SUPPORT FOR FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN AND FERTILITY PROMOTION

DOI: 10.15838/sa.2025.2.46.6
UDC 314.335.7 | LBC 60.7

ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL MATERNAL (FAMILY) CAPITAL ON THE BIRTH RATE

OL'GA N. KALACHIKOVA
Vologda Research Center, Russian Academy of Sciences
Vologda, Russian Federation
e-mail: onk82@yandex.ru
ORCID: 0000-0003-4681-4344 ResearcherID: I-9562-2016

VLADIMIR N. ARKHANGELSKIY
Institute of Demographic Research, FCTAS RAS
Moscow, Russian Federation
e-mail: archangelsky@yandex.ru
ORCID: 0000-0002-7091-9632 ResearcherID: T-4845-2017

The influence of demographic policy measures on demographic processes is the most important criterion for assessing the most successful practices, including taking into account regional specifics. In this study, we attempted to assess the impact of regional maternal (family) capital on the birth rate. Based on the available research experience, we identified the general and specific conditions for the implementation of this measure, which was developed by regional governments on behalf of Russian President Dmitry Medvedev and funded from the regions' own budgets at the end of 2011. In most regions, families have the right to receive regional maternity (family) capital in the event of the birth (adoption) of a third or subsequent child, the amount of payment varies from 50 to 350 thousand rubles. In a number of constituent entities, the spending goals are not defined, but among these the most common are improving housing conditions, paying for education and medical services. At the same time, regional maternal (family) capital in a number of constituent entities (and/or periods of the measure) depends on the criterion of need, i.e. families with average per capita incomes having

a fixed ratio to the subsistence minimum (one, one and a half or two) are entitled to it. Based on the previously used methods of identifying the impact of federal maternity capital on the birth rate, we used the total fertility rate with an emphasis on changes in its value during the time periods when this capital was provided in a particular region, as well as fertility rates for real generations. Based on these data, it is possible to judge both an increase in the indicators of the corresponding birth order in real generations, the active reproductive age (according to this birth order) of which fell at the time of the beginning of the provision of regional maternal (family) capital, and the "timing" shifts associated with the earlier birth of children under the influence of this measure. The calculations performed for the regions in which statistics allow this to be done indicate that there are examples of an unambiguously positive effect of regional maternal (family) capital on fertility, however, the revealed presence of timing shifts indicates the need for more subtle adjustments to support programs for large families. Regular measures to maintain the standard of living are important for families with children during the transition to having many children. In this regard, it seems important to continue improving programs to support large families in the regions, including the improvement of social and economic infrastructure.

Demographic policy, birth rate, regional maternal (family) capital, assessment of the impact of regional maternal capital on the birth rate, regions of Russia.

Introduction

The issue concerning the effectiveness of demographic policy measures is relevant due to the need to identify the most effective ones in the short and medium term and the fact that there is an effect of "habituation", reducing the response of the population to those tools that, when implemented, gave a high positive result. Currently, it is quite difficult to assess any one measure of demographic policy, since their synergy inevitably manifests itself.

When analyzing demographic policy, it is important to understand, first, its vector and targets. This determines the choice of the indicator to assess the regulatory impact. Second, it matters which determinants of fertility are affected by the policy being implemented. Third, it is necessary to identify the measures that are being implemented and the impact of which needs to be assessed. If the analyzed measures have a positive impact, we can recommend their continuation; if there is no impact, it is insignificant or even negative, such measures should be reviewed.

Since the beginning of the last stage of demographic policy activation, initiated by the Address of the President of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin to the Federal Assembly on May 10, 2006, a whole pool of measures to stimulate fertility has been developed and introduced. One of the most significant demographic measures is the maternity (family) capital, which the family receives the right to in connection with the onset of a demographic event – the birth of a second or subsequent child in the prescribed period (from January 1, 2007); from 2020, part of the maternity capital can be obtained at the birth of the first child. In 2011, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev set the task of introducing regional maternity capital, which will be financed from the budgets of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation. This was probably due to the effectiveness of the introduction of federal maternal (family) capital, proven through the index method (Zvereva, Arkhangelskiy, 2010), standardization of the total fertility rate

(Shishkina, Popova, 2017), and comparison of the dynamics of fertility rates since 2007 with the previous period (Tikhomirova, Tikhomirov, 2020).

The works of E.E. Grishina and E.A. Cacura are devoted to the analysis of differences in the conditions for the provision of regional maternity capital. They revealed that regional maternity capital programs differ in the order of birth of the child for whom regional maternity capital is provided, the possibility of repeated payments, the directions of use of regional maternity capital, the form of its provision (reimbursement of expenses in certain areas or cash payment), the waiting period for payment and the timing of applying for regional maternity capital, the presence of restrictions for the duration of capital use and the duration of permanent residence in the region (Grishina, Cacura, 2017).

I.V. Gal'yanov and N.S. Studennikova identified the general grounds for providing regional maternity capital in the subjects of the Central Chernozem region – the birth (adoption) of the third or subsequent children from January 1, 2012, citizenship of the Russian Federation and permanent residence in the territory of the subject. The differing conditions include the amount of the payment; the length of stay in the region required to receive the payment; the indexation of maternity capital; the timing of the payment of regional maternity capital; the possibility of using regional maternity capital; payments at the birth of twins or triplets (Gal'yanov, Studennikova, 2016).

K.I. Kazenin and V.A. Kozlov compared regions by the size of maternity capital and benefits, by the conditions of their provision, as well as by which categories of families are allocated free land plots, and showed that despite all the variability of the economic situation in the 2010s regional support for large families during this period was mainly expanding, refusals deviations from any previously introduced measures were rare (Kazenin, Kozlov, 2020).

An overview of the legislation of the RF constituent entities to identify differences in the conditions for receiving payments of regional maternity capital is presented in the work of A.O. Sharipova; the author justifies the differences in the set of measures not only by the availability of financial opportunities, but also by differences in the demographic situation, the desire of a number of subjects to consolidate youth (Sharipova, 2023).

The work of E.R. Musin is devoted not only to regional differences, but also to the analysis of the modification of regional maternity capital programs. The author shows that the rules for providing such a support measure vary according to the order of birth of the child for whom the payment is calculated, the inclusion in the rules of restrictions on the level of family income, possible target areas of spending, the required length of stay in the territory of the RF constituent entities and the amount of payment. The legislative framework under which this support measure is provided continues to be modified: additional conditions limiting the number of recipients are excluded (the condition of need, the period of registration with the entity and the one-time occurrence of the right to payment) (Musin, 2024).

E.S. Vakulenko and co-authors assessed the impact of regional maternity capital on the birth of second children by applying econometric models on panel data from regions (source: Rosstat) in the period 1996–2020 with fixed effects. The regional maternity capital paid for the birth of a second child had a positive effect on fertility. The paper presents that this support measure is most effective in regions where the majority of the population professes Orthodoxy, as well as in regions with initially higher total fertility rates (more than 1.7). The authors

showed that it is necessary to increase the regional maternity capital for the second child to the level of the federal maternity capital, all other things being equal for increasing the total fertility rate in the Russian Federation to 1.7 on average (Vakulenko et al., 2023).

In addition, there are a number of publications on the implementation of this measure in certain regions of Russia (Kadakoeva, 2014; Studennikova, 2015; Grigor'iev, Baran, 2016; Denisova et al., 2024).

The variability of the conditions for the implementation of such an important demographic policy measure as regional maternal (family) capital undoubtedly raises the issue of determining the most successful practices, especially with the availability of a twelve-year period for the analysis of the RMC (regional maternal (family) capital).

The aim of this study is to assess the impact of regional maternal (family) capital on the dynamics of the birth rate. To achieve this goal, we defined our methodology, based on an assessment of changes in fertility rates (total fertility rate), including in real generations of women in the first year of this measure.

Research methods and information base

The impact of specific measures on fertility dynamics can be assessed statistically or using sociological methods, i.e. by identifying people's opinions about whether certain measures have influenced their reproductive plans and real decisions. Such estimates are presented in works (Kalabikhina, 2013; Shabunova, Rostovskaya, 2022; Sekitski-Pavlenko, 2023). When assessing the impact of demographic policy measures on the dynamics of indicators, the following should be statistically taken into account.

Linking the assessment of the impact of the introduced measure on fertility rates by time. It is logical to assume that the reaction can be seen within a year after the start of the measure, i.e. pregnancies persist that might not have resulted in birth under other circumstances, and children are planned, whose birth occurs after 9–12 months. We should remember that reproductive behavior is inertial and the result of measures can be visible for several years. However, the maximum inertia in terms of duration concerns reproductive attitudes and the need for children[1] (Karpova, 2018). There are no separate demographic policy measures of an information and educational nature aimed at forming ideas about family and childhood. The signing of Presidential Decree 809, dated November 9, 2022, inspires optimism and hope that the plan for its implementation will include a broader system of activities, among which, undoubtedly, the introduction of the Family Studies course into the school curriculum is significant. The reaction to material stimulation occurs either immediately after administration, or never.

It is necessary to assess the dynamics of fertility rates of children of stimulated priority and the dynamics of fertility of children of non-stimulated priority levels since a number of measures are aimed at children of different priority levels. In this case, we are interested in the birth of third children, since in most regions of the Russian Federation, regional maternity capital is provided at the birth of a third or subsequent child and is focused on supporting the transition to having many children.

To assess the impact of regional maternal (family) capital on fertility rates, we will use the total fertility rate according to the order of birth in which it is provided, focusing on the change in its value during the time periods in which this capital was provided in a particular region.

In addition, it is advisable to use fertility rates for real generations. Based on them, it is possible to judge both an increase in the indicators of the corresponding birth order in real generations, the active reproductive age

[1] Antonov A.I. (1985). Reproductive Behavior. Demographic Encyclopedic Dictionary. Moscow. Pp. 369–370.

(according to this birth order) of which fell at the time of the beginning of the provision of regional maternal (family) capital, and the "timing" shifts associated with the earlier birth of children under the influence of this measure. The "timing" shifts will be indicated by an increase in the average number of children born in the appropriate birth order at younger ages (with regard to third births, 30 years can probably be used as such an age limit) and, conversely, a decrease in older ages. Given this analysis of fertility rates in real generations, it can be used correctly only 5–7 years after the start of the implementation of this measure.

The constituent entities of the Russian Federation for which fertility rates in real generations can be calculated relatively accurately based on one-year age-related fertility rates were determined earlier in one of our studies based on a comparison of the estimated and actual (according to the 2002 and 2010 censuses) average number of children born in real generations of women (Arkhangelskiy, 2016). First, we systematize the conditions for the provision of regional maternity capital in these subjects to understand possible variations and, consequently, differences in influence. A similar logic of statistical assessment of the impact of federal maternity capital was implemented in the work of colleagues (Arkhangelskiy et al., 2024).

Results of the research

An analysis of the laws defining the right to receive regional maternity capital allowed us to identify general conditions and variable ones. In the vast majority of subjects of the Russian Federation, this is registration and residence on the territory of this subject and the birth (adoption) of a third or subsequent child. At the same time, the funds of the regional parent capital should be spent on the territory of the subject. The exception was the Altai Territory, which established that the right to receive maternity capital comes at the birth of the fourth or subsequent children. Further, there are differences in the size and purposes for which the certificate can be spent; there are entities in which a one-time cash payment is made. Not all constituent entities have established a criterion of need and have determined the frequency of payments (for every third and subsequent child or only one child), the period of birth of children and the indexation of the amount.

The *Appendix* presents the key parameters of the operation of regional maternal family capitals in 17 regions of the Russian Federation, for which it is possible to calculate the TFR for third children in real generations. Let us present the calculations carried out for the RF constituent entities, which differ on the essential grounds for obtaining regional maternity capital. The conditions common to all regions are citizenship and residence, registration of the birth of a child on the territory of the constituent entity, the third and subsequent order of birth. In most regions of the Republic of Moldova, it is paid once. However, there are two regions in which the family received the right to RMC at the birth of each child of the third and subsequent stages – the Voronezh[2] and Arkhangelsk regions.

[2] In 2012, the increase in the total fertility rate for third and subsequent births in the Voronezh Region was 0.018 and was the second largest after its increase in 2007 (0.026). In 2013–2015, the increase in this indicator was 0.011–0.013. In subsequent years, the increase in the total fertility rate for third and subsequent births was significantly lower, and in 2017 and 2018, there was a general decrease. Thus, there is reason to assume that the beginning of the provision of regional maternal (family) capital in the Voronezh Region contributed to a slight increase in the total fertility rate. However, for the Voronezh Region, there is no data on births by birth order for 2000–2004, and, therefore, an estimate of the birth rate by birth order in real generations can only be made starting from the generation born in 1990 (15 years old in 2005), which in 2012 was 22 years old, which is significantly less than the average age of the mother at the birth of the third child.

Regarding the size of the RMC, we will present calculations for a constituent entity with a large amount (100 thousand rubles), for example, in the Orel Region. The minimum payment amount (40 thousand rubles) was fixed in the Volgograd Region. Another important criterion is the purposes for which RMC funds can be used. Let us consider a constituent entity in which restrictions are not set, for example, the Yaroslavl Region, and a constituent entity in which a list of goals is set. Another important criterion is the per capita income limit. The Republic of Adygea is an example of such a territory. *Table 1* presents the combination of the RMC conditions in the constituent entities selected for in-depth analysis.

Table 1. Regional maternity (family) capital terms

RF constituent entity	RMC size*, thousand rubles	Criterion of neediness	Limiting the purpose of spending	Multiplicity
Arkhangelsk Region	50.0	No	No	Per child (starting i n 2021)
Orlov Region	100.0	No	Yes	Once
Yaroslavl Region	50.0	No	No	Once
Republic of Adygea	50.0	Yes (2 minimum wages)	Yes	Once
Volgograd Region	40.8	Yes (1.5 minimum wages)	No	Once
* Since January 1, 2012, when the measure was introduced.				

In the **Arkhangelsk Region**, regional maternity (family) capital is provided upon the birth of a third or subsequent child (from 2021 – "and each of the following"[3]) from January 1, 2012[4]. It is provided as a one-time payment. Initially, it was set at 50,000 rubles[5]. Since January 1, 2020, its amount has been increased: in 2020 it amounted to 105,000 rubles, in 2021 – 109,200 rubles, in 2022 – 113,568 rubles, in 2023 – 119814.24 rubles, in 2024 – 124606.81 rubles[6]. Since the relevant regulatory act was adopted in December 2011, this measure could affect fertility rates at the end of 2012 and, possibly, to a greater extent in 2013. In 2012, the increase in the total fertility rate for third and subsequent births was 0.033 (it was slightly higher only in 2007 – 0.039). The increase in this indicator was slightly lower in 2013 (0.030) and 2014 (0.029). We should definitely remember that since 2013, a monthly payment has been made in the amount of the subsistence minimum for children for the third or subsequent child until the age of three[7], which could also affect the birth rate for the third and subsequent births. In 2015–2017, the increase in the total fertility rate for the third and subsequent births was 0.016–0.017. In 2018, on the contrary, the value of this indicator decreased by 0.015, and in 2019 it increased again by 0.018. The doubling of the regional maternity (family) capital in 2020 and its further increase did not have as significant an impact as it did in 2012–2014. In 2020, the total fertility rate for third and subsequent

[3] On Amendments to the Regional Law "On social support for families raising children in the Arkhangelsk Region": Arkhangelsk Region Law 459-28-OZ, dated October 6, 2021. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/577916828

[4] On Amendments and additions to the Regional Law "On measures of social support for large families in the Arkhangelsk Region": Arkhangelsk Region Law 403-27-OZ, dated December 16, 2011. Available at: https://arkh-gov.ru/doc/31866?ysclid=l8ixctcz1v856676837

[5] On Amendments and additions to the Regional Law "On measures of social support for large families in the Arkhangelsk Region": Arkhangelsk Region Law 403-27-OZ, dated December 16, 2011. Available at: https://arkh-gov.ru/doc/31866?ysclid=l8ixctcz1v856676837

[6] Available at: https://соцзащита29.рф/services/mns/vyplata-regionalnogo-materinskogo-semeynogo-kapitala

[7] On Amendments and additions to the Regional Law "On measures of social support for large families in the Arkhangelsk Region": Arkhangelsk Region Law 552-34-OZ, dated October 29, 2012. Available at: http://pravo.gov.ru/proxy/ips/?docbody=&prevDoc=123016602&backlink=1&&nd=123029380

births is the same compared to 2019. In 2021, it increased by 0.017, but in 2022, it decreased by the same amount (by 0.018). In 2023, its increase was 0.021.

In the Arkhangelsk Region, the average number of third and subsequent births in real generations of women is significantly increasing *(Tab. 2)*.

Table 2. Average number of third and subsequent births in real generations of women in the Arkhangelsk Region

Woman's year of birth	Average number of third and subsequent births						
	at the age of				by the age		
	up to 30 years old	30–34 years	35–39 years	40–44 years	35 years	40 years	45 years
1974	0,05	0,06	0,06	0,02	0,11	0,16	0,19
1975	0,05	0,06	0,06	0,02	0,11	0,17	0,20
1976	0,05	0,07	0,07	0,02	0,11	0,18	0,20
1977	0,04	0,07	0,07	0,02	0,11	0,18	0,20
1978	0,05	0,07	0,09	0,03	0,12	0,20	0,23
1979	0,06	0,08	0,08	0,03	0,14	0,22	0,25
1980	0,05	0,08	0,09	–	0,14	0,23	–
1981	0,06	0,09	0,09	–	0,15	0,24	–
1982	0,06	0,10	0,10	–	0,16	0,26	–
1983	0,06	0,11	0,10	–	0,17	0,28	–
1984	0,06	0,11	0,10	–	0,17	0,27	–
1985	0,07	0,11	–	–	0,18	–	–
1986	0,07	0,11	–	–	0,18	–	–
1987	0,08	0,12	–	–	0,20	–	–
1988	0,08	0,12	–	–	0,20	–	–
1989	0,09	0,12	–	–	0,21	–	–
1990	0,10	–	–	–	–	–	–
1991	0,09	–	–	–	–	–	–
1992	0,11	–	–	–	–	–	–
1993	0,11	–	–	–	–	–	–
1994	0,11	–	–	–	–	–	–

The average number of third and subsequent births by the age of 30 increases from 0.05 in the generations of the second half of the 1970s to 0.11 in the generations of 1992–1994. However, there is no reason to talk about "timing" shifts, since this indicator increases in older age groups: 30–34 years – from 0.06 in the generations of 1974–1975 up to 0.12 in the generations born in 1987–1989; 35–39 years – from 0.06 in the generations born in 1974–1975 to 0.10 in the generations born in 1982–1984; 40–44 years – from 0.02 in the generations born in 1974–1977 to 0.03 in the generations born in 1978–1979.

Accordingly, the average number of third and subsequent births increases significantly: by the age of 35 – from 0.11 in the generations born in 1974–1977 to 0.21 in the generation born in 1989; by the age of 40 – from 0.16 in the generation born in 1974 to 0.28 in the generation born in 1983 (born in 1984 – 0.27); by the age of 45 – from 0.19 in the generation born in 1974 to 0.25 in the generation born in 1979 *(Tab. 3)*.

Table 3. Average number of third and subsequent births by age range in the Arkhangelsk Region in the generations of women born in 1974–1998

Woman's year of birth	Age, years								
	23–25	26–28	29–31	32–34	35–37	38–40	41–43	44–46	47–49
1974	0,01	0,02	0,03	0,04	0,04	**0,03**	0,01	***0,00***	0,00
1975	0,01	0,02	0,03	0,04	**0,04**	0,03	0,01	***0,00***	–
1976	0,01	0,02	0,03	0,04	**0,04**	0,03	0,01	***0,00***	–
1977	0,01	0,02	0,03	0,04	**0,05**	0,03	***0,01***	0,00	–
1978	0,01	0,02	0,03	**0,05**	0,06	0,04	***0,01***	–	–
1979	0,01	0,03	0,04	**0,05**	0,06	0,04	***0,02***	–	–
1980	0,01	0,03	0,04	**0,06**	0,06	***0,04***	0,01	–	–
1981	0,01	0,03	**0,04**	0,06	0,07	***0,04***	–	–	–
1982	0,01	0,03	**0,04**	0,07	0,07	***0,04***	–	–	–
1983	0,01	0,03	**0,06**	0,07	***0,07***	0,04	–	–	–
1984	0,01	**0,03**	0,05	0,07	***0,07***	–	–	–	–
1985	0,01	**0,03**	0,06	0,07	***0,07***	–	–	–	–
1986	0,01	**0,03**	0,06	***0,07***	0,07	–	–	–	–
1987	**0,02**	0,04	0,06	***0,08***	–	–	–	–	–
1988	**0,02**	0,04	0,06	***0,08***	–	–	–	–	–
1989	**0,02**	0,04	***0,07***	0,08	–	–	–	–	–
1990	0,02	0,05	***0,07***	–	–	–	–	–	–
1991	0,03	0,04	***0,06***	–	–	–	–	–	–
1992	0,03	***0,05***	0,07	–	–	–	–	–	–
1993	0,02	***0,05***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1994	0,02	***0,05***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1995	***0,03***	0,05	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1996	***0,02***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1997	***0,03***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1998	0,02	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Note: age groups in generations that include births in 2012 are shown in bold; age groups that include births in 2020 are shown in bold italics.

An increase in the average number of third and subsequent births in the Arkhangelsk Region, associated with the beginning of the provision of regional maternity (family) capital, could have taken place starting in 2012, and with a doubling of its amount – from 2020.

The beginning of the provision of regional maternal (family) capital in the Arkhangelsk Region in 2012 could have contributed to an increase, compared with older generations, in the average number of third and subsequent births in the generation born in 1977 in the age range of 35–37 years; born in 1978–1980 – in the age range of 32–34 years; born in 1983 – in the age range of 29–31 born in 1987–1989– aged 23–25. The fact that in these generations there was no decrease (compared with older generations) in this indicator at older ages indicates the absence of "timing" shifts.

A growth in the average number of third and subsequent births after doubling the amount of regional maternal (family) capital in 2020 occurred in the generation born in 1979 in the age range of 41–43 years; in the generations born in 1987–1988 in the age range of 32–34 years; in the generations born in 1989–1990 in the age range of 29–31 years (see Tab. 3).

In the **Orel Region**, maternity (family) capital has been provided at the birth of a third or subsequent child since 2011. It was set at 100,000 rubles and its subsequent indexing is envisaged[8]. In 2024, it amounted to 13,8518.57 rubles[9]. Since the law on maternal (family) capital was adopted in May 2011, this measure could have had an impact on fertility rates for third and subsequent births starting in 2012. In 2012, the total fertility rate for third and subsequent births increased by 0.020. Its growth was more significant in 2007 (0.025), 2008 (0.028) and 2010 (0.032). In 2013 and 2014, the increase in this indicator was 0.008 each. It was more significant in 2015 (0.014) and 2016 (0.018). However, in 2017, the total fertility rate for third and subsequent births decreased by 0.011, and in 2018 and 2019, its increase was very small (by 0.001 and 0.003, respectively).

In the real generations of women in the Orel Region, there is a slight increase in the average number of third and subsequent births *(Tab. 4)*.

Table 4. Average number of third and subsequent births in real generations of women in the Orel Region

Woman's year of birth	Average number of third and subsequent births						
	at the age				by the age		
	up to 30 years	30–34 years	35–39 years	40–44 years	35 years	40 years	45 years
1974	0,05	0,05	0,05	0,02	0,10	0,15	0,16
1975	0,05	0,04	0,05	0,01	0,09	0,14	0,16
1976	0,05	0,05	0,05	0,02	0,10	0,15	0,16
1977	0,05	0,06	0,05	0,02	0,10	0,15	0,17
1978	0,05	0,06	0,06	0,02	0,11	0,17	0,19
1979	0,04	0,06	0,06	0,02	0,11	0,17	0,18
1980	0,05	0,06	0,06	–	0,12	0,17	–
1981	0,05	0,07	0,06	–	0,12	0,18	–
1982	0,05	0,08	0,06	–	0,13	0,19	–
1983	0,06	0,08	0,06	–	0,15	0,21	–
1984	0,06	0,08	0,07	–	0,14	0,21	–
1985	0,07	0,09	–	–	0,15	–	–
1986	0,07	0,09	–	–	0,15	–	–
1987	0,07	0,09	–	–	0,17	–	–
1988	0,08	0,09	–	–	0,16	–	–
1989	0,07	0,08	–	–	0,15	–	–
1990	0,07	–	–	–	–	–	–
1991	0,07	–	–	–	–	–	–
1992	0,07	–	–	–	–	–	–
1993	0,08	–	–	–	–	–	–
1994	0,08	–	–	–	–	–	–

[8] On Amendments to the Law of the Orel region "On the status of a large family of the Orel Region and measures of its social support": Law of the Orel Region 1202-OZ, dated May 6, 2011. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/453100093?marker=64U0IK

[9] On Approval of the Procedure for providing maternal (family) capital for a large family in the Orel Region: Decree of the Governor of the Orel Region 381, dated July 10, 2024. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/407337133

The average number of third and subsequent births by the age of 30 in the Orel Region increased slightly from 0.05 for women born in 1974–1982 (0.04 in the generation born in 1979) to 0.07 for women born in 1985–1987, 1989–1992, and 0.08 for women born in 1988, 1993–1994. Until the generation born in 1988 (inclusive), there is still no reason to talk about "timing" shifts, since there is no decrease in the average number of third and subsequent births at older ages. Some "timing" shifts may occur in younger generations: for women born in 1989, this indicator at the age of 30–34 (0.08) is slightly lower than in the generations born in 1985–1988 (0.09). The average number of third and subsequent births by the age of 40 increases from 0.15 for women born in 1974, 1976–1977 to 0.21 for women born in 1983–1984 (see Tab. 4).

In the Orel Region, only in relation to the generations born in 1978–1980 and 1982–1983, there is reason to talk about the likely influence of the regional maternal (family) capital on the increase in the average number of third and subsequent births in the age ranges, respectively, 32–34 years and 29–30 years. At the same time, there were apparently no significant "timing" shifts because in the next age range this indicator is higher among them than in older generations *(Tab. 5)*.

Table 5. Average number of third and subsequent births by age range in the Orel Region in the generations of women born in 1974–1992

Woman's year of birth	Age, years									
	20–22	23–25	26–28	29–31	32–34	35–37	38–40	41–43	44–46	47–49
1974	0,01	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,03	0,03	**0,02**	0,01	0,00	0,00
1975	0,01	0,01	0,02	0,02	0,03	**0,04**	0,02	0,01	0,00	–
1976	0,01	0,01	0,02	0,02	0,03	**0,03**	0,02	0,01	0,00	–
1977	0,01	0,01	0,02	0,03	0,03	**0,03**	0,02	0,01	0,00	–
1978	0,01	0,01	0,02	0,03	**0,04**	0,04	0,03	0,01	–	–
1979	0,00	0,01	0,02	0,03	**0,04**	0,04	0,02	0,01	–	–
1980	0,00	0,01	0,02	0,03	**0,04**	0,04	0,02	0,01	–	–
1981	0,00	0,01	0,02	**0,03**	0,04	0,04	0,02	–	–	–
1982	0,00	0,01	0,03	**0,04**	0,05	0,04	0,03	–	–	–
1983	0,00	0,02	0,03	**0,05**	0,05	0,04	0,03	–	–	–
1984	0,00	0,02	**0,03**	0,04	0,05	0,05	–	–	–	–
1985	0,01	0,02	**0,03**	0,05	0,06	0,05	–	–	–	–
1986	0,01	0,02	**0,03**	0,05	0,05	0,05	–	–	–	–
1987	0,01	**0,02**	0,03	0,05	0,06	–	–	–	–	–
1988	0,01	**0,02**	0,03	0,04	0,06	–	–	–	–	–
1989	0,01	**0,02**	0,03	0,04	0,05	–	–	–	–	–
1990	**0,01**	0,02	0,03	0,04	–	–	–	–	–	–
1991	**0,01**	0,02	0,03	0,04	–	–	–	–	–	–
1992	**0,01**	0,02	0,03	0,04	–	–	–	–	–	–

Примечание: полужирным выделены возрастные группы в поколениях, в которые входят рождения 2012 года.

In the **Volgograd Region**, a lump sum was paid for the third or subsequent child born starting in 2012 (when the child reached the age of two years) parental capital in the amount of 40,789 rubles[10]. For the third or subsequent child born starting in 2016, parental capital is provided in the form of a one-time payment, initially set at 70,000 rubles[11]. But it is provided only to families with an average per capita income below one and a half times the subsistence level per capita[12]. In 2025, the amount of parental capital is 8,071 rubles[13].

The total fertility rate for third and subsequent births in the Volgograd Region increased by 0.024 in 2012, when parental capital began to be provided. Its increase was more significant only in 2007 (by 0.036), when federal maternal (family) capital for the second or subsequent child began to be provided.

[10] On Amendments to the law of the Volgograd Region 1097-OD, dated August 8, 2005 "On additional one-time cash allowance for the birth of a child" and the Law of the Volgograd Region 1442-OD, dated April 10, 2007 "On social support for families with children in the Volgograd Region": The law of the Volgograd Region 6-OD, dated February 27, 2012. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/453115433?marker

[11] Social code of the Volgograd Region: Volgograd Region Law 246-OD, dated December 31, 2015. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/432835725

[12] On Approval of the Procedure for Providing Social Support Measures to Families with a Third Child or Subsequent children born no earlier than January 1, 2016: Order 375 of the Committee for Social Protection of the Population of the Volgograd Region, dated April 18, 2016. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/438872455

[13] Available at: https://soc.volganet.ru/35/news/objyavleniya/548784

The increase in this indicator was almost the same as in 2012 in 2013 (by 0.021) and 2014 (by 0.022). In subsequent years, there was both an increase and decrease in the total fertility rate for the third and subsequent births, but in a relatively small range – from 0.272 to 0.292. The largest increase was in 2021 (by 0.011), the largest decrease in 2022 (by 0.019). In 2016, when the amount of parental capital increased significantly, this figure increased by only 0.006.

The average number of third and subsequent births by the age of 30 in the Volgograd Region increases from 0.05 in the generations born in 1974–1978 to 0.10 in the generations born in 1992–1994. At the same time, there may be some "timing" shifts in the generations born in 1985–1986 and 1988–1989, in which there is a slight decrease in the average number of third and subsequent births in the age range 30–34 year *(Tab. 6)*.

The average number of third and subsequent births by the age of 35 increases from 0.11 in the generations born in 1974–1976 to 0.17 in the generations born in 1983–1984. For women born in 1985, it is slightly less (0.16), but in the generation born in 1986 it is again 0.17, and in the generations born in 1987–1989 – 0.18. By the age of 40, the average number of third and subsequent births increases from 0.16 in the generations born in 1974–1975 to 0.25 in

Table 6. Average number of third and subsequent births in real generations of women in the Volgograd Region

Woman's year of birth	Average number of third and subsequent births						
	at the age				at the age		
	up to 30 years	30–34 years	35–39 years	40–44 years	35 years	40 years	45 years
1974	0,05	0,05	0,05	0,02	0,11	0,16	0,18
1975	0,05	0,05	0,06	0,02	0,11	0,16	0,18
1976	0,05	0,06	0,06	0,02	0,11	0,17	0,19
1977	0,05	0,07	0,07	0,02	0,12	0,18	0,20
1978	0,05	0,07	0,07	0,02	0,12	0,20	0,22
1979	0,06	0,08	0,07	0,02	0,13	0,20	0,22
1980	0,06	0,08	0,07	–	0,14	0,20	–
1981	0,06	0,09	0,08	–	0,15	0,22	–
1982	0,06	0,09	0,07	–	0,15	0,23	–
1983	0,07	0,10	0,07	–	0,17	0,24	–
1984	0,07	0,10	0,08	–	0,17	0,25	–
1985	0,07	0,09	–	–	0,16	–	–
1986	0,08	0,09	–	–	0,17	–	–
1987	0,09	0,10	–	–	0,18	–	–
1988	0,09	0,09	–	–	0,18	–	–
1989	0,09	0,09	–	–	0,18	–	–
1990	0,09	–	–	–	–	–	–
1991	0,09	–	–	–	–	–	–
1992	0,10	–	–	–	–	–	–
1993	0,10	–	–	–	–	–	–
1994	0,10	–	–	–	–	–	–

Table 7. Average number of third and subsequent births by age range in the Volgograd Region in the generations of women born in 1974–1998

Woman's year of birth	Age, years								
	23–25	26–28	29–31	32–34	35–37	38–40	41–43	44–46	47–49
1974	0,02	0,02	0,03	0,03	0,04	**0,03**	***0,01***	0,00	0,00
1975	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,04	**0,04**	0,03	***0,01***	0,00	–
1976	0,01	0,02	0,03	0,04	**0,04**	***0,03***	0,01	0,00	–
1977	0,01	0,02	0,03	0,04	**0,05**	***0,03***	0,01	0,00	–
1978	0,01	0,02	0,04	**0,05**	0,05	***0,03***	0,01	–	–
1979	0,01	0,03	0,04	**0,05**	***0,05***	0,03	0,01	–	–
1980	0,01	0,03	0,04	**0,05**	***0,05***	0,03	0,01	–	–
1981	0,01	0,03	**0,04**	0,06	***0,05***	0,03	–	–	–
1982	0,01	0,03	**0,05**	***0,06***	0,05	0,03	–	–	–
1983	0,02	0,03	**0,05**	***0,06***	0,05	0,03	–	–	–
1984	0,02	**0,03**	0,06	***0,06***	0,05	–	–	–	–
1985	0,02	**0,03**	***0,05***	0,05	0,05	–	–	–	–
1986	0,02	**0,04**	***0,05***	0,06	0,05	–	–	–	–
1987	**0,02**	0,04	***0,06***	0,06	–	–	–	–	–
1988	**0,02**	***0,04***	0,05	0,06	–	–	–	–	–
1989	**0,02**	***0,04***	0,05	0,06	–	–	–	–	–
1990	0,02	***0,04***	0,05	–	–	–	–	–	–
1991	***0,03***	0,04	0,05	–	–	–	–	–	–
1992	***0,03***	0,04	0,06	–	–	–	–	–	–
1993	***0,03***	0,04	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1994	0,03	0,05	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1995	0,03	0,04	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1996	0,03	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1997	0,03	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1998	0,03	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Note: age groups in generations that include births in 2012 are shown in bold; age groups that include births in 2016 are shown in bold italics.

the generation born in 1984, and by the age of 45 from 0.18 in the generations born in 1974–1975 to 0.22 in the generations born in 1978–1979.

An increase in the average number of third and subsequent births in the Volgograd Region, associated with the beginning of the provision of parental capital, could have occurred since 2012. It is also necessary to take into account the possible impact of an increase in its amount (but at the same time reducing the number of users – only for families with an average per capita income below one and a half times the subsistence minimum per capita) on children born since 2016 *(Tab. 7)*.

The beginning of the provision of parental capital in the Volgograd Region in 2012 may be associated with an increase in the average number of third and subsequent births in the generations born in 1978-1980 in the age range of 32–34 years, in the generations born in 1982–1983 in the age range of 29–31 years. In these generations, there was no decrease in this indicator in older age ranges, i.e. there is no reason to talk about "timing" shifts. The increase in the amount of parental capital for children born since 2016 probably had no effect on the increase in the average number of third and subsequent births in real generations (see Tab. 7).

In the **Yaroslavl Region**, the regional maternity (family) capital is provided at the birth of the third and subsequent children starting in 2011 in the form of a lump sum payment. It was initially set at 50,000 rubles[14]. As a result of subsequent indexing, it amounts to 73,135 rubles[15]. This measure applied to the third and subsequent children born since 2011. Since the relevant regulatory act was adopted only in June 2011, the impact of the regional maternal (family) capital on fertility rates could be expected from 2012. In 2012, the increase in the total fertility rate for third and subsequent births was 0.027 and was significantly higher than in previous years (the largest in 2007 was 0.023). In subsequent years, there was also an increase in this indicator, but not so much (2013 – 0.018; 2014 – 0.011). In 2015 and 2016, the increase in the total fertility rate for third and subsequent births was slightly higher (0.022 and 0.023, respectively), but less than in 2012. And in 2017, this indicator decreased (by 0.014). Possibly in 2015 and 2016. there were "timing" shifts (earlier birth of third children in some families) due to the approaching expiration date of the federal maternity (family) capital program (until the end of 2016) and the inevitable "timing" failure after that. Although they are unlikely, since to receive this capital at the birth of the third child, the second child had to be born before 2007, i.e. the interval between the births of the second and third child is 9–10 years. In 2018, the increase in the total fertility rate for third and subsequent births was 0.017; in 2019 – 0.007; in 2020 – 0.005. In 2021, the increase in this indicator was the most significant (0.028), even slightly higher than in 2012. But in 2022, its decrease was even more significant (by 0.032). In 2023, it increased by 0.016.

In 2000, there is no data on births in the Yaroslavl Region by birth order. Therefore, birth rates for real generations can only be calculated for generations starting in 1986 (they were 15 years old in 2001). Analysis of data on real generations does not give grounds to talk about a significant impact of regional maternal

[14] On Amendments to the Law of the Yaroslavl Region "Social code of the Yaroslavl Region": Law of the Yaroslavl Region 14-z, dated June 8, 2011. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/934029884?marker=64U0IK

[15] Social code of the Yaroslavl Region: Yaroslavl Region Law 65-z, dated December 19, 2008. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/934023342; On Amendments to certain legislative acts of the Yaroslavl Region: Law of the Yaroslavl Region 91-z, dated December 13, 2024. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/407577784?marker=64U0IK

(family) capital in the Yaroslavl Region on fertility rates for third and subsequent births *(Tab. 8, 9)*.

Table 8. Average number of third and subsequent births in real generations of women in the Yaroslavl Region

Woman's year of birth	Average number of third and subsequent births at the age of		
	up to 30 years	30–32 years	33–34 years
1986	0,05	0,05	0,04
1987	0,06	0,05	0,04
1988	0,05	0,05	0,04
1989	0,06	0,05	0,04
1990	0,06	0,05	–
1991	0,06	0,05	–
1992	0,07	–	–
1993	0,07	–	–
1994	0,08	–	–

Table 9. Average number of third and subsequent births by age range in the Yaroslavl Region in the generations of women born in 1986–2000

Woman's year of birth	Age, years					
	20–22	23–25	26–28	29–31	32–34	35–37
1986	0,00	0,01	0,03	0,05	0,06	0,06
1987	0,00	0,01	0,03	0,04	0,06	–
1988	0,00	0,01	0,03	0,04	0,06	–
1989	0,01	0,01	0,03	0,05	0,06	–
1990	0,00	0,01	0,03	0,05	–	–
1991	0,00	0,01	0,03	0,04	–	–
1992	0,01	0,02	0,03	0,05	–	–
1993	0,01	0,02	0,03	–	–	–
1994	0,01	0,02	0,04	–	–	–
1995	0,01	0,02	0,04	–	–	–
1996	0,01	0,02	–	–	–	–
1997	0,01	0,02	–	–	–	–
1998	0,01	0,02	–	–	–	–
1999	0,01	–	–	–	–	–
2000	0,00	–	–	–	–	–
Note: age groups in generations, which include births in 2012, are highlighted in bold.						

In the **Republic of Adygea**, a lump sum payment is made for the third or subsequent child born since 2012 (in fact, an analogue of the maternal (family) capital). Initially, it was set at 50,000 rubles[16], and from January 1, 2025, it is 100,000 rubles[17]. In 2012, the increase in the total fertility rate for the third and subsequent births was 0.023. This is significantly more than in previous years, but less than in 2007 (0.056), when federal maternity (family) capital began to be provided, and in 2008 (0.042). In 2013, the total fertility rate for third and subsequent births increased by 0.014 compared to 2012, amounting to 0.365, and in 2014–2017 it remained almost unchanged between 0.360 and 0.369. In 2018 and 2019, this indicator decreased by 0.020 and 0.006, respectively. In 2020, the total fertility rate for the third and subsequent births, it increased by 0.043, i.e. The increase was almost twice as much as in 2012. In 2020, a monthly payment was introduced for the third or subsequent child until they reach the age of three[18]. If in most regions a monthly payment for a third or subsequent child before the age of three was introduced, as a rule, the year after the start of the regional maternal (family) capital program (and this could reduce the effect of its impact, since it was focused, in fact, on the same births (third and subsequent ones), that both the regional maternal (family) capital and some of the families that such a measure could affect had already reacted to it when the regional maternal (family) capital was introduced). In the Republic of Adygea, the time gap between these measures is 8 years. In 2021, the total fertility rate for third and subsequent births increased by 0.023, in 2022 it decreased by 0.015, and in 2023 it increased again by 0.021.

[16] On Amendments to Article 7 of the Law of the Republic of Adygea "On the protection of the family, motherhood, fatherhood and childhood": Law of the Republic of Adygea 10, dated June 8, 2011. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/453108776?marker=64U0IK

[17] On Amendments to the Law of the Republic of Adygea "On the Protection of the Family, Motherhood, Fatherhood and Childhood": Law of the Republic of Adygea 347, dated August 5, 2024. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/407372965?marker=64U0IK

[18] On monthly cash payments to families in need of support at the birth of a third child or subsequent children: Law of the Republic of Adygea 298, dated December 10, 2019. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/561643721

The average number of third and subsequent births under the age of 30 in the Republic of Adygea increases from 0.08 in the generations of women born in 1974–1978 to 0.13 in the generation born in 1988. In younger generations, there is no stable dynamics of this indicator and, rather, we can talk about its fluctuations in the range of 0.11–0.13. Fluctuations in the value of this indicator have the place in older age groups *(Tab. 10)*.

Table 10. Average number of third and subsequent births in real generations of women in the Republic of Adygea

Woman's year of birth	Average number of third and subsequent births						
	at the age				by the age		
	up to 30 years	30–34 years	35–39 years	40–44 years	35 years	40 years	45 years
1974	0,08	0,09	0,08	0,02	0,17	0,25	0,27
1975	0,08	0,10	0,08	0,03	0,18	0,26	0,29
1976	0,08	0,10	0,08	0,02	0,19	0,26	0,28
1977	0,08	0,11	0,10	0,03	0,19	0,29	0,32
1978	0,08	0,12	0,09	0,02	0,20	0,28	0,30
1979	0,09	0,13	0,08	0,02	0,22	0,30	0,33
1980	0,10	0,12	0,08	–	0,22	0,29	–
1981	0,10	0,12	0,09	–	0,22	0,31	–
1982	0,10	0,12	0,09	–	0,23	0,31	–
1983	0,11	0,13	0,10	–	0,24	0,34	–
1984	0,11	0,13	0,10	–	0,24	0,34	–
1985	0,12	0,12	–	–	0,24	–	–
1986	0,12	0,12	–	–	0,23	–	–
1987	0,12	0,13	–	–	0,26	–	–
1988	0,13	0,14	–	–	0,28	–	–
1989	0,12	0,12	–	–	0,24	–	–
1990	0,11	–	–	–	–	–	–
1991	0,12	–	–	–	–	–	–
1992	0,13	–	–	–	–	–	–
1993	0,12	–	–	–	–	–	–
1994	0,13	–	–	–	–	–	–

The average number of third and subsequent births by the age of 35 increases from 0.17 for women born in 1974 to 0.28 for women born in 1988, but in the generation born in 1989 it is significantly less (0.24). By the age of 40, the value of this indicator increases from 0.25 for women born in 1974 to 0.34 for women born in 1983-1984, and by the age of 45 from 0.27 for women born in 1974 to 0.33 for women born in 1979.

Data on real generations indicate that there was insignificant increase in the average number of third and subsequent births due to the start of the provision of regional maternal (family) capital in 2012. Such an increase can, apparently, be said only in relation to the value of this indicator in the age range of 32–34 years in the generation born in 1979 *(Tab.11)*.

Table11. Average number of third and subsequent births by age range in the Republic of Adygea in the generations of women born in 1974–1998

Woman's year of birth	Age, years								
	23–25	26–28	29–31	32–34	35–37	38–40	41–43	44–46	47–49
1974	0,02	0,03	0,05	0,05	0,06	**0,03**	0,02	***0,00***	0,00
1975	0,02	0,04	0,05	0,07	**0,05**	0,04	0,01	***0,00***	–
1976	0,02	0,04	0,05	0,07	**0,06**	0,03	0,01	***0,00***	–
1977	0,02	0,04	0,07	0,06	**0,06**	0,04	***0,01***	0,00	–
1978	0,02	0,04	0,06	**0,07**	0,06	0,03	***0,01***	–	–
1979	0,03	0,03	0,07	**0,08**	0,06	0,03	***0,02***	–	–
1980	0,02	0,04	0,07	**0,07**	0,06	***0,03***	0,01	–	–
1981	0,02	0,05	**0,07**	0,07	0,06	***0,04***	–	–	–
1982	0,02	0,05	**0,07**	0,07	0,06	***0,04***	–	–	–
1983	0,03	0,05	**0,07**	0,09	***0,06***	0,05	–	–	–
1984	0,03	**0,05**	0,08	0,08	***0,07***	–	–	–	–
1985	0,03	**0,06**	0,08	0,07	***0,06***	–	–	–	–
1986	0,03	**0,05**	0,08	***0,07***	0,07	–	–	–	–
1987	**0,03**	0,06	0,07	***0,08***	–	–	–	–	–
1988	**0,03**	0,06	0,08	***0,09***	–	–	–	–	–
1989	**0,03**	0,05	***0,07***	0,08	–	–	–	–	–
1990	0,03	0,05	***0,07***	–	–	–	–	–	–
1991	0,03	0,05	***0,07***	–	–	–	–	–	–
1992	0,03	***0,05***	0,08	–	–	–	–	–	–
1993	0,03	***0,05***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1994	0,03	***0,06***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1995	***0,03***	0,07	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1996	***0,04***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1997	***0,04***	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1998	0,04	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Note: age groups in generations that include births in 2012 are shown in bold; age groups that include births in 2020 are shown in bold italics.

The beginning of a monthly payment in 2020 for a third or subsequent child before the age of three could affect generations of women born in 1996–1997, whose average number of third and subsequent births in the age range of 23–25 years is higher than in older generations.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, family support during the birth of the third and subsequent children is absolutely the right decision. However, the variability of the conditions for the appointment of RMC indicates the importance of understanding the factors concerning transition to large families and regional features. There are regions where the RMC impact was positive, for example, in the Kaluga Region (Arkhangelskiy, 2025), and regions where the birth rate increase was the result of "timing shifts". The size of the regional maternity capital, introduced in most regions in 2012, was comparable to 8–9 minimum wage levels[19]. At the same time, its payment in the form of cash turned out to be less influential, since it can be used when a child reaches the age of 1-3 in different regions of the Russian Federation. In the case of the indexation of the RMC amount, a positive effect on fertility was also recorded, but the differences in the initial values were not so significant. With a relatively high standard of living in the region, the initial amount did not become decisive, as we see in the example of the Yaroslavl Region. While the possibility of paying off part of a mortgage loan or other housing improvements with an RMC certificate, paying for kindergarten, and the possibility of purchasing a car, snowmobile, or agricultural machinery proved to be more in demand among large families. The revealed presence of timing shifts indicates the need for more fine-tuning of support programs for large families. The observed increase in the TFR for third children when the monthly child care allowance for up to three years is included indicates that regular measures to maintain the standard of living are important for families with children during the transition to a large family, since the housing issue for the appearance of the third and subsequent children has been resolved one way or another and may require improvement or expansion of the area, and besides the growth of current material costs, temporary ones are also growing, requiring parents to reconsider their lifestyle. In this regard, it seems important to continue improving the program of support for large families in the regions, including the improvement of social and economic infrastructure.

REFERENCES

Arkhangelskiy V.N. (2016). Birth rate in real generations is an opportunity to evaluate the past and look into the future. In: *Dinamika i inertsionnost' vosproizvodstva pokolenii v Rossii i SNG: mat-ly VII Ural'skogo demogr. foruma s mezhdunar. Uchastiem. T. 1* [Dynamics and Inertia of Generational Reproduction in Russia and the CIS: Proceedings of the 7th Ural Demographic Forum with International Participation. Volume 1]. Yekaterinburg: I-t ekonomiki UrO RAN. Available at: https://www.elibrary.ru/item.asp?edn=xaucwr (in Russian).

Arkhangelskiy V.N. (2025). Statistical assessment of the impact of regional demographic policy measures on fertility. In: *Faktory i mekhanizmy demograficheskogo razvitiya: sb. nauch. st.* [Factors and Mechanisms of Demographic Development: Collection of Scientific Articles]. Yekaterinburg: I-t ekonomiki UrO RAN. Available at: https://www.doi.org/10.17059/udf-2025-3-1 (in Russian).

Arkhangelskiy V.N., Zolotareva O.A., Kuchmaeva O.V. (2024). Two approaches to assessing the effectiveness of demographic policy (using the example of federal maternity capital). *Ekonomicheskie i sotsial'nye*

[19] RF Government Resolution 1068, dated December 21, 2011, established the minimum wage level of 6,287 rubles.

peremeny: fakty, tendentsii, prognoz=Economic and Social Changes: Facts, Trends, Forecast, 17(6), 77–97. DOI: 10.15838/esc.2024.6.96.4 (in Russian).

Denisova I.A., Kalabikhina I.E., Kuznetsova P.O. (2024). Assessment of the impact of the regional maternity capital program on fertility (using the example of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug). Gosudarstvennoe upravlenie. *Elektronnyi vestnik*, 105, 232–243. DOI: 10.55959/MSU2070-1381-105-2024-232-243 (in Russian).

Gal'yanov I.V., Studennikova N.S. (2016). The regional aspect in providing social support to large families. *Vestnik tekhnosfernoi bezopasnosti i sel'skogo razvitiya*, 1(9), 7–12 (in Russian).

Grigor'ev Yu.A., Baran O.I. (2016). Regional measures to support families with children and fertility in the Siberian Federal District. *Sovremennye nauchnye issledovaniya i innovatsii*, 10(66) (in Russian).

Grishina E.E., Cacura E.A. (2017). Regional maternity capital: Analysis of regional differences and their impact on reproductive behavior. *Uroven' zhizni naseleniya regionov Rossii*, 3(205), 51–58 (in Russian).

Kadakoeva G.V. (2014). Improving the practice of using maternity capital in the regional socio-economic system. *Rossiiskoe predprinimatel'stvo*, 24(270), 125–137 (in Russian).

Kalabikhina I.E. (2013). About the regional maternal (family) capital. *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Ser. 6: Ekonomika*, 2, 62–70 (in Russian).

Karpova V.M. (2018). Reproductive history as a factor of reproductive behavior. *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Ser. 18. Sotsiologiya i politologiya*, 24(3), 62–86. DOI: https://doi.org/10.24290/1029-3736-2018-24-3-62-86 (in Russian).

Kazenin K.I., Kozlov V.A. (2020). Regional measures to support large families in the Russian Federation. *Zhurnal issledovanii sotsial'noi politiki*, 18(2), 191–206. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17323/727-0634-2020-18-2-191-206 (in Russian).

Musin E.R. (2024). Regional maternity capital in Russia: Analysis of differences in terms of provision, size, and target area. DEMIS. *Demograficheskie issledovaniya=DEMIS. Demographic Research*, 4(3), 37–48. DOI: https://doi.org/10.19181/demis.2024.4.3.3 (in Russian).

Sekitski-Pavlenko O.O. (2023). Russians' assessment of demographic policy measures in the field of fertility. *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya=Sociological Studies*, 7, 142–147. DOI: 10.31857/S013216250026591-3 (in Russian).

Shabunova A.A., Rostovskaya T.K. (2022). Demographic policy in modern Russia: the opinion of the population and expert assessment. *Vestnik Rossiiskoi akademii nauk*, 92(12), 1145–1156. DOI: 10.31857/S0869587322090080 (in Russian).

Sharipova A.O. (2023). The grounds for the appointment and use of regional maternity capital: comparative legal analysis. *Mezhdunarodnyi zhurnal gumanitarnykh i estestvennykh nauk*, 4-4(79), 238–241 (in Russian).

Shishkina M.A., Popova L.A. (2017). Impact of modern pro-family demographic policy on birth intensity in the northern regions of Russia. *Ekonomicheskie i sotsial'nye peremeny: fakty, tendentsii, prognoz=Economic and Social Changes: Facts, Trends, Forecast*, 10(1), 161–177. DOI: 10.15838/esc.2017.1.49.9 (in Russian).

Studennikova N.S. (2015). Regional peculiarities of payment and use of maternity capital. *Vestnik sel'skogo razvitiya i sotsial'noi politiki*, 8, 4(8), 9–14 (in Russian).

Tikhomirova T.M., Tikhomirov N.P. (2020). Assessment of the effectiveness of the maternity capital program in the regions of Russia. *Federalizm=Federalism*, 1, 5–26. DOI: https://doi.org/10.21686/2073-1051-2020-1-5-26 (in Russian).

Vakulenko E.S., Ivashina N.V., Svistil'nik Ya.O. (2023). Regional maternity capital programs: Impact on the birth rate in Russia. *Ekonomika regiona=Economy of Regions*, 19(4), 1077–1092. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17059/ekon.reg.2023-4-10 (in Russian).

Zvereva N.V., Arkhangelskiy V.N. (2010). Preliminary results and prospects of modern fertility policy. *Federalizm=Federalism*, 2(58), 69–84 (in Russian).

Appendix

Conditions of the demographic policy measure "Regional maternal (family) capital"

RF constituent entity, a regulatory act regulating the introduction of RMC	Date of introduction and date of commencement of action	Conditions of receipt			
		order of birth and multiplicity of payments	principle of neediness	payment period and goals	initial amount, indexation, thousand rubles
Belgorod Region Law of the Belgorod Region 86, dated December 5, 2011 "On Amendments to the Social Code of the Belgorod Region" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/469029456?marker=64U0IK)	05.12.2011 01.01.2012	At the birth of a third or subsequent child once	No	When the child reaches the age of 1 year; for the purchase or repair of housing	50 In 2025 – 94,555
Bryansk Region Bryansk Region Law 97-Z, dated October 11, 2011 "On Additional Social Support Measures for Families with Children in the Bryansk Region" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/974020448?ysclid=l92ityzuku484236107)	11.10.2011 01.01.2012	At the birth of a third or subsequent child once. With multiple pregnancies for each child. Starting in 2022, for the fourth and subsequent children	No	Upon reaching the age of three; for the improvement of housing conditions, for the purchase of goods and services intended for the social adaptation and integration into society of children with disabilities, for the education of children under 25 years of age	50 2015 – 100; 2020 – 200
Vladimir Region Law of the Vladimir Region 127-OZ, dated December 29, 2011 "On additional measures of state support for families with children in the territory of the Vladimir Region" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/965016507)	29.12.2011 01.01.2012 Children born since 01.10.2011	At the birth of a third or subsequent child, for each child	No	Since 2016, lump sum payment in cash for any purpose	50 In 2025 – 82,775
Voronezh Region Voronezh Region Law 103-OZ, dated November 14, 2008 "On Social Support for Certain Categories of Citizens in the Voronezh Region" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/819075666?ysclid=l92n85e0ze926278290)	01.01.2012	At the birth of the third and every subsequent child	Since 2017, it has been provided to families with an average per capita income not exceeding the subsistence level.; from 2019 – 2 subsistence minimums; from 01.01.2023 – without taking into account the need	Certificate; order upon reaching the age of 1 year for the purchase or repair of housing, education, medical services	100,0 Since 2019 – 150.0; annual indexation, in 2024 – 160,973

RF constituent entity, a regulatory act regulating the introduction of RMC	Date of introduction and date of commencement of action	Conditions of receipt			
		order of birth and multiplicity of payments	principle of neediness	payment period and goals	initial amount, indexation, thousand rubles
Kaluga Region Kaluga Region Law 240-OZ "On Maternal (Family) Capital", dated December 27, 2011 (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/972218440?ysclid=l8oa8q6daq339045014)	27.12.2011 01.01.2012	At the birth of the second, third or subsequent child	No	For any purpose	50 for the second, 100.0 for the third and subsequent children
Kursk Region Kursk Region Law 94-WK, dated November 24, 2011 "On Amendments to the Kursk Region Law «On state support for families with children in the Kursk Region" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/908018197?marker=64U0IK)	24.11.2011 01.01.2012	For the third and every subsequent child born	No	For construction, purchase or repair of housing, education	75,0 In 2024 – 106,319
Lipetsk Region Law of the Lipetsk Region 498-OZ, dated May 27, 2011 "On Amendments to the law of the Lipetsk Region "On social, incentive payments and social support measures in the field of family and demographic policy, as well as to persons with special merits to the Russian Federation and the Lipetsk Region" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/872615019?marker)	27.05.2011 Children born since 01.05.2011	At the birth of the third and subsequent children	No	For any purpose	50,0 Since 2019 – 100.0; in 2024 – 104.5
Orel Region Law of the Orel Region 1202-OZ, dated May 6, 2011 "On Amendments to the Law of the Orel Region «On the status of a large family of the Orel Region and measures of its social support" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/453100093?marker=64U0IK)	06.05.2011 Children born since 01.01.2011	At the birth of the third and subsequent children once	No	For improving housing conditions, education of children, treatment and rehabilitation of disabled children, as well as for purchasing a car or agricultural machinery	100 In 2024 – 138,5
Tula Region Law of the Tula Region 1650-ZTO, dated October 18, 2011 "On Amendments to the law of the Tula Region "On the implementation of state family and demographic policy in the Tula Region" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/453112578?marker=64U0IK)	18.10.2011 01.01.2012	At the birth of the third and subsequent children once	No	For improving housing conditions, for education of a child (children) or a person who has received a certificate of the right to receive regional maternal (family) capital; compensation for the payment of sanatorium treatment	50 Since 2020 – 150

RF constituent entity, a regulatory act regulating the introduction of RMC	Date of introduction and date of commencement of action	Conditions of receipt			
		order of birth and multiplicity of payments	principle of neediness	payment period and goals	initial amount, indexation, thousand rubles
Yaroslavl Region Law of the Yaroslavl Region 14-z, dated June 8, 2011 "On Amendments to the law of the Yaroslavl Region "Social code of the Yaroslavl Region" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/934029884?marker=64U0IK)	08.06.2011 01.01.2012	At the birth of the third and subsequent children once	No	Lump sum payment, for any purpose	50,0 In 2025 – 73,135
Republic of Karelia Law of the Republic of Karelia 1584-SAM, dated March 7, 2012 "On Amendments to the law of the Republic of Karelia "On certain issues of social support for citizens with children" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/919506490?marker=64U0IK)	07.03.2012	At the birth of the third and subsequent children once	No	For improving housing conditions, paying for kindergarten, repair housing, gasification of houses, purchasing a car or agricultural machinery, as well as to provide children with disabilities with rehabilitation facilities not included in the federal list	100,0 In 2024 – 105,5
Arkhangelsk Region Arkhangelsk Region Law 403-27-OZ, dated December 16, 2011 "On Amendments and additions to the regional law "On measures of social support for large families in the Arkhangelsk Region" (https://arkh-gov.ru/doc/31866?ysclid=l8ixctcz1v856676837)	16.12.2011 01.01.2012	At the birth of the third and subsequent children. Starting in 2021, for every child	No	For any purpose	50 In 2025 – 151,567
Murmansk Region Law of the Murmansk Region 1447-01-ZMO, dated December 19, 2011 "On additional measures of social support for families with children in the Murmansk region" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/913521831?ysclid=l9cxktv5op576931250)	19.12.2011 01.01.2012	At the birth of the third and subsequent children once	No	To improve family's living conditions, receive education, reimburse expenses for the purchase of durable goods by the family, repair residential premises, pay for medical services, purchase goods and services intended for social adaptation and integration into society of children with disabilities. EDV from capital funds – 20,000 rubles. In 2024, the list of areas of use of maternity capital in the Murmansk region was expanded: to pay for sanatorium treatment for children, purchase medicines for children according to doctors» prescriptions, connect an individual housing construction facility to electricity, water supply, and sanitation networks.	100 In 2024 – 149,373

RF constituent entity, a regulatory act regulating the introduction of RMC	Date of introduction and date of commencement of action	Conditions of receipt			
		order of birth and multiplicity of payments	principle of neediness	payment period and goals	initial amount, indexation, thousand rubles
Novgorod Region Law of the Novgorod Region 997-OZ, dated May 16, 2011 "On additional measures of social support for large families living in the territory of the Novgorod Region" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/422448569?ysclid=l90dbwrdlq191806851); Law of the Novgorod Region 369-OZ, dated January 29, 2019 "On the regional capital "The first child" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/550326903)	16.05.2011 From 2019 to the first children	At the birth of the third and every subsequent child (born before the end of 2018). Since 2011 – 100.0; Since 2012, it has been 200.0 (if 100 of them are for improving housing conditions). For mothers born in 2019-2025 under the age of 29, the regional capital "First Child" is provided; 100 thousand rubles in 2019–2022, 150 thousand rubles in 2023–2025. It was originally set for children born in 2019–2021. In December 2021, it was extended for those born in 2022*, in December 2022 – for those born until the end of 2025	No	To improve housing conditions and pay for the supervision and care of a child (children) in an organization that implements basic educational programs for preschool education	100,0/200,0 100,0 Since 2023 – 150,0
Republic of Adygea Law of the Republic of Adygea 10, dated June 8, 2011 "On Amendments to Article 7 of the Law of the Republic of Adygea "On the protection of the family, motherhood, fatherhood and childhood" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/453108776?marker=64U0IK)	08.06.2011 01.01.2012	At the birth of the third and subsequent children once	Families with an average per capita income below 2 minimum wages levels	To improve living conditions, educate children, repair their own home, purchase rehabilitation funds for a disabled child, replenish the mother»s personal account for the formation of a funded pension	50,0 Since 2025 – 100,0
Republic of Kalmykia Law of the Republic of Kalmykia 324-IV-Z, dated December 26, 2011 "On regional maternity (family) capital" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/453113602?ysclid=l943milh3l513994293	26.12.2011 01.01.2012	At the birth of the third and subsequent children once	Families with an average per capita income below 1.5% of the subsistence level; starting in 2020 – without the criterion of need	To improve housing conditions, children»s education, medical services, as well as to purchase goods and services for the social adaptation of children with disabilities	50,0 Since 2019 – 100,0; in 2025 – 129,345

RF constituent entity, a regulatory act regulating the introduction of RMC	Date of introduction and date of commencement of action	Conditions of receipt			
		order of birth and multiplicity of payments	principle of neediness	payment period and goals	initial amount, indexation, thousand rubles
Volgograd Region Law of the Volgograd Region 6-OD, dated February 27, 2012 "On Amendments to the law of the Volgograd Region 1097-OD, dated August 8, 2005 "On additional one-time cash allowance for the birth of a child" and Law of the Volgograd Region 1442-OD, dated April 10, 2007 "On social support for families with children in Volgograd Region" (https://docs.cntd.ru/document/453115433?marker	27.02.2012 01.01.2012	At the birth of the third and subsequent children once	Families with an average per capita income below 1.5% of the subsistence level (since 2016)**	Lump sum payment when the child reaches the age of two years	40,789 Since 2016 – 70,0***; in 2025 – 89,071

* On Amendments to the regional law "On the regional capital of the first child": Law of the Novgorod Region 38-OZ, dated December 2, 2021. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/577971612?marker=64U0IK

** On Approval of the procedure for providing social support measures to families with a third child or subsequent children born no earlier than January 1, 2016: Order 375 of the Committee for Social Protection of the Population of the Volgograd Region, dated April 18, 2016. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/438872455; https://soc.volganet.ru/35/news/objyavleniya/548784

*** Social Code of the Volgograd Region: Volgograd Region Law 246-OD, dated December 31, 2015. Available at: https://docs.cntd.ru/document/432835725

INFORMATION ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Ol'ga N. Kalachikova – Candidate of Sciences (Economics), Leading Researcher, deputy director for science, Vologda Research Center, Russian Academy of Sciences (56A, Gorky Street, Vologda, 160014, Russian Federation; e-mail: onk82@yandex.ru)

Vladimir N. Arkhangelskiy – Candidate of Sciences (Economics), Leading Researcher, Institute of Demographic Research, FCTAS RAS (6, Fotieva Street, Moscow, 119333, r Russian Federation; e-mail: archangelsky@yandex.ru)