

Communication and Peace:  
Self-Reliance; Overcoming Developmental Violence - A Case  
Study of St. Vincent Ferrer Parish, the Philippines

Akira Hirai\*

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**Abstract**

A unique performance of the Passion Play “*Kalbaryo*,” takes place every year during Holy Week in St. Vincent Ferrer (SVF) Parish in the Philippines. Through this activity, people realized communication which conscientized the violence surrounding themselves, and a grass root religious movement (Basic Christian Community = BCC) arose. A “change” in *Kalbaryo* and regression in the BCC occurred when parish priests changed in short succession. Was this regression due to a cause inherent in the movement? Were the people’s communication activities themselves to blame?

In this paper, the author looks for elements of self-reliance by examining the conditions necessary for peace directed communication through an analysis of people’s struggles and communication activities. A departure from developmentalism can overcome its structural violence. Here, the author defines “communication beyond developmentalism” as a counter-concept and antidote for “development communication” and applies it to an analysis of the people’s communication activities toward peace. Both opposing communication modes were found to simultaneously exist within communication.

In *Kalbaryo* communication, the long-term intention to continuously reach toward peace certainly existed. However, developmentalism was contained in people’s communication and BCC movement. Elements of “development communication” were even discovered in *Kalbaryo*. Reducing such communicative elements is the way to peace.

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**Keywords** : communication beyond developmentalism, self-reliance, Basic Christian Community (BCC), liberation theology, *Kalbaryo*

I Preface

The author has conducted critical research into the violence that accompanies development aid

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\*Professor, Asian Institute of Intellectual Collaboration (AIIC), Rikkyo University

and “Development Communication” from the point of view of peace studies.<sup>1</sup> This paper focuses on a case study where despite the local people feeling disenfranchised by the existing authorities, violent action was temporarily avoided through communication activities.

SVF (St. Vincent Ferrer) parish, located in Barangay La Granja, La Carlota city, Negros Occidental, in the Philippines, has traditionally held a unique theatrical play, “*Kalbaryo*,”<sup>2</sup> every Holy Week<sup>3</sup> that dramatizes the passion and death of Jesus Christ. This play, as a communication tool, has acted as a platform to further “conscientize”<sup>4</sup> the local people, of the violence which surrounds them and has also provided the impetus for a people’s self-reliant anti-militarization<sup>5</sup> movement. However, since 1999, in line with changes in the content and operation of *Kalbaryo* a corresponding decline in this movement has also been observed and as a result the local people is again subject to acts of violence.

The Author has drawn on the previous studies conducted by Reynaldo C. Iletto, Ruben Habito, and Hiromu Shimizu, et al.<sup>6</sup> on the first Philippine indigenous epic about the Passion of Christ “*Pasyon*” and its subsequent dramatization “*Senakulo*” that are thought to have formed the basis for *Kalbaryo* together with the conclusions contained within, regarding the dual functions and benefits that Catholicism has provided to Christianized Philippine people throughout the recent history of the Philippines. This paper also seeks to analyze the local people’s struggle for self-reliance and the corresponding communication activities, and by doing so, study the optimum conditions under which a peaceful communications environment and movement arises.

## II Departure from Developmentalism

In January 1949, United States’ president, Truman, in his inaugural speech, proposed technical aid and investment for ‘underdeveloped’ areas as Point 4 of the United States’ foreign policy. “On that day most of us met the term ‘development’ for the first time in its present meaning” (Illich, 1981, p. 17). C. Douglas Lummis expanded on this concept in the results of his 1991 paper “Development against Democracy”<sup>7</sup> stating that the root of the word development is the combination of the French word *veloper* (to wrap) and the prefix *des* (indicative of a negative). As noted by Lummis (1996, p.63), “in the ideology of development, the power of the metaphor is that it gives the impression that the projects being carried out under that ideology are natural, inevitable, and bring about the proper and predestined future of the entity being developed.” Accordingly, even though the word development was originally meant realization of potential realizations, this original meaning has been intentionally misapplied to activities that destroy traditional ways of living and force communities to engage in activities that follow global markets, in the name of so called “development.” “Calling such activities ‘development’ conceals the fact that they are human choices, that is, activities that human beings are *free not to*



*do*” (Lummis, 1996, p. 63). Both subjects and objects of development have commonly accepted this misconception. Therefore, the term development, as it is now commonly used, has usurped its intended meaning of development as created through the release or unwrapping of natural causes and effects. In this way, an ideology/belief that development is the panacea for any social problems was formed. It is developmentalism.

Even now many people believe that the existing hunger, poverty and epidemics in the world have been created by underdevelopment as redefined above, and can be solved by development. If this strategy is not successful, they think that it is due to poor development methods. However, as pointed out by Lummis, the above-mentioned problems (hunger, poverty, epidemics and so on) result from the structural violence which results from developmentalism. Therefore to overcome structural violence, requires a “departure from a developmental model that targets social priorities to one that re-examines the assumptions surrounding development itself” (Yokoyama, 2004, p. 9) instead of a modification of the developmental methods aiming for genuine development

### III Two Conflicting Vectors Included in Communication

Communication is an interactive action through which individuals and communities values, knowledge and philosophies are communicated and passed on. Viewed as an interactive action that both forms and maintains communities and social systems, it can be seen to be just as vital to sustaining human life as both human and social metabolism. Just as a breakdown in the body’s metabolic system damages health, and problems in social metabolism create environmental disruption, problems in communication also disrupt human social relations. Although communication is one element of subsistence, it contains two contrary vectors. One vector focuses on both maintaining and improving subsistence while the other vector aims to destroy it.

Dr. Jürgen Habermas refers to these two vectors as “communicative action and strategic action” (Habermas, 1985, p. 31), while Paulo Freire refers to them as “communication and extension.”<sup>8</sup> The author has described them as “communication beyond developmentalism and development communication.” These vectors could also be referred to as “communications that are based on a subsistence-oriented concept to overcome violence (communications seeking peace) and communications that lead to more violence yet focus on the concept of economic peace (in Latin, ‘Pax Economica’).”

The violence arising from developmentalism, a concept embraced globally, cannot be overcome by an individual community’s reliance on its own internal communications but rather requires the intentional creation of communication strategies that conscientize and create solidarity between the rest of the world and the community in which the local people have

**Figure** Type of Communication (Action)

General Understanding	<b>Communication</b>	
Habermas' Understanding	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Strategic Action</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-success-oriented</li> <li>-purposive rationality</li> <li>[System] (oppression)</li> <li>-national administration</li> <li>+ capitalism economy</li> </ul>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Communicative Action</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-consensus-oriented</li> <li>-communicative rationality</li> <li>[Lifeworld] (basis, reproduction)</li> <li>-private sphere + public sphere</li> </ul>
Freire's Understanding	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Extension</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-dissemination (vertical)</li> <li>-dominance</li> <li>[Banking education]</li> </ul>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Communication</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-dialog (horizontal)</li> <li>-liberation</li> <li>[Problem-posing education]</li> </ul>
The author's Understanding	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Development Communication</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-acceptance of development</li> <li>-dissemination</li> <li>-external (specialists') outreach</li> <li>-hierarchical, uniformity</li> <li>-violence communication</li> <li>[PaxEconomica]</li> </ul>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Communication beyond Developmentalism</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-conscientization of departure from developmentalism</li> <li>-dialog (exposure)</li> <li>-self-reliance (forming subjects)</li> <li>-regional, diversity</li> <li>-peace communication</li> <li>[Subsistence-oriented]</li> </ul>

Created by the author.

become victims of violence resulting from developmentalism.

#### IV *Kalbaryo* in La Granja

##### 1 Overview and Background

Coinciding with the end of the Marcos dictatorship in 1985, the Catholic Church Diocese of Bacolod BCC (Basic Christian Community<sup>9</sup>) sent a mission throughout its parishes, including SVF, for communications development. One of the communication developmental events was a theater workshop conducted by FCAN (Federation of Concerned Artists in Negros). From among those who originally participated, a group of youth at the Nagasi hacienda in La Granja first performed *Taltal* as a part of the voluntary cultural movement in 1986.

*Taltal*, meaning “Glued (inextricably intertwined)”, was a play that portrayed the death of Christ in a traditional way. It was an inspiring production that was able to convey to ordinary people the parallels between the difficulties that they were then facing and those related to the Passion of Christ. In 1988, Fr. Vic Dumlalos ordered that the central administration of the parish



(originally designated a chaplaincy in May 31, 1994) be moved to La Granja. Subsequently in 1990, Fr. Terrence Nueva reinvented the play "*Taltal*" as "*Kalbaryo*" which was able, to an even greater extent, to portray the Passion of the Christ in a modern context as it related to the suffering of the local community. While throughout the world there are many theatrical productions based on the Passion of Christ, the localized nature of this play is quite unique.

Specifically, the first scene entitled "Tradition," as part of the re-enactment of the crucifixion of Christ, which portrays the events from the "Last Supper" to the "Arrest of Christ," takes place in Barangay's center square. Following this, the person portraying Jesus has his hands tied behind his back and is marched about 4 km uphill, by people posing as Roman soldiers, to the top of *Kalbaryo* hill in the hot afternoon sun. While many are waiting for the march to conclude at the top of the hill, a considerable number of spectators follow along the route. At the foot of the hill the scene in which Jesus is finally sentenced to death is performed, at which stage the person portraying Jesus and the others sentenced to death by the crucifixion assume the burden of the Cross and together climb to the top of the steep hill. On the top of the hill there is a portrayal of the crucifixion.

While the person portraying Christ remains on the cross, beneath him there is a performance based upon locally contextualized scenes. Based upon the seven last words of Christ while on the cross, the play simultaneously presents seven acts that represent the evolution of the modern Filipino people. Regardless of its definition, as a play, festival or ritual, this annual event which recreates the Passion of Christ has a consistent "theme" which contextualizes and emphasizes the human suffering that results from such environmental destruction as illegal logging, the pain of Filipino migrant workers, declining labor conditions for workers at sugarcane farms due to import liberalization, and the effects of economic globalization.

Initially the purpose was to reaffirm the role of the Catholic Church in colonization, as colonial rule of the Philippines by Spain was largely justified as being to fulfill the Catholic "mission."<sup>10</sup> Despite this, Reynaldo Ireto has posited that through enculturation of the "Passion of the Christ," the underlying concept of "*Pasyon*" historically provided the impetus for resistance to colonial rule and a vision for the liberation movement by the Filipino people (Ireto, 1979, pp. 1-27).

While the Catholic church tried to emphasize the message of "salvation" to the local people by dramatizing the Passion of Christ in the play "*Senakulo*" with the underlying message that "the way to salvation is to tolerate suffering in this world and obey leaders," the people perceived Christ as a revolutionist and this led to recognition of their shared political and social status and subsequently "there was a movement to try and expand resistance from an individually or regionally dominated movement to a historically based liberation movement with universal appeal"(Habito, 1986, pp. 19-21).

Following on from changes in the Vatican Council II (1962-65), in Latin America, "people

began to see both the church and their society in a more critical way” (Berryman, 1989, p. 13). Catholics joined in revolutionary activities and the expansion of “liberation theology”<sup>11</sup> after the Bishops’ Medellin conference<sup>12</sup> had a major impact in the Philippines. Liberation theology was first introduced through the mission from Mindanao and was further refined when Bishop Fortich<sup>13</sup> arrived on the island of Negros as the head of the Diocese of Bacolod.

The addition of Catholic masses in the local language *Hirigainon* (Irongo) and *Paninbahon*<sup>14</sup> allows, “to apply the Gospel to the problems of your own community” (O’Brien, 1987, p. 128)<sup>15</sup>, and local people now had the words to express their current condition in prayers to God. As the Basic Christian Community (BCC) spread, local people began their fight against “poverty,” and against the regional militarization that has been continuously executed by the Marcos administration (1965–1986), the Aquino administration (1986–1992) and ever since.<sup>16</sup>

## 2 *Kalbaryo* as a Means of People’s Communication

Following on from the establishment of a social action committee (SAC) in the Diocese of Bacolod, in 1969 the bishop issued a pastoral letter referring to the *Sacada*<sup>17</sup> and indicating a strong desire to achieve social justice. As the SAC supported organizations that represented poor people and peasants such as the Negros Federation Sugar Workers Union (NFSW), major landowners sought to discredit the bishop labeling him a “communist”. In 1975, *Alay Kapwa*<sup>18</sup> and in 1977, the BCC, became authorized parish programs that were recognized to link between people’s faith and social justice (Empestan, 2003, pp. iii–v).

In the Diocese of Bacolod, nine BCC activists went missing in short succession and were later found brutally murdered. In 1980, Father Vic became the parish priest and began to organize workers living on the local haciendas (farms) in SVF transforming what was then known as *Taltal* into an event for all parishioners. His successor, Father Terence expanded the scale of *Taltal* to its current form now known as *Kalbaryo*.

The local people who had been individually oppressed in the haciendas thought that a life of “poverty” and hard living had been pre-ordained by God. One of the youths working in the sugar cane hacienda called Salamanca when interviewed by the author said, “[The current difficulties] have been pre-ordained by God so all I can do is pray.” In other words, his view was that only those in the ruling class are in control and that workers in this environment are unable to shape their own destiny. This means that the ruling class, by having the power to define history and the opposition, such as in the above example of calling an activist bishop, “communist,” in other words, the power to control communication, ensures their superior position.<sup>19</sup> However, now the local people is recapturing its own vocabulary to describe their history,<sup>20</sup> one in which their own suffering is paralleled by the Passion of Christ. The interweaving of ongoing history with the Passion of Christ as symbolized in the *Kalbaryo* expression of suffering, which can be



considered a form of communication, is part of the process of “conscientization,” the raising of awareness of internalized structural violence and opposition to the same.

However, for the individually oppressed workers on the haciendas around La Granja, the power of the oppressors (the development elite) whether it be the military or major landowners is so great that for many, any form of opposition is inconceivable. The *Kalbaryo* is a process through which workers who recognize the history of violence and oppression are attempting to form a pincer movement for change by sharing their vision with other people, at the same time as promoting solidarity, bringing others into the movement and “conscientizing” the local people through raising self-awareness of their history. It is hoped that through *Kalbaryo* the awareness spreads not just through the region but throughout the country.

*Kalbaryo* is the process of conscientization for people who have so far been unable to express in words their history or current situation and who, are divided and ruled in the haciendas. They start to recognize that their situation can be changed and recapture their voice addressing a joint struggle. This collective movement through which they share “a common ‘nature’ to change their world” (Freire, 2001, p. 202)<sup>21</sup> has resulted in concrete action aimed at, overcoming militarization, the violence initiated to protect the economic interests of the elite. This form of communication aims to depart from developmentalism in order to achieve people’s peace. It is also the communication process that provides the impetus for activities to ensure subsistence (the foundation for sustainable existence).

## V People’s Self-reliance Movement

### 1 History of BCC Activities in SVF

In 1985 when Father Vic became the parish priest of SVF, BCC began as an organized movement. Its core philosophy was to create a community in which, in line with the religion, peoples’ lives were protected. Because of its high organizing ability and activities, a base for the people’s trade of Burreangong Bananas was organized in SVF in 1989.<sup>22</sup> Upon the arrival of Father Terence there was an increase in BCC activities, which also resulted in increased banana production.

Throughout the parish not only young people but the entire community were involved in volunteer activities, including *Kalbaryo*, every year. The pastoral and youth organs were organized within the parish, including a liturgy committee that helped the priest in Mass, a finance committee, education committee, organizing committee, international solidarity committee and a music committee. The local churches were not only gathering places for religious people but also played a major role in the daily lives of the community. In addition, to ensure that the entire congregation and local people were voluntarily involved in the holding of

*Kalbaryo*, various specialized committees for this event including special operations, finance, publicity, documentation, transportation, communications, security, food, health, accommodation, procurement, liturgy, production, sound and lighting were established.

On the other hand, parish activities and the associated youth organizations provided valuable opportunities for the youth who grew up during the time of the NFSW and the peasants' movement, and who have historically been oppressed and unable to find jobs after graduation. It is an historical fact that churches were the only places in which the public could legally assemble under the Marcos regime. It is also important to note that historically, the military, the state authorities and hacienda owners assumed NPA<sup>23</sup> involvement, particularly with regard to BCC. This in effect meant that any movement related to self-enfranchisement and self-reliance would be labeled as anti-government by the ruling class with their vested interests.

When the Communist Party of the Philippines became divided in 1992, the influence of the NPA declined and the conspicuous use of military force by the National Army against protestors were moved underground. Direct harassment by the military gave way to the covert political killings during the Ramos administration (1992-1998).

When in 1994 and 1995, in the SFV parish, the annual banana crop was destroyed by pest infestation, the support base for the BCC that was largely reliant on workers in the banana plantations greatly decreased. While the division of the Communist Party created a resurgence in the local people's movement, this declined when Father Terrence departed in 1998. Since that time, some of local people have observed that *Kalbaryo* has changed from an event driven by the youth culture movement into something that is merely an annual or traditional event.

Since the departure of Father Terrence, 6 priests have come and gone and accordingly the local community has lacked a stable religious condition.

## **2 Specific Changes**

Twenty years since its inception in the modern form, while a substantial number of people still gather for *Kalbaryo*, the activities of the BCC within the region have declined. *Paninbahon* is no longer held. There are no BCC health programs being conducted or any activities specifically aimed at youth being organized due to the lack of organizers in surrounding regions. Due to economic globalization, the youth, upon reaching working age, move to big cities such as Manila or even go overseas. This means that now, most of the participants in *Kalbaryo* are no longer men and women but are young boys and girls. Because the next generation has been deprived of the daily youth activities they now only participate in those activities directly related to the holding of *Kalbaryo*, the only opportunity for intergenerational education and communication. The opportunities to educate the next generation and pass onto them the true meaning behind *Kalbaryo* as a BCC activity through both its preparation and practice have now decreased. In the



past, the local congregations fully and directly embraced any activities related to the holding of *Kalbaryo*, from providing accommodation to young people who came from remote haciendas for night practice to providing them with meals. However, in recent times the people's direct participation in *Kalbaryo* has gradually been replaced with monetary donations.

The change can also be seen in the annual *Kalbaryo* themes. In 1996, the theme was "Plan 2000 for the Philippines, the widening gap between rich and poor" and in 1997 "Globalization, Trade Liberalization, privatization and deregulation of oil." However, in 2004 themes changed focus and were "Seeds for regaining the Christian Family" and in 2006, "Fruit for regaining the Christian Family." Activists who have been involved with *Kalbaryo* for many years have stated that the focus of the themes has changed from those centered around questions of social justice to those focusing on family or individual interests.<sup>24</sup>

Between 2004 and 2006, the parish priest was a person who tended to favor the wealthy and was more interested in alms collections than in bringing people together. By the end of his tenure *Paninhahon* and cooperative community activities were largely gone and BCC remained in name only. Many parishioners had to stop going to Church because the expected donation was at least 20 pesos.<sup>25</sup> As the major form of communication in the parish, elements of communication that moved a step beyond developmentalism decreased and elements of hierarchical development communication increased.

Some however, believe that the underlying problem rests in the community itself rather than the priest. People were now just too busy to gather for meetings and unable help others. Many could only afford to eat once or twice a day. Prayer alone is no substitute for food. When the banana trade with Japan was at its peak this benefited the community and people gathered. However, when the banana production was destroyed by pestilence, people stopped gathering.<sup>26</sup>

After Bishop Fortich's successor<sup>27</sup> arrived, a return-to-a-conservative-church trend began. Nevertheless some priests and active leaders of the congregation argued that BCC activities could continue if the leaders of congregations were well trained, despite the increased focus of the Church on money and priests' desire for power.<sup>28</sup>

## VI Who Leads Peoples' Movements?

### 1 Factors of Change

The regression to a more conservative Catholic Church and the fact that the parish priest changed to one who treated wealthy and powerful people better than ordinary people in SVF parish were determined to be direct external factors of change. Director Dr. Violeta Gonzaga, of the Institute for Social Research and Development (ISRAD), University of St. La Salle, Bacolod claimed as follows.

“There is no example of such poverty during the mid-1980’s in Negros. ... However, in 1991, after only two years ... economic growth stole social mobilization from poor people. Poor Negros people tend to focus on their survival in terms of economy and dislike opposing the military or making social demands.” She also argued, “The Church should continue to respect human rights, authentic land reform, and advocate non-violence to resolve land disputes, because without this, conservative politics and politically well-established ‘families’ may regain strength” (Gonzaga, 1991, p. 9). The Church should take an active role in politics and remove the influence of patron-client<sup>29</sup> politics especially as they affect the poor.

Moreover, further study reveals a factor internalized within the people themselves; the mental and economic dependence on external support and guidance from leaders such as the Church and its priests, political parties, and NGOs.

Militarization is a prime example of developmentalism in terms of protecting the vested interests of development. Social and economic activities, such as the banana trade with Japan, were means by which opposition parties mobilized the people against their oppressors, the establishment and the army. Support for banana production and trade and the resulting increase in revenues did not decrease structural violence in famine-affected regional economies or the global economy but rather increased the potential for violence by increasing revenues. Thus, when an external factor (pestilence) destroyed banana production, violence reemerged because people had no other way to satisfy their hunger or improve their lives. The principle that developmentalism, in this case increasing banana production, makes people happy, ironically led instead to over-production and pest infestation. Developmentalism also became visible in internal BCC communications as well as those between BCC and the general community and its leaders. This was due to increasing reliance on social economic activities. We find that both the banana trade and the mobilization of people against their oppressors were evidence of developmentalism at work inside the BCC people; the enemy was within.

## **2 “Enemies are Within Ourselves”**

Area leaders and coordinators of BCC are considered to be “middle-class” within the community and their lives have changed due to increased material wealth when compared to the eighties even though it’s only at the “we can use electricity now” level. To maintain a materialistic lifestyle, more people are working overseas. The community has changed from one in which people in poor neighborhoods help each other, and unite to overcome violence, to one in which mobile phone communication is the norm and people do not attend meetings or even go to funerals. Many priests have reflected that “People have grown cold-hearted.”<sup>30</sup>

Seiko Ohashi, a resident officer for JCNC (Japan Committee for Negros Campaign) reported on the meetings of farmers belonging to the Producer’s Association that organized after the



agrarian reform.

Many said, "We used to be united more when estate owners existed because we saw our enemy clearly. . . . We felt close to each other when we worked for the same wage but in subsequent development of the area after winning that battle, we do not collaborate. I do not know why . . . In the past, our enemies were external. We could see the faces of the soldiers and estate owners but now are enemies are within ourselves . . . the era of working under directives and supervisors at the farm and the period of participating in a labor movement with an elected leader is over. The fight against the external enemy through strikes and criticism and the fight against the enemy inside of us, is completely different" (Ohashi, 2004, p. 160).

In other words, people previously united in the fight against developmentalism and its violence (militarization) by national or regional elites are now divided again because the threat of violence has slightly diminished and they are now occupied by their own developmentalism which is to promote their own economic interests as part of the global economy.

### **3 People and Leadership**

The author interviewed Father Terrence when he came back from Australia to conduct the 25th ordination anniversary ceremony for priests ordained into the Church in May 2008. He was the central figure in the SVF parish when BCC activities were at their peak and the current form of *Kalbaryo* started.

When Father Terrence was still a seminarian, many seminarians like him came from parishes supported by the Society of St. Columban order (pioneer of BCC in South Negros) during sabbaticals to gain exposure to local communities and "self-absorb the ideals of justice and liberation and to create their own ideas by being involved in various activities such as living in a Kaisahan settlement (a Kibbutz type project of community) as a parish-lead initiative to experience a more explosive situation."<sup>31</sup> However, even in the 1990s when he arrived in La Granja, many workers were unhappy due to the mistreatment they were suffering on the haciendas where they worked. Given that he was only 25 years old at that time, it took him about 2 years to "not only be respected as a priest but also build a relationship of trust and friendship in the local community." It is not surprising that at first the community distanced itself from him and in some cases that "people were afraid of him."<sup>32</sup>

He started a farm called Demo Farm that was located on a steep slope without a stable water source so that organizers of the Christian community could be independent in the poor parish. The rationale behind this was that if poor people were ever to receive their own land, it would be in an equally bad condition or unfavorable location and accordingly, he wanted to simulate that on Demo Farm. Its establishment coincided with that of BCC, which revitalized a range of church activities involved in various aspects of small community life.

The BCC concept posed a threat to the Church's traditional hierarchical leadership model. The communities enjoyed shared leadership with BCC in the parish. While Father Terrence recognized that often a priest becomes a king and the parish his kingdom, he said "To ensure BCC spirit, the priest must play an important role, but not the role of a king. The priest's role is not one of power but rather that of empowering people. Priests should be known as people who encourage the local communities and not as dictators. Priests must empower people to take responsibility for their own destiny. As BCC is a 'church from the bottom [a grassroots movement] and a church of poor' its leadership should be participative."

He can be seen to have been performing two separate roles. One was to lead his congregation as a priest of the Catholic Church and the other was to encourage people by showing them the possibilities available through self-reliance and empowerment. He intentionally got rid of the first role and encouraged shared leadership within the parish. At the same time, he emphasized his second role by promoting the sharing of socio-economic power through self-reliance in order to overcome violence.

As mentioned earlier, while *Kalbaryo* now has more spectators, it has diminished as communication for seeking solidarity promoted under the BCC movement. He said, "There is no doubt that the Church is still generally hierarchical in nature. This makes it very difficult to introduce new concepts that are in opposition to those that traditionally dominate and this often results in oppression of the masses. When priests/activists talk about progressive or poor-oriented anything, the intense conflict between those searching for discovery of new concepts or methods and those maintaining power to live in idleness (the mainstream of lifestyle to gratify their material desire), cannot be underestimated." Not only Father Terrence but also those current parishioners of SVF are caught in the battle with their internal developmentalism.

## VII Conclusions

It cannot be denied that BCC activities are either positively or negatively influenced by the serving parish priest. In addition, just because a parish priest was conservative, did not mean the congregation would simply tolerate his oppression. The fact that 6 priests were replaced in the eight years since 1998 was as a result of opposition from active congregations. As we can see from the communication that Father Terrence and the community enjoyed, people do not always look to their priest only as a representative of the Church and leader but are also able to educate their priest to communicate the wants and needs of the community.

*Kalbaryo*, as a communication tool, seeks to achieve sustainable and long-term peace by creating true interaction within the SVF parish and opposing the militarization with its vested interests in the protection of developmentalism. Developmentalism also exists even in the BCC



movement and economic globalization forces youth to leave local communities. Enlarging economic gaps widen the divide among the people of SVF, impeding their ability to build solidarity, and increasing the vector of hierarchical development (violence) communication. “Communication beyond developmentalism” (peace communication) exists when victims of violence intentionally aim for self-reliance. However, the fact that aiming for self-reliance also gives rise to developmentalism (violence), a contrary vector in communication, cannot be denied. A process in which violence is decreased to ultimately achieve peace is the goal of communication as discussed here.

### Notes

1. The author has participated in various technical cooperation projects supported by JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) and other NGOs.
2. It's from “Calvary” (Golgotha hill where Christ was crucified).
3. Philippine Sajjiki. (2010) describes, “In the Philippines, along with Christmas, Holy Week is an important annual event. Sermons related to the Passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus are given at Mass, through readings of the poem “Passion” or enjoying a play “*Senaklo*”. Many local believers walk barefoot and whip themselves to atone for daily sins. Easter holiday normally includes Holy Thursday, Good Friday the following Saturday and Easter Sunday.”
4. “Conscientization”: A concept defined and spread by Brazilian educators, literacy practitioners as posited by Paulo Freire. Freire (1979, p. 59) argues that real change occurs after people become self aware instead of just accepting doctrine and go through “the process of recognizing social and cultural facts and their ability to change reality.”
5. Military violence that oppresses human rights of people arming to protect the developmental interests of national and regional elites.
6. Habito (1986), Iletto (1979) and Shimizu (1991).
7. Lummis (1991). By combining with other papers and edited, Lummis (1996) was published.
8. As noted by Satomi (1982), “Education is an act orienting either ‘extension’ or ‘communication’. Depending on the orientation, it can be action of oppression or action of liberation”.
9. The movement rose with liberation theology in Latin America, “Christian groups praying together, to resolve their own problems by self-help and support each other” (Rabaien, 1986, p. 62). In Bacolod Diocese it is known as ‘Preferential Option for the Poor’ (New way of the Church, Church of the poor).
10. “From 1581 to 1586, the suzerainty of Spain in the Philippine archipelago was justified by the ‘Manila conference’ carried out by Catholic priests” (Habito, 1986, pp. 15–17).
11. Theological movement that evangel should be practiced in the people.
12. The Second General Assembly of Latin American Bishops Council, in 1968.
13. Bishop Antonio Y. Fortich, 1967–1989.
14. The congregation conducts the first half of Mass, a part of teaching the word of God “liturgy of the word” through worship service. “Priest-less Mass” enables a congregation to conduct Mass in remote

area without priests. Specifically certain parts of the Bible are taught in a contextualized manner with real life examples in local languages.

15. *Paninbahon* was started by the Columban priests O'Brien and others in 1966 in Negros island.
16. According to O'Brien (1987) and Empestan (2003).
17. Seasonal workers coming from adjacent Cebu or Panay islands to Negros island where La Granja is located. They work in farms (Hacienda) under poor working conditions that are inherited from the feudal plantation system.
18. *Alay Kapwa* is a socio-economic movement of Christian communities "to share each other".
19. "As prerequisite for people in power, they always try to absolutize one of their rights. That is the right to depict people who have no power and describe selfishly them in the ruling class. It means that people in power draw portraits of people without power, and if people without power embody that profile, it obviously further strengthens the power of the ruling class." (Freire, 2001, p. 214).
20. Human being as defined by Freire (uttering communicative subject) reach "a new recognition of reality by analyzing their own distorted vision of their situations and noticing the same" (Freire, 2001, p. 139).
21. Freire claims that if an intellectual vision of the world is open to the people, it should become self-apparent.
22. As to history of the rise and fall of banana production in La Granja, refer (Ito, 2002, pp. 153-162).
23. NPA = New People's Army, the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines.
24. According to the interview by the author with Mrs. A, who was a core member of the previous year *Kalbaryo*, on April 10, 2004.
25. According to the interview by the author with Mrs. B, the former secretary of Father Terence on November 16, 2004.
26. According to the interview by the author with Mrs. C who runs a small sari-sari store (convenience store) in La Granja, on November 16, 2004.
27. Bishop Camilo D. Gregorio (1989-2000), Bishop Vincent Macanan Navarra (2001-).  
Bishop Camilo's first duty was to force the refugees out from the seminary, though they were forced evacuees from their homes to the there. This resulted in tense relations and the bishop was transferred to Cebu only 11 years later.
28. According to the interview by the author with Mr. E, a Bacolod BCC activist, on March 31, 2005.  
Also, according to opinions from other priests such as Fr. Empestan who have led BCC activities.
29. PC relation is common hedged relationship between landlord-tier "Owner" and poor-tier "Tenant" in the Philippines.
30. According to the interview with Mrs. B mentioned above.
31. According to the interview by the author with Father Terence Nueva on May 21, 2008. The following quotes without notes are from same interviews.
32. According to the interview by the author with Mrs. B mentioned above.

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