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Thesis summary

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The Role of Climate Change Concerns and Perceptions of the Future in Reproductive Decision-Making in a Pronatalist Context

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Introduction

The starting point of my dissertation is the premise that macro-level concerns affect how individuals think about long-term life decisions, including childbearing. Among macro-level uncertainties, my focus is on climate change, which is no longer a distant threat: it is unfolding in real time, shaping the world we live in, yet what this term means to individuals and the ways it is understood and internalised varies widely. In principle, many acknowledge it as a pressing global issue, an existential challenge with already perceivable effects. Most people are familiar with the concept and recognise it as a macro-level threat that calls for concern (European Commission, 2023), however, depth of understanding is not uniform. For some, it is an abstract issue, present in news cycles and political debates but distant from their everyday lives. For others, it is an everyday conversation topic, or even a tangible reality, marked by extreme weather events, environmental degradation, or personal experiences of loss. Those who perceive it as an urgent crisis might translate their concerns into concrete behavioural changes (Broomell et al., 2015; Zaremba et al., 2022). Climate change concerns influence not only actions of individuals (such as reducing consumption or engaging in activism) but also psychological well-being (Clayton, 2020; Zaremba et al., 2022). A growing body of research documents the rise of climate anxiety, a form of distress linked to the anticipation of climate-related disasters, which can, in turn, shape broader life choices and outlooks (Daeninck et al., 2023; Hickman et al., 2021). Climate anxiety has also gained considerable visibility in public discourse, with media reports frequently highlighting that climate-related anxieties might influence fertility intentions. Only recently has academic research started to address how climate change concerns relate to long-term life choices such as

childbearing, approaching the issue both from the perspective of individuals who deliberately forego or limit childbearing for ecological reasons (Helm et al., 2021; Krähenbühl, 2022; Schneider-Mayerson, 2021), and from the more widespread concern that climate change poses risks to the future well-being of the next generations (Helm et al., 2021; Ivanova & Balbo, 2024; Krähenbühl, 2022; Nakkerud, 2024).

In my dissertation, I focus on the perspectives of individuals and presents three empirical studies exploring the role of climate change and related uncertainties in shaping reproductive attitudes, motivations, intentions and decisions. In addition to addressing different stages of the sequence of reproductive decision-making, I also examine attitudes towards women's and men's choice of voluntary childlessness in the Central and Eastern European (CEE) context.

Each study in this dissertation approaches a related research question using a different methodological perspective. The first study analyses data from a 2011 international survey to examine the relationship between climate change concern and ideal family size in four CEE countries: Czechia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia. The second study adopts a qualitative approach, employing semi-structured interviews to explore the reproductive attitudes, intentions and decisions of Hungarian women of reproductive age in the context of climate change, as well as their views on those who choose not to have children for environmental reasons. Finally, the third study, based on a nationally representative Hungarian sample, investigates how concerns about climate change and negative future prospects are associated with attitudes towards voluntary childlessness. The pronatalist context in Hungary, characterised by strong traditional family values and the prevailing social norm that everyone is expected to become a parent (Szalma & Takács, 2018), adds further dimensions to the analyses.

I. Research background and relevance

The Narrative Framework proposed by Vignoli, Bazzani et al. (2020) explains fertility decisions in times of uncertainty. This framework suggests that beyond past experiences, current circumstances and structural constraints, expectations as well as personal narratives and imaginaries play a crucial role in reproductive decision-making. Imaginaries (either wishful or frightening) build on the current situation, include normative value orientations, and can relate to both individual goals (e.g., to have a large family) and collective outcomes (e.g., to live in a carbon-free society). Narratives of the future are less abstract, these include the perceived steps needed to achieve one's imagined goal (Vignoli, Bazzani et al., 2020). I argue that this framework can be applied to examine the reproductive decision-making process under uncertainty related to climate change, just as Guetto et al. (2022) used it to explain fertility decisions shaped by the uncertainties arising from the COVID-19 pandemic.

Climate change introduces a layer of uncertainty in a way comparable to economic and health crises or geopolitical instability, all of which have been extensively studied in relation to their impact on fertility intentions and family formation. While there is considerable research on how economic insecurity (Billari et al., 2006; Goldstein et al., 2013; Sobotka et al., 2011), pandemics such as the COVID-19 (Guetto et al., 2022), armed conflicts (Golovina et al., 2025; Perelli-Harris & Hilevych, 2023) and other macro-level processes influence reproductive behaviours (Comolli, 2023; Comolli & Vignoli, 2021), the potential link between climate change and reproductive decision-making has received far less scholarly attention. Over the past few years, however, academic interest on this very topical issue has grown, and my own research contributes to this expanding field, addressing

gaps in our understanding. Even among the studies that do examine the climate–fertility link, few adopt a multidimensional perspective that investigates the exact ways and mechanisms how climate concerns can shape reproductive decision-making (Zimmermann et al., 2024, exemplifies such an approach).

Perceptions of climate change in Europe are shaped by structural, social, and cultural factors and vary strongly across regions. According to the 2023 Eurobarometer, climate change was considered the third most serious problem in the EU, though concern was much higher in Northern and Western Europe than in Central and Eastern Europe. Responsibility for tackling climate change was primarily attributed to institutions such as the EU, national governments, and businesses, while relatively few individuals felt personally responsible, with Hungary scoring particularly low on this dimension (European Commission, 2023). Across Europe, women generally report higher levels of climate concern, although the size and direction of this gap varies by region (Poortinga et al., 2019). Personal encounters with environmental threats do not consistently translate into greater knowledge, concern, or pro-environmental behaviour. While some studies show that direct experiences of extreme weather events can strengthen beliefs in climate change (Rüttenauer, 2023) and reduce its perceived psychological distance (Broomell et al., 2015; Spence et al., 2012), others demonstrate that individuals often interpret such events as local problems without linking them to broader global processes (Whitmarsh, 2008; Blanton, 2025).

A key resource in mapping the literature that links environmental concerns with reproductive attitudes and intentions is the systematic review by Dillarstone et al. (2023), which synthesises related studies published between 2012 and 2022. The authors screened more than four hundred papers and identified thirteen relevant articles. Of these, five focused on Europe, and

only one – my own study on the V4 countries (Chapter 3 of this thesis, Szczuka, 2022) – addressed the CEE region. (Dillarstone et al., 2023). Since then, only a few studies have appeared covering this region, including Erát and Bognár's (2024) quantitative analysis of climate anxiety and fertility intentions, Bognár's (2025) qualitative work (in Hungarian), and Bastianelli's (2025) comparative study involving Estonia as one of the three examined countries, indicating that research in this area remains scarce.

Research shows that there are multiple ways in which climate concerns intersect with reproductive attitudes. On the one hand, a small but vocal segment of society explicitly frames childbearing as an environmental issue, they reduce the number of offspring or forego parenthood to minimise their ecological footprint (Allen & Wiles, 2013; Helm et al., 2021; Krähenbühl, 2022; Schneider-Mayerson, 2021). This perspective, while present, appears to be a minority position (Miller, 2018; Morning Consult, 2020). A different kind of climate-related reproductive concern is more prevalent: the fear of bringing children into a "doomed" world. Here, it is not the direct environmental impact of childbearing that matters, but rather anxiety over the quality of life that future generations will face in a climate-affected society (Helm et al., 2021; Ivanova & Balbo, 2024; Krähenbühl, 2022; Nakkerud, 2024). A negative relationship between future uncertainty or climate change concerns and reproductive attitudes is commonly found in these studies, e.g. as in Ivanova and Balbo (2024) for the Netherlands, the likelihood of having children decreased when the future of the next generation was perceived as worse than the present. While most studies examining this relationship confirm the negative association (Dillarstone et al., 2023), there are also studies with opposite results or finding no evidence for such an association (De Rose and Testa, 2015a; Jylhä et al., 2025). Schneider-Mayerson (2021) identified perspectives among climate-

concerned Americans where environmental concerns could even support childbearing, for instance through beliefs that parents are more engaged in environmental politics or that children may become future environmentalists. However, the direction of the relationship is not straightforward. Some studies suggest that existing or planned family size can itself shape climate concerns: for example, de Rose and Testa (2015b) found the highest concern among those planning one or two additional children, and parents of two children were the most concerned. Longitudinal evidence from Germany further indicates that while early-life environmental concern did not predict completed fertility, parenthood (especially early parenthood) was associated with stronger environmental concern as compared to childless individuals, supporting the legacy hypothesis which suggests that parenthood increases environmental concern due to worries about the future conditions their children will inherit (Peters et al., 2023).

Beyond influencing concrete childbearing decisions, my thesis assumes that climate change concerns and negative future prospects may be associated with attitudes towards voluntary childlessness, as those perceiving a more uncertain or threatening future might be more understanding of the choice not to have children. Across Europe, attitudes towards voluntary childlessness are generally more accepting in Northern and Western countries, while they remain particularly negative in Central and Eastern Europe, including Hungary (European Social Survey European Research Infrastructure [ESS ERIC], 2023; Merz & Liefbroer, 2012; Rijken & Merz, 2014; Sobotka & Testa, 2008). Individual-level factors such as gender, age, religiosity, education, and personal childbearing status, as well as country-level variables like gender equality, have been shown to shape these attitudes (Dimitrova & Kotzeva, 2022; Koropeckyj-Cox & Çopur, 2015; Merz & Liefbroer, 2012; Eicher et al., 2016). A gender-based double standard in

attitudes toward voluntary childlessness has been observed in many European countries, though not in most former socialist countries, as men tend to face greater disapproval than women for choosing to remain childless (Merz & Liefbroer, 2012; Rijken & Merz, 2014).

In addition to climate change, my thesis briefly addresses other macro-level stressors that can influence reproductive attitudes, including the COVID-19 pandemic (Comolli, 2023; Guetto et al., 2022; Malicka et al., 2021; Sobotka et al., 2024; Szalma & Takács, 2022), which coincided with the data collection for Chapter 4 and 5 of this thesis. Concerns about overpopulation have also been cited as a factor leading some individuals to reconsider childbearing (Allen & Wiles, 2013; Helm et al., 2021; Jylhä et al., 2025; Krähenbühl, 2022). These stressors can interact and even blend together in people's perceptions, generating overlapping sources of uncertainty that shape long-term reproductive decisions.

Hungary provides a relevant case for examining the relationship between environmental concerns and reproductive attitudes not only because this topic remains underexplored in the region, but also due to its pronounced pronatalist policy framework and the persistence of strong traditional norms around family formation. In Hungary, parenthood is widely regarded as a natural and desirable life course stage, and the belief that "a woman must have children to feel fulfilled" is internalised by many women (Szalma, 2014). As in other pronatalist contexts (Krähenbühl, 2022), women, in particular, face pronounced societal expectations regarding motherhood (Szalma, 2021), with public discourse frequently framing childbearing as a moral duty towards the nation. The post-2010 Orbán governments have explicitly aimed to achieve replacement-level fertility and has therefore pursued a strongly pronatalist approach to family policy (Szalma & Sipos, 2024). Szalma and Takács (2025) introduced the concept of 'selective

patriotic pronatalism' to describe a context where there is a preference for the reproduction of certain social groups over others, framed as a national or patriotic duty (Szalma & Takács, 2025). To address declining fertility rates, the Orbán government has introduced relatively extensive financial incentives as compared to other European countries, like baby-expecting loans and tax exemptions for mothers of four or more children, gradually introducing it also for mothers of three and, later, two children. However, despite these efforts, Hungary's fertility rate remains well below replacement level, the rise in total fertility rate (from 1.25 to 1.52) is largely attributed to demographic shifts rather than policy effects (Szalma & Sipos, 2024). The gap between policy aims and demographic reality raises questions about the underlying social and cultural attitudes towards childbearing and encourages further research into what other factors play a role in shaping these attitudes.

By integrating perspectives from sociology, demography, and environmental psychology, this thesis advances existing research by examining how different dimensions of concern relate to attitudes around the question of having children, while also considering gendered patterns in these associations. By complementing survey data with interview research, I provide a comprehensive picture of the narratives people hold about the future and parenthood, as well as how they navigate reproductive decision-making amidst growing global uncertainties and interpret their own reproductive decisions in the context of climate change, a global pandemic that was unfolding at the time of data collection, and state pronatalism. Given the novelty of this research area, my thesis provides a snapshot of a rapidly evolving field that is likely to see significant growth in the coming years. While reviewing the existing literature in such a young field poses challenges due to its limited scope, this dissertation not only contributes three original studies to the discussion but also offers a comprehensive overview of where

scholarship currently stands in understanding the deeper links between climate change and reproductive decision-making.

II. Data and methods

The empirical chapters of my thesis (Chapter 3–5) present three studies on the relationship between climate change concerns and fertility-related attitudes in the Central and Eastern European context. While all three studies explore the intersection of climate change and reproductive attitudes, they differ in geographical scope, methodological approach, and analytical focus. Moreover, while all studies address the role of *climate-change-related concerns*, they differ in the ways it is measured.

The first, quantitative study (**Chapter 3**) adopts a comparative perspective, utilises secondary survey data (2011 Eurobarometer) from the Visegrád countries (Czechia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) to examine the link between climate change concern and *fertility intentions*. It investigates the following question: Do those who consider climate change the most serious threat facing the world regard having fewer children to be theoretically ideal for families and themselves personally?

This study relies on data from the Eurobarometer 75.4 survey (2011), one of the few datasets simultaneously covering climate change and family planning attitudes. The in-person survey was conducted in all EU member states on nationally representative samples ($N \approx 1{,}000$ per country) through multi-stage random sampling. After restricting the sample to respondents in the V4 countries aged 18–45, the analytical sample included 2,037 individuals. Post-stratification weights provided by the data publisher were applied.

The dependent variable, ideal family size, was measured through two questions: "Generally speaking, what do you think is the ideal number of children for a family?" and "For you personally, what would be the ideal

number of children you would like to have or would have liked to have had?". Answers to both were dichotomised: respondents stating zero or one child were coded 1, and others 0. This operationalisation captures orientations towards smaller or larger family size.

The main independent variable captured *climate change concern*: whether respondents considered climate change the single most serious global problem (1 = yes, 0 = otherwise). Two additional climate-related items (personal responsibility for tackling climate change; personal action against climate change in the last six months) were included as controls, alongside socio-demographic variables (gender, age and squared age, education, type of settlement, subjective financial situation, and parent status).

For each country the two dependent variables (ideal number of children in general and personally) were analysed in separate, nested logistic regression models: Model 1 included only the main explanatory variable, while Model 2 also included all control variables.

As an extension to the original study, I re-estimated all models reporting both odds ratios (ORs) and average marginal effects (AMEs). This provided more transparent effect sizes and allowed for cross-country comparability. The re-analyses also restricted the analytical sample to valid responses on all covariates and applied robust standard errors; results were robust, with only minor shifts in significance that do not affect the main conclusions.

The second, qualitative study (**Chapter 4**) uses semi-structured interviews to explore Hungarian women's *reproductive attitudes*, *intentions and decisions,* as well as their *attitudes towards voluntary childlessness* in relation to *general concerns about environmental changes*, including climate change, pandemics, and foreseeable food shortages etc., and it also addresses

the question of overpopulation. We conducted semi-structured interviews with 44 women of reproductive age (21–44 years) between September 2020 and March 2022. Our selection criteria included childless women and single-child women between the ages of 18 and 45 years. We focused on childless and single-child women because they have fewer children than the average woman in Hungary. The sample was recruited in two stages: initial contacts through researchers' social networks, followed by snowball sampling. All participants gave informed consent prior to participation.

The interviews were carried out during the COVID-19 pandemic, with a mix of online and face-to-face formats, and the final interviews took place shortly after the outbreak of the Russian–Ukrainian conflict in February 2022. Most participants were living in Budapest (the capital) or in other towns, but diverse age groups, educational levels, marital statuses, and parental situations were represented. To ensure confidentiality, fictious names are used in the study.

The interviews, typically lasting 40–50 minutes, were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The interview guide covered themes such as family and partnership histories, reproductive attitudes, climate change, overpopulation, the COVID-19 pandemic, and future plans. The analysis followed an inductive thematic coding strategy. Both authors independently applied open coding and then consolidated themes. These included general perceptions of climate change and mitigation, and more specifically, links between climate change and fertility decisions, with subtopics such as the concept of the carbon footprint, overpopulation, and concerns about children's future in the light of climate change.

Two limitations should be noted regarding the sample selection. First, the study did not specifically target women experiencing strong eco-anxiety; thus, the voices of committed climate activists are underrepresented.

Second, urban and highly educated women are overrepresented in the sample, which may limit the generalisability of findings.

The third study (**Chapter 5**) based on quantitative methods seeks answers to the research question: Can concerns about climate change and about the expected lowering of future living standards predict approval of women's and men's choices to remain childless?

The study draws on data from a survey focused on the social impacts of COVID-19, including a section on reproductive attitudes and childbearing intentions. The survey was carried out online between 27 October and 3 November 2020. The sample (N = 1000) was selected with a multi-layered stratified random sampling, aiming to approximate the distribution within the Hungarian population aged 18 to 65 as closely as possible in terms of key demographic characteristics (gender, age category, education, type of settlement, region).

Attitudes toward voluntary childlessness served as the dependent variables, measured separately for women and men by asking respondents to what extent they approved or disapproved of the choice not to have children, using a five-point Likert scale.

Two main predictors were included. *Concern about climate change* was measured on a five-point Likert scale, while the variable *negative future prospects* was derived from three highly correlated items on expected living standards of future generations in light of i) ecological disasters; ii) increasingly frequent pandemics; iii) droughts, water shortages, and food scarcity. These items formed a single component through principal component analysis.

Control variables were pronatalist attitude (measuring respondents' agreement with the following statement: "childbearing is important because

the population of Hungary is declining"), concern about COVID-19, as well as demographic characteristics (gender, age group, education, settlement type, parental status, and religiousness). All continuous and Likert-scale independent variables were mean-centred.

As the dependent variables were ordinal, ordered logistic regression was applied. After a series of bivariate tests, nested multivariate models were estimated: Model 1 with the main predictors and controls, and Model 2 additionally testing for interactions between the two key predictors (climate change concern and negative future prospects) and gender, as we assumed that the relationship between macro-level concerns and attitudes towards voluntary childlessness may differ between women and men.

III. Results

Chapter 3, the first study, unlike the other two, included countries beyond Hungary, focusing on a group of nations that are often treated as a single unit in research: the Visegrád countries. I present the results of the complementary analyses alongside the findings presented in the original paper. The findings are contradictory:

- In Hungary, climate change concerns are positively associated with a smaller ideal family size, but only at a *general* level—not for respondents *personally*. Individuals who consider climate change to be the most serious problem are 2.4 times as likely to prefer smaller family sizes in general compared to those who do not view climate change the most pressing issue. Climate concern raises the predicted probability of favouring a smaller family by 11 percentage points.
- In Czechia, there are indicators of a positive relationships between climate concerns and *personal* ideal family size (note that in the re-analysis, average marginal effect (AME) of climate concern reaches statistical significance at the 10% level ($p = 0.099$), but the corresponding logit coefficient, which had been within the threshold in the original paper, now falls just outside the threshold of significance). The estimate shows that climate change concern increases the predicted probability of considering zero or one child as personally ideal by 8.3 percentage points.
- In Slovakia, a strong negative association is observed, with greater climate concerns linked to both larger *general* and *personal* ideal family sizes. Regarding *general* ideals, for respondents in Slovakia who see climate change as a very serious issue, the predicted probability of preferring a smaller family size is 14.6% lower than

for those with lower climate concern, that signals a stronger association in the opposite direction when compared with Hungary. Similarly to this pattern, in case of *personal* family size ideals, the predicted probability of a smaller ideal family size decreases by 10.5 percentage points among those who see climate change as the most serious problem as compared to those less concerned.

- In Poland, we found no evidence for a significant association between climate change concern and ideal family size.

The study leaves several open questions and highlights that despite similarities in social context, such as the prevalence of traditional gender norms and generous family policies, people's views on childbearing in the context of climate change can differ significantly across countries. Besides differences in the features and impact of pronatalism, it is also possible that the perception and meaning of climate change itself differ between the countries. Research that measures pronatalist attitudes and assesses orientations towards climate change in more nuanced ways could shed light on the deeper mechanisms behind these associations.

In the second study, presented in **Chapter 4**, we found that views on childbearing are strongly shaped by the 'motherhood mandate' (Russo, 1976; Szalma, 2021), the idea that a woman's life is only truly complete if she becomes a mother, making childbearing a fundamental life-stage expectation.

- The interviewees generally perceived climate change as a serious problem, aligning with recent Hungarian data on climate change perceptions (European Commission, 2023).

- Overpopulation, however, was not seen as a pressing issue in the European context, with many expressing the view that efforts to reduce fertility rates should primarily focus on developing countries.
- We found a pattern of planning to have fewer children or considering alternative paths to parenthood (such as adoption) due to climate-change-related concerns, although it was not common in our sample.
- Eco-anxiety was most commonly linked to worries about the future well-being of one's children. At the same time, people rarely viewed climate change as an individual responsibility, which may explain why even those deeply concerned did not alter their reproductive choices in response.
- Some interviewees resolved the contradiction between climate anxiety and the question of childbearing by seeing having children as a potential solution to climate change, believing that future generations will be more environmentally conscious and expressing a sense of responsibility to raise children in a sustainable way.
- Another key finding was the presence of negative, sometimes even condemnatory attitudes towards those who choose to remain childless for environmental reasons. Some interviewees dismissed such decisions as selfish or as mere justifications for not wanting children.
- Since the interviews were conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, participants also reflected on how the pandemic introduced an additional layer of uncertainty into reproductive decision-making, and how it interacted with their views on climate change. For some, the crisis amplified climate concerns, while for others, the urgency of the pandemic overshadowed them.

Chapter 4 further highlights the complexity of the relationship between climate change concerns and reproductive attitudes, showing that while Hungarian women acknowledge climate change as a serious issue, their concerns are primarily focused on the future well-being of their children rather than on the environmental impact of childbearing itself, and dominantly, despite high levels of climate concern, they still wanted to have children. This study offers insights into how women of reproductive age in Hungary navigate this dilemma, and what are their strategies to reconcile their desire to have children with climate-related anxieties.

Chapter 5 examines how macro-level uncertainties relate to attitudes towards voluntary childlessness in Hungary. Results indicate that concerns about climate change and perceptions of future risks are linked to attitudes towards childlessness, yet the patterns are complex and shaped by gender differences.

- *Negative future prospects* are consistently linked to greater approval of voluntary childlessness, aligning with the findings about the role of future uncertainties in Krähenbühl (2022), Zaremba et al. (2022) and Ivanova and Balbo (2024), and in line with Zimmermann et al.'s (2024) results about the positive relationship between greater perceived threats and negative childbearing motivations.
- Among male respondents, approval of men's choice of childlessness rises more sharply with greater levels of *negative future prospects* than among women.
- The links with *climate change concern* appear similarly nuanced, particularly in how this factor interacts with gender. We found no evidence for a relationship between women's *climate change-*

related concerns and their attitudes towards voluntary childlessness of either gender.

- In contrast, among men, greater *concern about climate* change was associated with lower approval of voluntary childlessness, particularly in relation to *men's childlessness*. For attitudes towards *women's childlessness*, evidence is weaker for gendered differences.
- The contrasting results might indicate that the concept of 'climate change' is multidimensional, with its actual threat to the well-being of future generations being just one of its many aspects. These different dimensions may each play a different role in shaping attitudes.
- A possible explanation to why climate concern is related to men's attitudes towards childlessness but not to women's is that men are generally more sceptical but perceive climate change impacts as more severe (Poortinga et al., 2019), and it is possible that a different aspect of climate change concern is more prominent for men when they respond to the question of how worried they are about it.
- Another key question is why *concerns about climate change* and *concerns about the living standards of the future* have contrasting relationships with the approval of voluntary childlessness. *Climate change concern* is a postmaterialist value (Inglehart, 2007), and in a materialist pronatalist society like Hungary, this concern might reflect more abstract or ideological commitments, therefore might not be perceived as an immediate or concrete threat. By contrast, *concerns about future living standards* point to more tangible and personally relatable consequences of climate change, which may explain the different patterns observed.

- An additional key finding is that pronatalist attitudes consistently had a negative relationship with the acceptance of voluntary childlessness, signalling a strong nationalistic cultural perspective in Hungary.

Taken together, results suggest that climate change may not primarily concern individuals in terms of its abstract long-term consequences but rather in a way that appears to be independent of attitudes towards childbearing in a pronatalist context. This challenges assumptions that climate anxiety directly shapes reproductive attitudes and highlights the need for a more nuanced understanding of how macro-level concerns relate to personal attitudes and life choices. Nevertheless, the finding that climate change-related uncertainties might shape reproductive attitudes raise important questions in contexts such as the pronatalist Hungary. Here, increasing the birth rate is a central policy goal, which creates a tension between ecological and demographic priorities. Understanding how these conflicting priorities play out could offer valuable insights not only for research and policymaking but also for broader societal debates.

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V. The author's publications on the topic

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