SUPPORT FOR FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN AND FERTILITY PROMOTION

DOI: 10.15838/sa.2025.2.46.7
UDC 314.15 | LBC 60.74(2)

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF RUSSIA'S DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY: EXPERIENCE OF EVALUATION USING A COMBINED APPROACH

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The national project "Demography" was completed in 2024; in 2025, new demographic national projects were launched – "Family" and "Long and Active Life". For their successful implementation, it is important to assess the effectiveness of demographic policy in Russia, which was the aim of the study. The paper analyzes the existing approaches to assessing the effectiveness of demographic policy, identifies their strengths and limitations. We show that there is still no unified position among experts regarding the definition of the effectiveness of demographic policy and the method of its analysis. The study assesses the effectiveness of Russian demographic policy using a combined approach combining normative, typological and sociological approaches. The first of them revealed both problems in the field of fertility promotion policy, maintaining a long and healthy life of citizens, and successes in increasing the medical and physical activity of the population. Using a typological approach, the differentiation of the regions of Russia in accordance with the dynamics of the position in the grouping according to the ratio of the components of population change is confirmed. We conclude that the demographic policy of the RF constituent entities that have improved their situation or maintained positive population dynamics can be assessed as effective, while regions that have worsened their position or maintained negative population dynamics can be assessed as insufficiently effective or ineffective. In the course of applying the sociological approach, we found that the policy of supporting families with children proved to be effective for less than half of the respondents, however, there is a favorable trend of increasing the importance of supporting families with children for the realization of the reproductive intentions. The paper confirms that bans and restrictions are the most effective

measures of the state anti-alcohol and anti-smoking policy, but estimates of the effectiveness of measures vary depending on the presence of bad habits, the fact of attempts to combat them and their success.

Demographic policy, efficiency assessment, combined approach.

Introduction

The goals of Russia's demographic policy are reflected in the main state conceptual and strategic documents (National Security Strategy, National Development Goals of the Russian Federation, national project "Demography", concepts of state demographic, migration and family policy, etc.); this fact indicates the complexity, long-term and basic elaboration of demographic policy issues. In this regard, there is a need to assess the effectiveness of the proclaimed demographic policy (Ageev, Zolotareva, 2023). In addition, the relevance of solving this problem is confirmed by the completion of the national project "Demography" in 2024. Since 2025, new demographic national projects have been launched in Russia – "Family" and "Long and Active Life". For their successful implementation, it is important to understand how successful the activities of the completed national projects were. However, achieving the targets of the national project is not the only criterion for the effectiveness of demographic policy. The most urgent tasks are to assess the nature of demographic dynamics in the country and analyze how the population perceives the current demographic policy.

The aim of the study is to evaluate the effectiveness of demographic policy in Russia. To achieve it, the following tasks have been set: to analyze existing approaches to assessing the effectiveness of demographic policy, to identify their advantages and disadvantages; to assess the effectiveness of Russia's demographic policy using a combined approach.

The information base includes scientific publications on research issues, official statistical data, and the results of sociological surveys conducted by Vologda Research Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The work uses general scientific methods (analysis, comparison, generalization) and methods of demographic and sociological analysis.

Approaches to assessing the effectiveness of demographic policy

To date, no single definition of the effectiveness of demographic policy has been formed. E.N. Yakovleva and I.V. Kryukova note that in the social sphere and demography it is interpreted, on the one hand, as a concept identical to effectiveness, on the other hand, as the ratio of social effect to the cost of achieving it (Yakovleva, Kryukova, 2021). In our opinion, a third approach can also be identified, in which the effectiveness of demographic policy is considered from both perspectives *(Tab. 1)*.

However, some researchers point out that it is not entirely correct to apply the concept of "effectiveness" to demographic policy, since its assessment requires an identical measurement of input and output, and in the demographic sphere, the costs of measures to increase fertility or reduce mortality are measured in value, while effectiveness is measured by the dynamics of the number of births and deaths. (Rybakovsky et al., 2018; Goncharova et al., 2020). Since we agree with this position, we will adhere to the opinion that the categories "effectiveness" and "efficiency" in relation to demographic policy should be used only as synonyms.

Table 1. Approaches to defining the concept of "effectiveness of demographic policy"

Definition	Authors
As a concept identical to efficiency	
The results of the main programs and activities implemented at the federal and regional levels (achievements in supporting the institution of the family, formation of reproductive attitudes of the population)	V.I. Filonenko, A.S. Magranov, A.V. Ponedelkov
The results of measures aimed at reducing mortality, increasing the life expectancy of the population and increasing fertility	V.P Toichkina
The degree of achievement of the set goals and social effectiveness, that is, the effects received by society	M.V. Olshanskaya
As the ratio of the social effect to the cost of achieving it	
Achieving the goals set by the policy initiators in the historically shortest possible time with minimal economic costs while observing the social norms in force in society	A. Ya Kvasha
The ratio of the favorable demographic results obtained to the costs of achieving them	E.N. Yakovleva, I.V. Kryukova
Both as efficiency and as the ratio of the social effect to the cost of achieving it	
The ratio of the result and the set goal, which implies the possibility of comparing different options for achieving the set goal. Effectiveness assessment refers to the identification, verification and comparison of the results obtained (expected) with the goals, as well as the results with the resources spent on the implementation of measures to change the demographic situation	V.V. Yelizarov, N.G. Dzhanaeva
Compiled according to: (Kvasha, 1981; Toichkina, 2011; Elizarov, Dzhanaeva, 2012; Filonenko et al., 2015; Goncharova et al., 2020; Yakovleva, Kryukova, 2021; Olshanskaya, 2023).	

Researchers identify five approaches to assessing the effectiveness of demographic policy: traditional, dynamic, typological, indicative, and integral *(Tab. 2)*, as well as their advantages and disadvantages (Yakovleva, Kryukova, 2021).

The traditional (or normative) approach, which consists in comparing current demographic indicators with their target values, allows monitoring the implementation of government projects and programs in the field of demographic policy by comparing target and actual values of demographic indicators. Its limitation is the dependence of the evaluation result on the initial target values of the indicators and the risk of manipulation of the target indicators by managers (Yakovleva, Kryukova, 2021).

The dynamic approach, which is based on an assessment of the nature of the dynamics of quantitative demographic indicators, is simple in terms of calculations and interpretation of the results, but at the same time does not take into account qualitative demographic changes and is characterized by the difficulty of substantiating the selection of demographic indicators for analysis from their wide range (Yakovleva, Kryukova, 2021).

The typological approach based on the types of demographic development of territories in terms of the contribution of population change components to the overall demographic dynamics is also easy to apply and allows for qualitative assessments, but it has a high level of generalization, does not take into account the factors and causes of the observed dynamics of indicators; besides, the comparative nature of the results limits its application (Yakovleva, Kryukova, 2021). In addition, a change in the type of region may be related not only to the effect of demographic policy measures, but also to demographic conditions and the general socio-economic situation.

The indicative approach, which involves comparing the achieved level of a number of

Table 2. Approaches to assessing the effectiveness of demographic policy

Content	Advantages	Limitations	Examples of research works
Traditional (normative)			
Assessment of the degree of achievement of the set strategic and tactical social goals of state and municipal strategies, programs, projects and other documents	The possibility of quantitative and qualitative control over the implementation of projects and programs	The dependence of the evaluation result on the initial target values of the indicators. The risk of target indicators manipulation	(Olshanskaya, 2023; Ilyin et al., 2024)
Dynamic			
Studying the dynamics of quantitative indicators. Positive dynamics indicate the effectiveness of both democratic policy as a whole and individual state and municipal programs and projects	Simplicity of calculations and interpretation of the obtained results	Qualitative social changes remain outside the scope of attention. The difficulty of selecting a list of relevant criteria from a wide range of demographic indicators	(Rybakovsky, Tayunova, 2013)
Typological			
Analysis of the dynamics of the type of demographic development (grouping RF constituent entities according to the contribution of natural movement and migration to population change)	Ease of evaluation and the possibility of qualitative interpretation of the results obtained	The high level of generalization of the assessment, the inability to study the factors and causes of the dynamics of indicators. The comparative nature of the results limits the scope of the approach. A change in the type of region may be related not only to the effect of democratic policy, but also to the effect of a structural factor, birth timing, and the general socio-economic situation	(Goncharova et al., 2019)
Indicative			
Comparison of the achieved level of a number of social and demographic criteria with their thresholds	Simplicity and unambiguity of assessment (above, below the threshold value)	The uncertainty of setting thresholds (the difficulty of justification), as well as the need for their permanent adjustment. Thresholds are set based on national interests and do not take into account regional/local specifics	(Leontieva, 2012; Sadovnikova, Timeychuk, 2014)
Integral			
The use of an integral indicator for evaluating, accumulating all demographic indicators in one comprehensive criterion	The accumulation of a set of quantitative and qualitative indicators in a single criterion eliminates the need for expert interpretation of the evaluation result. It allows drawing unambiguous conclusions about the degree to which the goals of democratic policy have been achieved, and to take into account various policy components in the assessment	The uncertainty of setting the target values of the indicator, as well as the need for their permanent adjustment. Target values are set based on national interests and do not take into account regional/local specifics	(Rostovskaya et al., 2022; Ageev, Zolotareva, 2023)
Sociological			
Analysis of the opinion of the population or experts on the demographic policy being pursued	Assessment of the opinion of direct policy actors (the population) or experts with the necessary competencies. The representativeness of the assessments, their qualitative nature	Subjectivity of assessments (in the case of population survey results)	(Filonenko et al., 2015; Goncharova, 2021)

Content	Advantages	Limitations	Examples of research works
Index-based			
Assessment of the influence of structural and behavioral factors on the dynamics of demographic indicators (for example, fertility)	Allows separating the structural factor (age structure) from the factor of birth intensity (including under the influence of democratic policy)	The complexity of implementing the method and interpreting the results	(Zvereva, Arkhangelskiy, 2010; Kalachikova, Shabunova, 2013)
Econometric			
Econometric analysis of the significance of measures of socio-economic effectiveness of the policy	Mathematical determination of significant policy effectiveness factors and their impact on specific outcomes	The complexity of implementing the method and interpreting the results	(Mostakhova, 2009; Kapoguzov, Chupin, 2021)
Combined			
The use of several approaches to assess the effectiveness of demographic policy	Combines the advantages of several approaches	It has limitations of several approaches (in case these limitations do not compensate each other)	(Toichkina, 2011; Yakovleva, Kryukova, 2021)
Source: own compilation based on literature analysis.			

demographic criteria with their thresholds, as well as the typological approach, is easy to apply and allows for unambiguous assessments. At the same time, its limitations include uncertainty of setting thresholds (complexity of substantiation), need for their permanent adjustment, and lack of consideration of regional/local specifics (Yakovleva, Kryukova, 2021).

In accordance with the integral approach, a general indicator is used to assess the effectiveness of demographic policy, which ensures its complexity, but, as in the case of the indicative approach, it has limitations in terms of substantiating its target values.

In our opinion, it is also worth adding sociological, index-based, econometric and combined approaches to the listed ones. The sociological approach involves assessing the effectiveness of demographic policy through the opinions of the population or experts about it. Its advantages include using assessments by direct policy actors or experts, as well as their representativeness and qualitative nature, while the subjectivity of assessments is its limitation.

The index-based approach applies the index method to assess the impact of structural and behavioral factors on changes in demographic indicators, in particular fertility. Its advantage is the ability to separate the structural factor from the factor of changes in the intensity of births, and the disadvantage is the difficulty of implementing the method and interpreting the results.

The econometric approach is based on an appropriate analysis of the significance of the socio-economic effectiveness of policy, which makes it possible to mathematically determine the most important factors promoting policy effectiveness and their impact on specific results. However, it is also quite difficult to apply and interpret the results.

The combined approach unites several different approaches, so its advantage is the accumulation of strengths and compensation for disadvantages of each of them.

Results

In this paper, a combined approach that unites normative, typological and sociological approaches is used to assess the effectiveness of demographic policy. Their choice is due to the fact that the limitations of each of them are offset by the advantages of each other.

As noted earlier, the application of the normative approach requires comparing the actual and target values of demographic

indicators. The target values of demographic indicators are reflected in the Unified Plan for achieving the National Development Goals of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2024 and for the planned period up to 2030. At the same time, the national project "Demography" (Ilyin et al., 2024) became the main tool for achieving them.

The team of authors of the monograph "National Projects of Russia: Features, Implementation Effectiveness" monitored the effectiveness of the implementation of the national project "Demography" using a normative approach. Analysis of the values of the national project's target indicators for 2019–2022 showed that many of the tasks set were not achieved: the maximum lag in the actual value from the target in 2022 was noted in the indicators "the number of people to whom individual plans for a healthy lifestyle were recommended" (by 34%), "total fertility rate" (by 17%) and "healthy life expectancy" (by 10%; *Tab. 3*). The target indicators of the national project, the value of which in 2022 was better than

Table 3. Key indicators of the implementation of the national project "Demography" in Russia

Indicator	2017	2018			2019			2020			2021			2022			2023		
	basic	plan	fact	%; +/- p.p.	plan	fact	%; +/- p.p.	plan	fact	%; +/- p.p.	plan	fact	%; +/- p.p.	plan	fact	%; +/- p.p.	plan	fact	%; +/- p.p.
HALE, years	64.0	64.5	no data	-	65.0	60.3	*92.8*	65.5	58.9	*89.9*	66.0	59.4	*90.0*	66.4	59.8	*90.1*	66.8	61.4	*91.9*
Mortality of the population over the working age, number of deaths per 1,000 people of the corresponding age	38.1	37.9	37.7	*99.5*	37.6	36.7	*97.6*	37.3	44.1	*118.2*	37.0	51.0	*137.8*	36.7	38.0	*103.5*	36.4	34.2	*94.0*
TFR, children per 1 woman of reproductive age	1.62	1.60	1.58	*98.8*	1.63	1.5	*92.0*	1.65	1.51	*91.5*	1.66	1.50	*90.4*	1.68	1.40	*83.3*	1.69	1.41	*83.4*
Visits to medical organizations for healthy lifestyle issues, thousand people	1676	1718	382.8	*22.3*	1861	2954.1	*158.7*	2005	1545.5	*77.1*	2248	2411.6	*107.3*	2491	3324.9	*133.5*	2734	5382.8	*196.9*
Number of people for whom individual plans for healthy lifestyle are recommended in health centers, million people	4	4	no data	-	4.2	no data	-	4.4	no data	-	4.7	3.0	*63.8*	5.0	3.3	*66.0*	5.3	no data	-
Proportion of citizens who systematically engage in physical culture and sports, %	36.8	37.6	no data	-	40.3	no data	-	42.6	45.4	*+2.8*	45.2	49.4	*+4.2*	48.0	52.9	*+4.9*	51.5	56.8	*+5.3*

Compiled according to: (Ilyin et al., 2024); Unified Interdepartmental Information and Analytical System. Rosstat. Available at: https://www.fedstat.ru

planned, were the number of visits to medical organizations regarding healthy lifestyle issues (34% higher than planned) and the proportion of citizens who systematically engage in physical education and sports (5 percentage points higher than planned). It is noteworthy that the greatest discrepancy in the actual and planned values of the indicators of total healthy life expectancy (HALE) and mortality of the population over working age was recorded in 2021, which is largely due to the consequences of the pandemic of the new coronavirus infection (Ilyin et al., 2024), the peak mortality from which occurred during that period.

Updating the data for 2023 allowed us to establish that the list of indicators for which positive trends are observed has somewhat expanded: the actual values were better than the planned ones for the indicators of visits to medical organizations for healthy lifestyle issues (1.97 times higher than planned), the proportion of citizens systematically engaged in physical education and sports (5 percentage points higher than planned) and the mortality rate of the population over the working age (below the target by 6%). At the same time, in 2023, the target values of the total fertility rate (17% lower than planned) and life expectancy (8% lower than planned) were not achieved. The lack of statistical data for 2023 on the indicator "the number of people to whom individual healthy lifestyle plans are recommended" does not allow us to assess the degree to which its target value has been achieved.

Within the framework of the typological approach, researchers assess the effectiveness of demographic policy using a grouping of constituent entities of the Russian Federation according to the ratio of components of population change. The effectiveness of demographic policy or the opposite is judged by how the situation of the region has changed over a certain period of time.

According to data for 2023, 22 RF constituent entities showed positive population dynamics, of which in seven – due to both natural and migration growth, in five – due to compensation of migration outflow by natural growth, and in ten – due to coverage of natural loss by migration influx *(Tab. 4)*. In 63 regions there was a decrease in the population, of which in three – due to the excess of migration outflow over natural growth, in 21 – due to the excess of natural decrease over migration growth, and in 39 – due to the double effect of natural and migration decrease.

Compared to 2011, the group of regions with positive population dynamics decreased by five subjects. The number of regions with the most favorable demographic situation decreased by four subjects. Type 2 regions increased by 1, while type 3 regions, on the contrary, decreased by 2 (Sevastopol, which was not counted in 2011, was one of them). The number of regions with negative population dynamics increased by 7, while the group of RF constituent entities with a double population decline increased most noticeably (by 14). At the same time, 11 subjects left the group of type 4 regions, and four subjects joined the group of type 5 regions. The year 2019 was the first year of the implementation of the national project "Demography". In comparison, the number of subjects with positive population dynamics decreased by 3 regions, while five subjects joined the group of regions with a declining population.

At first glance, the trend of an increase in the number of regions with the most unfavorable demographic situation and a decrease in the number of regions with the most favorable one indicates the problems of preserving the population of Russia. However, it is important to understand how the position of individual RF constituent entities in this grouping has changed. Compared to 2011, the situation in ten regions has improved, while in four of them (the republics of Sakha, Kabardino-Balkaria, Kalmykia, Kamchatka Territory) the situation has changed dramatically – the

Table 4. Groups of Russian regions by ratio of population change components in 2011*, 2019 and 2023

Type of region**	2011		2019		2023		Dynamics, 2023 to	
	number	regions	number	regions	number	regions	2011	2019
Regions with upward population dynamics								
Type 1 (GG/NG/MG)	11	Republics of Ingushetia, Tatarstan; Krasnoyarsk Territory; Astrakhan, Tomsk and Tyumen regions; Moscow; Nenets and Chukotka autonomous areas, Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area and Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Area	8	Republics of Altai, Buryatia and Ingushetia; Tyumen Region, Nenets and Chukotka Autonomous areas, Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area; Moscow	7	Republics of Ingushetia, Sakha (Yakutia); Tyumen Region; Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area, Chukotka and Nenets Autonomous areas; Moscow	-4	-1
Type 2 (GG/NG/MD)	4	Republics of Altai, Dagestan, Tyva and Chechnya	6	Republics of Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Sakha (Yakutia), Tyva and Chechnya; Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Area	5	Republics of Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Tyva and Chechnya; Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Area	+1	-1
Type 3 (GG/ND/MG)	12	Republic of Adygea; Krasnodar and Stavropol Territories; Belgorod, Kaliningrad, Leningrad, Moscow, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk and Yaroslavl regions; Saint Petersburg	13	Republics of Adygea, Crimea and Tatarstan; Krasnodar and Stavropol territories; Belgorod, Kaliningrad, Leningrad, Moscow, Novosibirsk and Tomsk regions; Saint Petersburg and Sevastopol	10	Republics of Adygea, Kalmykia, Tatarstan; Kamchatka, Krasnodar and Krasnoyarsk territories; Kaliningrad, Leningrad and Moscow regions; Sevastopol	-2	-1
Regions with downward population dynamics								
Type 4 (GD/NG/MD)	14	Republics of Bashkortostan, Buryatia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Kalmykia, Karachay-Cherkessia, Komi, Sakha (Yakutia), North Ossetia – Alania, Udmurtia and Khakassia; Trans-Baikal and Kamchatka territories; Irkutsk and Omsk regions	3	Republics of Kalmykia, Karachay-Cherkessia, North Ossetia – Alania	3	Republics of Altai, Karachay-Cherkessia and North Ossetia (Alania)	-11	0
Type 5 (GD/ND/MG)	17	Primorye and Khabarovsk territories; Vologda, Voronezh, Ivanovo, Kaluga, Kursk, Nizhny Novgorod, Novgorod, Oryol, Pskov, Ryazan, Samara, Smolensk, Tambov, Tver and Tula regions	18	Republic of Mari El; Primorye Territory; Amur, Vladimir, Voronezh, Ivanovo, Kursk, Lipetsk, Nizhny Novgorod, Novgorod, Pskov, Rostov, Ryazan, Samara, Sverdlovsk, Tver, Chelyabinsk and Yaroslavl regions	21	Republics of Karelia, Crimea, Mari El, Mordovia; Stavropol Territory; Voronezh, Kaluga, Kirov, Kursk, Murmansk, Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Nizhny Novgorod, Rostov, Ryazan, Samara, Sverdlovsk, Tula, Chelyabinsk, Yaroslavl regions; Saint Petersburg	+4	+3
Type 6 (GD/ND/MD)	25	Republics of Karelia, Mari El, Mordovia, Chuvashia; Altai and Perm territories; Amur, Arkhangelsk, Bryansk, Vladimir, Volgograd, Kemerovo, Kirov, Kostroma, Kurgan, Lipetsk, Magadan, Murmansk, Orenburg, Penza, Rostov, Saratov, Sakhalin, Ulyanovsk regions; Jewish Autonomous Region	37	Republics of Bashkortostan, Karelia, Komi, Mordovia, Udmurtia, Khakassia and Chuvashia; Altai, Trans-Baikal, Kamchatka, Krasnoyarsk, Perm and Khabarovsk territories; Arkhangelsk, Astrakhan, Bryansk, Volgograd, Vologda, Irkutsk, Kaluga, Kemerovo, Kirov, Kostroma, Kurgan, Magadan, Murmansk, Omsk, Orenburg, Oryol, Penza, Saratov, Sakhalin, Smolensk, Tambov, Tula, Ulyanovsk regions; Jewish Autonomous Region	39	Republics of Bashkortostan, Buryatia, Komi, Udmurtia, Khakassia, Chuvashia; Altai, Trans-Baikal, Perm, Primorye and Khabarovsk territories; Amur, Arkhangelsk, Astrakhan, Belgorod, Bryansk, Vladimir, Volgograd, Vologda, Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Kemerovo, Kostroma, Kurgan, Lipetsk, Magadan, Omsk, Orenburg, Oryol, Penza, Pskov, Saratov, Sakhalin, Smolensk, Tambov, Tver, Tomsk and Ulyanovsk regions; Jewish Autonomous Region	+14	+2

* The choice of 2011 was due to a change in the methodology for collecting migration data. In 2011, the Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol were not taken into account.
** GG, NG, MG – general, natural, migration gain; GD, ND, MD – general, natural, migration decline.
Compiled according to: Population size and migration in the Russian Federation: Statistics bulletin. Rosstat. Available at: https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/11110/document/13283606911096

Table 5. Changes in the position of Russian regions by grouping by the ratio of components of population change

Dynamics	Compared to 2011		Compared to 2019	
	number	regions*	number	regions
Improved their position	10	Republics of Karelia, Mari El, Mordovia; Kirov, Murmansk, Rostov regions	10	Republics of Sakha (Yakutia), Karelia, Mordovia; Kaluga, Kirov, Murmansk, Tula regions
in particular, they changed downward population dynamics to upward	(4)	Republics of Sakha, Kabardino-Balkaria, Kalmykia; Kamchatka Territory	(3)	Republic of Kalmykia; Kamchatka and Krasnoyarsk territories
Worsened their position	30	Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Area, republics of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Buryatia, Komi, Udmurtia, Khakassia; Krasnoyarsk, Trans-Baikal, Primorye and Khabarovsk territories; Vologda, Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Omsk, Oryol, Penza, Pskov, Smolensk, Tambov, Tver regions	13	Amur, Vladimir, Ivanovo, Lipetsk, Pskov, Tver regions; Primorye Territory
in particular, they changed upward population dynamics to downward	(9)	Republic of Altai; Stavropol Territory; Astrakhan, Belgorod, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Yaroslavl regions; Saint Petersburg	(7)	Republics of Altai, Crimea, Buryatia; Stavropol Territory; Belgorod, Novosibirsk and Tomsk regions, Saint Petersburg
Did not change their position (population growth)	14	Republics of Ingushetia, Dagestan, Tyva, Chechnya, Adygea; Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area, Chukotka and Nenets autonomous areas; Moscow; Krasnodar Territory; Kaliningrad, Tyumen, Leningrad and Moscow regions	18	Republics of Ingushetia, Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Tyva, Chechnya, Adygea, Tatarstan; Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area, Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Area, Chukotka and Nenets autonomous areas; Moscow; Krasnodar Territory; Tyumen, Kaliningrad, Leningrad and Moscow regions; Sevastopol
Did not change their position (population decline)	29	Republics of Karachay-Cherkessia, North Ossetia – Alania, Chuvashia; Voronezh, Kaluga, Kursk, Novgorod, Nizhny Novgorod, Ryazan, Samara, Tula, Amur, Arkhangelsk, Bryansk, Vladimir, Volgograd, Kemerovo, Kostroma, Kurgan, Lipetsk, Magadan, Orenburg, Penza, Saratov, Sakhalin, Ulyanovsk regions; Jewish Autonomous Region; Altai and Perm territories	44	Republics of Karachay-Cherkessia, North Ossetia – Alania, Mari El, Bashkortostan, Komi, Udmurtia, Khakassia, Chuvashia; Arkhangelsk, Astrakhan, Bryansk, Volgograd, Vologda, Voronezh, Kursk, Novgorod, Nizhny Novgorod, Rostov, Ryazan, Samara, Sverdlovsk, Tula, Chelyabinsk, Yaroslavl, Irkutsk, Kemerovo, Kostroma, Kurgan, Magadan, Omsk, Orenburg, Oryol, Penza, Saratov, Sakhalin, Smolensk, Tambov, Ulyanovsk regions; Altai, Trans-Baikal, Perm and Khabarovsk territories; Jewish Autonomous Region

* Excluding the Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol.
Compiled according to: Population size and migration in the Russian Federation: Statistics bulletin. Rosstat. Available at: https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/11110/document/13283606911096

downward dynamic of the population has been replaced by an upward one *(Tab. 5)*. Indirectly, this may indicate the effectiveness of demographic policy pursued in these regions. On the contrary, the situation in 30 regions is characterized by a deterioration, while in ten of them population growth has been replaced by a decrease (Republic of Altai, Stavropol Territory, the Astrakhan, Belgorod, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Tomsk, Chelyabinsk, Yaroslavl regions, and Saint Petersburg). Such dynamics may indicate the insufficient effectiveness of regional demographic policy measures. The situation of 43 RF constituent entities has not changed compared to 2011: in 14 of them, the population continues to increase, while in 29, on the contrary, it is decreasing.

Compared to 2019, ten RF constituent entities improved their situation, in three of them (the Republic of Kalmykia, Kamchatka and Krasnoyarsk territories) population decline was replaced by growth; 13 regions have worsened their positions, in seven of them (the republics of Altai, Crimea, Buryatia, Stavropol Territory, the Belgorod, Novosibirsk and Tomsk regions, Saint Petersburg), instead of positive population dynamics, their decrease was recorded. The retention of

Table 6. Assessment of the effectiveness of state support measures for families with children for childbearing in the families of respondents*, %

Respond option	Respondents with children			Respondents with minor children		
	2021	2023	2023 to 2021 (+/-)	2021	2023	2023 to 2021 (+/-)
Influenced, including	35.3	39.9	*+4.6*	41.2	46.1	*+4.9*
very much	9.9	15.6	*+5.7*	11.7	17.8	*+6.1*
a little	25.4	24.3	*-1.1*	29.5	28.3	*-1.2*
Did not influence	29.0	26.3	*-2.7*	31.0	27.1	*-3.9*
Did not influence, because all the children were born long before that	19.8	18.7	*-1.1*	11.7	11.5	*-0.2*
Not sure	15.8	15.1	*-0.7*	16.0	15.2	*-0.8*

* Distribution of responses to the question "To what extent has the decision on the birth of your child (children) been helped by the strengthening of state support measures for families with children?".
Compiled according to: Monitoring of the reproductive potential of the Vologda Region population (N = 1.500).

positions compared to 2019 was noted in 62 regions: in 18 of them the population grew, in 44 it decreased. The fact that the situation worsened in fewer regions in 2023 compared to 2019 may indirectly indicate a smoothing of the unfavorable demographic situation due to the implementation of the national project "Demography". At the same time, the wide representation of a group of regions with a steadily declining population indicates the unresolved problem of depopulation in more than half of RF constituent entities and, as a result, the insufficient effectiveness of federal and regional demographic policy measures.

Within the framework of the sociological approach, in order to assess the effectiveness of demographic policy, the opinions of the population on its role in the birth of children, as well as on the effectiveness of measures aimed at improving public health, in particular, reducing alcohol and tobacco consumption, were analyzed. The analysis was carried out on the basis of data from sociological monitoring of the reproductive potential and physical health of the Vologda Region population.

According to the monitoring of reproductive potential in 2023, for 40% of the child population, the impact of improved socio-demographic policy on the birth of children in their families turned out to be positive (for 46% with minor children), 16% of them rated it most highly (18% with minor children; *Tab. 6*); 26% of respondents (27% with minor children) indicated that there was no connection between the birth of children in their families and government assistance. One fifth of the respondents had children long before the activation of socio-demographic policy (12% of those with minor children) (Shabunova et al., 2023).

A comparison of the survey data from 2023 and 2021 made it possible, on the one hand, to draw conclusions about the increasing effectiveness of the policy of stimulating births in families, since the proportion of those in whose families children were born thanks to state support increased, and the proportion of those who were not affected by the policy activation decreased. On the other hand, there remains a low proportion of the population whose reproductive choice has been influenced by state socio-demographic policy, which indicates the need to review its tools and improve its measures.

The data from the monitoring of the physical health of the population in 2024 make it possible to analyze the opinions of the population about the effectiveness of alcohol and tobacco policies in the context of different categories (having/ not having bad habits, trying / not trying to limit or quit them, with successful/unsuccessful attempts).

According to the survey results, non-drinkers rate the effectiveness of alcohol bans in any public place, alcohol sales to minors, as well as time and price restrictions higher *(Tab. 7)*. Respondents who have successfully reduced own alcohol consumption are more likely to consider effective measures to tighten administrative responsibility for accidents involving drunk driving, restricting alcohol sales, and regulating its price. In addition, the proportion of those who consider specialized medical care and anti-alcohol advertising to be effective was higher among them.

Former smokers who have successfully got rid of the bad habit rate the effectiveness of bans on smoking in workplaces and other public places, tobacco price increases and anti-tobacco advertising above others *(Tab. 8)*. Among

Table 7. Assessment of the effectiveness of existing anti-alcohol measures by different categories of respondents*, %

Anti-alcohol measure	Do not consume alcohol	Consume alcohol		
		tried to reduce consumption		did not try
		succeeded	failed	
Prohibition of alcohol consumption in public transport and in other public places	**57.0**	49.0	40.4	52.4
Prohibition of alcohol sales to minors	**57.6**	48.0	49.1	47.9
Time limits on alcohol sales	**50.8**	49.0	43.9	42.5
Prohibition of alcohol consumption in educational, medical, children»s and cultural organizations	**46.7**	42.0	36.8	45.3
Tightening of the administrative liability for traffic accidents involving drunk driving	35.9	**53.0**	36.8	38.1
Restrictions on places where alcohol is sold	40.9	**44.0**	29.8	32.7
Regulation of the price of alcoholic beverages	**32.3**	**32.0**	24.6	26.6
Prohibition of alcohol advertising on television, on the Internet and in the media, in public places	22.6	**32.0**	12.3	23.6
Providing medical care to promote abstinence	17.8	**27.0**	21.1	20.3
Posting messages about the dangers of alcohol (anti-alcohol advertising)	15.4	**20.0**	12.3	9.9
I find it difficult to answer	13.1	11.0	14.0	17.7

* Distribution of responses to the question "Which of the current measures to reduce alcohol consumption in Russia, in your opinion, are the most effective?".
Compiled according to: Monitoring of the physical health of the Vologda Region population, 2024 (N = 1.500).

Table 8. Assessment of the effectiveness of current anti-smoking measures by different categories of respondents*, %

Anti-smoking measure	Do not smoke		Smoke	
	Never smoked	tried to quit		did not try
		succeeded	failed	
Ban on tobacco smoking in public places	46.8	51.1	**63.9**	42.9
Prohibition of tobacco sales to minors	45.3	46.8	**61.1**	37.7
Prohibition of tobacco smoking in the workplace	41.1	**59.6**	37.5	38.6
Prohibition of tobacco smoking in other public places	42.4	**44.7**	38.9	32.5
Tobacco price increase	**32.2**	**31.9**	23.6	24.7
The image of the effects of diseases caused by tobacco consumption on cigarette packs	**28.9**	12.8	23.6	20.1
Ban on tobacco advertising	**28.4**	17.0	26.4	18.2
Providing medical care for quitting tobacco smoking	22.5	25.5	**36.1**	22.7
Posting messages about the dangers of tobacco (anti-tobacco advertising)	22.9	**27.7**	15.3	16.2
I find it difficult to answer	21.3	17.0	16.7	27.3

* Distribution of responses to the question "Which of the current measures to reduce tobacco consumption in Russia, in your opinion, are the most effective?".
Compiled according to: Monitoring of the physical health of the Vologda Region population, 2024 (N = 1.500).

respondents who had no smoking experience, there were more of those who consider effective measures to depict the effects of smoking on cigarette packs, a ban on tobacco advertising and an increase in tobacco prices. It is noteworthy that smokers, who, despite their attempts, failed to quit their bad habit, were more likely than others to declare the effectiveness of bans on tobacco smoking in public catering establishments, its sale to minors, and medical care for quitting tobacco smoking.

Conclusion

Thus, the combined approach allows for a comprehensive assessment of the effectiveness of the state demographic policy, taking into account various aspects of its implementation. The analysis carried out in accordance with the regulatory approach demonstrated that by 2023 the target values of a number of important indicators of the national project "Demography" – the total fertility rate and life expectancy – were not reached, which indicates problems in stimulating fertility and maintaining a long and healthy life for citizens. Success is observed only in the direction of increasing the medical and physical activity of the population.

Thanks to the typological approach, the trend of deterioration of the demographic situation in the regions of Russia has been confirmed, namely, a reduction in the number of constituent entities with favorable parameters of demographic development and an increase in the group of regions with the most unfavorable demographic situation. It was found that RF constituent entities are markedly differentiated in accordance with the dynamics of their position in the grouping by the ratio of the components of population change: some of them improved their positions compared to 2011 and 2019 (10 subjects, respectively), others worsened (30 and 13 subjects, respectively). However, most regions have not changed their position, and those with a downward trend in the population number are predominant (29 and 44 regions, respectively). The continued population growth compared to 2011 and 2019 was noted only in 18 and 14 regions, respectively. Thus, the demographic policy of RF constituent entities that have improved their situation or maintained positive population dynamics can be assessed as effective, while the demographic policy in the regions that have worsened their position or maintained negative population dynamics can be assessed as insufficiently effective or ineffective.

Within the framework of the sociological approach, public opinion on the effectiveness of government policy in supporting families with children and preventing bad habits has been studied. The policy of supporting families with children proved to be effective for less than half of the respondents. The proportion of those who do not associate the birth of children in their families with the effect of the policy remains high. For a part of the population, the policy events turned out to be irrelevant, since their children were born much earlier. Nevertheless, there is a favorable trend of increasing the importance of supporting families with children for the realization of the reproductive intentions of the population.

According to respondents, bans and restrictions are the most effective measures of the state anti-alcohol and anti-smoking policy. Nevertheless, estimates of the effectiveness of its measures vary depending on the presence/ absence of bad habits, the presence/ absence of attempts to overcome them, and the success/ failure of these attempts. The opinions of those who have managed to limit alcohol consumption and quit smoking are important, since their assessments may indicate the objective effectiveness of anti-alcohol and anti-smoking measures.

The conducted research contributes to the development of a methodology for assessing the effectiveness of state demographic policy. The results and conclusions obtained have scientific significance and novelty, as they characterize demographic policy from different angles – both

from the perspective of achieving the targets of the national project "Demography", from the perspective of changing population dynamics, and from the perspective of public perception; therefore they can form the basis for measures to improve it.

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