# PROFESSIONAL 'IMPERIALISM' AND RESISTANCE: SOCIAL WORK IN THE FILIPPINES

## *'IMPERIALISMO' PROFESIONAL Y RESISTENCIA: TRABAJO SOCIAL EN FILIPINAS*

**Jem Price**

**Kepa Artaraz**

**Abstract**

The sociology of professions has traditionally attempted to increase our understanding of categorisations of different occupations by reference to taxonomic hierarchies as well as the identification and exploration of characteristics that warrant 'professional status'. In many cases, these explorations take the form of historical accounts of professional activity. Rarely however, has the literature on professions explored processes of professionalization in developing, post-colonial contexts. This article contributes to this body of literature in the study of professions in a number of ways. Firstly, it 'maps' the growth of social work in the Philippines, placing this account within a broader discussion of social work as an international activity (Harrison & Melville, 2010; Lyons, 2006) and identifying some of the key forms and features of social work in the Philippines. Consideration is given to the degree of professionalisation of social work within the country by exploring professional organisation, regulation and education. In doing this, the article offers a critical overview of the nature and preoccupations of social work in the Philippines and celebrates the invaluable contributions it makes to the country and its people.

The article argues that the forms social work takes and the settings in which it happens reflect both contemporary societal and environmental factors as well as the global development of social work. In this sense, the article considers the impact of Roman Catholicism as well as the orientation of social work in relation to some enduring tensions and debates around the profession's purpose and potential. Key to the professional form that social work takes in the Philippines is the contribution of the 'indigenous' social work knowledge base which is explored, alongside a commentary on social work education and training in the country.

**Resumen**

*La sociología de las profesiones ha intentado tradicionalmente contribuir a la comprensión de las categorizaciones de las distintas ocupaciones en función de las jerarquías taxonómicas, así como a la identificación y exploración de las características que justifican el 'estatus profesional'. En muchos casos, estas exploraciones toman la forma de relatos históricos de la actividad profesional. Rara vez, sin embargo, la literatura sobre las profesiones ha explorado procesos de profesionalización en desarrollo, en contextos post-coloniales. Este artículo contribuye a la literatura del estudio de las profesiones en varios sentidos. En primer lugar, 'cartografía' el desarrollo del trabajo social en Filipinas, enfocando el debate desde la amplia perspectiva del trabajo social como actividad internacional (Harrison & Melville 2010, Lyon, 2006) e identificando algunas de las principales formas y características del trabajo social en Filipinas. El grado de profesionalización del trabajo social en el país se aborda mediante la exploración de la organización profesional, su regulación y la educación. Al hacer esto, el artículo ofrece una visión crítica de la naturaleza y preocupaciones del trabajo social en Filipinas y destaca su valiosa contribución al país y a su gente.*
*El artículo sostiene que las formas de hacer trabajo social y las circunstancias en que se lleva a cabo, reflejan tanto los factores sociales y ambientales actuales como el desarrollo global del trabajo social. En este sentido, el artículo considera el impacto de la religión católica, así como la orientación del trabajo social respecto a las constantes tensiones y debates sobre el propósito y el potencial de la profesión. La clave para la forma profesional que el trabajo social adopta en Filipinas es la contribución del conocimiento "indígena" del trabajo social, que es examinado, junto con un comentario sobre la educación y formación del trabajo social en el país.*

KW.- Social work, professions, power, Philippines, indigenous knowledge.

*PC.- Trabajo social, profesiones, poder, Filipinas, conocimiento indígena.*

# Introduction

Classic studies in the sociology of professions can be presented in terms of their main areas of interest. Historically, the literature on professions appears to have been concerned with allocating positions to different occupational groups and with building taxonomic hierarchies of professions defined according to more or less exhaustive lists of characteristics (Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933; Etzioni, 1966). Most of these accounts provide evidence based on historical analyses of occupations and their ascendance into other categories (from occupation to semi-profession and to profession), chronicling the structural elements that mark this progression. For example, they might concentrate on the development of training courses and the creation of specific qualifications, or the formation of national professional organisations to determine the origins of specific professions. In sum, they are interested in the structural elements that define a profession and in describing those changes.

Other studies have tended to do the opposite, concentrating on the process of socialisation that newcomers to the professions have to undergo in order to become fully fledged practitioners by internalising the ideological aspects of their new identity, including the acquisition of professionally dictated norms and values. These studies tend to concentrate on accounts of the processes by which individual identities are stripped through a process of acculturation and new, professional ones, incorporated (Becker et al., 1961; Siegrist, 2002; Evetts, 2003). However, some of these studies are open to the criticism that, by focusing on individual participants' processes of assimilation into their new professional culture, they present a fixed view of the structural elements of the profession that force individuals to conform, rather than a two-way negotiation system between individuals and the professional structure or institutional setting that allows for a certain degree of reciprocal influence and transformation.

One area of interest in the processes that shape the professionalisation of group activities connects the local to the global context, by exploring the influences that new professional groups in poor countries in the global south are able to negotiate when responding to dominant hegemonic professional forms in the global north or to historical and cultural influences that tie them to these countries. This is certainly the case with the Philippines, something that this article aims to explore.

In the case of social work, literature on the early historical development of the profession makes links, explicit or otherwise, to what Hugman describes as, *"...assistance for those people who were seen to be experiencing problems of daily life that were grounded in poverty*" (2010, p1).  It is therefore suggested that social work evolved in individual countries as a 'modern' response to the impacts of 'modernisation'. Social work did indeed evolve as a named occupation towards the end of the nineteenth century in North America, the UK, Germany and the Netherlands (Midgley, 1981; Payne, 2005; Weiss & Welbourne, 2007). Social work, it seems, arose as a way of formalizing or bringing some coherence to a range of ad hoc responses, whether through religious organisations, institutional 'care', individual charitable works or more politicized responses (Horner, 2009) and this is certainly true of the Philippines.  The social work profession continues to both reflect and wrestle with its own sense of purpose.  Should it seek radical responses to poverty and marginalisation (Brake & Bailey, 1980; Ferguson & Woodward, 2009; Lavalette & Ferguson, 2007) or the maintenance (Davies, 1994) of individuals and families in some socially acceptable place?  Should social

work seek collective or individualised responses to the issues which it seeks to address? How does –or might– social work engage with the complex and cross-cutting nature of social divisions (including poverty) in the societies in which it operates? To what extent should and does social work aim to influence the social policies which shape the lives of those whose needs it hopes to address? Does social work have or need boundaries or, indeed, need to be clear about its unique contributions and will this, in any event, be dependent on time and place? All of these fundamental issues for social work are evident in the Philippines. In particular, social work in the country benefits from a certain flexibility of definition and boundaries, which means that many social workers are able to respond in less-restricted and more 'joined-up' ways than may be possible in some other countries within and beyond East Asia.

This article is based on work carried out as part of doctoral research and includes data collected through a period of fieldwork in the Philippines that included both ethnographic observation and 24 interviews with professional social workers, educators and policy-makers. The article takes a historical approach to the exploration of the emergence of social work as a profession in the context of the Philippines.[i]

## Development of Social Work in the Philippines in Global Context: the colonial experience, the Catholic Church and the international development agenda

"*Yeah, you are doing good and you are… in helping, you are walking, going to paradise, in God. It's really important… Yeah because in the Bible there are lots of readings where God helped different… the blind, the poor, the disabled. So when I'm doing social work, I think I'm doing like God. And it's a feeling, it's a good feeling for me…*" (Social worker)

Social work internationally is a relatively young profession and one which has arguably struggled to assert or even explain itself. Around the time that social work was developing in parts of the 'global North', the Philippines was (in 1898) beginning a period of American rule which was to last for almost 50 years and which followed over 300 years as a Spanish colony. Some parallels can be drawn with much of Northern Europe, at least in terms of the

role which the Church played in encouraging private charitable acts and poor relief (Almanzor, 1966; Yu, 2006).   The Roman Catholic Church remains a core participant, alongside state and voluntary sector agencies, in health and social care in the Philippines, whether through encouraging donors, providing care or delivering social work education in Church-based universities across the country.

Prior to –and alongside– the development of professional social work around the world, family and community based informal caring and charitable acts were the primary ways in which human and social needs were addressed.  However, as Dominelli puts it,

> *"Charitable giving was often rooted in a moralizing tendency that sought to affirm views of goodness and 'acceptable' behaviour. Such acts were normative, consistent with the dominant views held by society, and often punitive, in that they sought to limit claims on goodwill to avoid legitimating a desire to expect handouts rather than working for one's living"* (2010, p18).

Social welfare in Southern (predominantly Catholic) Europe in the 1800s was significantly dependent upon faith-based charitable acts and individual donations, whilst the Protestant nations of Northern Europe, though also building upon and reflecting religious underpinnings, saw a growing State influence. The notion of charity itself was increasingly questioned, particularly in northern Europe, on the grounds that it created dependence. Social welfare and social work grew more rapidly, typically as a state activity, in Northern Europe in the period from, say, 1945 to 1975 and less so in Southern Europe. "*Part of the reason for this was the reliance of the Iberian dictatorships until 1974 (Portugal) and 1978 (Spain) on the Catholic Church and charitable effort.*" (Payne, 2005, p72).  Whilst the Philippines was, at this time, moving out of a long period of Spanish and then US rule, the combined influences upon social work of Church and charity remain. Whereas the 'Protestant Work Ethic' (Weber, [1905] 1958) emphasised hard work and frugality as necessary for salvation, Catholicism emphasised instead attendance at church and 'good works'. The interplay of 'traditions' of Catholic charitable giving when a Spanish colony and notions of targeted relief and limited state involvement in welfare introduced by the US during their period of colonial rule have undoubtedly helped construct the Philippine approach to social work, though these influences now operate alongside (and at times in conflict with) community-focussed initiatives aimed at promoting social and economic development. A specific influential dynamic in the early development of social work in the UK and US was the growth of the settlement movement (Ferguson & Woodward, 2009; Horner, 2009; Payne, 2005), which

emphasised living within poor communities, social education, community development and (less so in America) social action. Projects such as these remain common in Philippine social work practice and also that social work students quite often move into deprived areas in order to undertake 'practicums'.

Almanzor (1966) notes that "the humanitarian impulse" was present in the Philippines before colonial rule (p27) but goes on to identify the influences of both Spain and the US on the country and its social institutions. However, it fell to Yu forty years later to offer a more critical account of the lasting impact which this had upon the profession (Yu, 2006). Both accounts present the period of Spanish rule as one in which social welfare developed, as missionaries converted most of the population to Christianity and developed schools, hospitals and almshouses. The period of American rule (1898 – 1946) saw the further development of charitable provision but also the gradual extension of public coordination and provision of welfare services. The position of the US vis-a-vis the Philippines, however exploitative, was a different one to that with Spain. Howe observes that,

> *"...the indirect or informal political control exercised by... the United States over the Philippines, might (or might not, according to political preference) be described as imperialism. But it is not colonialism, since... the Philippines retained formal political sovereignty. Nor is it colonization, since... American migrants did not settle in... the Philippines in significant numbers..."* (2002, p32).

Social work is seen to have developed as a profession during the period following independence, initially by way of the influence of aid workers from the US and elsewhere and then through a small number of Philippine social workers, trained in the US, who established the Philippine Association of Social Workers (Almanzor, 1966; Yu, 2006). Thus, writers on social work in the Philippines have broadly identified the adoption of Christian philanthropy/charity and aspects of American social work practice as the two major influences, with debate continuing around the interplay of those factors with indigenous culture.

Writing in 2006, Yu asserted that existing social work accounts within the Philippines of the development of its social welfare failed to engage critically with the repressive dimensions and lasting legacies of Spanish and American rule. He acknowledges that home-grown critical histories of the Philippines exist (Constantino and Constantino, 1978) but correctly sees these as absent from the work of many social work academics. Thus, for Yu, "The

austerity of the Spanish colonial government and the omnipotence of the clergy created a model of social welfare that was dominated by the religious orders, with minimal government involvement" (2006, p561). Dominant accounts of social work in the Philippines continue to present Spanish rule as the time when hospitals and orphanages were established by a benevolent church and kindly individuals made private acts of giving as a route to salvation. Indeed, the ethos of charity and of donors is very much alive in Philippine social work and, for example, campaigning and community-based forms of social work exist alongside a deeply-held faith which has the potential both to underpin committed and compassionate practice but also to limit expectations and individualise deservedness for support.  Again, for Yu (2006, p562), these beliefs *"…hold perseverance in suffering as a virtue, fate as the will of God and misfortune and poverty as punishment for sin or a test of character*." Notions of individual failings and salvation, within welfare and broader society, would appear to have been a key legacy of Spain's colonisation of the Philippines.

Developments under US rule included the establishment in 1915 of a Public Welfare Board to coordinate the efforts of charitable organisations and the setting-up of new charities, some initiated and sponsored by American citizens. A chapter of the American Red Cross was initially engaged in disaster relief but increasingly concerned with health and social welfare. Institutional responses to need remained a core feature but with the gradual growth of health centers, social work offices in poor areas, some limited attempts to remove people from slum living and so on (Landa Jocano, 1980).  The period also saw the registration of charitable providers, clearer eligibility criteria and increased government and private funding of charitable services. However, the impact of economic depression in the 1930s, in a context of reliance upon the US, was very significant, with a need for basic relief work (Lee-Mendoza, 2008). A small number of women gained scholarships to attend American universities for training from the 1920s onwards, and brought back social work theories and approaches to the Philippines. In 1935, the Philippines entered a commonwealth period, with Manuel L. Quezon becoming the first President.  The economy began to recover, a minimum wage was introduced and there was an expansion of public welfare legislation and programmes, including some extension in rural areas. For Landa Jocano (1980, p63), the 1930s saw a transition in social welfare in the country (prompted by American influence), both in terms of a growing attention to 'professionalisation' and an increasing emphasis on the need for coordination. In 1940, the Department of Health and Public Welfare was established.  However, the government was forced into exile from 1942–1945, during which

time the Philippines was occupied by Japan and, again, emergency relief work became the focus of all agencies, governmental, religious and charitable. After the war, the government faced "… *the gigantic task of serving a warbeaten people, weakened by three painful years of enemy occupation*" (*Ibid*, p92).

In 1946, the Philippines was proclaimed a republic. State engagement with welfare grew. 1947 saw a Social Welfare Commission being situated under the Office of the President which, for Lee-Mendoza (2008, p25) "…*signified the formal recognition of social welfare as a responsibility by the state.*" The main areas of social welfare – and of social work activity – at this time were financial and other forms of relief; institutional care; work-training/income-generation projects; and rural welfare (not only concerned with relief but, very gradually, with the development of community kitchens, self-help programmes and cooperatives and the construction of basic road networks). Building on the experiences of that small number of Filipinos receiving social work training in the US, social work schools were established, initially in and around the capital, Manila. The Philippine Association of Social Workers was formed by that same handful of overseas-trained workers in 1947. Social workers in the 1950s and 1960s were, indeed, engaged in 'casework' rather than group or community work, mostly working in hospitals and mental health settings, assessing eligibility for free treatment and financial support (Lee-Mendoza, 2008, p56). UNICEF funding of training for children and families social workers provided a boost to the number of trained professionals at this time. A key development for the social work profession came in 1965, when Republic Act 4373 introduced regulation of social work and of the operation of social work agencies.

In 1965, Ferdinand Marcos became President of the country, a position he retained until 1986. The country saw a growing UN focus in the 1960s and 1970s on a development agenda. UNICEF, for example, became active in the Philippines.

> "*Yeah! I was in the second group of social workers who took the board exams. The first board exam was the social workers in 1965 and I belonged to the second group… that was the time when they were really professionalising social work… we were upgrading the education of social workers and local governments were starting to put up their own social work department… and UNICEF was offering a lot of scholarships, towards masters degrees, because many of those doing social work in many of those positions were not professional social workers, okay?*" (SW 1)

Funds were directed to national initiatives which aimed to tackle poverty and raise overall living standards. It has been suggested that Marcos' early years saw real attempts to achieve

such aims, though he faced growing protest from students seeking educational reform, from the Filipino Communist Party and from Muslim separatists in the south. In 1972, Marcos declared Martial Law, which was to stay in force until a visit of Pope John Paul II in 1981. Opposition leaders were silenced or forced into exile. Curfews were imposed and, seemingly, 'accepted' by much of the population. The armed forces grew in size very significantly. Yet the 1970s saw economic growth, relative prosperity and a form of repressed stability.  Much of this was sustained –if not created– by the billions of dollars of aid provided by the US, coupled with the associated markets for Philippine products.

In 1976, existing government welfare agencies evolved into the Department of Social Services and Development which, for Lee-Mendoza (2008, p31) reflected the "...*shifting emphasis from the traditional, often institution-based social welfare to community-oriented programs and services which underscored people's own capacities for problem-solving.*" Social workers continued with activities such as emergency relief work and day care but became increasingly part of the drive for development, working with communities to develop businesses and skills for employment. So, as Martial Law continued around it and the country became ever more reliant on a former imperial power, social workers and others (in government, voluntary and private sector agencies) arguably engaged with a system which placed the onus on the poor to work their way out of poverty.  Much of the social and economic development agenda was promoted through the existing political structure of 'barangays', a form of government at the very local level. The barangays remain very influential for social welfare and can have a key impact upon social work at the practice level. Long before Spanish rule, barangays were the main structure for settling disputes or seeking communal support at times of need (Zulueta & Nebres, 2003; Viloria and Martinez, 1987). Spain introduced a centralised structure, with the country divided into 'encomiendas', or regions given limited fiscal powers and charged with promoting welfare and conversion of the population to Catholicism. Towards the end of the 18th Century, a system of Provincial Government was introduced, in which the mayoral offices at the level of province and town were only open to Spaniards.  Each town was made up of a number of barangays, and it was only at this level that Filipinos were permitted to hold office.  Zulueta and Nebres hold that corruption manifested itself at every level of the system and that, with the union of Church and State, a repressive state structure led to, "*much oppression and untold suffering*" (2003, p60).  A social worker in the Philippines today continues to grapple with a political system, and hence a welfare system, in which the personal power and influence of elected

representatives and paid officials can hold huge sway.  At the local level, social workers must typically inform and work through the barangay, which presents both potential barriers and opportunities, a resource and a connection to local people. Thus, for better and for worse, the community context is direct and real for much Philippine social work and those connections between barangay and welfare were first made explicit and formal as part of the development programme under Marcos' 'New Society' policy ambition.  Marcos undertook to breathe new life into the barangays, emphasising their role as citizens' assemblies and as the focus for community decision making and planning to meet local needs.  It is, however, difficult to see how this was to happen under a declaration which, *"...denied the people any meaningful participation [and] respected no constitutional rights, no civil liberties*." (Zulueta & Nebres, 2003, p251).

Martial law was suspended in January 1981, though not fully in the predominantly-Muslim regions of Mindanao. Marcos' final years as president saw economic stagnation and increasing levels of poverty and corruption. His position was, however, fatally damaged by the assassination of returning opposition leader Benigno Aquino, Jr. in August 1983. In 1986, Marcos sought to reassert his position by calling an election. Aquino's widow, Corazon 'Cory' Aquino, stood against him. When Marcos was declared winner of the election, tens of thousands took to the streets, demanding that Marcos stand down.  Senior politicians and military leaders defected, throwing their support behind Aquino, and mass 'people power' demonstrations were held.  Marcos went into exile and Aquino became President.  She, too, was keen to see a shift from welfare and relief to a development approach, creating the Department for Social Welfare and Development (DSWD), which exists to this day.  The Department was divided into 5 areas: family and community; children and youth; women; disabled and elderly people; and emergency assistance/disaster relief.  By the early 1990s, the DSWD was the largest employer of licensed social workers in the Philippines and policy was focussing on "Low Income Municipalities (LIMs) and other socially-depressed barangays" (Lee-Mendoza, 2008, p35-6).

The Local Government Code 1991 (Republic Act 7160) sought to increase accountability and autonomy by decentralising a broad range of responsibilities and functions from national to local government, with associated funding. The majority of responsibilities (within government, at least) to provide social work and welfare services were devolved to the level of Municipality, with some services, such as maintaining local health and day care centers,

devolved to the barangay.  The DSWD became a research and policy planning agency.  This was a wholesale revision of the context in which most statutory social workers would operate and of the structures with which social workers in non-government agencies would engage. Social workers employed within DSWD itself would, in future, be involved with support to – and regulation of– the services provided by local government, NGOs and 'people's organisations'.

From the 1990s onwards, social work in the Philippines continued to operate within a pluralist structure of local government units, non-governmental organisations, faith-based charitable providers and some private sector agencies (such as private hospitals and industrial social work settings).  All of this activity is, to varying degrees, subject to the oversight and 'vision' of the DSWD, which also employs some social workers in research and monitoring roles. Legislation since 1990 has focussed on empowerment/rights (for example of Disabled People in 1992 and Indigenous Peoples in 1997) and on protection (of Children, in 1992, and through an anti-trafficking law in 2003).  The Philippine Council for NGO Certification suggest that there could be 60,000 NGOs in the Philippines and their work is seen very much as a part of social work and a place for social work.  Thus, the Mission of the DSWD in 2011 was as follows:

> "*To provide social protection and promote the rights and welfare of the poor, vulnerable and the disadvantaged individuals, families and communities that will contribute to poverty alleviation and empowerment through social welfare development policies, programs, projects and services implemented with or through local government units (LGUs), non-government organizations (NGOs), people's organizations (POs), other government organizations (GOs) and other members of civil society.*"  (DSWD, 2011 (1))

To conclude, one cannot understand social work in the Philippines without seeing it in the context of its colonial and political history, much of which has been shaped by foreign governments and International NGOs (many of which are faith-based) since independence. Indeed,  "…*a lot of the beginnings of social work, like in most countries, has been faith based, came out of the Church… and it still is really largely motivated by faith.  A lot of our NGOs are really Catholic-based*" (SW 2). At the same time, Yu acknowledges that US rule saw the introduction of public provision and funding in welfare but holds that 'colonial rule' brought to the Philippines a form of social welfare which was functional, residualised and individualist (Yu, 2006).  Though it is true that casework models were adopted from US social

work (and remain in some areas of practice), it is also the case that the drive towards development (coupled with very limited resources and reliance on overseas aid) has underpinned an emphasis on community-based social work since the 1970s. Social development remains a central focus of the DSWD. In 2010, Benigno Aquino III was elected President of the Philippines, in part on an anti-corruption manifesto. Whilst this may be seen as bearing some fruit, corruption and graft remains a very significant dimension of Philippine society and electoral politics. However, post-war experience has demonstrated to Filipinos that protest can be a very powerful thing indeed. It is in this context that social workers go about their day to day work and the article now turns to consider the nature and features of contemporary social work in the Philippines.

## Defining the structural contours of the profession: Social Work in the Philippines Today

The history of the Philippines and of its social welfare system has had a profound impact on what social work is and does in the country. There are broadly three dimensions to professional practice, all of which remain core to the curriculum for social work students and all of which are evident in practice and are considered 'professional social work'. These are Social Casework (conceptualised as assistance towards individual adjustment), Social Groupwork (group activities organised for welfare purposes) and Community Organisation (Landa-Jocano, 1980, p5-6). Whilst this suggests a breadth to social work in the country which is less evident in many others, one could argue that social work in the Philippines, whether at the individual, group or community level, is often concerned with maintenance rather than opposition and with notions of responsibility (whether individual, family or social).

Social workers in the Philippines commonly characterise their practice as responding to poverty, and it is true that this very often underlies the issues which they seek to address.

> *"It's still focused on enhancing the social functioning of the individual in the family, in the group, in the community. Empowering them, because we are dealing with, we are dealing with poverty, we are dealing with hunger, for us in social work when you look at what we are doing, it's really empowering the poor."* (SW 3)

As we have seen, the country imported an American model in which workers were expected to specialise in one of three forms of social work (casework, group work or community

organising). Indeed, despite being a country which might be characterised as having a strong sense of community, social work did not take predominantly community (or generalist) forms until the UN push for development in the 1960s and 1970s. The preference for generalist skills and approaches, however, does also make pragmatic sense, in a context where just one social worker may cover a large area with extensive social need, particularly in rural parts of the country.  Lee-Mendoza tellingly comments that, even where social work in the Philippines does take the form of casework (for example, in responding to child abuse or to the needs adults with mental health needs), *"... case managers have no choice but to also provide direct service which means... resource provider, mediator, social broker, enabler, counsellor/therapist, and advocate"* (2008, p529).  Roles are perhaps defined 'softly', with social workers being able to conceptualise 'problems' broadly and to work across boundaries, in ways which does not occur in a good number of other countries.  This is, for many, a strength and yet others in the profession argue for increasingly specialist training, practice, knowledge and skills as the way forward.

Social workers in the Philippines work across a very wide range of organisational and practice contexts.  They may, for example, be employed by international or national NGOs, central or local government, factories, charities or faith-based organisations. The Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) is the central government department responsible for the protection of social welfare rights and promoting and supporting social development. Whilst its direct social work functions and facilities are devolved to local government units (LGUs), the Department employs social workers to devise and monitor national programmes, undertake social research and carry out training and capacity building across the country.  According to its Annual Report 2011, the DSWD had a total staffing of 10,318 nationwide at the end of 2011, of whom 890 (less than 9%) were based in the central office and the remainder were assigned to 16 Field Offices (DSWD, 2011(2)).

Areas of social work practice in the Philippines include child welfare and family support; work with older people, women, disabled people and those with mental health problems; disaster management; community development and sustainability; community organising; and advocacy and social action.  Roles and tasks undertaken range from direct practice with individuals, families, groups and communities to positions which focus upon social administration, project development, training and the management of programmes.  Social work takes place in settings which include private companies, military contexts, private and

public hospitals, courts, statutory and non-statutory welfare institutions, schools and church-based services. Practice will sometimes focus upon particular 'groups' within the population, such as street children, farmers, the urban poor or migrant workers. However, it is equally likely to take the form of generic practice, tackling issues as they arise within a local area. A significant dimension of social work in the Philippines is that many qualified and registered social workers are in posts with titles which do not mention social work. Almanzor (1988) commented that this can be because they are working for NGOs or international organisations where the job title relates to funding requirements or specific agency aims (say, around youth work or campaigning for the rights of older people) or that they are in planning or research positions within, for example, the UN. Social work in the Philippines is, indeed a very 'broad church'.

This considerable range of sectors, settings and roles has implications for the degree of autonomy afforded to social workers. Social workers do work in government positions but are also commonly employed by self-help/people's organisations (where the agenda should properly be set by clients or service users themselves) and by local and international non-governmental organisations (which will, of course, have set aims and are likely to expect funds to be used for pre-agreed purposes). Workers and academics also recognise the impact of political influence and financial constraints on professional autonomy. As in all countries, therefore, one can identify significant differences in the extent to which social workers in the Philippines are able to act as autonomous professionals.

## Indigenous Social Work Knowledge and Approaches

Midgley (1997, p176) describes a process in the 'Third World' whereby social workers and academics realised the limitations of imported individualised, remedial forms of practice, designed for western urban settings, and instead set about designing methods which had more to offer for development in contexts where lack of food and mass illiteracy (often in rural areas) were more typical social problems. This section considers the extent to which social work in the Philippines has undertaken 'local' research and developed indigenous social work theory and methods for practice.

One form of indigenisation of social work in the Philippines, though driven by an international agenda of development, was the aforementioned shift towards a generalist form of practice or what was known as the 'integrated method'.  For one practitioner,

> "… the policy, it was very distinct in terms of policy for all the schools of social work to break the casework-groupwork-community organizing kind of thinking, which was very, very Western, okay?  And what we were looking to was a generic, we wanted social workers who could practice in a generic way." (SW 4)

Practice which engaged at the individual level was not encouraged, as this did not easily support a development perspective.  A response to poverty was seen as a community issue and social workers facilitated access to resources, fund-raised, motivated members of communities to participate and trained local people to coordinate projects. Developmental social work uses a range of approaches to build capacity, self-sufficiency and prevention in communities.  Though areas of specialist practice exist (such as medical and forensic social work), many workers are in generic contexts and roles and adopt appropriate methods of intervention which draw on community social work theory and aspects of social pedagogy.

> "The problem is so enormous and if we do it on a one-to-one it's very expensive, so it is always community approach, and that's the difference between the Philippines and United States, because they are more clinical one-to-one and in the Philippines it's more on the, you know, bigger approach." (SW 5)

Weiss and Welbourne suggest that one indicator of the development of social work as a profession in a particular country is the development of "*country-specific knowledge*", pointing out that most 'developing' countries come to identify the limited transferability of 'western' casework models (2007, p227-8).  As has been suggested, any account of social work in the Philippines must engage with the processes of colonisation and globalisation and of indigenisation (Midgley, 1990; Lawrence et al, 2009; Harrison & Melville, 2010).  At a pan-Asia conference held in the Philippines in 1976, for example, De los Reyes noted that 64% of the Philippine population lived in rural areas and urged that, "*Noting the gross inequalities between urban and rural areas in income, facilities and opportunities, the thrust of rural development needs to be social justice and working towards a just society.  The method best suited is that of social action-community organization*" (1976, p89).  Though urbanised areas are expanding rapidly, approximately half of the Philippine population still live in rural areas and almost three quarters of the poor live in those rural areas. Indigenous social work knowledge and forms of intervention are needed and, to varying degrees, evident.

Indigenous texts and journals which seek to explain social work in the national context certainly exist and have done so for many years (De Guzman, 1971; Glasser, 1970). However, they typically include theories and approaches which were mostly developed in the US or UK. Whilst case studies and examples of agencies in the Philippines are employed throughout, to 'localise' the concepts presented, there is often little which might be described as 'Philippine social work theory'. There is evidence of a considered and well-developed knowledge base in terms of social conditions and issues in the Philippines (David, 2001; David, 2004; Landa Jocano, 2002). Whilst there is also a literature engaging with structural factors such as poverty and gender, the social work literature does not appear consistently to be conceptualised in terms of social divisions or issues of power or anti-oppressive practice and a critical account of history is very often absent. Lee-Mendoza deserves much credit for writing a text for social work students and practitioners in the Philippines (2008). It was one of the very first to seek to account for social work in a Philippine context, to 'indigenise' western practice models and to provide culturally-recognisable case material and examples. The third edition was published in 2008, some time after Yu's previously-discussed analysis had emerged (in which Lee-Mendoza is one of those authors whom he criticises). Yet it retains an apparently 'neutral' (if not positively disposed) account of welfare development under Spain and the US (and, for that matter, of the years of martial law in the 1970s and 1980s). Lee-Mendoza is not alone in her take on Philippine history and the place of social work. Viloria and Martinez (1987) and Landa Jocano (1980) paint a similarly benign picture. Although Viloria and Martinez offer some critique of the long period of Spanish domination, highlighting the "*appalling rise in destitution*" and the pain caused by "*the Sword and the Cross*" (1987, p23), this is tempered with a somewhat grateful acknowledgment of the growth of education, of Christianity and of charitable support for, "*the poor, the sick, the aged, the mentally ill and defective, the orphans, and youthful delinquents…*" (*Ibid*, p24). No critique of the motives or impact of the 'American phase' is offered or, indeed, of the Marcos regime, which had collapsed the year before this account was published. One can, therefore, identify social work literature written in and for students and workers in the Philippines but might struggle to identify a critical indigenous social work literature.

In the Philippines, the cost of books is prohibitive for many students and university libraries struggle to maintain stocks of current literature, so access to knowledge is certainly affected by limitations on resources. Having said that, a good number of local texts have been published and are reflected in the bibliography for this chapter. A number of social work and

related Journals are also published – albeit intermittently - within the Philippines (Philippine Journal of Social Work; Social Welfare and Development Journal). Finally, the various social work associations do hold conferences and other events at which research findings, theories and practice issues are shared and debated.

It would seem fair to argue that social work in the Philippines has gone some considerable way towards developing unique areas of indigenous knowledge (Gray, et al, 2008; Zhang & Huang, 2008; Veneracion, 2003) and methods for practice (Cordero, Pangalangan & Fondevilla (eds), 2000; Lee-Mendoza, 1999) but that the pervasive influence of global social work theory and limited resources for research and academic endeavour mean that there remains room for further development.

## Social Work as a Profession in the Philippines: Resisting imposed visions of the profession?

Accounts of the international development of social work typically point to professional development and recognition, the growth of social work education, the sharing of ideas through conferences and internet-use, efforts to indigenise received methods and theories and the increasing evidence of cross-national practice, student learning and academic endeavour. Weiss and Welbourne name the 'drive for professional status' as a consistent – and consistently controversial – feature of the development of social work in all countries (2007, p1). Indicators of 'degree of professionalisation' (such as the existence of Codes of Ethics and whether those Codes are enforced, monopoly of specific roles or protection of the title of 'social worker) suggest that social work is significantly more established and formalised in some countries than others. This section examines core aspects of the social work profession in the Philippines.

One key aspect of professional development is that of public and governmental recognition, which can include restriction on use of the title 'social worker', licensing and level of qualification.

> "*The association is really trying to do its best to make sure the social work profession gets recognized… because there's like a connotation that… they see social workers as just somebody who gives relief goods but now the association is more aggressive*

*in trying to tell the people that we are professionals… we have a licence and we studied for it…"* (SW 6)

Here, social work in the Philippines 'scores well'. Republic Act 4373, passed in 1965, introduced the requirement that social workers complete a bachelor's degree, incorporating 1000 hours of supervised field experience (typically in community, government and private institutions) and pass a government board examination in order to be registered as a social worker (Lee-Mendoza, 2008; Viloria, 1987). Such formal recognition and regulation took far longer to achieve in many other parts of the world, 'developing' or 'developed'. However, research participants all commented on the positive 'public image' of social work in the Philippines.

"*Umm, the public in our locality, they give a high, they give a high regard to social workers. They are like teachers, they are like nurses, because they know that social workers are working in hospitals… because they're looking for a social worker when the patients are about to discharge… they know that the social workers are in a school because they are looking for a scholarship programme… and they know that the social worker are women who are offering assistance like in disaster, in financial, in transportation.*" (SW7)

Since the 1960s, the Philippines saw ongoing efforts to set and monitor standards in social work education (Lee-Mendoza, 2008, p61-4). For Midgley (1997, p167), "American influences can be readily detected in Asian social work education, particularly in India and the Philippines, where the American preference for university-level training was adopted... While India, the Philippines and Korea have numerous schools of social work, countries such as Singapore, Thailand, and Papua New Guinea have more limited provision." Social work qualifying programmes in the Philippines are typically 4 years in duration. Admission requirements for social work training in the Philippines include the gathering of satisfactory references; health checks; evidence of appropriate qualifications; and the passing of a college entrance examination. A graduate of a social work qualifying course must pass the Board Examination for Social Workers in order to practice as a registered social worker in the Philippines. The Board of Examiners for Social Work was created in 1965, composing of a Chair and four members, appointed by the President of the Philippines. The examination is supervised by the Professional Regulation Commission (PRC). In the 1960s, social workers demanded measures to raise the profile and status of the profession, resulting in Republic Act No. 5175 being passed in 1967. Among other provisions, this Act permitted the qualification of master's degree holders in social work for board examinations and mandated

the upgrading of the educational requirement of the members of the Board of Examiners from a bachelor's degree to a master's degree in social work.

A national curriculum has been in place for social work in the Philippines since the late 1960s, with the most recent version being developed by the National Association for Social Work Education (NASWEI) and the Philippine Association of Social Workers (PASWI) and approved by the Government's Commission on Higher Education in 2010 (CHED, 2010). These 'Policies and Standards for Bachelor of Science in Social Work Program' set out clear competency expectations (CHED, 2010, p3-4), which include skills in the helping process, critical understanding of discrimination and oppression, knowledge of social policy, applied psychology and sociology and the ability to reflect critically and to make appropriate use of supervision. There is, therefore, considerable rigour in terms of expected standards of social work education across the country.

The existence of long-standing social work associations in the Philippines (especially the Philippine Association of Social Workers, Inc., or PASWI, established in 1947) is another indicator of professional maturity. PASWI played a central role in the passage of the 'Act to Regulate the Practice of Social Work and the Operation of Social Work Agencies in the Philippines' in 1965 and subsequent legislation which created the Department of Social Welfare in 1968. It first adopted a Code of Ethics in 1964, with the most recent revision being in 1998 (Lee-Mendoza, 2008, p134). The Association organises regular seminars, workshops and conferences. PASWI has been able to question government policies and actions on a number of occasions. For example, it,

> "*took a stand on such social issues like (sic) family planning, the integration of cultural minorities into Philippine society, the release of activist social workers who were detained for charges of rebellion during the Martial Law Period… (and it)… campaigned for opposition to the government initiated proposal to merge the DSWD and the Department of Health in the 1980s.*" (Lee-Mendoza, 2008, p. 60-61).

It is equally important to note that the National Association for Social Work Education, Inc. (Philippines) has been in existence and active, though with slightly changing names, since 1965. NASWEI operates as the national umbrella organisation of schools of social work in the Philippines.

One final indicator of professional organisation and standing, again discussed by Weiss and Welbourne is that of prestige and remuneration. They comment that, "*Generally, the status and prestige of social work... is not high. In half the countries... its status is particularly low relative to that of other helping professions*" (2007, p240). In the Philippines, again this in part depends upon the sector within which particular practitioners work but there remains a general concern that more could be done to improve the status and professional image of social work (vis-à-vis, say, medical professionals) and to broaden the public perception of social work among many Filipinos as primarily related to 'dole out' (Dineros-Pineda, 1992). Thus, Salvador-Tojos & Cabilao pose the following question: "*For all our efforts as social workers, why do some people still associate us mainly or solely with disaster management and the curative approach to providing assistance?*" (2003).

This section has sought to provide an overview of social work roles, education and knowledge and of the place of the profession in the Philippines today. Social work in the Philippines is an established and comparatively well-developed profession but one which continues to tussle with the advantages and challenges of professional status and the inevitable tensions associated with practice in varied agency contexts.


## Conclusion: Understanding what constitutes being a social worker in the Philippines

This article has argued that the forms social work takes and the settings in which it happens reflect both contemporary societal and environmental factors as well as the global development of social work. In the case of the Philippines, social work is a product of a colonial past and of attempts to resist and move on from that past. Hugman (2010) makes the very significant point that 'social development' has constituted a core dimension of post-colonial social work. He points out that social work in 'developing' countries typically engages with capacity building in communities and with economic development at the local level. It seeks to reconcile individual rights and wishes with those of family and community, in a way which might be considered contrary to western ideas of anti-oppressive practice. However, for Hugman,

"*Ironically, we have to recognise that the terms of this debate are couched in the value system derived from the European tradition, in which the post-Enlightenment notions of human rights and social justice are understood predominantly in a very individualistic way... For social work to operate only with an overly individualistic notion of how these values are to be achieved in such contexts may be both practically counter-productive and also constitute an implicit form of neo-colonialism*" (2010, p85).

Though social work and social welfare in the Philippines has been influenced very considerably and directly by European and US social work, it has also developed its own policies and approaches in order to offer more culturally appropriate and economically realistic responses to human need and to contribute to a broader development agenda.

Social work is an established profession within the Philippines and one situated in a very wide range of government and non-governmental settings. Tensions include those around public perception and professional prestige, between specialist and generic practice and between individualised and community-oriented approaches. Social workers uniformly describe their practice as being anti-poverty work (with many providing direct support to slum-dwellers, poor fishing communities, street children and so on) and the profession is often conceptualised in terms of development objectives. It is by no means uncommon to see social workers challenging social policy or protesting alongside marginalised people and communities, fighting for the extension of rights and welfare provisions and supporting organised action. However, this overtly political approach to social change goes hand in hand with social workers operating within private and public hospital settings, mental health or child protection contexts, working to something akin to a casework approach. Of course, social work in the Philippines also responds to the fallout of armed conflict and natural disasters. Social workers offer support, expertise, protection and hope in a country whose people face many challenges.

Faith (predominantly Roman Catholic but with significant Muslim populations) brings much to social work in the Philippines: compassion, cultural understanding, a prime source of motivation and commitment and a basis for ethical practice. However, one might question the extent to which it situates Philippine social work within the realms of charity and well-intentioned but potentially disempowering 'good works'. The legacy of Spanish Catholic faith is very evident in the approach to welfare, the settings and services available, sources of funding and, perhaps, the ways in which clients or service users are perceived and

approached. The impact of the much shorter period of US rule has also been discussed, with the early pioneers being trained in the USA.  Whilst many social workers are troubled by the common equating of their profession with 'dole-out', this does at least mean that the public perception of social work is largely positive and 'appreciative', something that their British counterparts cannot always count upon. Social work in the country continues to provide tangible support at times of crisis and extreme need.  The relative fluidity of many social work roles, in terms of method or approach *and* of engagement with individuals within families and communities constitutes a real strength.  A further strength is the extent to which qualified social workers operate across government agencies, international and local NGOs, charitable organisations and campaigning groups (and that their roles and contributions in all of these contexts are considered social work).  If the Philippines is, indeed, moving into a period of economic growth, it is to be hoped that some of the increased wealth reaches those most in need and that social work continues to play a central role in protecting people and communities from the potentially detrimental effects of social and economic development in the context of growing inequalities.

# References

Almanzor, A. (1966). The Profession of Social Work in the Philippines: Historical Background. *International Social Work*. 9: 27-34.

Almanzor, A. (1988). The Fundamental Components of Social Work Practice: A New Look at Old Issues. In Veneracion, C. (Ed). 2003. *Social Work in the Philippines. Tradition and Profession.* Manila: PASWI.

AusAID. (2011). *Australia's Aid Programme. Philippines.* Accessed at: http://www.ausaid.gov.au/country/country.cfm?CountryID=31 accessed 22.6.11.

Brake, M. & Bailey, R. (Eds.). (1980). *Radical social work and practice*. London: Edward Arnold.

Becker, H. S., Geer, B., Hughes, E. C. and Strauss, A. (1961) *Boys in white: A study of Student Culture in Medical School*. Chicago: Transaction.

Carr-Saunders, A. M and Wilson, P. A. (1933). *The Professions*. Oxford: Basil and Blackwell.

CHED. (2010). *Policies and Standards for Bachelor of Science in Social Work Program*. Quezon City: CHED.

Constantino, R. & Constantino, L. (1978). *The Philippines: A Continuing Past*. Quezon City: Foundation for Nationalist Studies.

Cordero, E., Pangalangan, E. & Fondevilla, R. (eds). (2000). *Philippine Encyclopedia of Social Work (2000 Edition, Volume 1)*. Quezon City: Megabooks Company/National Association of Social Work Education Inc.

Cordero, E., Pangalangan, E. & Fondevilla, R. (eds). (2000). *Philippine Encyclopedia of Social Work (2000 Edition, Volume 2)*. Quezon City: Megabooks Company/National Association of Social Work Education Inc.

David, R. (2001). *Reflections on Sociology & Philippine Society*. Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press.

David, R. (2004). *Nation, Self and Citizenship. An Invitation to Philippine Sociology*. Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, Inc.

Davies, M. (1994). *The Essential Social Worker*. 3rd Ed. Aldershot: Ashgate.

De Guzman, L. (ed). (1971). *Philippine Encyclopedia of Social Work. First Issue*. Manila: Philippine Association of Social Workers.

De los Reyes, E. (1976). 'Country Paper: The Role of Social Work Education in Rural Development in the Philippines', in *Proceedings of the Group Training Course on the Role of Social Work Education in Rural Development,* Jointly sponsored by UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia & the Pacific and The University of the Philippines Institute of Social Work and Community Development. Quezon City: University of the Philippines.

Dineros-Pineda, J. (1992). Beyond Nutrition: empowerment in the Philippines. *International Social Work*. 35: 203-215.

Dominelli, L. (2010). *Social Work in a Globalizing World*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

DSWD. (2009). Sama-Samang Pagtawid Tungo sa Kaunlaran. *2009 Annual Report*. Quezon City: Department of Social Welfare and Development.

DSWD. (2011) (1). About Us – Vision, Mission, Mandate. Accessed 20.5.11 at: http://www.dswd.gov.ph/index.php/about-us

DSWD. (2011) (2). Painting a Better Future. How DSWD's Programs Build the Filipino Family. *DSWD Annual Report 2011.* Quezon City: Department of Social Welfare and Development.

Etzioni, E. (1966). *The Semi-Professions and their Organisation*. New York: Basic Books.

Evetts, J. (2003). 'The Sociology of Professional Groups: New Questions and Different explanations', *Knowledge, Work & Society*, 1(1): 33-55.

Ferguson, I. & Woodward, R. (2009). *Radical Social Work in practice*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Glasser, P. (1970). Present Status of Social Welfare Services in the Philippines. *International Social Work*.13: 55.

Gray, M., Coates, J. & Yellow-Bird, M. (2008). *Indigenous Social Work around the World. Towards Culturally Relevant Education and Practice*. Aldershot: Asgate.

Harrison, G. & Melville, R. (2010). *Rethinking Social Work in a Global World*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Horner, N. (2009). *What is Social Work? Context and Perspectives. 3rd Ed.* Exeter: Learning Matters.

Howe, S. (2002). *Empire. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hugman, R. (2010). *Understanding International Social Work: A Critical Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Landa Jocano, F. (1980). *Social Work in the Philippines: A Historical Overview*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.

Landa Jocano, F. (2002). *Slum as a Way of Life. A Study of Coping Behavior in an Urban Environment*. Quezon City: PUNLAD Research House.

Lavalette, M. & Ferguson, I. (eds.) (2007). *International Social Work and the Radical Tradition.* Birmingham: Venture Press.

Lawrence, S., Lyons, K., Simpson, G. & Huegler, N. (Eds.). (2009). *Introducing International Social Work.* Exeter: Learning Matters.

Lee-Mendoza, T. (1999). *Social Work with Groups*. Quezon City: Megabooks Company.

Lee-Mendoza, T. (2008). *Social Welfare and Social Work. 3rd Ed.* Quezon City: Central Books.

*Local Government Code 1991*. Manila: AVB Printing Press.

Lyons, K. (2006). Globalisation and social work: International and local implications. *British Journal of Social Work.* 36(3): 365 – 80.

Midgley, J. (1981). *Professional Imperialism: Social Work in the Third World*. London: Heinemann.

Midgley, J. (1990). International Social Work: Learning from the Third World. *Social Work* 35 (4), 295-301.

Midgley, J. (1997). *Social Welfare in Global Context*. California: Sage.

Payne, M. (2005). *The Origins of Social Work. Continuity and Change*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Salvador-Tojos, L. & Cabilao, F. (2003). In Foreword to Veneracion, C. (Ed). 2003. *Social Work in the Philippines. Tradition and Profession*. Manila: PASWI.

Siegrist, H. (2002). *Professionalisation and Professions in History*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science.

Veneracion, C. J. (ed). (2003). *Social Work in the Philippines. Tradition and Profession*. Manila: Philippine Association of Social Workers, Inc.

Viloria, E. & Martinez, J. (1987). Growth and Development of Humanitarian Services in the Philippines in Veneracion, C. (Ed). *Social Work in the Philippines. Tradition and Profession*. Manila: PASWI.

Weber, M. [1905] (1958). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Scribner.

Weiss, I. & Welbourne, P. (eds.) (2007). *Social Work as a Profession: A Comparative Cross-national Perspective*. London: BASW/ Venture Press.

Yu, N. (2006). Ideological roots of Philippine social welfare. *International Social Work* 49: 559-570.

Zhang, X. & Huang, Y. (2008). A reflection on the indigenization discourse in social work. *International Social Work*. 51: 611-622.

Zulueta, F. & Nebres, A. (2003). *Philippine History and Government Through the Years*. Mandaluyong City: National Book Store.

---

## Notas

[i] The Philippines was a Spanish colony for over 300 years before coming under the control of the United States of America in the early 20th century.  Though the country became fully independent in 1946, Spanish and US influences remain very evident, not least in relation to the majority religion, language, US-style constitution and

presidential form of government. The Philippines has one of the highest rates of population growth in Asia. According to AusAID (2011), 44% of the population were living on less than US$2 a day in 2006.  Meanwhile, the impact of natural disasters (such as typhoons, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions) and armed conflict in the south must not be understated.   Around 10% of the population work overseas, in both unskilled and highly-qualified capacities, and Remittances from Filipino Workers Overseas (FWOs) account for around 10% of GDP. In more recent years, the country has seen significant growth and might be considered one of the better performing economies in the region.  Having said that, income inequality has increased and, "the poorest 20 per cent of the population [account] for only 5 per cent of total income or consumption" (AusAID, 2011).

**Jem Price** is senior lecturer in Social Work at the University of Brighton. He is also a registered social worker with experience of working with older people, disabled people and those with chronic health conditions. His research interests include international social work, social work and ageing and better practice better practice with lesbian and gay service users.

**Kepa Artaraz** is senior lecturer in Social Policy at the University of Brighton. He has research interests in professions, power, and political processes of change. Kepa has written on participation and social movements in Latin America. He is author of Cuba and Western Intellectuals since 1959 (2009, Palgrave) and Bolivia: Refounding the Nation (2012, Pluto).