

Article

Effectiveness of demographic policy measures in addressing population decline in contemporary Russia

Vladimir V. Moiseev^{1,*}, Julia S. Kolesnikova², Elena V. Yagudina², Alsu M. Kuznetsova³,
Marina A. Molchanova⁴

¹ Historical Sciences, Department of Sociology and Management, Faculty of Economics and Management, Technological University of Belgorod, 308012 Belgorod, Russia

² Economics, Human Resource Management Department, Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University, 420008 Kazan, Russia

³ Sociological Sciences, Human Resource Management Department, Kazan (Volga Region) Federal University, 420008 Kazan, Russia

⁴ Legal Sciences, Department of Sociology and Management, Faculty of Economics and Management, Technological University of Belgorod, 308012 Belgorod, Russia

* **Corresponding author:** Vladimir V. Moiseev, din_prof@mail.ru

CITATION

Moiseev VV, Kolesnikova JS, Yagudina EV, et al. (2024). Effectiveness of demographic policy measures in addressing population decline in contemporary Russia. *Journal of Infrastructure, Policy and Development*. 8(9): 6004. <https://doi.org/10.24294/jipd.v8i9.6004>

ARTICLE INFO

Received: 24 April 2024

Accepted: 25 June 2024

Available online: 3 September 2024

COPYRIGHT



Copyright © 2024 by author(s). *Journal of Infrastructure, Policy and Development* is published by EnPress Publisher, LLC. This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Abstract: Demographic policy is one of the key tasks of almost any state at the present time. It correlates with the solution of pressing problems in the economic and social spheres, directly depends on the state of healthcare, education, migration policy and other factors and directly affects the socio-economic development of both individual regions and the country as a whole. Many Russian and foreign researchers believe that demographic indicators very accurately reflect the socio-economic and political situation of the state. The relevance of the study is due to the fact that for the progressive socio-economic development of any country, positive demographic dynamics are necessary. The main sign of the negative demographic situation that has developed in modern Russia and a number of countries, primarily European, is the growing scale of depopulation (population extinction). The purpose of this work was to analyze the existing demographic policy of Russia and compare demographic trends in Russia and other countries. The work uses methods of statistical data analysis, comparison of statistical indicators of fertility, mortality, natural population decline, migration, marriage rates in Russia and the Republic of Srpska, methods of retrospective analysis, research of the institutional environment created by the action of state and national programs “Demography”, “Providing accessible and comfortable housing and public services for citizens of the Russian Federation”, “Strategy of socio-economic development for the period until 2024”, Presidential decrees, etc. Research has shown that despite measures taken to overcome the demographic crisis, Russia’s population continues to decline. According to the Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation (Rosstat), as of 1 January 2023, 146.45 million people lived in Russia. By 1 January 2046, according to a Rosstat forecast published in October 2023 the country’s population will decrease to 138.77 million people. To solve demographic problems in the Russian Federation, a national project “Demography” was developed and approved. The government has allocated more than 3 trillion rubles for its implementation. However, it is not possible to completely overcome the negative trend. The authors proposed a number of economic and ideological measures within the framework of agglomeration, migration, and family support policies that can be used within the framework of socio-economic development strategies and national programs aimed at overcoming the demographic crisis.

Keywords: depopulation; fertility; mortality; migration; socioeconomic factors; family policy; National project “Demography”

1. Introduction

The transition of Russia in the early 90s of the last century to market relations and the restoration of capitalism was accompanied by negative phenomena in demographic processes: a decrease in the birth rate and an increase in mortality, which soon acquired the character of depopulation—a natural population decline. Statistics show that out of 1067 Russian cities, 758 experienced depopulation in the post-Soviet period (Gunko and Batunova, 2019). It is estimated that for the period from 1992 to 2023 natural population decline (the excess of the number of deaths over the number of births) in the Russian Federation in total exceeded 15,000,000 people (authors' calculations, 2024). The famous demographer Rybakovsky argued in his article that during the post-Soviet period, Russia and its regions lost 16.3 million people—on average, the natural decline during this period was 0.5 million per year (Rybakovsky, 2023).

Some researchers estimate the demographic losses of the population of the Russian Federation for the entire post-Soviet period even higher—at 26.3 million people, calling them the largest in the history of the country (Sokolov, 2021), comparable to the losses of Soviet Russia in the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945, which are estimated at 19.8 million people (Rybakovsky, 2023).

The main cause of increased mortality is cardiovascular diseases (55%), and in Russia it is 3–4 times higher than in European countries (Presidential Decree, 2007). A population decline of 10%–15% over a decade and a half (1990–2005) occurred in Mordovia, Karelia, the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), Primorsky and Khabarovsk territories, Amur, Vladimir, Ivanovo, Kursk, Ryazan, Tambov and others. regions. The population in the Arkhangelsk, Magadan, Murmansk and Sakhalin regions, the Komi Republic and the Kamchatka Territory decreased by more than 15% (Kremlin, 2019).

The negative trend, indicating a demographic crisis, continued in subsequent decades, despite the approval by the head of state of two special demographic concepts—the first for the period from 2001 to 2015 and the second until 2024 (Presidential Decree, 2007). This is evidenced by the following statistics: if the natural population decline in 2019, according to Rosstat, amounted to only 317.2 thousand people, then in 2020 it increased to 688.7 thousand people, in 2022—to 599.6 thousand person (Population, 2024). The low level and quality of life in the regions, the COVID-19 pandemic, poor-quality healthcare system and other factors related to the social sphere have become catalysts for the growth of depopulation, which reached a record level in 2021—more than 1,000,000 people (Population, 2024).

Similar processes are occurring to varying degrees in many European countries. According to the United Nations (UN), the top 10 countries with the fastest population decline over the next three decades are: Bulgaria—22.5%; Lithuania 22.1%; Latvia 21.6%; Ukraine 19.5% (due to military operations the percentage will be increased); Serbia 18.9%; Bosnia and Herzegovina 18.2%; Croatia 18%; Moldova 16.7%; Japan 16.3%; Albania 15.8% (Countries with declining populations, 2024).

In Russia, the national project “Demography” is being implemented, aimed at supporting the birth rate, developing systemic support and improving the quality of

life of older citizens; development of a system of motivation for a healthy lifestyle, etc. For the implementation of these and other activities in 2019–2024. It was planned to allocate more than 3 trillion rubles from the state budget. A new increase in mortality against the backdrop of a decline in the birth rate in 2020–2021. became another impetus for the Russian government to change the demographic situation for the better. The results of the implementation of the national project “Demography” require an assessment of the most effective areas of implementation and adjustments taking into account the requirements of the time.

2. Literature review

When studying the problems of demography, the authors relied on the works of domestic and foreign scientists. When writing the article, the authors analyzed the demographic policies of a number of foreign countries for its creative application in Russia. A number of works by Western demographers are devoted to this aspect: Carlson et al. (2003). A fairly wide range of scientific works analyzes the influence of demography on various processes: interest rates (Han, 2024), climate change and carbon dioxide emissions (Long et al., 2024; Liu et al., 2024), inflation (Rai and Garg, 2024). A number of foreign works by such authors as Sanchez et al. (2024), Jiangmei et al. (2024), Sutradhar et al. (2023), Alonso et al. (2023) view technological progress and technology development as a way to overcome depopulation in rural and remote areas.

The conceptual basis for studying current problems of demographic policy in modern Russia is formulated in the works of demographers A.I. Antonova, V.N. Arkhangelsky, O.G. Berestneva, I.V. Bestuzheva-Lada, V.A. Borisova, A.G. Vishnevsky, Yu.A. Grigorieva, L.B. Darsky, S.P. Ermakova, O.S. Zharkova, L.P. Kuksa, O.L. Rybakovsky, A.B. Sinelnikova, V.A. Sysenko, A.G. Kharcheva, I.L. Shelekhov and others. The monographs and articles of these scientists substantiate the importance of a system of measures to preserve and increase the country’s population, the main directions of state demographic policy to eliminate the causes of the extinction of Russians in the post-Soviet period of socio-economic development. Thus, in the monograph of professors V.I. Levashov and V.I. Staroverov calls the main cause of the demographic crisis in post-Soviet Russia erroneous economic policies, as well as the so-called “shock therapy”. In their opinion, an ill-considered transition to market relations against the backdrop of hyperinflation and impoverishment of the bulk of Russians naturally led to demographic problems, which subsequently became a catalyst for depopulation processes (Levashov and Staroverov, 2000).

Despite some successes, many democratic problems remain largely unresolved. Measures aimed at supporting families and increasing the birth rate did not save the demographic situation. The main reason, in our opinion, is the ineffectiveness of demographic policy, in particular, in creating conditions for a decent life in accordance with constitutional provisions. The conducted research undoubtedly became the basis for writing our work, however, the listed works did not conduct an in-depth retrospective analysis and analysis of the modern institutional environment, regulatory regulation and analysis of national projects .

3. Methodology

The study uses methods such as historical, statistical, institutional, comparative, systemic and others. Using the historical method, the authors present numerous historical facts indicating the growing demographic crisis with the beginning of the restoration of capitalism in Russia in the early 1990s. The historical method was combined with the statistical method, i.e., for each hysterical stage, statistical data on the state of demographics are provided.

The statistical method made it possible to substantiate certain conclusions regarding the natural population decline of modern Russia. The State Committee of Statistics of the USSR, based on the available data and the emerging stable trend in the demographic processes of that time, calculated that while maintaining the same birth rate and relatively low mortality, the population of the RSFSR by the end of 2015 should grow from 148.3 million to 165.7 million people. By the end of 2023, the number of Russians would have reached, according to the most conservative estimates, 170 million people. However, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, due to the implementation of the “shock therapy” policy, the decline in the economy and standard of living of Russians, and a number of other reasons, demographic processes received negative dynamics and, as a result, over 30 years (1991–2021), the population of Russia not only did not grow by the planned millions of people, but, on the contrary, it has decreased sharply. As a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, a demographic crisis began in Russia, which demographers called the “Russian cross” (an increase in mortality while a simultaneous decrease in the birth rate of new citizens) (Grigoriev and Baran, 2017; Kontsipko, 2020). The use of the statistical method was also evident in the analysis of expenses aimed at maintaining demographics.

Using the institutional method, the authors identified the role of the president and the government of the Russian Federation in correcting the crisis situation in demography, and analyzed the main directions of state demographic policy in recent years. The main state targets for correcting the crisis demographic situation in the country were reflected in the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of 7 May 2018 No. 204 “On national goals and strategic objectives of the development of the Russian Federation for the period until 2024”, which, in particular, contains instructions develop the main directions of activity of the Government of the Russian Federation for the period until 2024, including the development of a national project “Demography”. Based on the presidential decree, a “Strategy for Socio-Economic Development for the Period until 2024” was developed in each region, which included measures to develop physical culture and fitness, introduce the idea of a healthy lifestyle to the masses, etc. The criteria for evaluating the work of regional heads with 2021, a new criterion “Level of citizen involvement in sports” was included. An analysis of institutional measures for regulating demographic policy in a number of regions of the Russian Federation was carried out. For example, an analysis of the budget allocations of the regions included in the Central Black Earth Economic Region (CHER) showed a significant increase in spending on physical culture and sports. The largest increase is in the Belgorod region (almost 5 times). The emerging positive trends in the demographic situation can be judged from the

annual reports of the regional administration. Thus, in the report of A.V. Nikitin, head of the Tambov province, on the results of the administration's work in 2018, it was noted that the region had achieved positive changes in the demography of the region in terms of the smallest drop in the birth rate—by 0.6 ppm. Financial support for families with children played an important role in this. The successes of the Tambov region in the field of family policy were awarded first place in the All-Russian competition of regional programs for social development of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation. However, despite individual successes, demographic problems as a whole remained unresolved.

Using the comparative method, the authors attempted to compare the demographic processes occurring in modern Russia and the Republika Srpska, to identify general patterns and some differences in the savings policies of the population of these countries.

The systematic method made it possible to conduct comprehensive research and formulate well-founded conclusions, to combine the research results obtained from the application of the methods described above.

4. Result and discussion

Among the reasons for the Russian demographic crisis are the following:

1) a change in social policy towards deterioration, the abolition of numerous social benefits and other gains of socialism, which inevitably entailed a decrease in the level and quality of life of citizens; as a result, tens of millions of whom found themselves below the poverty line (read: beggars). It should be noted here that in recent years the population of the Russian Federation has been sinking deeper into a debt hole: in 2023, its debt to credit institutions became astronomical - 35 trillion rubles, setting a kind of record (Trushina, 2023);

2) the negative influence of Western and part of the national media, including electronic ones, as well as the impact on the minds of Russian youth of American films that promote other values in life (consumer society, the idea of childfree (life without children), focus on a career instead of a family, etc.);

3) in the last three decades, due to a number of factors (including the influence of the Internet), there has been a devaluation of moral and family values, which has made obvious the crisis of the family institution that has matured in the post-Soviet space of Russia;

4) an increase in alcoholism, drug addiction, as well as an increase in the number of suicides among adolescents against the backdrop of optimization (and essentially reduction) of health care institutions, as a result of which the number of hospitals was halved, which led to a deterioration in the health of the nation and an increase in mortality. Statistics show that in the period from 2000 to 2015. the number of hospitals in the country was halved—from 10.7 thousand to 5.4 thousand. Compared to 1990, there was a decrease in medical institutions by 2.37 times. Accordingly, there are 23 thousand fewer places in them. This negative trend continued in 2016–2023. The number of medical institutions (hospitals, clinics, outpatient clinics, paramedics and obstetric centers of perinatal centers, etc.) as a

result of the optimization has practically reached the level of the Russian Empire 1913. (Moiseev, 2020).

The negative effect of “optimization” of healthcare was clearly manifested in five regions of the Central Black Sea region. Thus, in the Voronezh region the number of hospital beds decreased by 23%, in Kursk—by 26%, in the Belgorod region—by 35%, in the Lipetsk and Tambov regions—by 38%. As a result of ill-considered management decisions, the ability of local residents to receive treatment close to home has decreased. And in order to receive qualified medical care, one often had to ask for a quota for treatment in the capital (Krivenko, 2018). Of course, medical services provided at the wrong time could not but affect the increase in mortality among Russians, especially in the outback (provinces). Thus, by reducing the number of hospitals, clinics, first aid stations, perinatal centers and other medical institutions in the regions, the federal authorities harmed the health of Russians and increased their mortality, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Medical fact: mortality in Russia during the pandemic, against the background of a shortage of beds in hospitals and the reduction of clinics, became a record for the last decade, accelerating the processes of depopulation. Only in 2020, the natural population decline, according to statistics, exceeded, as noted above, one million people (Population, 2024).

It’s no secret that the growing trend towards increasing the share of paid healthcare has significantly worsened the availability of medical services. It should be emphasized that in modern capitalist Russia, the growth of paid medical services occurs against the backdrop of a shortage of public clinics and other medical institutions. We are talking not only about the emergence of paid clinics, where there has been an outflow of doctors, nurses, and an increase in the number of paid surgical and other operations, but also about the growing costs of the population for the purchase of medicines in hospitals, clinics and pharmacies. In Russia as a whole, the distribution of treatment costs is shown in **Figure 1**.

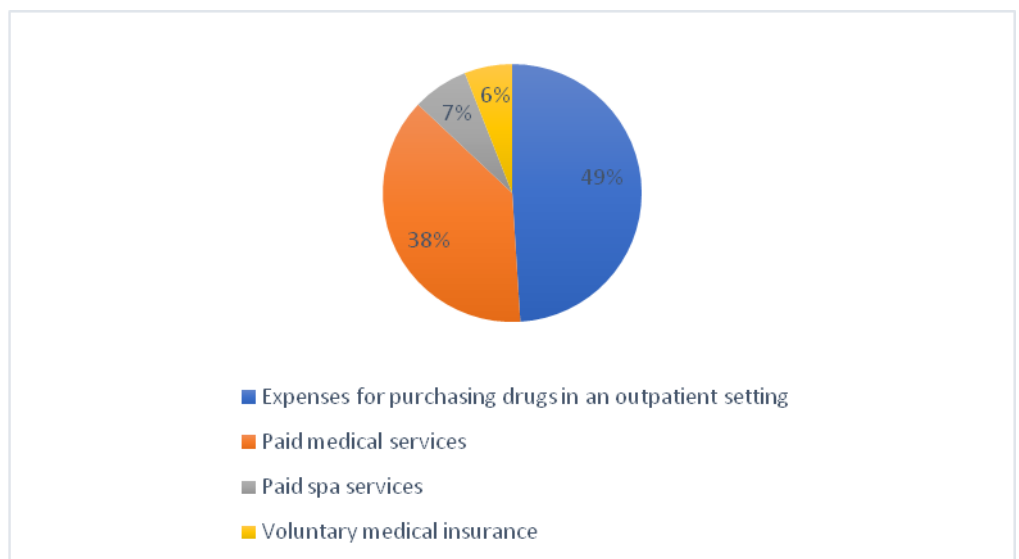


Figure 1. Structure of Russians’ expenses for treatment in 2018.

In 2019–2024 the structure of Russians’ expenses for treatment has remained virtually unchanged, except for the increase in paid services in certain regions of the Russian Federation by 5%–15%. It should be noted that financial expenses for medicine from the budgets of the regions included in the Central Black Earth economic region of Russia in 2020–2023. increased from 6%–11% to 13%–15%. This is mainly due to intensive measures by regional authorities to combat coronavirus and increased funding for the regional healthcare system from the federal budget.

Within the framework of the study, of particular interest is the identified trend towards a significant increase in the total budget of the CBEIR regions for expenditures on physical culture and sports (over five years the increase in 2023 was 215%). The development of physical culture and sports, the introduction of a “healthy lifestyle” to the masses today is an integral part of the demographic policy and development of human capital of the Russian Federation. The immediate impact of investments in “healthy lifestyles” is even more difficult to assess than in health care, but the government is taking various measures to speed up this process. A good example is the inclusion of a new criterion “Level of citizen involvement in sports” in the criteria for evaluating regional heads in 2021.

However, the growth of these costs is uneven across regions. The greatest growth was in the Belgorod region (almost 5 times), and in the Lipetsk region there was even a decrease in costs. This can be clearly seen in **Figure 2**.

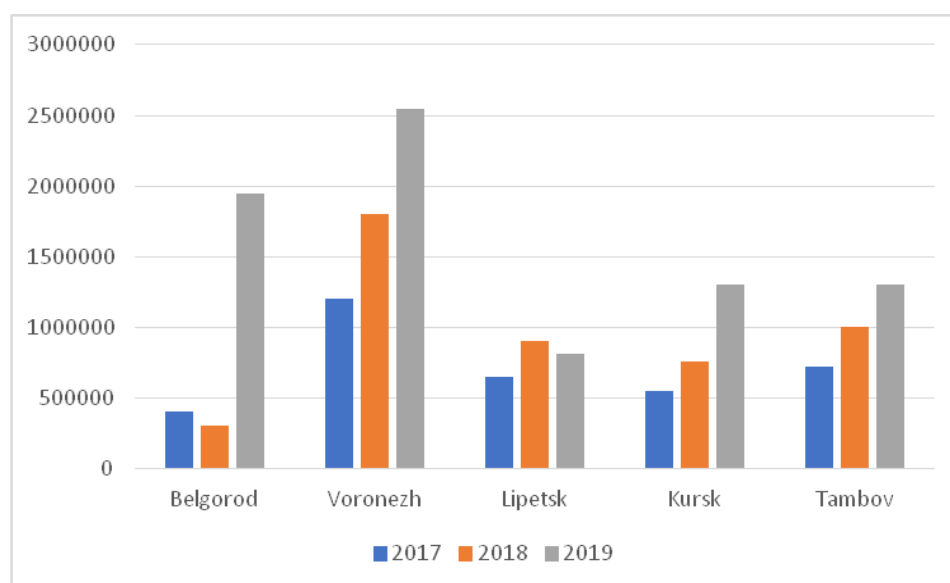


Figure 2. Change in budget expenditures on physical culture and sports in the regions of the Central Black Sea region, thousand rubles.

Providing families with affordable and comfortable housing is of no small importance for overcoming the crisis situation in Russian demography (from the point of view of increasing the birth rate). In cramped living conditions, there is not always a desire to expand the family, especially among newlyweds, students, married people, etc. According to a sociological study by VTsIOM, published in January 2022, 22.7 million Russian families, or 37%, need improvement (Survey, 2022). It should be noted that the Russian authorities believe that the solution to the

housing problem is possible mainly on market conditions through mortgages. But given the astronomical debt burden of the population and rising inflation, high prices for residential real estate, this path is not the best. Moreover, in recent years, the requirements for borrowers have become stricter, the down payment is growing, which the overwhelming number of Russian citizens are not able to make. According to some data, most of the population has no savings at all (Gontmakher, 2019). At the same time, the pace of housing construction is not encouraging: plans for putting housing into operation are not being implemented for various reasons. The measures of the Russian government aimed at implementing numerous priority national projects and programs, including the ambitious national project “Affordable and Comfortable Housing for Russian Citizens,” also did not have the desired effect in realizing the constitutional right to housing (National Project, 2018). The “Strategy 2020” outlined measures to provide citizens with comfortable apartments and even their own country houses through the development of low-rise construction throughout the country, the creation of a social housing stock, and the organization of targeted support for low-income citizens. However, as practice has shown, the targets outlined in the government document were not achieved either by 2020 or by 2024. Instead of unfulfilled plans and programs, new concepts for the socio-economic development of the country were developed and approved, new plans, new government programs were outlined, including for the implementation of housing and demographic policies (Moiseev, 2022; State Program, 2017).

Research has shown that, despite the measures taken to overcome the demographic crisis, the population of Russia continues to decline steadily. Rosstat gave a disappointing forecast for the next six years: by 2030, the population of the Russian Federation (excluding new territories annexed as a result of military operations in Ukraine) will decrease by 3.23 million people (Rosstat, 2023). This forecast is indirectly confirmed by demographic studies. Thus, according to independent demographer Alexey Raksha, the total fertility rate for 2023 will be only 1.44 per woman instead of 2.1 to maintain the country’s population. According to Raksha (2022), in 2023, for every 1 million 300 thousand births there will be 1 million 900 thousand deaths, the natural decline is 600 thousand Russians. A special military operation (SVO) in Ukraine and the announcement of partial mobilization to replenish troops of up to 1 million people, the emigration of hundreds of thousands of young people of military age abroad (according to various sources, from 300 thousand to 1 million or more), an increase in the level of anxiety and The worsening economic situation also does not contribute to positive demographic changes.

The problem of population outflow from the Asian part of the country to the European part, mainly to Moscow and the southern regions, has a negative impact on Russian demographics. Thus, over the past 25 years, 600 thousand people have migrated from Siberia (Samarukha et al., 2018). And the population of the Siberian Federal District decreased by more than 1.5 million people over the same period. At the same time, cities in the south of the country significantly increased the number of their citizens. Krasnodar alone has doubled its population over the past 10 years (to 1.4 million people). The same trends are noted by demographers in southern cities: Sochi, Novorossiysk, Gelendzhik, Anapa, etc. (Erokhin, 2019). Therefore, in order to eliminate imbalances in the demography of Russia with its vast and sometimes

sparsely populated territory, it becomes important to regulate migration processes on a nationwide scale.

Statistical data and forecasts from both official structures and independent demographers indicate that the demographic crisis in the Russian Federation has not only not been overcome, but is also intensifying, despite the measures taken by the government (Novikov, 2018; Raksha, 2022).

Thus, taking into account the established fact that in modern Russia negative demographic processes continue to deepen, developing into a demographic crisis, the state needs an anti-crisis demographic policy in order to get out of the demographic hole in which Russia finds itself due to a number of objective and subjective reasons. To this end, it would be appropriate to study the best practices of those countries that have successfully dealt with similar problems. For example, in the USA, large companies have real family support programs, including: flexible work schedules for parents with many children, full payment for kindergartens and other preschool institutions, provision of paid leave for fathers and mothers for family reasons, etc. Federal programs, combined with the social responsibility of business, have brought good results: the US population has grown by 14 million people over 6 years (2012–2018). In Norway, they managed to increase the fertility rate to 1.85 (Glebova, 2024), which is a third higher than in the Russian Federation. And also from the Norwegian (Scandinavian) successful experience of demographic problems: state funding for the maintenance and upbringing of children is such that its level is significantly higher than the rest of the country's population. Norwegians (like other Scandinavians) were able to make women want to have more children, without putting an end to their profession and career, cultural and spiritual development. The main thing in Scandinavian jurisdictions is the burden of caring for children and their upbringing falls not only on the woman, but also on all family members. Sociologists have found that 90% of Swedish and Norwegian dads are happy to be “on maternity leave” (Glebova, 2024), Japan has achieved significant success in population growth. After the Second World War, for known reasons, there was a low birth rate, no higher than 1.57 children per woman (Streltsov, 2007). There is positive demographic experience in a number of other countries of the world. It is only necessary to study in detail and creatively apply international experience in overcoming the current crisis situation in the Russian Federation.

5. Conclusion

The study allowed the authors to draw the following reasonable conclusions.

1) The unsuccessful transition to new social relations after the collapse of the USSR, the privatization of former state property and public consumption funds is not in the interests of the majority of the Russian population, the so-called “shock therapy”, unfortunately, led to a decrease in the birth rate and an increase in mortality, that is, to depopulation.

2) The authors sought to analyze the effectiveness of measures taken to reduce the country's population decline and identify factors influencing the dynamics of demographic trends. The arguments and facts presented in the article convincingly showed that negative demographic processes have intensified in recent years for a

number of reasons, including as a result of the coronavirus pandemic, which was accompanied by an increase in mortality due to shortcomings in the healthcare system, as well as a special military operation in Ukraine, which led to the death of a significant part of the male population at the front, the emigration of hundreds of thousands of young people abroad after the announcement of partial mobilization.

3) Federal and regional authorities sought to solve emerging problems through the implementation of demographic policy. Among the fairly effective measures of this policy include: financial stimulation of the birth rate, increasing maternal (family) capital at the birth of not only the second, but also the first child; financial support for families, including large families; development of a network of kindergartens and other preschool institutions; promotion of such basic values as family and marriage, motherhood, care for children and parents, etc.

4) Among the measures to stimulate the birth rate, it should be noted the provision of affordable housing and comfortable conditions for young families who, for this reason, refrain from having a second and subsequent child. In this regard, the experience of Russian regions in strengthening the institution of family and increasing its role in society and the state is considered.

5) An important role in achieving positive dynamics of demographic processes is played by measures of an intangible nature: moral and legal norms of the family institution, the formation of a favorable public opinion about the traditions of modern society, etc. These and other values must be instilled in the younger generation from an early age.

At the same time, despite certain results achieved in demographic policy, in general the problem of population extinction in the country remains unresolved, as evidenced by statistics. According to the authors, measures taken by the federal government and local authorities in the field of demography will give more significant results if they are implemented comprehensively, systematically, and not occasionally. Taking into account the urgency of solving the demographic crisis (depopulation has not been stopped), the authors argue that demographic policy, which has not yet produced tangible results, needs to be modernized. Demographers and specialists should be involved in its improvement, and, if necessary, additional grants should be provided for them to study unsolved problems. In addition, the discussion of potential solutions or policy recommendations to eliminate the causes of depopulation of Russians should be the subject of scientific and practical conferences with foreign participation, parliamentary hearings in the State Duma and the Federation Council with the participation of regional leaders.

With the implementation of these and other scientifically based recommendations, we can expect certain changes for the better in correcting the negative demographic situation in modern Russia.

Author contributions: Conceptualization, VVM, JSK; methodology, VVM; validation, VVM, JSK, EVY; analysis of published literature on the research topic, MAM; formal analysis, AMK; investigation, data curation, VVM, JSK, MAM; writing—preparation of the original draft, VVM; writing—reviewing and editing, JSK; visualization, EVY; management, VVM; project administration, JSK, EVY;

financing the acquisition, AMK. All authors have read and agreed to the submitted layout and published version of the manuscript.

Conflict of interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

References

- 132 million Russians in 2050 is not the future of Russia and not even a UN forecast. (2018). Available online: https://news.rambler.ru/other/39874302/?utm_content=news_media&utm_medium=read_more&utm_source=copylink (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- Alonso, M. P., Gargallo, P., López-Escolano, C., et al. (2023). Financial exclusion, depopulation, and ageing: An analysis based on panel data. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 103, 103105. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2023.103105>
- Calculated by the authors based on materials from the Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation (Rosstat). See: Demography. (2024). Available online: <https://rosstat.gov.ru/folder/12781> (accessed on 24 April 2024).
- Carlson, A. (2003). Society - family - personality: the social crisis of America: Amer. school alternatives. sociology / Allan Carlson; Per. from English edited by [and with a preface] A. I. Antonova. Moscow: Grail. p. 284.
- Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated October 9, 2007 No. 1351 “On approval of the Concept of demographic policy of the Russian Federation for the period until 2025.” (2007). Available online: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/26299> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- Demographics of Serbia. (2022). Available online: https://translated.turbopages.org/proxy_u/en-ru.ru.cc86a933-658be0c2-0471fcbf-74722d776562/https/en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- Erokhin, N. A. (2019). Mechanical Migration Of Population In Russia As A Political Problem. *Bulletin of the Moscow State Regional University*, 1. <https://doi.org/10.18384/2224-0209-2019-1-935>
- First official census results published in Serbia. (2022). Available online: <https://balkanist.ru/v-serbii-obnarodovany-pervye-ofitsialnye-rezultaty-perepisi-naseleniya> (accessed on 20 April 2024).
- Galic, O. (2022). Alarming data: Serbia continues to die out, population growth is only in Muslim areas. Available online: <https://www.politnavigator.net/trevozhnye-dannye-serbiya-prodolzhaet-vymirat-prirost-naseleniya-tolko-v-musulmanskih-rajonakh.html> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- Glebova, M. (2024) Demographic miracle of Scandinavia with vague consequences. Available online: <https://www.proaist.ru/articles/demograficheskoe-chudo-skandinavii-s-tumannymi-posledstviyami/> (accessed 15 June 2024).
- Gontmakher, E. (2019). Hostages of the system. Why two thirds of Russians have no savings. Available online: <https://www.forbes.ru/finansy-i-investicii/376329-zalozhniki-sistemy-pochemu-dve-treti-rossiyan-ne-imeyut-sberezheniy> (accessed on 21 April 2024).
- Grigoriev, Y. A., Baran, O. I. (2017). Demographic policy and analysis of irreversible losses of public health based on the concept of epidemiological transition. *Medicine in Kuzbass*, 16(3), 21-27.
- History of national projects in Russia. (2019). Available online: <https://tass.ru/info/6101471> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- How the Kremlin explained the record population decline in Russia. (2019). Available online: <https://konkurent.ru/article/25685> (accessed on 22 April 2024).
- Kharlamov, S. O. (2013). Social legislation and demographic policy of the Russian Federation. *Bulletin of the Moscow University of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia*, 5, 45-51.
- King, L., Stakler, D. (2007). Mass privatization and the rise in mortality in post-communist countries. *World of Russia*, 3, 112-131.
- Kontsipko, N. V. (2020). Analytical Review of State Demographic Policy of Russia. *Vestnik NSUEM*, 1, 160–174. <https://doi.org/10.34020/2073-6495-2020-1-160-174>
- Kotlov, R. (2024). Japan’s population decreased by 837 thousand people over the year. Available online: <https://www.osnmedia.ru/world/naselenie-yaponii-za-god-sokratilos-na-837-tysyach-chelovek/> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- Krivenko, N. V. (2018). Opportunities for improving the healthcare performance to retain human capital and ensure socio-demographic security of the region. *Economic Analysis: Theory and Practice*, 17(9), 1642–1660. <https://doi.org/10.24891/ea.17.9.1642>
- Levashov, V. I., Staroverov, V. I. (2000). Demography and demographic development of Russia: demostatistical analysis. M.: Publishing house RAGS. p. 188.

- Li, W. (2003). Population development and family-demographic policy in Russia and China: Experience of comparative analysis. M. p. 189.
- Mayofis, M., Kukulin, I. (2010). New parentage and its political aspects. *Pro et Contra*, 1-2(48), 6-19.
- Moiseev, V. V. (2020). Healthcare Problems in Modern Russia. *Advances in Economics, Business and Management Research*. <https://doi.org/10.2991/aebmr.k.200312.478>
- Moiseev, V. V. (2022). Socio-economic development of Russia in the XXI century: monograph. V.V. Moiseev. - Moscow: Direct-Media, (Series "Modern Russia"). p. 226.
- Moiseev, V. V., Tselyutina, T. V., Avilova, Z. N., et al. (2020). The Human Capital of the Russian Elite. *DEStech Transactions on Social Science, Education and Human Science*, icesd. <https://doi.org/10.12783/dtssehs/icesd2020/34077>
- More than half of large families in Russia are below the poverty line. (2019). Available online: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/3999707> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- National project "Demography". (2018). Available online: <https://strategy24.ru/rf/demography/projects/natsionalnyy-proyekt-obnarodovany-pervye-ofitsialnye-rezultaty-perepisi-naseleniya/> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- National project. (2018). "Housing and Urban Environment". Available online: <https://strategy24.ru/rf/citybuilding-and-jkh/projects/natsiona-nyy-proyekt-zhil-ye-i-gorodskaya-sreda> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- Novikov, K. (2018). Demographic scenarios: what awaits Russia in 2050. Available online: <https://www.forbes.ru/mneniya-column/idei/313623-demograficheskie-stsenarii-cto-zhdet-rossiyu-v-2050-godu> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- Pechura, O. V. (2012). Demographic policy of the region: methodological aspect of the study. *Manager*, 1-2, 50-55.
- Poll: A third of Russian families want to improve their living conditions. (2022). Available online: <https://xn--d1aqf.xn--p1ai/media/news/opros-tret-rossiyskikh-semey-khotyat-uluchshit-zhilishchnye-usloviya/> (accessed on 21 April 2024).
- Popova, L. A. (2014). Assessing the effectiveness of state demographic initiatives. *Economic and social changes: facts, trends, forecast*, 1(31), 125-137.
- Population of Russia by year: 1992 - 2023. (2024). Available online: <http://global-finances.ru/chislennost-naseleniya-rossii-pogodam/> (accessed on 24 April 2024).
- Putin told how to avoid depopulation in Russian regions. (2023). Available online: <https://news.ru/vlast/putin-rasskazal-kak-izbezhat-depopulyacii-v-regionah-rossii/> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- Raksha, A. (2016). Fertility trends In Russian federation. *Stork on the roof. Journal of Demography*, 1(1), 28-35.
- Raksha, A. (2022). We are facing a collapse in the birth rate. Available online: <https://www.pravmir.ru/nas-zhdet-obval-rozhdaemosti-aleksej-raksha-o-demografii-v-2022-m> (accessed on 22 April 2024).
- Report of the head of the administration of the Tambov region A.V. Nikitin on the results of the regional administration's activities in 2018. (2019). Available online: <https://www.tambov.gov.ru/head/public/otchet-glavy-administracii-tambovskoj-oblasti-a.v.-nikitina-o-rezultatah-deyatelnosti-administracii-oblasti-za-2018-god-pered-deputatami-oblastnoj-dumy.html> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- Rosstat expects the population of the Russian Federation to decline to 138.77 million people by the end of 2045. (2023). Available online: <https://www.interfax.ru/russia/926945> (accessed on 21 April 2024).
- Rosstat: by 2030, the population of the Russian Federation will decrease by 3.2 million people. (2023). Available online: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/6267907> (accessed on 21 April 2024).
- Rybakovsky, O. (2023). Depopulation in the regions of Russia: results for 1992–2022 and components. *Population*, 26(2), 4–17. <https://doi.org/10.19181/population.2023.26.2.1>
- Samarukha, V. I., Krasnodva, T. G., Plotnikova, T. N. (2018). Migration movement of the population of Russian regions. *News of the Baikal State. un-ta*, 1, 59.
- Sánchez, B., Velázquez, J., Pérez, R., et al. (2024). Preventing depopulation by improving technological endowment: A methodology for identifying priority municipalities. *Cities*, 150, 105066. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2024.105066>
- Shelekhov, I. L., Berestneva, O. G., Zharkov, O. S. (2010). Analysis of factors determining the demographic situation in modern Russia. *Bulletin of the TSPU*, 5(95), 135-140.
- Sokolov, A. (2021). After the collapse of the USSR, Russia's demographic losses amounted to 25 million people. Available online: <https://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/articles/2021/12/26/902685-demograficheskie-poteri-rossii> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- State program. (2017). Providing affordable and comfortable housing and utilities to citizens of the Russian Federation. Approved by Government Decree of December 30, 2017. No. 1710. Available online: <http://government.ru/rugovclassifier/870/events/> (accessed on 22 April 2024).

- Statistics of marriages and divorces in Russia. (2022). Available online: <https://gogov.ru/articles/natural-increase/marriage-divorce> (accessed on 22 April 2024).
- Streltsov, D. V. (2007). Japanese government policy in the field of fertility. *Yearbook Japan*. pp. 69-83.
- Sutradhar, U., Badhrudeen, M., Chauhan, R. S., et al. (2023). A survey to investigate transport conditions in depopulating cities in Illinois. *Transportation Research Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, 21, 100886. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.trip.2023.100886>
- The decline in Russia's population amid the pandemic has become a record in 15 years. (2021). Available online: <https://www.rbc.ru/economics/28/01/2021/6012a7ca9a7947d4e0e8042d> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- The majority of Russians do not have savings, the survey showed. (2022). Available online: <https://ria.ru/20221017/nakopleniya-1824566703.html> (accessed on 21 April 2024).
- Trushina, N. (2023). Debts of Russians have grown at a record level: how does this threaten the economy. Available online: <https://www.mk.ru/economics/2023/12/27/dolgi-rossiyan-rekordno-vyrosli-chem-eto-grozit-ekonomike.html> (accessed on 23 April 2024).
- Where is the brain drain from Serbia and why? (2020). Available online: <https://balkanist.ru/kuda-utekayut-mozgi-iz-serbii-i-pochemu/> (accessed on 24 April 2024).
- Zhao, J., Zheng, J., Li, T. (2024). Does e-commerce offer a solution to rural depopulation? Evidence from China. *Cities*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2024.105155>