Data from the National Institute of Statistics published in the Romanian Financial Times in 2015 - a marked decrease of live births from 1990s until 2014.
The decline of fertility rates in Romania (1960-2014, World Bank, 2015)

*Fertility rate: the average number of births per woman*
Changes in fertility rates

Authoritarian & communist \(-\rightarrow\) Democratic & market-based

Old regime - model of strict pro-natalist policies:

a) banning the importation of contraceptives
b) strictly prohibiting most abortions
c) imposing a tax on childless couples

The 1957 Abortion law was \textbf{not} abrogated or changed during this.
Timeline of changes

- Abortion law voted in 1957
- Period of restrictions during 1967-1989 (decree nr. 770 from 1966)
- Decline in fertility 1990-1995
- New abortion law 1996 -> annual increase in age at first-birth.

  First demographic transition: 1980-1989
  Second transition: 1996-2005
  Third transition? 2005-2017
Demographic change during the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Demographic transition (Muresan, 2007)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>First phase</th>
<th>Second phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period fertility level</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Total fertility rate (TFR)</td>
<td>TFR decline below 1.8 for a period of 5 years or more</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. TFR of women below age 25</td>
<td>Decline by 20% relative to the 1965 level</td>
<td>Decline by 60% relative to the 1965 level</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. TFR of women aged 30+</td>
<td>Lowest level reached after 1965</td>
<td>Increase by 20% relative to the lowest level reached after 1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Postponement of childbearing and marriage</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Mean age of mother at first childbirth</td>
<td>Onset of the increase lasting at least 5 years</td>
<td>Increase by 2 years relative to the lowest post-1965 level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mean age of women at first marriage</td>
<td>Onset of the increase lasting at least 5 years</td>
<td>Reaching higher level than the mean age at first birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Weakening of marriage as an institution</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Total first marriage rates of women</td>
<td>Decline below 0.8 for a period of 5 years or more</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Proportion of non-marital births</td>
<td>Higher than 10%</td>
<td>Higher than 25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Total divorce rate</td>
<td>Exceeding 10%</td>
<td>Exceeding 25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Proportion of women cohabiting at age 20-29</td>
<td>Exceeding 10%</td>
<td>Exceeding 25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Proportion of never married women aged 20-29</td>
<td>Exceeding 60% among 20-24 group for first time after 1965</td>
<td>Exceeding 50% among 25-29 group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contraceptive behaviour</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Proportion of women aged 15-44 using the pill</td>
<td>Exceeding 20%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
State-organized fertility incentives

- In 1990, decree nr 31: maternity leave for mothers in the child’s first year of life and offered a monthly benefit payable up to 65% of their monthly income.
- In 1997, law nr 120: increased it to child’s two years of age, and the raised the benefit to 85% for those employed by the state/ 80% agriculture (cumulative earnings made in the last 6 months)
- In 2000, law nr. 19: increase up to the child’s 3 years of age if the child suffered from a disability at same 85%
- In 2011, law nr. 111: the recession shrank the benefit to 75% of the income received in the last 12 months
- Modified in 2013 again for up to 85% of earnings.
From 1996 onwards, Romanian women tended to postpone childbirth, and every year the mean age at birth increased by 0.2 years. This is however almost identically following the increases in the age of men.
Social values and attitudes in Romania

- Primacy of the heterosexual family, protected by constitutional law.
- Early coupling enhanced by material insecurity
- Christian-Orthodox religion infiltrates customs.
- A focus on collectivism and warmth
- A mix of Eastern ‘traditional’ and Western ‘post-modern’ values
- Stability of marriages, cohabitation still marginal, celibacy is rare, and modern contraception is still underused
- Large discrepancies between rural and urban living, values, in family size and fertility patterns
The dynamic of live births (year 2000=100)
Factors Influencing Fertility

• Economic constraints
• Political changes
• Decline of marriage rates (still high compared to Western-European countries)
• Postponement of childbearing
• Cultural changes:
  a) growing influence of religion
  b) re-valorization of family
  c) alternative family forms & non-marital births

- contradictory trends -
Determinants of child-bearing behavior

What increases fertility:
* education level of parents
* their occupation
* the birth and care facilities available

What decreases fertility:
* economic fluctuations/decline (such as between 2002 and 2011)
* changes in employment & economic activity rates
* increasing requests for state benefits
* the overall well-being of the population -> mortality rates
Example
State-funded material support for the family increases its size (a one-off payment of 200 euros - 1st marriage only)

Law No 396/2006: financial support for married couples
- Peak of marriages recorded in August 2008
- Repeal of law in 2010 -> rapid decrease in marriages, followed by lowest fertility rate of the 2000s, recorded in 2013.

Other mitigating factors:
immigration (eg. to the UK in 2014)

Social policies continue to improve the lives of urban, married and heterosexual couples & exclude non-conforming citizens.
Immigration (thousands)

Q1 = Year Ending March
Q2 = Year Ending June
Q3 = Year Ending September
Q4 = Year Ending December

Rolling years
Fertility measures and leave policies

- Conservative regulatory framework with generous leave policies.
- Monthly child allowance until child is 18 years’ old.
- In Bucharest, a cash benefit on the birth of new baby: 2500 Ron/600 euros (once only)
- 40% of the Romanian children, no matter what age, are involved in informal care arrangements.
- Late childbearing is not common in Romania.
- ‘Refamilialization’ regime: more benefits, recognition, visibility but more responsibilities
- Policies favour urban families -> access to leave.
References

• Pop, C. (2016) Women, Men, and Reproductive Rights in Romania, Montana State University, Women’s Centre Talk.