

Abortion Worldwide Report

Working Paper #14

Republic of China (Taiwan): Reported abortions, 1951-2015 25 October 2016 Wm. Robert Johnston

Abstract: This document reviews available abortion data and estimates for the Republic of China (Taiwan) for 1967-2015, related demographic data for 1951-2015, and other information related to abortion policy.

The Republic of China (Taiwan) began implementing population control policies in the 1960s, with fertility levels for the nation dropping consistently to the present day. Abortion was legalized in 1985. Some dates related to Taiwan's abortion policy:

- 1949: the Republic of China is a de facto separate state from the People's Republic of China from this date (consequently separating ROC and PRC population control policies)
- 1968: national family planning program implemented
- Jan 1985: Eugenic Health Law in force, legalizing abortion
- Dec 2001: sale of RU-486/mifepristone approved
- 2007: defeat of effort to place limits on grounds for abortion
- Aug 2011: disclosure of fetal sex in clinical genetic reports banned

Available abortion data for Taiwan is incomplete. Abortions have been reported by the family planning organization for 1989-1998, though these reported figures dropped from 32,000 to 2,300 per year over this time period, likely indicating decreasing completeness in reporting. The Ministry of Health has reported abortions since 2004, ranging from 32,000 to 42,000 per year. Various sources claim much higher levels of unreported abortions:

- 300,000 per year in 1996 (Hung, 20??),
- up to 400,000 per year, prior to 2000 (Jen, 2000),
- 200,000 per year, prior to 2002 (Hung, 20??),
- 210,437 in 2004 (Chen et al., 2011),
- 180,000-190,000 per year in 2006-2009 officially reported, plus 41,000-54,000 per year using RU486 (Chen et al., 2011; LifeSiteNews, 2011),
- 300,000-500,000 in 2010 (Chen et al., 2011; LifeSiteNews, 2011; Collison, 2011),
- 200,000-240,000 per year, prior to 2011 (Collison, 2011),

- 80,000 to 150,000 per year at most, including illegal, prior to 2011 (Hays, 2015; Collison, 2011),
- 50,000-80,000 per year legal, up to 150,000 per year including illegal (Chen et al., 2011),
- 200,000 per year reported, up to 300,000-500,000 (Russell, 2012),
- up to 500,000 per year (Taipei Times, 2015)

Despite the official or medical authorities cited for some of these figures, supporting evidence is not known to this author. One estimate of 130,000 abortions per year to teen mothers (Collison, 2011) is based on an assumed 90% rate of abortions for teen pregnancies, with no apparent basis for the assumption. At least some of the official figures cited appear to include miscarriages as well as induced abortions, and some sources do express skepticism of the higher estimates. The higher estimates would give Taiwan the highest abortion to live birth ratio in the world in recent years, an extraordinary claim for which no corresponding extraordinary evidence is provided. On the other hand, the estimates of 80,000-150,000 per year (including legal, illegal, and RU486 abortions) appear to be plausible, consistent with annual figures of 32,000-42,000 reported abortions, 28,000-54,000 unreported abortions, and 20,000-54,000 RU486 abortions (and excluding 62,000-82,000 spontaneous miscarriages per year).

Several sources discuss the somewhat unique social phenomena in Taiwan of abortion grief/guilt associated with belief in haunting or other contact with spirits of aborted fetuses (Jen, 2000; Lee et al., 2014; Moskowitz, 2001). Taiwanese demographics are affected by higher fertility in Dragon Years, notably in 1976 and 1988 (Goodkind, 1993).

The following table summarizes reported or estimated abortion data and related demographic data. Estimates of possible excess female abortions (sex-selective abortions) are based on an assumed birth sex ratio of 1.066 in the absence of sex-selective identified abortions (this ratio is the average in Taiwan for 1970-1985). Males and female births for 1970-1998 and 2013-2014 are derived from reported male-to-female birth ratios. Estimates by the compiler are highlighted in yellow.

Table 1. Data on live births and abortions, Republic of China, 1951-2015.

year	live births	male live births	female live births	male-to-female birth ratio	miscarriages	abortions	estimated sex- selective abortions	abortion percent	abortion source
1951	385,383								
1952									
1953									
1954									
1955									
1956									
1957	394,870								
1958	410,885								
1959	421,458								
1960	419,442								

1968 394,260 2,211 0.6 P77a 1969 390,728 1970 394,015 203,200 190,900 1.064 1971 380,424 195,900 184,500 1.062 1972 365,749 188,100 177,600 1.059 1973 366,942 189,600 178,200 1.064 1974 367,823 189,600 178,200 1.064 1975 367,647 189,300 178,400 1.061 1976 423,356 218,700 204,700 1.068 1977 395,796 203,800 192,000 1.062 1978 409,203 212,000 197,200 1.075 1979 422,518 218,500 204,000 1.071 1980 413,881 213,200 200,700 1.062 1981 414,069 213,900 200,100 1.069 1983 383,439 198,200 185,200 1.070 1984 371,008 192,000 179,000 1.073 1985 346,208 1									
1963		·							
1964	1962	423,469							
1965	1963	424,250							
1966	1964	416,926							
1967 374,282	1965	406,604							
1968 394,260	1966	415,108							
1969 390,728 1970 394,015 203,200 190,900 1.064 1971 380,424 195,900 184,500 1.062 1972 365,749 188,100 177,600 1.069 1973 366,942 189,600 177,400 1.069 1974 367,823 189,600 178,200 1.064 1975 367,647 189,300 178,400 1.061 1976 423,356 218,700 204,700 1.068 1977 395,796 203,800 192,000 1.062 1978 409,203 212,000 197,200 1.075 1979 422,518 218,500 204,000 1.071 1980 413,881 213,200 200,700 1.062 1981 414,069 213,900 200,100 1.069 1982 405,263 209,400 195,800 1.070 1983 383,439 198,200 185,200 1.070 1.071 1986 309,230 160,200 149,000 1.073 1,268 0.3 1985 346,208 178,300 157,900 1.062 1986 309,230 160,200 149,000 1.075 1,300 1,300 0.4 est 1987 314,024 163,300 150,700 1.084 2.590 2.500 0.8 est 1988 342,031 177,700 164,300 1.081 2.400 2.400 0.7 est 1990 335,618 176,000 159,600 1.103 18,475 5,500 5.2 1991 321,932 168,900 153,000 1.103 16,259 5,400 4.8 1992 321,632 168,500 153,000 1.086 6,469 2,900 1.9 1994 322,938 168,400 154,500 1.080 4.199 2.000 1.3 1996 325,545 169,500 156,100 1.086 3,572 2,900 1.1 1997 326,002 170,000 156,000 1.090 2,849 3,500 0.9	1967	374,282				400		0.1	S76a
1970 394,015 203,200 190,900 1.064	1968	394,260				2,211		0.6	P77a
1971 380,424 195,900 184,500 1.062	1969	390,728							
1972 365,749 188,100 177,600 1.059 1973 366,942 189,600 177,400 1.069 1974 367,823 189,600 178,200 1.064 1975 367,647 189,300 178,400 1.061 1976 423,356 218,700 204,700 1.068 1977 395,796 203,800 192,000 1.062 1978 409,203 212,000 197,200 1.075 1999 422,518 218,500 204,000 1.071 1980 413,881 213,200 200,700 1.062 1981 414,069 213,900 200,100 1.069 1982 405,263 209,400 195,800 1.070 1984 371,008 192,000 179,000 1.073 1985 346,208 178,300 167,900 1.062 1986 309,230 160,200 149,000 1.075 1987 314,024 163,300 150,700 1.084 2,500 2,500 0.8 est	1970	394,015	203,200	190,900	1.064				
1973 366,942 189,600 177,400 1.069 1974 367,823 189,600 178,200 1.064 1975 367,647 189,300 178,400 1.061 1976 423,356 218,700 204,700 1.068 1977 395,796 203,800 192,000 1.062 1978 409,203 212,000 197,200 1.075 1979 422,518 218,500 204,000 1.071 1980 413,881 213,200 200,700 1.062 1981 414,069 213,900 200,100 1.069 1982 405,263 209,400 195,800 1.070 1983 383,439 198,200 185,200 1.070 1984 371,008 192,000 179,000 1.073 1985 346,208 178,300 167,900 1.075 1986 309,230 160,200 149,000 1.075 1,300 1,300 0.4 est 1987 314,024 163,300 150,700 1.084 2,500 <t< td=""><td>1971</td><td>380,424</td><td>195,900</td><td>184,500</td><td>1.062</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></t<>	1971	380,424	195,900	184,500	1.062				
1974 367,823 189,600 178,200 1.064	1972	365,749	188,100	177,600	1.059				
1975 367,647 189,300 178,400 1.061 1976 423,356 218,700 204,700 1.068 1977 395,796 203,800 192,000 1.062 1978 409,203 212,000 197,200 1.075 1979 422,518 218,500 204,000 1.071 1980 413,881 213,200 200,700 1.062 1981 414,069 213,900 200,100 1.069 1982 405,263 209,400 195,800 1.070 1984 371,008 192,000 179,000 1.073 1985 346,208 178,300 167,900 1.062 1986 309,230 160,200 149,000 1.075 1,300 1,300 0.4 est 1987 314,024 163,300 150,700 1.084 2,500 2,500 0.8 est 1989 315,299 164,100 151,200 1.086 32,159 2,700 9.3 1990 335,618 176,000 159,600 1.103 18,475	1973	366,942	189,600	177,400	1.069				
1976 423,356 218,700 204,700 1.068 1977 395,796 203,800 192,000 1.062 1978 409,203 212,000 197,200 1.075 1979 422,518 218,500 204,000 1.071 1980 413,881 213,200 200,700 1.062 1981 414,069 213,900 200,100 1.069 1982 405,263 209,400 195,800 1.070 1983 383,439 198,200 185,200 1.070 1984 371,008 192,000 179,000 1.073 1,268 0.3 1985 346,208 178,300 167,900 1.062 1.300 1,300 0.4 est 1986 309,230 160,200 149,000 1.075 1,300 1,300 0.4 est 1987 314,024 163,300 150,700 1.084 2,500 2,500 0.8 est 1988 342,031 177,700 164,300 1.086 32,159 2,700 9.3	1974	367,823	189,600	178,200	1.064				
1977 395,796 203,800 192,000 1.062 1978 409,203 212,000 197,200 1.075 1979 422,518 218,500 204,000 1.071 1980 413,881 213,200 200,700 1.062 1981 414,069 213,900 200,100 1.069 1982 405,263 209,400 195,800 1.070 1983 383,439 198,200 185,200 1.070 1984 371,008 192,000 179,000 1.073 1,268 0.3 1985 346,208 178,300 167,900 1.062	1975	367,647	189,300	178,400	1.061				
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1979 422,518 218,500 204,000 1.071 1980 413,881 213,200 200,700 1.062 1981 414,069 213,900 200,100 1.069 1.070 1.069 1.070 1.070 1.070 1.070 1.070 1.070 1.070 1.268 0.3 1.070 1.070 1.070 1.268 0.3 1.070 1.084 0.3 1.070 1.084 1.080 1.080 1.080 1.080 1.080 1.080 1.080 1.080 1.080 1.081 1.080 1.081 1.080 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081 1.081	1977	395,796	203,800	192,000	1.062				
1980 413,881 213,200 200,700 1.062	1978	409,203	212,000	197,200	1.075				
1981 414,069 213,900 200,100 1.069 1982 405,263 209,400 195,800 1.070 1983 383,439 198,200 185,200 1.070 1984 371,008 192,000 179,000 1.073 1,268 0.3 1985 346,208 178,300 167,900 1.062 1986 309,230 160,200 149,000 1.075 1,300 1,300 0.4 est 1987 314,024 163,300 150,700 1.084 2,500 2,500 0.8 est 1988 342,031 177,700 164,300 1.086 32,159 2,700 9.3 1989 315,299 164,100 151,200 1.086 32,159 2,700 9.3 1990 335,618 176,000 159,600 1.103 18,475 5,500 5.2 1991 321,932 168,900 153,000 1.103 16,259 5,400 4.8 1992 <td< td=""><td>1979</td><td>422,518</td><td>218,500</td><td>204,000</td><td>1.071</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></td<>	1979	422,518	218,500	204,000	1.071				
1982 405,263 209,400 195,800 1.070 1983 383,439 198,200 185,200 1.070 1984 371,008 192,000 179,000 1.073 1,268 0.3 1985 346,208 178,300 167,900 1.062 1.300 1,300 0.4 est 1986 309,230 160,200 149,000 1.075 1,300 1,300 0.4 est 1987 314,024 163,300 150,700 1.084 2,500 2,500 0.8 est 1988 342,031 177,700 164,300 1.081 2,400 2,400 0.7 est 1989 315,299 164,100 151,200 1.086 32,159 2,700 9.3 1990 335,618 176,000 159,600 1.103 18,475 5,500 5.2 1991 321,932 168,900 153,000 1.103 16,259 5,400 4.8 1992 321,632 168,500 153,100 1.100 10,606 5,000 3.2 <tr< td=""><td>1980</td><td>413,881</td><td>213,200</td><td>200,700</td><td>1.062</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr<>	1980	413,881	213,200	200,700	1.062				
1983 383,439 198,200 185,200 1.070	1981	414,069	213,900	200,100	1.069				
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1988 342,031 177,700 164,300 1.081 2,400 2,400 0.7 est 1989 315,299 164,100 151,200 1.086 32,159 2,700 9.3 1990 335,618 176,000 159,600 1.103 18,475 5,500 5.2 1991 321,932 168,900 153,000 1.103 16,259 5,400 4.8 1992 321,632 168,500 153,100 1.100 10,606 5,000 3.2 1993 325,613 169,500 156,100 1.086 6,469 2,900 1.9 1994 322,938 168,400 154,500 1.090 5,062 3,500 1.5 1995 329,581 171,100 158,500 1.080 4,199 2,000 1.3 1996 325,545 169,500 156,100 1.086 3,572 2,900 1.1 1997 326,002 170,000 156,000 1.090 2,849 3	1986	309,230	160,200	149,000	1.075	1,300	1,300	0.4	est
1989 315,299 164,100 151,200 1.086 32,159 2,700 9.3 1990 335,618 176,000 159,600 1.103 18,475 5,500 5.2 1991 321,932 168,900 153,000 1.103 16,259 5,400 4.8 1992 321,632 168,500 153,100 1.100 10,606 5,000 3.2 1993 325,613 169,500 156,100 1.086 6,469 2,900 1.9 1994 322,938 168,400 154,500 1.090 5,062 3,500 1.5 1995 329,581 171,100 158,500 1.080 4,199 2,000 1.3 1996 325,545 169,500 156,100 1.086 3,572 2,900 1.1 1997 326,002 170,000 156,000 1.090 2,849 3,500 0.9	1987	314,024	163,300	150,700	1.084	2,500	<mark>2,500</mark>	0.8	est
1990 335,618 176,000 159,600 1.103 18,475 5,500 5.2 1991 321,932 168,900 153,000 1.103 16,259 5,400 4.8 1992 321,632 168,500 153,100 1.100 10,606 5,000 3.2 1993 325,613 169,500 156,100 1.086 6,469 2,900 1.9 1994 322,938 168,400 154,500 1.090 5,062 3,500 1.5 1995 329,581 171,100 158,500 1.080 4,199 2,000 1.3 1996 325,545 169,500 156,100 1.086 3,572 2,900 1.1 1997 326,002 170,000 156,000 1.090 2,849 3,500 0.9	1988	342,031	177,700	164,300	1.081	2,400	2,400	<mark>0.7</mark>	est
1991 321,932 168,900 153,000 1.103 16,259 5,400 4.8 1992 321,632 168,500 153,100 1.100 10,606 5,000 3.2 1993 325,613 169,500 156,100 1.086 6,469 2,900 1.9 1994 322,938 168,400 154,500 1.090 5,062 3,500 1.5 1995 329,581 171,100 158,500 1.080 4,199 2,000 1.3 1996 325,545 169,500 156,100 1.086 3,572 2,900 1.1 1997 326,002 170,000 156,000 1.090 2,849 3,500 0.9	1989	315,299	164,100	151,200	1.086	32,159	2,700	9.3	
1992 321,632 168,500 153,100 1.100 10,606 5,000 3.2 1993 325,613 169,500 156,100 1.086 6,469 2,900 1.9 1994 322,938 168,400 154,500 1.090 5,062 3,500 1.5 1995 329,581 171,100 158,500 1.080 4,199 2,000 1.3 1996 325,545 169,500 156,100 1.086 3,572 2,900 1.1 1997 326,002 170,000 156,000 1.090 2,849 3,500 0.9	1990	335,618	176,000	159,600	1.103	18,475	5,500	5.2	
1993 325,613 169,500 156,100 1.086 6,469 2,900 1.9 1994 322,938 168,400 154,500 1.090 5,062 3,500 1.5 1995 329,581 171,100 158,500 1.080 4,199 2,000 1.3 1996 325,545 169,500 156,100 1.086 3,572 2,900 1.1 1997 326,002 170,000 156,000 1.090 2,849 3,500 0.9	1991	321,932	168,900	153,000	1.103	16,259	5,400	4.8	
1994 322,938 168,400 154,500 1.090 5,062 3,500 1.5 1995 329,581 171,100 158,500 1.080 4,199 2,000 1.3 1996 325,545 169,500 156,100 1.086 3,572 2,900 1.1 1997 326,002 170,000 156,000 1.090 2,849 3,500 0.9	1992	321,632	168,500	153,100	1.100	10,606	5,000	3.2	
1995 329,581 171,100 158,500 1.080 4,199 2,000 1.3 1996 325,545 169,500 156,100 1.086 3,572 2,900 1.1 1997 326,002 170,000 156,000 1.090 2,849 3,500 0.9	1993	325,613	169,500	156,100	1.086	6,469	2,900	1.9	
1996 325,545 169,500 156,100 1.086 3,572 2,900 1.1 1997 326,002 170,000 156,000 1.090 2,849 3,500 0.9	1994	322,938	168,400	154,500	1.090	5,062	3,500	1.5	
1997 326,002 170,000 156,000 1.090 2,849 3,500 0.9	1995	329,581	171,100	158,500	1.080	4,199	2,000	1.3	
	1996	325,545	169,500	156,100	1.086	3,572	<mark>2,900</mark>	1.1	
1998 271,450 141,500 130,000 1.088 2,339 2,700 0.9	1997	326,002	170,000	156,000	1.090	2,849	3,500	0.9	
	1998	271,450	141,500	130,000	1.088	2,339	<mark>2,700</mark>	0.9	
1999 283,661 148,042 135,619 1.092 42,282 <mark>3,300</mark> 13.0 T00a	1999	283,661	148,042	135,619	1.092	42,282	3,300	13.0	T00a
2000 305,312 159,726 145,586 1.097 4,300 4,300 1.4 est	2000	305,312	159,726	145,586	1.097	4,300	4,300	<mark>1.4</mark>	est

2001	260,354	135,596	124,758	1.087		<mark>2,400</mark>	<mark>2,400</mark>	0.9	est
2002	247,530	129,537	117,993	1.098		<mark>3,500</mark>	<mark>3,500</mark>	<mark>1.4</mark>	est
2003	227,070	118,984	108,086	1.101		<mark>3,500</mark>	3,500	<mark>1.5</mark>	est
2004	216,419	113,639	102,780	1.106	82,168	41,586	3,800	16.1	ROC15a
2005	205,854	107,378	98,476	1.090	77,049	38,902	<mark>2,300</mark>	15.9	ROC15a
2006	204,459	106,936	97,523	1.097	71,634	36,902	<mark>2,800</mark>	15.3	ROC15a
2007	204,414	106,898	97,516	1.096	69,960	35,178	<mark>2,800</mark>	14.7	ROC15a
2008	198,733	103,937	94,796	1.096	71,431	35,349	<mark>2,700</mark>	15.1	ROC15a
2009	191,310	99,492	91,818	1.084	66,923	33,692	<mark>1,500</mark>	15.0	ROC15a
2010	166,886	87,213	79,673	1.095	66,286	32,633	<mark>2,100</mark>	16.4	ROC15a
2011	196,627	101,943	94,684	1.077	66,626	34,688	900	15.0	ROC15a
2012	229,481	118,848	110,633	1.074	79,366	34,927	900	13.2	ROC15a
2013	199,113	103,300	95,800	1.078	63,106	32,907	<mark>1,100</mark>	14.2	ROC15a
2014	210,383	108,700	101,700	1.069	62,665	34,287	300	14.0	ROC15a
2015	216,225				61,639	33,557		13.4	

Totals for several statistics over the available data periods specified are:

- Live births, 1967-2015: 15,311,337
- Abortions, 1967-2015: 592,700 (minimum)
- Abortions, 1967-2015: 1,073,000 (with linear interpolation for underreported periods 1985-1988, 1990-1998, and 2000-2003)
- Sex-selective abortions (minimum estimate), 1986-2012: 79,100

Figure 1 shows abortion and live birth numbers for 1957-2015.

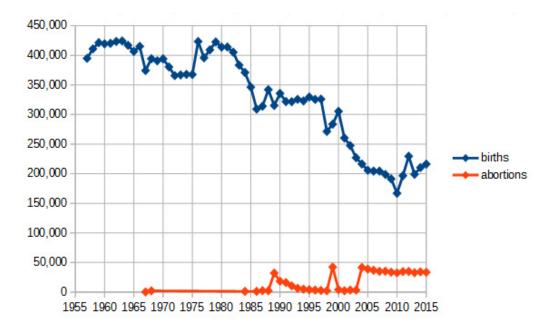


Figure 1. Republic of China live births and known abortions, 1957-2015.

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