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### **Development of Social Work in the Russian "Consumer Society"**

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#### **Abstract**

The reason for writing this article was the 20th anniversary of institutionalization of social work in Russia in 2011. It is believed that both the social work and the consumer society are products of market economics/capitalism development. However, modern Russia experiences two controversial processes: rapid development of capitalism and erosion of employment and labour – labour conditions are becoming worse, salaries and pensions are falling down.

The core issue of this paper is how the "society of deficiency" with full employment and without poor people – traditional clients of social work – has become a consumer society with well-developed social work.

#### **Keywords**

Social work, Russia, russian society, government

#### **Deficiency, Poverty and Soviet Ideology**

The year 2011 marks twenty years from the time of entry of a new profession in the wage-and-qualifications reference book: specialist on social work. On the next year training of such specialists started at the universities of the Russian Federation. It is approximately for the same time that we are having publications on why this new professional education became needed, why it became popular, how it can be theoretically substantiated so that the discourse of social work gained more theoretical, and - most importantly – the practically reasoned nature. However, not only this memorial fact served the grounds for this article, but also the contradictory nature of changes in the society in this aspect.

The Russian civil society in a specific, new or post-soviet manner reacted to the interventionist project of the state – the social work. The thing is both the professional social work (not to be mixed with charity and other moral duty!) and the consumer society are products of modern capitalism. However, both of them in Russia, arising approximately at the same time, have significantly surpassed the development of capitalism. How and why this became possible?

The Soviet "society of deficiency", at the time of growth of living standards from late 1960s to the end of 1980s, became a "society of deferred consumption" and it accumulated a huge stock of unrealized needs. This deferred consumption existed against the background of incoming information about the high level of life in Western countries. Against the background of the state Soviet propaganda aimed at construction of a "communist labour society," the practices of labour imitation were very sophisticated, while motivation to work and productivity – were low. A typical example of reflection on this situation is voiced in a well-known wise folk joke: "You pretend to be paying to us, we pretend to be working." At the same time, the alleged task to meet totally the increasing needs of people, utopian for that system of production, was voiced as the central goal. Improvements in life level were regarded as key indicators using which the population assessed the state policy. Such ideology proved to be a time bomb laid by the authorities beneath the socialist

state. The insoluble contradiction between the aspirations of the mass consumer and the restricted resources of underdeveloped production caused a revolution of aspirations (Paniushkin 2011). The category of "claim" focuses on goals, "self-imposed by man for himself, as opposed to the goals which he (she) has to accept and pursue under the pressure of circumstances" (Ilyin 2005: p. 14). Moreover, in the modern social state, including Russia, we face unprecedented growth of social demands of the population and the fact that the minimum acceptable levels of social security voiced in these demands are permanently rising, but never falling. So the individual claims, due to the socio-economic situation that took shape from the early 1990s, quickly gained the nature of "socially legitimate claims." This suggests that, while developing the technologies to ensure human social rights, the modern state failed to concern about raising social responsibility in due time, which quickly led to clientism. That is neglect of personal and social responsibilities, long dependency.

The socialist state acted as a consumer of labour resources in respect of the majority of the population. The modern state seeks to achieve political loyalty and activity at the election. Paying minimum salaries, it voices the task to support the poor, the long-time unemployed and socially passive part of population. And the society demonstrates a remarkable consensus on only one occasion - the measure of life success is the ability to consume!

This way the "left" manifestations of Marcuse and Habermas's assurance that the welfare state itself gives rise to its clientele and is interested in it, find obvious confirmation in the development of social work in Russia (Habermas 1986). The Russian researcher marks the same problem: "The contradiction between the level of claims and the real possibilities of their satisfaction creates a paradoxical principle: either at the level of standards or nothing. In everyday life, this is manifested in rejection of low-paid, low-prestigious or dirty work, with no other option" (Ilyin 2005: p.30). On the other hand it is noted that "the Russian society cultivates negligence to any kind of labour except managerial work; impression is made not by modesty, but by extreme luxury. The Elite is reluctant to sacrifice in the name of modernization" (Inozemtsev, Krasilshikov 2008). We can add that the vast majority of people in Russia demonstrate the desire of high wages achieved not by everyday labour but by any other means including criminal schemes. Also the years of economic decline led not only to the loss of work motivation, but also the pasting of qualification necessary to obtain a well-paid job and the unwillingness to recover this qualification.

The result is a paradoxical contradiction: on the one part, - unemployment, and on the other part – abundance of vacancies occupied by migrants from the countryside or the "near abroad". In the background of situation arrange of apparent xenophobia of the "receiving" non-working population. An obvious fact is that Russia has a lot of depressive areas where people do not have jobs for a long time and will not have in the foreseeable future. But very few people are willing to change their place of residence, even to the place with available jobs.

We also can't ignore the difference between nominal and real poverty in the USSR. The government denied the existence of the poor for they were able to spoil an image of socialist progress. The socialism ideologically refuted poverty. It has started to exist in scientific and public discourse and analysis since the end of the late socialist period in Russia. At first the researchers tried to escape the veiled average characteristics of living standards and noted the differentiation in salaries and family incomes. It happened in the end of the 1950-s and the beginning of the 1960-s thanks to the statistics of salaries' distribution among different economic spheres and regions. It was found that such distribution wasn't as homogeneous as it had been believed before. But the notion "poverty" at those times was nearly illegal in the soviet state and the soviet science. Its analogues such as "minimal living standard" and "the low-income level" were officially accepted only in the beginning of the 1970s together with the development of special supportive programs for children in low-income families. We have to note that these concepts "minimal living standard"

and “the low-income level”, that were defined as a kind of the lowest level of material means sufficient for biological and social reproduction of a person and an employee, had a big practical value. The governmental centralized regulation of minimal income was based on these categories. They weren’t reflected in the legislation because of the denial of this problem by the Soviet state but they were calculated regularly and used unofficially by national and regional administrations.

We should note that at the same time many economists and sociologists wrote about structural backlog in economics and technology, about low labour productivity almost on any level and in any sphere, about low level of industrial effectiveness in general. Sometimes the research results appeared that showed the low living standards, insufficient housing provision etc. Up to the end of 1950s a large proportion of the population in the USSR lived in temporary housing with very limited or no facilities, or in communal flats (the so-called ‘kommunalkas’) – this problem has been discussed in a number of publications. The government organised a ‘paper queue’ and if one needed a separate flat he or she had to register in this queue, but it was moving extremely slowly. For instance a person in Leningrad in 1970s-1980s had to wait in this queue for 10-12 years to get a flat, and in the centre of the city up to 40% of flats were communal<sup>1</sup>. However at the same time mass media were full of news about a competition between the USSR and the USA, new plants and factories, space achievements and so on. Contemporary space victories as well as previous military victories shaded the problems in economic, technological and social spheres in minds of masses. These problems became evident during the last years of socialism in Russia (the late 1980s), when the government had to distribute special cards because of the lack of food and other necessities. But there was a strong belief among the population in the revival of Russia, overcoming the economic problems and building an effective ‘consumption society’ on the base of market economy.

### **Trauma of Liberalization**

The crush of industry, high inflation rate and rapid decrease of the standards of living in the beginning of reforms by Yeltsin and Gaidar in 1992 were seen by the population as a deceit and an evident mistake of the government. The situation (comparing it with the former soviet social image of the country) changed radically. There were goods in shops and no more queues but at the same time people had no money to buy even the most necessary goods. It had become evident that in order to adapt in the new society it was necessary to earn more, move to a well-paid job, work in two or more places. Not everyone was ready to a long and painful process of transformation. Well-known, but narrow social guaranties of the soviet state had been transformed into wide social rights but most of them were out of the state control. One had to fight for his or her own welfare. But the individual preferences and the social experience of ‘former soviet citizens’ were blocking social activity. Many people decided to wait for the time when the state remembers about its citizens.

That was because the self-organizational processes in the Soviet Union became prohibited by the state many times, and the society got used to correlate its activity with the instructions ‘from above’. The low consumption ability that was the result of the reform led to the emergence of 2 main adaptive strategies: extreme employment (to increase the amount of work) and passive adaptation (to decrease the consumption). These were performed by those who didn’t have their own business and was an employee in a state or private organization – this group still forms the majority of the population in Russia, the segment of businessmen and self-employed here is only about 4% (Shkaratan 2008, 2012).

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<sup>1</sup> In St.Petersburg, for example, there are still more than 100 thousands communal flats that are inhabited by 10% of the citizens of St.Petersburg, also known as ‘a cultural capital of Russia’. At the same time in Russia there is a big group of housing owners who don’t have enough money to pay for the facilities (e.g. central heating, electricity, etc.).

But irrespective of their own activity and really difficult economic situation a vast majority of people felt themselves frustrated and betrayed in their expectations.

P. Sztompka describes the processes that took place in Russia and some East European countries on the verge of 1980s-90s as "post" and cultural trauma (Sztompka 2001). Indeed, people suddenly, all at once, face unsuitability of social interaction norms learnt from childhood. People have lost orientation in the social space. Both within the framework of the vulgarized Marxism ("being determines consciousness") and of structural functionalism that became widely known, the individuals are considered as the ones whose activity is aimed at integration into social structures, adaptation to the set external conditions and requirements of the social environment (Giddens 1991). Therefore, in the social-science discourse, in everyday life and in the mass media much attention was given not to the possibilities how to actively overcome the situation and build new models of life, but to discussion of "ignorant / irresponsible actions of the reformers, inability to adapt and live in new conditions, etc." In this situation rapidly growing demand for social work emerged, which easily integrated into the familiar Russian "compassionate humanism." As usual the functions of a system of social care are provision of care and support, protection, regulation, stimulation and care co-ordination, social control and social integration. All developed countries have a combination of ways in which the needs of the most vulnerable members of society are met, a combination commonly known as the 'welfare mix' (Anttonen & Sipila 1996). But Russian variant is based, first of all, on charity and Orthodox Church ethic.

And the opportunity to make use of the "humanitarian aid" made "the social security" a popular place, extended the range of its visitors and customers. The social work, functional and necessary in the early years of liberalization, to stay focused on "compassionate aids", further becomes a source of dysfunctions, i.e. the observed consequences which reduce the adaptation of the system (Merton 1957). Therefore, in the public opinion the role of government is still associated with social safeguards and care, but the understanding of the fact that the present state only offers the opportunity to participate in the competition for social benefits is denied, as well as the fact that some part of the society has won through the phenomenon of competition, and the other part definitely lost. For instance, the level of forgetting the parental obligations can be identified by 1.5 to 2 million 'children of the street' or 'social orphans'<sup>2</sup> – they appeared with the start of the reforms and are still present in Russia. They had parents who didn't care about them, they were not interested in their child's school attendance and progress at school, after-school activities etc. Some parents didn't even feed their children. A constant or even increasing level of such children in Russia so far is an important indicator of a stable social disorder accompanied by a political crisis after the elections in Russia in 2011-2012.

### **A Person on a Micro-Level of Social Work**

Russia's place in the present-day world is connected not only with radical economic and social changes made on the macro-level, or the price of oil, but also with the quality of its human potential, with the ability of the population to support modernization initiatives at the micro-level. Accordingly, without the analysis of the processes at the micro-level, it is impossible to answer the question of how successfully Russia can cope with the challenges it is facing at the present stage (Gudkov 2010). Moreover, in recent years it is becoming more and more obvious that without changes in values and norms shared by individuals at the micro-level, we cannot have new values and norms underlying new social institutes necessary for development, and Russia will always suffer "deficiency of institutions" (Tikhonova 2008: 5-23). We can add that no possession of private ownership for most people and no interest in entrepreneurship, necessary for its emergence,

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<sup>2</sup> A 'social orphan' is a specific term for a child whose parents are alive but he or she is out of parental care because of different reasons. Such children are living in orphanages or with foster families.

is the main institutional deficit, in the opinion of many people. Without relying on own livelihoods, not associated with hiring from the state or business, people will be citizens only "once in four years" or somewhat more often at the time of political will declarations. Summarizing the changes of the recent decades a renowned expert Z.H. Saralieva notes: "From the early 90s of the twentieth century in Western countries, and in recent years in Russia as well, there has been a paradigm shift in the social work. One need to refuse to treating the client as an object of social work – this is a category of obsolete vocabulary. One can not improve a person's situation if he does not want it, resists to it or is not able yet to do so; the changes help those who need them and are ready for them. Social work clients are not necessarily poor, ill or lonely. The modern world is rapidly changing and generates a whole strata of people who fail to adapt in terms of time, who in need help from outside" (Saralieva 2008: 5-6).

It would seem that to improve the people's situation, it is necessary to step up employment. But the state had neither institutional nor reflexive resources to implement this policy in the new conditions, which led to its failure in all aspects. However, it was a failure from the perspective of employment, labour market and prospects for social development, rather than in terms of creating a customer base of "long-term unemployed." After all, if the benefit may compete in consumer opportunities with the lost wages, it is preferable. However, the latter result still emerged through thoughtlessness rather than being deliberate... The second reason was development of employment /social services that offered quite a large package of social services to people who found themselves in "difficult circumstances", without going into causes of this situation, being based on the fact that "we all live in difficult times." The portion of the Employment Fund spent on passive benefits was growing steadily, and the one used for retraining, career guidance and even on public works - reduced. In a sense, the social services offered its own approach to solidarity of the society, generalizing both the proposed aid and the reasons for which it was necessary.

Social institutes of ‘employment market’ and ‘wage labour’ that were formed in Russia during the last two decades just declare the ideology of western ‘social partnership’ but in fact they follow the methods of soviet paternalism. However labour relations within this new scheme imitate western patterns and this contain some structural elements similar to foreign practice. Experts mention among these institutional elements such components, as:

- Formal norms of labour legislation that regulate labour relations, as well as the level of their acceptance by employees themselves;
- Professional organizations of employees and a mechanism of their representation in labour relations;
- Local collective labour agreements (or collective treaties) (Bocharov 2010).

We believe though that inability to protect the labour rights of employees by existing trade unions within the existing relations can be seen as a crucial factor of erosion of labour motivation.

However, this change of accents was connected as well with the declared turn towards liberalization of all social relations, which includes the social policy. The liberalization of social policy meant at the same time denial of emphasis on labour, earned rights and its shift to the universal "human rights" or "social rights", as voiced by T. Marshall. This concept has its roots in the a priori value of any person, not in his acquired rights, extent of contribution in public affairs, implementation of capacity for self-support and use brought to others, beginning with his own family. The liberal-value approach is in the quite obvious contradiction not only with the labour ethic of the Soviet time, but, more broadly, the principles of social democracy and protection of labour rights. After all, whatever our attitude to the Soviet past could be, its slogans like "give way to a working man," or more rigid, "who does not work shall not eat" have never been publicly questioned, especially by the officials. Of course, as noted above, in every-day life the attitude to them was quite ambivalent.

In recent decades, as a result of taking measures aimed at factual discourage the people's employment, coupled, of course, with very serious problems of reduction of industrial production on the one part, and low wages in most services - on the other part, we have gained a situation in contemporary Russia where most of the population has low income, i.e., officially is affiliated to the "poor", that is the needy and having a legitimate right to social aid. It is absolutely pointless to try to count the number of needy people in Russia, in our view, since a significant part of production and consumption are in "shadow", therefore the official statistics of income does not help somehow for understanding the situation. It is much more interesting to view the data on people's expenditure, including costs of purchasing of consumer durables. However, these data as well will provide some insight on the dynamics of purchases of the "middle class", whatever it represents.

But the intensification of consumer practices of the middle class, of course, is reproduced by low-income segments of the population, because all things are changed increasingly quicker: garments, footwear, television, computers, etc. The author observes in the recent years the increased variety of worn, but functionally usable things that are not discarded, but are put next to the garbage bin.<sup>3</sup> They are quickly taken away by consumers of the "second order". This way we can observe a rather infrequent combination of motivations of the consumer society, of the socialist habit to use things till physical deterioration, lack of money for buying new things and the possibility not to limit oneself in consumption too much.

As for the production of foodstuffs manufactured for self-support or sale, and the services provided on the informal, exchange basis, it is virtually impossible to count their cost equivalent. It is also impossible to count how many people are using basically similar sources of livelihood and consumption improvement, especially in rural areas and small towns, not much explored by the sociologists.

The rationality of passive adaptation of people living in socio-depressive environment of small settlements has already been mentioned in the literature. They are unwilling to change their situation, because there is housing where there is no work. And the housing issue, as we know, "has spoiled us all". By currently attachment to the apartment and the prescribed registration of the population has formed something like a new serfdom in Russia and really does not let us develop labour mobility so much needed by the economy. However, there exist numerous social services where one can receive financial aid, food coupons or some minor services and, eventually, a benefit.

Benefit recipients in Russia are quite a diverse group (you can meet here people with higher education or without it, employed and unemployed, etc.). Field researchers note that all of them share a very important property: they possess social competence, are able to obtain necessary documents (one should note that paperwork to receive aid from the state is quite a lengthy procedure requiring specific knowledge and skills). Also it has been noted that search of respondents through social protection services is not a universal method of selecting a "pure case", but one's getting a "category", "group of disability" and their desirable consequence - some benefits - is a good indicator of "social success" of a man.

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<sup>3</sup> The yard with garbage cans is closed with security lock "from aliens and from the homeless." It was the yard cleaner who succeeded in installation of the lock, because next by, in Tchaikovsky Street, all courtyards have been closed for a very long time, and the garbage was, truly, brought the from neighboring houses. However, the homeless quickly found the way to get to the refuse bins. The yard cleaner, in turn, arranged a car park in the courtyard for a small fee, as previously it was possible to park a car only on the lawn or a driveway.

We have already noted that disorders among the retirees in 2005 were connected not so much with reduction in their standard of living but with reduction of their social status. Instead of social respect, expressed in a material benefit, they got a monetary compensation that equalled them with the recipients of any other payments (Grigoryeva 2006). And according to V.I. Ilyin, "this is a movement of disadvantaged consumers who were stripped of the ability to consume the vital goods and services as before (public transport, telephone). No laments of the opposition about curtailing political freedoms, restrictions on the liberty of speech and the ongoing war in Chechnya could cause any noticeable signs of protest. But on the very first days when the pensioners became unable to use the same services that caused mass outrage" (Ilyin 2005: p.36).

The social competence suggests that it must help their owner to withdraw from of situation of poverty, but the real situation is less unambiguous – the competences help to become a recipient of public welfare for a long time. In this situation one must demonstrate as well a modest housing and the presence of other problems such as diseases. In other words, a client has to prove that he or she has no own resources in order to get a reasonable provision from the social worker. That is why social workers in Russia are fond of an idea of ‘resources provision’. However the goal of such provision is not the solution of client’s problems and his or her integration in a normal life but it is more about receiving a status of a ‘client’. It has very little in common with an issue discussed by Staub-Bernasconi. Unfortunately only one of her books (devoted to E.Arles) was translated in Russian. According to Staub-Bernasconi (1995) social work is activated when individuals are confronted with the problem of a lack of resources in their need satisfaction and fulfilment of desires and they then have to learn how to solve the problems by the means of conflicts or cooperation and within the structures of social systems.

In Russia claiming of the status ‘client’ is seen as a main form of social assistance. This situation is supported by inert institutions that are reluctant to develop social work (Gilbert 2009). There is a difference between the history of western practice where a person was considered to be poor because he didn’t have property or his own business and thus became an employee, and Russian situation. After 70 years of Soviet rule when there was only state property on land, resources, industry, and housing, during 1990s people were getting private property on both industry and housing. Meanwhile savings accounts are not checked in banks of Russia, this is illegitimate. At the same the statistics obtained from the social security bodies, which help to draw state social benefits (to low income recipients) are used, extended, generalized, and serve the reason to make a conclusion about the numbers of the poor. But the causes of poverty, its depth, and the potential ways of overcoming the situation of poverty are not valuated. Moreover, the customers and the social services have no motivation to localize the problem or to set the term for solution of the problem, as it is customary abroad: "Staying in the status of client inevitably ends through getting aid from social services," a prominent specialist writes (Payne, 2005. p. 30). He emphasizes the cyclical process in which the social service, the client and the social work as aid activity influence and condition each other. This process of "creating clients" is socially constructed and is almost always limited in time.

However, in the Russian version of social work, the customers have fixed and secured paternalistic expectations, along with the type of behaviour standardized for the expectations of social services. The people think not how and through what effort to improve their lives, but they are convinced that the state must protect them from life problems by providing guarantees, albeit minimal. Naturally, no social innovations are possible in this situation, and this thesis is confirmed by the development of our country in recent years.

It is hard to disagree with the opinion of oppositional ‘Novaya Gazeta’ (‘New Newspaper’) that marked: “the trick is that the new pension reform which concept was reported by government to President is in fact a counter-reform containing a way to distributive system having soviet background and including a basic principle of ‘equality in poverty’” (Polukhin 2012). The same idea was expressed in 2007 by an outstanding sociologist F.Sheregi: “The whole atmosphere in the

country is similar to Brezhnev’s period. For the vast majority of the population this situation is rather comfortable and suitable for ‘pulling up of backs’. But an intelligent part of the society should be patient in long waiting for those ‘backs’ who will become over-drunk and only then move towards market economy from the condition of dependence’ (Sheregi, 2007).

Sociology traditionally relies on the concept of "society in whole". However, the modern society has become in many ways very complex; it is more atomized, more individualized society. In the modern anthropocentric sociology reflects such topics as risk of modernization of society, renewal of "life script" or "individual's life path scenario," gain much more focus than before. It turns out that social work that has accumulated a considerable material about diversity of such risks, deviations or marginal situations in which a person can get, caught up by the "flow" of transformations in the society, has more advantages compared with sociology which has traditionally been occupied by a "compact majority" or "social norms". In any case, the fact that social scientists in recent years try to avoid the term "deviation" and at the same time to develop a language tolerant to social non-normative, is a definite indicator of change of interest orientation in sociology (Gilinsky 2009). Therefore, the prevailing attitude to the theory of social work as derivative of fair sociological theories may be questioned. As a relevant sociological theory, the theory of social work is not yet overgrown with a solid list of classics, recognized authority leaders and canonical texts. However, the boundaries are permeable, as evidenced, for example, by a brilliant article by N. Luhmann "On the forms of assistance" (Luhmann 1991) and by numerous works of J. Habermas (Habermas 1984–87, 1986).

Today, when social work is regarded as an extremely important social institution, shaped and already legitimized, it is worth mentioning that this institute functions under the influence, and often under the pressure, of the state. The French sociologists who studied the functions of power note that "the state promotes, not only through the demand generated by it, structuring of concepts, problems and ideas that arise in the minds of researchers, subjecting them to their own goals and actions. The intellectuals predisposed to thinking through the state and for the state, study objects, pre-engineered by the state's common sense. However, one should not give way to despair because of the limited autonomy which the social sciences have now. We must be vigilant and find the means to understand the various kinds of compulsion affecting these sciences" (Pinto 2004: 100, 107).

The last initiative of our State, the new pension reform (already the second in 2000s) which concept was reported to President by the government in October 2012 is in fact a counter-reform moving our pension system towards the distributive model having soviet background and including a basic principle of ‘equality in poverty’. The same idea was expressed in 2007 by a sociologist F.Sheregi: “The whole atmosphere in the country is similar to Brezhnev’s period. For the majority of the population this situation is rather comfortable and suitable for ‘pulling up of backs’. But an intelligent part of the society should be patient in long waiting for those ‘backs’ who will become over-drunk and only then move towards market from the condition of dependence’ (Sheregi, 2007).

## Conclusions

On what models of a man should we build the theory of social work in the environment of absence of social dialogue and relationship models / interactions?

It is evident that over the past twenty years the new labour ethic of life achievements has not yet formed. On the contrary, it is clear that any personal enrichment, or formation of client's status runs ahead of work motivation and makes it problematic and even ridiculous. The specific motivations of the population, settlement patterns and the inconsistent manner of the state in responding to real complications of gaining paid employment, labour motivation is unlikely to be revived. The population at large prefers guarantees to opportunities and has already reproduced one generation that has grown up in the new environment, though being committed in fact to soviet rules.



We cannot ignore the possibility of process, which warned H. Arendt, transformation “homo faber” to “animal laborans” (Arendt 2000). Now this is widely recognized that number of labour places in Western developed countries falls and employment is decreasing (Bridges 1995; Rifkin 1996). The most significant declines on Labour market are among the younger age groups, as usual. But low and medium-skilled employment shrank by 5,8% and 2,4%, while high-skilled employment grew by 2,8% (Employment 2010). The loss of work by young people can be interpreted as a new possibility to continue education and improve the skills. More and more people in Western Europe are not in full-time employment, but are in part-time in very flexibility manner. From one hand part-time employment can reduce the impact of economic recession. But from the other hand it reduces workers income and some part of social benefits in future. The picture in whole is very ambiguous. From this point of view Russia is not so far on modern or postmodern mainstream.

At the same time, rapid development of social work has become possible because irrespective of what is happening in the country, the number of its clients has been growing. Social work itself has been institutionally developed not only with financial support from the state, but also because it well joined in the expectations of the society, that is, expectations of care and compassionate humanism. Due to the rapid growth in the number of social work clients, the "secondary consumer society" has been formed, the spread of which in Russia is significantly higher than elsewhere, because in the developed countries the ethics of labour achievements dominates, while the less developed countries have no oil for support of "qualified clients."

Therefore, the Russian society of deficiency that had no poor people or social work has rapidly turned into a consumer society with advanced social work.

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