various grounds and causes of abortive practices (medical, material, unwillingness of a woman, partner pressure) makes it possible to build a typology of reproductive attitudes, which makes it possible to predict the behavior of women in situations of crisis pregnancy.

The work of O.N. Bezrukova and V.A. Samoilova, devoted to socio-cultural attitudes toward the values of parenthood, the rights of fathers and mothers, considers the abortion as an object of value-normative consciousness. The authors use two key questions that measure attitudes toward abortion through scales of agreement or disagreement with judgments: "If you cannot raise and support a child, it is better to have an abortion" and "A woman can terminate a pregnancy only with the consent of the

child's father". The first indicator captures the permissibility of abortion, the second – the idea of the balance of reproductive rights of men and women. These indicators allow identifying a significant differentiation of attitudes: women agree with the permissibility of abortion when it is impossible to raise a child more often than men, and men are much more likely than women to support the requirement of the father's consent to abortion. In modern society, the problem of the need to inform the biological father of a child about an abortion is becoming urgent. The negative hidden message from men to women is as follows: women are expected to take on about 90% of child-rearing responsibilities, so women often have to make a decision on their own – to implement abortive practices or decide on pregnancy and childbirth (which entails great obligations).

The most comprehensive system of indicators of attitudes toward abortion was proposed by V.A. Borisov, A.B. Sinel'nikov and V.N. Arkhangel'skii (Borisov et al., 2021). Their work is based on the materials of an expert survey conducted in 1996. The experts were asked to assess the scale of abortion practice in the country, to speak about the moral permissibility of abortion, the legality of identifying abortion with murder, the acceptability of current legislation, and the increase in the spirituality of society. Of particular value are questions about the possible consequences of legislative restrictions on the right to abortion: the authors note that such a restriction could contribute to both an increase in the birth rate and the preservation of women's health, as well as the criminalization of abortion and the increase in female infertility, and the deterioration of women's general health due to illegal abortions. An expert opinion was also expressed on the activities of "anti-abortion" organizations and the most acceptable methods of contraception as an alternative to abortion (Rusanova, Erofeeva, 2024). A comparison of the opinions of

experts who are concerned about low fertility and consider the “fetus” to be a person from the moment of conception or in the early stages of pregnancy has shown that the negative attitude toward abortion is much more due to moral considerations than demographic ones.

In A.O. Makarentseva’s study, abortive practices are analyzed through a system of dispositional variables, including three types of scenarios for the admissibility of abortion, differing in the degree of severity of conditions. The key conclusion of the work is that the attitudes measured in mass surveys are not a simple reflection of pre-existing beliefs, but are constructed during the interview process under the influence of context. The results obtained enrich the understanding of the sustainability and limitations of measurements of mass attitudes toward abortion and can be used to improve the tools for conducting research on reproductive behavior. An important indicator introduced in the study is the index of emancipative values, calculated on the basis of the methodology of R. Inglehart and K. Welzel, who demonstrates a statistically significant relationship with support for an unconditional abortion scenario: respondents with more emancipative values are more likely to support a woman’s right to terminate a pregnancy at her will (Makarentseva, 2024).

In addition to the study of external and internal conditions, direct indicators of abortive practices should be introduced into the research toolkit, which record the reproductive behavior of women associated with abortion: the experience of abortion (“Have you ever had abortions?”), which makes it possible to compare the attitude to abortion of women who had and did not have experience of abortion. The intensity of abortive practices (“How many abortions have you had in total?”) makes it possible to identify groups with repeated abortive practices. Direct abortive

practices are recorded through questions about the accounting of surgical abortions, mini-abortions (vacuum aspiration), medical abortions and miscarriages, which is important for interpreting the data (the wording of the questions is taken from the 33rd wave (2024) of the RLMS-HSE project¹⁰, the value of which is that the toolkit is proven and reliable). Respondents often do not include early (medical and mini-) abortions among the “abortions”, and in the ordinary consciousness, miscarriages are often not interpreted as spontaneous abortion, as it is recorded in statistics.

The key direct indicator of abortive practices in T.N. Balina’s research is the very fact that a woman applies to a medical organization for termination of pregnancy. At the same time, the author records not only the behavioral event, but also its substantive characteristics: woman’s age, marital status, number of children born, number of abortions previously performed, subjective assessment of the financial situation, as well as motivation for making a decision to terminate a pregnancy. The latter indicator receives the most detailed study, which allows moving from a simple statement of the fact of abortion to an analysis of its underlying causes (Balina, 2018).

Of particular interest is the analysis of quantitative parameters of abortive practice, i.e. its intensity. Recording not only the current treatment, but also the total number of previously performed abortions makes it possible to assess the intensity of abortive behavior and identify groups of women with repeated abortive practices. This information is crucial for understanding whether abortion is a single forced decision or is becoming an ingrained practice of birth control.

Conclusion

Thus, the concepts of reproductive behavior are the basis of research, and the

¹⁰ Questionnaires. Available at: <https://www.hse.ru/rlms/questionnaires> (accessed: 20.03.2026).

factors and conditions for implementing the reproductive cycle and reproductive behavior are determined by various theoretical and methodological positions, including theories of rational choice, when the permissibility of abortion is explained by the income of the family (spouse, partner), etc. In general, income instability or its low level may be positive and negatively influence the decision to leave or terminate the pregnancy. Unstable income has a positive effect in some population groups, where birth benefits and maternity payments can become a source of income. However, low income may not have an impact on birth if a woman has social support networks ("family support"). Unstable income negatively affects pregnancy planning if the family considers financial problems as temporary. Thus, "financial and material problems" and "solving the housing problem" are the basic answers to questions about the reasons for reproductive choice. Rationalization of behavior has a significant impact on the choice: if a woman

becomes pregnant with a high salary, and the institutional environment does not compensate for the loss of income (there are no flexible forms of employment, affordable nurseries, etc.), the likelihood of termination of pregnancy increases ("Desire to make a career", "Fear of losing a job"). Abortive practices are influenced both by a woman's internal attitudes and by public opinion (Vershina, Timofeeva, 2019; Zhukov, 2018). As a result, women can both agree with the consequences of legal restrictions on abortion and discuss the value of a child's life from a religious worldview, as well as agree with feminist movements for a woman's freedom to make a decision about abortion "at will". Thus, theoretical approaches set the framework for the formation of research tools (*Table*).

The analysis made it possible to achieve the stated aim – to systematize methodological approaches to the study of abortive practices and identify the main directions for the development of research tools to assess the

Table. Main approaches to the study of abortive practices

Name of the approach	Research directions	Authors of the concept
Concepts of reproductive behavior	The elements of reproductive behavior that make up the events of the reproductive cycle	A.I. Antonov, V.N. Arkhangel'skii, V.A. Borisov, V.M. Karpova, A.B. Sinel'nikov
Theories of rational choice	Subjective perception of objective conditions; economic rationalization of behavior; assessment of the situation by an actor before committing a social action	G. Becker, G. Naidzhel
Concept of marital behavior	Stability of marriage; divorce rate; availability of support from spouse/partner; reproductive behavior in the parental family	A.B. Sinel'nikov, T.K. Rostovskaya
Socio-cultural approach	Criteria for assessing the balance of rights of men and women; moral permissibility; equating abortion with murder; acceptability of legislation; consequences of legislative restrictions; activities of "anti-abortion" organizations	V.N. Arkhangel'skii, O.N. Bezrukkova, V.A. Borisov, D.B. Vershinina, V.A. Samoilova, A.B. Sinel'nikov, A.O. Makarentseva, O.V. Timofeeva
Institutional approach	The fact of applying to a medical organization; age; marital status; number of children born; number of abortions previously performed; motivation for making a decision	T.N. Balina, A.M. Salazar, S.A. Samuticheva, K.J. Starr
Approaches to implementing self-preserving behavior	Health status; fetal abnormalities; the permissibility of using emergency contraception	O.N. Kalachikova, A.A. Shabunova, M.A. Ratmanov et al.
Source: own compilation.		

conditions, factors and motives for women's implementation of abortive practices. As a result, it has been established that the existing approaches cover a wide range of theoretical bases for research: concepts of reproductive behavior; theories of rational choice explaining the subjective perception of objective conditions and the economic rationalization of reproductive behavior; concepts of marital behavior; socio-cultural approach, etc. The integration of these approaches made it possible to identify both the conditions for the implementation of rational choice (housing security, income stability, availability of institutional support in the form of nursery groups, paid parental leave, etc.) and the grounds for assessing the intensity of abortive practices in the reproductive cycle, identifying reproductive and value attitudes, socio-

cultural conditions for the implementation of reproductive choice, etc.

The result of the research is the construction of theoretical and methodological framework for the development of research tools designed for the empirical study of abortive practices of Serbian women. Further development of this work is related to the implementation of a mass survey, which aims, first, to establish a set of conditions and factors that determine the reproduction of abortive practices in Serbian society, and second, to measure the prevalence and frequency of abortive practices as an element of the overall structure of reproductive behavior. The implementation of these tasks will make it possible to characterize typical decision-making strategies for Serbian women in the situation of unplanned pregnancy, as well as to identify cases of forced termination of pregnancy.

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МЕТОДОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ПОДХОДЫ К ОБОСНОВАНИЮ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ АБОРТИВНЫХ ПРАКТИК В СОВРЕМЕННОМ ОБЩЕСТВЕ

В статье рассматриваются методологические подходы к изучению абортивных практик и репродуктивного поведения, а также инструментарий социологических исследований, используемый для уточнения статистических данных о прерывании беременности. Особое внимание уделяется теоретическому обоснованию социологического измерения мотивов, ценностных установок и социальных детерминант абортивных практик женщин. Результатом работы выступает систематизация социологических подходов к изучению абортивных практик, включая исследование мотивации репродуктивного выбора, оценку субъективного благополучия, влияния институциональной среды и ценностных установок на репродуктивное поведение и абортивные практики. В работе выделены условия и факторы, влияющие на репродуктивное поведение и ведущие к абортивным практикам (очередность рождений, материальное положение, религиозность и др.). Выявлено, что стабильность дохода и жилищная обеспеченность могут разнонаправленно влиять на репродуктивные циклы семьи. Нестабильный доход может как препятствовать рождению ребенка, так и в случаях, когда социальные сети поддержки или государственные выплаты компенсируют экономическую неустойчивость, не оказывать прямого влияния. Исследование ценностных установок, включая индивидуальные религиозные убеждения и общественные дискурсы обсуждения допустимости абортивных практик, позволят охарактеризовать культурные нормы, определяющие репродуктивный выбор. Оценки здоровья являются основой дифференциации абортыв, осуществляемых по медицинским показаниям, и абортыв, обусловленных социально-экономическими причинами. Практическая значимость статьи заключается в том, что полученные результаты будут использованы для разработки инструментария исследования абортивных практик сербских женщин. Перспективы дальнейшего развития работы – выявление методом массового опроса условий и факторов реализации абортивных практик сербских женщин, оценка интенсивности абортивных практик в структуре репродуктивного поведения, что позволит охарактеризовать стратегии принятия женщиной решения о прерывании или сохранении беременности в контексте современных демографических процессов.

Репродуктивное поведение, репродуктивный цикл, абортивные практики, ценностные установки, методологические подходы.

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