

ПРОНАТАЛИСТСКАЯ ПОЛИТИКА КАК СОЦИАЛЬНЫЙ ИНСТИТУТ

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Аннотация: Демографическая ситуация в России характеризуется отрицательными тенденциями в сфере рождаемости. Фактические показатели суммарного коэффициента рождаемости не соответствуют ожидаемым, заложенным в стратегические документы развития страны и регионов. В работе раскрывается подход к пронаталистской политике как формирующемуся в российском обществе социальному институту. Характеризуются элементы этого института, автором делается вывод о том, что в настоящее время в России происходит процесс формирования института пронаталистской политики, на что указывает его постоянное изменение, появление новых элементов, отношений, усовершенствование законодательства, связанного со стимулированием рождаемости и поддержкой семей с детьми. Понимание институционального характера пронаталистской политики позволит системно подойти к ее развитию, что, в свою очередь, создаст условия для повышения ее эффективности, обеспечит возможность прогнозирования и упорядоченности социальных взаимоотношений. Важнейшими идеями, которые должны найти отражение в функционировании института пронаталистской политики в ближайшее время, являются идеи формирования публичных ценностей семьи и родительства, разработки новых стратегий, направленных на укрепление института семьи, расширение круга участников взаимоотношений в рамках института пронаталистской политики путем вовлечения в реализацию государственных задач в сфере рождаемости и родительства различных социальных институтов, организаций, гражданского общества, СМИ. Крайне важно, чтобы решение демографических проблем стало общенациональным делом, которое реализовывалось бы на системной институциональной основе.

Ключевые слова: рождаемость, пронаталистская политика, демографическая политика, социальный институт, институт пронаталистской политики

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PRO-NATALIST POLICY AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

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Abstract: The demographic situation in Russia is characterized by negative birth rate trends. The actual indicators of the total birth rate do not correspond to the expected indicators outlined in the country's and regions' strategic development documents. The article describes the approach to pro-natalist policy as a new social institution in Russian culture. The authors outline the components of this institution. The current state of pro-natalist policy formation in Russia is demonstrated by its ongoing evolution, the introduction of new components and relationships, and the frequent amendments to legislation concerning the promotion of the birth rate and support for families with children. Understanding the institutional structure of pro-natalist policy will facilitate a methodical approach to its formulation, thus creating conditions for increasing efficiency and enabling social relations to be forecasted and organized. To strengthen the institution of the family and increase the number of people involved in relationships within the institution of pro-natalist policy, various social institutions, organizations, civil society, and the media must be involved in implementing state tasks related to birth rate and parenthood. These are the most important ideas that should be reflected in the functioning of the institution of pro-natalist policy in the very near future. Demographic problems must be addressed as a national concern with a systemic institutional approach.

Keywords: birth rate, pro-natalist policy, demographic policy, social institution, institution of pro-natalist policy

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Introduction

Despite considerable state support for birth rate, Russia's current demographic situation is deemed unfavorable. The birth rate is still declining even though government initiatives to raise overall fertility, lower mortality, lengthen life expectancy, and address other aspects of demographic dynamics have had a positive impact. The low number of women of reproductive age born in the 1990s naturally worsens the situation. Furthermore, several external factors exacerbate the situation, including higher death rates from «covid» diseases, population decline due to migration outflow, slower economic growth and income growth, less state funding for social services, shifting geopolitical conditions, and other potential threats to security and stability.

With the approval of the Russian Federation's Concept of Demographic Policy for the years up to 2025, in 2007, the scientific discourse on the prospects for stabilizing the birth rate situation and accelerating its growth entered a constructive phase¹.

In the 2000s, the implementation of the maternal (family) capital program and changing social and economic factors had a positive impact on the birth rate [Slonimczyk, Yurko, 2006; Vakulenko, Ivashina, Svistilnik, 2023]; however, measures taken were insufficient to achieve the level of target indicators approved by the Russian Federation Government Order No. 669-r of April 14, 2016. The deviation of actual indicators of the total birth rate from the Government's planned target values is presented in **Table 1**.

The discrepancy between the targets set by the program documents and the actual indicators concerns representatives of public administration authorities, the scientific community, and society. Scientists offered many suggestions to enhance Russian demographic policy to address the demographic crisis.

For example, today, there is a growing number of opinions about the need to recognize childbirth and child-raising as an employment activity. Here, we can highlight the research conducted by Ural scientists who believe that parental labor needs to be viewed as a "specific type of labor activity" [Bagirova, Abilova, 2011] and who have looked into the organization, stimulation, motivation, efficiency evaluation, and planning involved in parental work [Bagirova, 2017]. G.V. Osipov and S.V. Ryazantsev attributed this to the most crucial measures necessary to improve the demographic situation, proposing to "...recognize it

Table 1. Target* and actual indicators of the total birth rate

Indicators	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Total birth rate (target)	1,6	1,63	1,65	1,66	1,68	1,69	1,70
Total birth rate (actual)	1,58	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,4	1,4	–
Level of underachievement, in %	1,25	7,98	9,09	9,64	16,67	17,16	–

* Passport of the National Project «Demography». <http://static.government.ru/media/files/Z40MjDgCaeohKWaA0psu6lCekd3hwx2m.pdf>

as labor with all the resulting financial obligations of the state, that is, to pay women a salary for the birth and upbringing of children" [Osipov, Ryazantsev, 2014. P. 963]. According to scholars who agree with these positions, paying women for giving birth, raising, and educating children could increase the country's birth rate because women would no longer have to choose between home and work, career advancement and family.

Pro-natalist policy in Russia: analyzing institutional aspects

The Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation in 2006 emphasized the importance of a pro-natalist policy, which was justified by the negative and critical nature of the situation in the sphere of population reproduction². At a meeting of the Presidium of the State Council on social support for citizens in 2022, V.V. Putin urged the Russian government to create conditions for increasing the country's birth rate, emphasizing that creating strong large families is the solution to today's demographic challenges. The Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly on February 21, 2023, emphasized the direct correlation between the social sphere and the demographic situation. The President supported the efforts of the Russian Federation's constituent entities to accelerate the modernization of social infrastructure, the all-encompassing development of rural areas, and other projects aimed at raising the standard of living for Russian families.

In 2020, the Institute for Demographic Research of The Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of The Russian Academy of Sciences (hereinafter referred to as IDS RAS)³ was founded as a response to the challenges facing Russia's demograph-

1 Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of October 09, 2007 No. 1351 «On Approval of the Concept of Demographic Policy of the Russian Federation for the period until 2025». <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/26299>

2 Address by the President of the Russian Federation of May 10, 2006. <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/23819>

3 Institute for Demographic Research of The Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of The Russian Academy of Sciences. <https://idrras.ru>

ics at the time. This establishment enhanced the potential of demographic science to impact managerial decision-making concerning demographic security. The Institute's annual demographic forums provide a structured platform for scientists, authorities, and the non-profit sector to address issues related to demographic problems in Russian society. In April 2023, the first all-Russian conference, "Demographic Policy of Modern Russia: How to Achieve Growth Despite Forecasts", was held in Moscow under the auspices of the Administration of the President of the Russian Federation and the D.I. Mendeleev Institute for Demographic Policy. The conference addressed such issues as shifting the focus of state support from poverty alleviation to increasing birth rates, involving businesses in achieving national goals and promoting positive image of large families.

The significance of implementing policies to increase birth rate is widely recognized today, both by researchers and the public administration. Current Russian pro-natalist policy is constantly changing; new categories of supported population are added, and the list of measures in place keeps growing [Bagirova, Kuznetsova, Blednova, 2021]. There is a growing understanding that Russia's pro-natalist policy represents an already established social institution.

Let us attempt to substantiate this thesis.

As we know, social institutions are a fundamental category of sociology used in a multitude of sociological theories. According to G. Spencer, social institutions play a crucial role in maintaining order and regulating interpersonal and group relationships within complex social systems. Every social institution is a stable framework for "social action", functioning as a hierarchical system to serve the needs of individuals [The philosophy..., 1892. P. 235].

Each institution is formed in the shape of a stable system of social actions. Social institutions unite people in society's complex mechanisms, coordinating and systematizing social relations by forming social groups. T. Veblen defined a social institution as a set of norms, way of life, customs, and generally accepted behavior [Veblen, 1934]. According to him, social institutions safeguard civilization, promote sustainability in growth, and protect it from destruction and cataclysms. T. Parsons argued that institutions act as normative regulators of people's behavior, clearly defining the role composition [Parsons, 1964. P. 237]. M. Weber believed that the basis of the origin and formation of an institution is always the subject of management, and a social institution is the product of the forced introduction of particular rules, which are then legitimized as contractual [Weber, 1990].

As a result, some approaches emphasize functionality, while others concentrate on the normativity of a social institution by combining an analysis of elements of organizations and society's political life that affect actors' behavior, decision-making, definition of norms, and values. The essence is the activity aimed at meeting society's vital needs, ensuring its survival and functioning.

The state is a collection of institutions governed by laws that restrict individual behavior and enable actors to make planned, coordinated, and essential decisions without causing conflicts among actors. The system of normative institutionalism allows for choosing the correct political course and influences political processes in general. Society's interaction with government occurs through public sector institutions, which ensure the integration of society's actors into the state.

We view pro-natalist policy as a complex system of economic, administrative-legal, educational, and outreach measures aimed at ensuring sustainable population growth. In this connection, we propose to introduce the idea of the Institute of Pro-Natalist Policy (IPP). It is suggested that this term be understood as a self-developing system comprising a wide range of interested actors capable of influencing social processes, resulting in increased birth rates, and establishing an environment that is safe and optimally favorable for strengthening the institution of the family and the values it promotes, including an ideal set of constituent elements that are optimally complete and comprehensive. These elements include the goals and objectives of the IPP; a special public authority responsible for the implementation of the IPP; the support measures to be implemented; the actors involved in the IPP; their activities and interactions within the framework of the IPP; an extensive toolkit of the IPP; a set of special rules and principles that govern the processes and legal relations within the IPP; a documentary foundation that enshrines these rules and principles, as well as the rights and obligations of the IPP actors; the directions of development of the pro-natalist policy; and special attributes and symbols of this policy and its goals. These elements are shown in **Table 2**.

The institutional methodology enables us to investigate the origins and evolution of state pro-natalist policy in a complex setting, as well as identify patterns in formal and informal attitudes that systematize social interactions. This approach allows for the definition of rules, obligations, and compromises, as well as the establishment of norms, measures of responsibility, and limitations in the interaction of the state, public associations, and other organizational forms with society and conscious actors.

Социум

Table 2. The elements of the Institution of Pro-Natalist Policy

Elements	Content	Manifestation in Russia
Goals and objectives of the IPP	Clearly defined goals, objectives, and concepts of the IPP, enshrined in specific official documentation	The ongoing task is to stabilize the population of the Russian Federation and create conditions to ensure sustainable natural growth. Increase in the total birth rate
Public authority responsible for the development, implementation, and effectiveness of the IPP	The establishment of a specialized body within the state authorities with the mandate to develop, oversee, and ensure the quality control of the IPP measures put into place, as well as to analyze the policy's outcomes and make ongoing improvements while considering the values, attitudes, ideas about the family, and patterns of behavior that are being transformed in society. Formalization of this body's duties and authority at the legislative norms level	– Presidential Council for Strategic Development and National Projects (control over the «Demography» national project); – Ministry of Labor and Social Protection of the Russian Federation; – Recommendations for top officials of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation on improving demographic policy in the regions
Support measures	Development and implementation of a complete, sufficient, and diverse set of measures to support the population within the IPP framework, including the following groups: a) social; b) economic; c) legal; d) administrative; e) psychological; f) pedagogical; g) educational; h) medical; i) informational and explanatory; j) protective; k) mixed measures (containing features of two or more of these groups)	Primarily economic: – starting from January 1, 2007, the program of maternity (family) capital has been implemented in Russia; – from January 1, 2023 (Decree No. 2330 of December 16, 2022), Russia introduced a unified monthly allowance related to the birth and upbringing of a child, combining several existing measures of social support for families in need, including measures implemented within the framework of the federal project «Financial Support for Families at the Birth of Children» - payments for the first child and payments for the third child or subsequent children; – implementation of the «Family Mortgage» state program; – working to increase the availability of in vitro fertilization for families experiencing infertility at the expense of the compulsory health insurance program; – a set of measures to promote employing women with young children to combine parental and family responsibilities with professional activities
A set of rules and principles of the IPP	Providing a detailed and clear set of rules and principles for measure developers and implementers, including: a) Active participation in the implementation of pro-natalist policy objectives of the widest possible range of actors, really or potentially interested in the results of pro-natalist policy, as well as in obtaining direct or indirect benefits from it or being capable of exerting some form of influence on its participants, the implementation, and (or) improving the effectiveness of the implemented support measures; b) regular research and monitoring of the needs of actual and potential addressees of pro-natalist policy measures; c) regular planning and quality control of implemented pro-natalist policies and individual measures at various levels; d) constant promotion of family values and attitudes toward active reproductive behavior among citizens; e) striving to optimize and increase the speed and efficiency of all interactions between actors and processes within the IPP, including through the active use of modern information technology and online platforms. f) continuous improvement and correction of measures and instruments of pro-natalist policy	The Russian Federation's government established the D.I. Mendeleev Institute for Demographic Policy in April 2022 to preserve and advance moral and spiritual family traditions, as well as strengthen the institution of the family, including: – development of counseling and psychological support system for families; – prevention of family dysfunction; – social rehabilitation of families and children in difficult life situations; – formation of a positive image of a family with a registered marriage; – formation of a positive image of a family with more than one child or fostering children left without parental care; – implementation of a set of measures to reduce premature termination of pregnancy (abortions); – creation of a specialized system for the protection of children's rights; – development of the institution of commissioners for children's rights in the constituent entities of the Russian Federation, etc.

Specific documentation governing the provisions, rules, principles of the IPP, fundamental rights, and obligations of its participants	Availability of official documentation governing the provisions and rules of pro-natalist policy, both mandatory (codes, special laws, resolutions, decrees, etc.) and guiding (national projects, demographic development projects, etc.)	Presidential Decree No. 1351 of October 09, 2007, «On Approval of the Concept of Demographic Policy of the Russian Federation for the Period until 2025»; Order of the Government of the Russian Federation No. 669-r of April 14, 2016; Presidential Decree No. 204 of May 7, 2018, «On National Goals and Strategic Objectives for the Development of the Russian Federation for the Period until 2024»; Concept of demographic policy of the Russian Federation for the period until 2025. Document - passport of the national project «Demogafia»; Presidential Decree of November 25, 2019, N 570 «On Amending the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of May 7, 2012, N 606 «On measures to implement the demographic policy of the Russian Federation» and invalidating some acts of the President of the Russian Federation»; Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of May 7, 2012, N 606 (as of January 13, 2023) «On Measures to Implement the Demographic Policy of the Russian Federation»
IPP participants	A wide range of participants, including standard-setters, oversight bodies, citizens and their families, various organizations, and social institutions, should be involved in implementing and receiving pro-natalist policy support measures	The Russian Federation's Government acknowledges the unique contribution that enterprises and other business structures make to the state's demographic policy tasks. In this connection, a new assessment system known as the ECG-rating of responsible business is being introduced
IPP Toolkit	A wide range of instruments and strategies that are optimally diversified and broad to accomplish the goals of the IPP (such as the use of digital, information, and media technologies)	To strengthen the family institution, preserve spiritual and moral traditions, and revive traditional family values, the Federal Agency for Press and Mass Communications is assigned to ensure at least 2.5 million views per year of television and documentary films, radio programs, and Internet sites aimed at preserving family values and supporting motherhood and childhood; ensure that the circulation of periodicals that have implemented projects aimed at protecting family values and supporting motherhood and childhood is at least 500,000 copies per year
Symbols and attributes of the IPP	Existence and constant accumulation of a mass of tangible and intangible attributes and symbols of successful pro-natalist policy and its expected results: movies, books, articles promoting family values and orientations towards active reproductive behavior, specialized social videos, posters and banners, scientific and educational literature in the relevant thematic area, etc.	In compliance with the directive of the Russian Federation's Chairman of Government No. MM-P39-2750, dated April 4, 2020, the independent nonprofit organization «National Priorities» has created a consistent visual style for the execution of national projects, which is embodied in the brand book «National Projects of Russia.» Based on this brand book, methodological recommendations are being developed for applying the brand in the constituent entities of the Russian Federation. The design of websites, social media platforms, posters, and other media materials must adhere to a single visual style

Conclusion

To summarize, we note that the institution of pro-natalist policy in Russia is still in the formative stages, as evidenced by its constant change, the emergence of new elements, new relationships, and regular changes in legislation related to birth rate promotion and support for families with children. The process of transforming the rules and norms of interaction between the state and society in the sphere of fertility has begun. Understanding the institutional nature of pro-natalist policy will allow for a systematic approach to its development, creating conditions for increased effectiveness, forecasting, and orderliness

of social relations. The institution of pro-natalist policy should reflect such significant concepts as the establishment of public values surrounding the family and parenthood, the creation of fresh approaches to strengthening the family institution, and the broadening of the scope of relationships within the institution of pro-natalist policy by involving a variety of social institutions, organizations, civil society, and the media in the execution of state initiatives concerning birth rate and parenthood. It is critical that the solution to demographic problems becomes a national cause and is implemented on a systemic institutional level.

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