

# Abortion Worldwide: Seventeen Years of Reform

"All governments and relevant intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations are urged to strengthen their commitment to women's health, to deal with the health impact of unsafe abortion as a major public health concern. . . . In circumstances where abortion is not against the law, such abortion should be safe. In all cases, women should have access to quality services for the management of complications arising from abortion."

 Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, para. 8.25.1

In 1994, the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (PoA) called upon governments to strengthen their commitment to women's health by addressing unsafe abortion and supporting a woman's right to make decisions about her reproductive capacity and her body.<sup>2</sup> While the PoA's directives on abortion are narrow, advocates worldwide have used them to address unsafe abortion and promote abortion access.

One year after the PoA, the Beijing Platform for Action reaffirmed paragraph 8.25 of the PoA and further called upon governments to "review laws containing punitive measures against women who have undergone illegal abortions".<sup>3</sup> At the PoA's five-year review, governments recognized the need for greater safety and availability of abortion services, asserting that "in circumstances where abortion is not against the law, health systems should train and equip health-service providers and should take other measures to ensure that such abortion is safe and accessible. Additional measures should be taken to safeguard women's health."<sup>4</sup>

The PoA and subsequent international consensus documents have affirmed that removing legal barriers to abortion saves women's lives, promotes their health, and empowers women to make decisions crucial to their well-being. The PoA also reflects a global trend toward abortion law liberalization—a trend that first gained momentum in the late 1960s and continues to this day. Currently, 73 countries, representing more than 60% of the world's population, permit abortion without restriction as to reason or on broad grounds.

Seventeen years after the PoA, advocates for abortion law reform can continue to point to the global commitment, declared in 1994, to stopping unsafe abortion. They can also highlight the examples of 26 countries that have removed legal restrictions on abortion in the last 17 years.





### **National Abortion Law Changes Since 1994**

The vast majority of legal reforms relating to abortion have broadened the circumstances under which it is legal. Only a few countries have taken steps to legally restrict abortion or make it more difficult for women to procure abortions.

#### LIBERALIZATIONS

- 1. **Albania (1996):** Abortion is now legal without restriction as to reason during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy.<sup>5</sup> A 1996 law confirmed a 1991 directive permitting abortion on the same grounds.<sup>6</sup> Prior to the reform, abortion was legal only to save a woman's life, to protect her physical and mental health, when the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest, or when the pregnant woman was under 16 years of age.<sup>7</sup>
- **2. Benin (2003):** Abortion is currently permitted to protect a woman's life and health and in cases of rape, incest, or fetal impairment.<sup>8</sup> Previously, abortion was considered legal only to save a woman's life.<sup>9</sup>
- **3. Bhutan (2004):** Abortion was made legal to save a woman's life, in cases of rape or incest, or when a pregnant woman is "of unsound mental condition." <sup>10</sup> Previously, the law on abortion was unclear, although it was generally understood to permit the procedure only to save a woman's life. <sup>11</sup>
- **4. Burkina Faso (1996):** Abortion is now permitted to save a woman's life and to protect her health or in cases of rape, incest, or fetal impairment. Previously, abortion was considered legal only to save a woman's life. <sup>13</sup>
- **5. Cambodia (1997):** Abortion is currently permitted without restriction as to reason during the first 14 weeks of pregnancy. <sup>14</sup> The previous law permitted abortion only to save a woman's life. <sup>15</sup>
- **6. Chad (2002):** Abortion is presently legal to save a woman's life and to protect her health, as well as in cases of fetal impairment. <sup>16</sup> Previously, abortion was considered legal only to save a woman's life. <sup>17</sup>
- **7. Colombia (2006):** Following a ruling by the Constitutional Court of Colombia, abortion is now permitted to save a woman's life or mental or physical health, or in cases of rape, incest, or severe fetal impairment. Previously, abortion was prohibited with no explicit exceptions. 19
- **8. Ethiopia (2004):** Abortion is currently allowed to save a woman's life or to protect her health, as well as in cases of rape, incest, or fetal impairment.<sup>20</sup> It is also permitted when a woman is a minor or when she is physically or mentally injured or disabled.<sup>21</sup> Prior to 2004, abortion was permitted only to save a woman's life or to protect her health.<sup>22</sup>

- **9. Fiji (2009):** Abortion is now permitted on socioeconomic grounds or in cases of rape, incest or fetal impairment.<sup>23</sup> Previously, although abortion was authorized on socioeconomic grounds, the penal code did not explicitly permit abortion in cases of rape, incest or fetal impairment.<sup>24</sup>
- **10. Guinea (2000):** Abortion is presently permitted to save a woman's life and to protect her health, as well as in cases of rape, incest, or fetal impairment.<sup>25</sup> Previously, abortion was permitted only to save a woman's life and to protect her health.<sup>26</sup>
- 11. **Guyana (1995):** Abortion was made legal without restriction as to reason during the first 8 weeks of pregnancy, on broad grounds between 8 and 12 weeks of pregnancy, and thereafter on specific grounds.<sup>27</sup> Previously, abortion was generally illegal according to the penal code.<sup>28</sup>
- **12. Indonesia (2009):** Abortion is now permitted to save the life of a woman or in cases of rape or severe fetal impairment.<sup>29</sup> Previously, abortion was permitted only to save a woman's life.<sup>30</sup>
- **13. Iran (2005):** Abortion is currently permitted to save a woman's life or during the first four months of pregnancy in cases of fetal impairment. Previously, abortion was prohibited without explicit exception.<sup>31</sup>
- **14. Kenya (2010):** According to the recently adopted constitution, abortion is now legal to save a woman's life or health or where emergency treatment is needed.<sup>32</sup> Previously, abortion was only permitted to save a woman's life.<sup>33</sup>
- **15. Mali (2002):** Abortion is presently legal to save a woman's life or in cases of rape or incest.<sup>34</sup> Previously, abortion was considered legal only to save a woman's life.<sup>35</sup>
- **16. Monaco (2009):** Abortion is now permitted to save a woman's life or physical health or in cases of rape, incest, or fetal impairment.<sup>36</sup> Previously, abortion was prohibited without any explicit exceptions.<sup>37</sup>
- **17. Nepal (2002):** Abortion is currently legal without restriction as to reason during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy, and thereafter on specific grounds.<sup>38</sup> Under the former law, abortion was prohibited altogether.<sup>39</sup>
- **18. Niger (2006):** Abortion is now permitted to save a woman's life and health and in cases of fetal impairment.<sup>40</sup> Previously, abortion was permitted only to save a woman's life.<sup>41</sup>
- **19. Portugal (2007):** Abortion was made legal without restriction as to reason until the 10th week of pregnancy and thereafter on specific grounds.<sup>42</sup> The previous law permitted abortion only when a woman's life or physical or mental health was in danger or in cases of rape or fetal impairment.<sup>43</sup>





- **20. Saint Lucia (2004):** Abortion is now permitted when the pregnancy endangers the woman's life or physical or mental health, or is a result of rape or incest.<sup>44</sup> Under the former law, abortion was permitted only when performed "for purposes of medical or surgical treatment of a pregnant woman."<sup>45</sup>
- **21. South Africa (1996):** Abortion is currently legal without restriction as to reason during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy, and thereafter on numerous grounds.<sup>46</sup> The former law permitted abortion only to save a woman's life and in cases of rape, incest, or fetal impairment.<sup>47</sup>
- **22. Spain (2010):** Abortion was legalized without restriction as to reason during the first 14 weeks of pregnancy, and thereafter on specific grounds.<sup>48</sup> Previously, abortion was permitted only when a woman's life or physical or mental health was in danger or in cases of rape or fetal impairment.<sup>49</sup>
- **23. Swaziland (2005):** According to the constitution, abortion is now legal to save a woman's life or to protect her physical or mental health, as well as in cases of rape, incest, fetal impairment, or unlawful sexual intercourse with a mentally disabled female.<sup>50</sup> Previously, abortion was considered illegal under common law, with no clearly defined exceptions.<sup>51</sup>
- **24. Switzerland (2002):** Abortion was made legal without restriction as to reason during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy, and thereafter on specific grounds.<sup>52</sup> Previously, the law permitted abortion only on broad health grounds.<sup>53</sup>
- **25. Timor-Leste (2009):** The situation in Timor-Leste is worth noting, although there has been no overall change in the legal status of abortion. In 2009, Timor-Leste adopted a penal code that permitted abortion to save a woman's life and health.<sup>54</sup> However, a month after the ratification of the penal code, it was amended to permit access to abortion only to save the life of a woman.<sup>55</sup> Previously, Indonesian law governed abortion in Timor-Leste. Indonesia's penal code prohibited abortion in all circumstances, but subsequent legislation permitted the procedure to save the life of a woman.<sup>56</sup> Although abortion in Timor-Leste is still only permitted to save the life of a woman, the recently adopted penal code, which explicitly codifies this life exception to the country's abortion ban, is more liberal that the previous Indonesian penal code provisions on abortion, which did not recognize any exceptions to the prohibition on abortion.
- **26. Togo (2007):** Abortion is now legal to save a woman's life and to protect her health, as well as in cases of rape, incest, or fetal impairment.<sup>57</sup> Previously, the penal code made no explicit mention of abortion but the procedure was considered illegal in most or all circumstances.<sup>58</sup>

#### State-Level Abortion Law Liberalizations

Abortion law liberalizations in two countries have occurred at the state level. In 2007, Mexico's Federal District amended the penal code to permit abortion without restriction as to reason during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy.<sup>59</sup> Mexico's Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the law amending the penal code in 2008.<sup>60</sup> Previously, abortion was legal only to protect the life or health of the pregnant woman and in cases of rape and fetal impairment.<sup>61</sup> The new legislation requires the government to provide abortions free of charge in public health facilities.<sup>62</sup> It also declares that sexual and reproductive health care shall be a government priority and a means of ensuring all persons' enjoyment of their right to determine the number and spacing of their children.<sup>63</sup> The law also calls for the adoption of policies on education and training regarding sexual health, reproductive rights, and responsible parenthood.<sup>64</sup> Family planning services are to be provided in order to reduce the incidence of abortion, lower reproductive health risks, prevent sexually transmissible infections, and support the enjoyment of reproductive rights. These services are to be provided in a manner that reflects sensitivity to gender and respect for sexual diversity and the needs of diverse groups, especially young people and adolescents. The government will offer free counseling and provide the full range of safe and effective contraceptive methods.<sup>65</sup> In addition, a number of other states with restrictive abortion laws, including Baja California Sur,<sup>66</sup> Chihuahua,<sup>67</sup> Mexico State,<sup>68</sup> and Morelos,<sup>69</sup> added narrow grounds on which abortion is permitted or not punishable.<sup>70</sup>

In **Australia**, three states significantly liberalized abortion. In Western Australia in 1998, abortion was made legal without restriction as to reason.<sup>71</sup> Previously, it was permitted only to save a woman's life.<sup>72</sup> In 2002, Australian Capital Territory, a state that permits abortion on broad social and economic grounds, removed abortion from the penal code entirely.<sup>73</sup> In 2008, Victoria adopted a law that permits abortion without restriction as to reason during the first 24 weeks of pregnancy.<sup>74</sup> Thereafter, a medical practitioner may perform an abortion if he or she reasonably believes it appropriate, "under all the circumstances," and consults with at least one other medical practitioner who also reasonably believes that the abortion is appropriate.<sup>75</sup> Previously, abortion was only permitted to protect a woman's life or mental or physical health.<sup>76</sup>

#### Legislation Ensuring Access to Safe and Legal Abortion Services

Other countries throughout the world adopted significant reforms intended to increase access to abortion, although legislation was not adopted to permit abortion on broader grounds. In Europe, **France**, in 2001, extended the gestational period during which abortion is legal without restriction as to reason from 12 weeks to 14 weeks.<sup>77</sup> It also removed a parental consent requirement for minors, demanding instead that minors be accompanied by an adult of their choosing to obtain an abortion.<sup>78</sup> In 2003, **Denmark** removed the residency requirement for procuring abortion services.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, in 2007, **Sweden** amended its abortion law to make abortion services available to non-resident women under the same terms and conditions as apply to Swedish nationals and residents.<sup>80</sup> In Asia, in 2002, **India** adopted legislation aimed at improving access to safe abortion





facilities by moving authority to approve facilities from the state level to the district level.81 The law, which is intended to simplify the approval process for new facilities, also increases criminal penalties for providers and facility owners who operate without approval.82 In Thailand, in 2005, the Medical Council amended a regulation governing the medical profession's conduct with regard to abortion. The regulation provides a standard interpretation of the criminal law provision on abortion, which permits the procedure when a woman's life or health is in danger and in cases of rape.<sup>83</sup> According to the new regulation, "health" is defined to include mental health as well as physical health.84 The regulation clarifies that abortion may be performed in public or private health facilities not only to protect a woman's life and physical health and in cases of rape, but also when a pregnancy causes harm to a woman's mental health and in cases of fetal impairment.<sup>85</sup> A 2009 decision from the Supreme Court of Nepal in the case of Lakshmi Dhikta v. Nepal ordered the Nepalese government to secure women's access to safe and affordable abortion services through a comprehensive abortion law and the creation of a government fund that would cover the cost of abortions for those unable to pay.86 The government is currently in the process of developing a comprehensive abortion law in order to implement this judgment.

**Ecuador**, in 2006, enacted a new health code empowering health services to provide abortions in accordance with the penal code, which authorizes abortion when the pregnancy poses a threat to the health or life of a woman, or if the pregnancy results from the rape of a mentally disabled woman.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, the new health code prohibits the refusal to treat women who are undergoing or have experienced a spontaneous abortion, as properly diagnosed by a professional.<sup>88</sup> In 2008, **South Africa** amended its abortion law to accelerate the designation of abortion facilities and expand the pool of abortion service providers, while reducing unsafe and illegal abortions.<sup>89</sup>

#### For more information:

The World's Abortion Laws 2011 interactive map features information on the legality of abortion by country, in 199 countries around the globe. To view the interactive map, visit www.worldabortionlaws.com. A full-color poster with this information is also available. To order a copy, visit www.reproductiverights.org or email publications@reprorights.org.



#### Regulations Ensuring Access to Safe and Legal Abortion Services

A number of countries have issued regulations aimed at ensuring the safe delivery of abortion services. Some countries, including **Colombia**, <sup>90</sup> **Ethiopia**, <sup>91</sup> and **Nepal**, <sup>92</sup> have issued regulations to clarify health sector procedures in the wake of a significant liberalization of the national abortion law. Other countries, including **Brazil**, <sup>93</sup> **Moldova**, <sup>94</sup> **Uruguay** <sup>95</sup> and **Vietnam**, <sup>96</sup> have issued regulations to address unsafe abortion in the absence of national legislative initiatives.

#### RESTRICTIONS

- **1. El Salvador (1998):** El Salvador amended its penal code to eliminate all exceptions to its prohibition of abortion.<sup>97</sup> Under the previous law, abortion was permitted to save a woman's life and in cases of rape and fetal impairment.<sup>98</sup>
- **2. Japan (1996):** Japan adopted an abortion and sterilization law in 1996 that removed fetal impairment as a justification for abortion as part of reform aimed at moving the country away from its historically strong legal support for eugenics.<sup>99</sup> Abortion remains legal on health and socioeconomic grounds.<sup>100</sup>
- **3. Nicaragua (2006):** Nicaragua amended its penal code to eliminate all exceptions to its prohibition of abortion. <sup>101</sup> The law removed the provision of the former penal code that authorized the performance of therapeutic abortions after the approval of three physicians and with the consent of the pregnant woman's spouse or nearest relative. <sup>102</sup>
- **4. Poland (1997):** The situation in Poland is worth noting, although there has been no "net" change since 1993. Abortions in Poland are legal when a pregnancy threatens the life or health of the woman; when there is justified suspicion that the pregnancy resulted from a "criminal act"; and in cases of fetal impairment. <sup>103</sup> The terms of the current law were set in legislation in 1993, when Poland's previously liberal abortion law was severely restricted. <sup>104</sup> In 1996, the law was liberalized once again, permitting abortion on social and economic grounds. <sup>105</sup> The revised law, however, was invalidated the following year by the Constitutional Court, which found that it violated the constitution's protection of the right to life of the "conceived child." <sup>106</sup> In December 1997, Parliament enacted new legislation eliminating social and economic grounds for abortion. <sup>107</sup>

#### Restrictions in Access

In addition, among countries that permit abortion without restriction as to reason during certain gestational limits, a trend toward the adoption of legislation that seeks to restrict access to abortion has appeared. In **Hungary**, a 2000 law imposes onerous and biased counseling requirements and restricts funding for abortion to procedures performed based on medical indications and in cases of rape. <sup>108</sup> In 2003, **Latvia** issued regulations that mandate biased counseling and a three-day waiting period for procuring abortion services,





and require that girls younger than 16 receive the consent of a parent or guardian. A decree issued by the **Russian Federation** in 2003 restricts the circumstances under which women may legally obtain abortions from the end of the 12th week until the beginning of the 22nd week of pregnancy. The decree reduces from 12 to 4 the number of conditions under which abortion is legal during this period. In the **Slovak Republic**, in 2009, the Act on Healthcare was amended to introduce several barriers in access to abortion services. These barriers include a mandatory counseling requirement, a 48-hour waiting period and the extension of the parental consent requirement to all minors. Previously, the parental consent requirement applied only to adolescent girls under 16 years of age. In **Germany**, as of 2010, the mandatory counseling requirement and three-day waiting period for the termination of pregnancies during the first 12 weeks was extended to include terminations that occur beyond this gestational limit on grounds of fetal impairment.

In 2003, the **United States** adopted the "Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003."<sup>115</sup> The term "partial-birth abortion" is not a medical one and does not refer to any specific medical procedure. Rather, if broadly interpreted, the law's definition of "partial-birth abortion" covers a range of abortions performed starting early in the second trimester, including those performed using the safest and most common techniques. The law contains no reference to the stage of pregnancy at which penalties apply, and therefore includes abortions performed as early as 12–15 weeks of pregnancy. While there is a limited exception where a woman's life is endangered, there is no exception for safeguarding a woman's health. <sup>116</sup> In a 2007 ruling, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the ban, but interpreted it narrowly to apply only to a single second-trimester procedure—intact dilation and evacuation. <sup>117</sup> In doing so, the Court for the first time weighed Congress's interest in protecting fetal life against women's health interests. <sup>118</sup> The decision paves the way for state and federal legislatures to enact additional bans on abortions as early as 12 weeks, including those that doctors say are safe and medically necessary.

#### Constitutional Measures Recognizing a Right to Life from Conception

Finally, there has been a growing trend toward the adoption of constitutional measures that recognize life from the moment of "conception." **El Salvador** and the **Dominican Republic**, for example, adopted such provisions in 1999 and 2010 respectively. <sup>119</sup> Additionally, **Hungary**'s recently adopted constitution, which will enter into force on January 1, 2012, contains a similar provision. <sup>120</sup> While these amendments do not directly affect the legality of abortion, they set the stage for future abortion restrictions and make liberalizations less likely.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

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#### **ENDNOTES**

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#### **Abortion Worldwide**

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