

SOCIAL DRAMA IN THE RISE AND FALL OF SILAY SARSUWELA

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Social Anthropologist Victor Turner holds that while the dynamic character of social relations involves movement as much as structure, persistence as much as change, persistence is its most dominant aspect. Furthermore, social action acquires form through the metaphors and paradigms in their actor's heads (put there by explicit teaching and implicit generalization from social experience) (1974, 13). Consequently, Turner believes living action is not the logical consequence of any grand design not because of man's free will but because of the processual structure of social action. This processual structure, according to Turner, mimics the phases of a play and can be divided into four parts:

- 1 Breach – “the overt break or deliberate nonfulfillment of some crucial norm regulating social relations between persons or groups within the same system of social relations in a community”
- 2 Crisis – dangerous point wherein unless the “breach can be sealed off quickly within a limited area of interaction, has a tendency to widen and create dominant cleavage in the widest sense of social relations between conflicting or antagonistic parties”

- 3 Redressive action – certain adjustive and redressive “mechanisms” formal or informal, institutionalized or ad hoc meant to limit the spread of crisis in the disturbed social system
- 4 Either reintegration of the disturbed social group or the social recognition and legitimization of the irreparable schism between the contesting parties (ibid., 38-41)

Turner uses the term social drama to describe this “tensional irruption that takes place in “aharmonic phases of an ongoing social process” when interests and attitudes of groups and individual collide. Although choices of means and ends and social affiliation, according to Turner, are made during this process stress is dominantly laid upon loyalty and obligation, as much as interest and the course of events. Significantly, conflict brings fundamental habits of daily intercourse, into frightening prominence as people take sides in terms of deeply entrenched moral imperatives and constraints, often against their own personal preferences as choice is sometimes overborne by duty (ibid., 33-35).

Furthermore, citing van Gennep, he notes that in any ritualized movement there comes a “liminal point” when those moved by a “cultural script are liberated by normative demands” and are caught between betwixt and between successive lodgements so anything can happen (ibid., 13).

It is my contention that the rise and fall of the sarsuwela competition (1984-1998) constitute a form of social drama with Silay City, Negros Occidental as the arena or setting for “antagonistic interaction aimed at a publicly recognized decision” and “the totality of relationships” between members of the Silay Arts Council as the “political field” wherein actors “oriented to the same prizes or values... upheld or undermined a particular normative order” (ibid., 133-35). Furthermore, in the process of writing their scripts, the writers precisely experienced what Turner calls liminality by standing “aside from their own social position [they] formulated alternative social arrangements” (ibid., 14) that articulated their deepest sentiments about conditions in Silay in the 1980s and 1990s.

Initially a poor coastal settlement, Silay is home to some of the most prominent names in the arts, politics, and economics. These include National Artist for Architecture, Leandro Locsin; literary scholar and food critic, Doreen Fernandez; internationally-known opera singer, Conchita Gaston; journalists and *Philippines Free Press* and *Business World* publishers, Teodoro Locsin, Sr. and Raul Locsin respectively; constitutional convention representative, senator, erstwhile Secretary of Health and of Agriculture, Dr. Jose C. Locsin; and industrialist, first Bacolod city mayor, former National Economic Council chairman, Alfredo Montelibano Sr. who held two cabinet positions (Secretary of Interior and of National Defense) during the Commonwealth period.

Originally called Carobcob (Karay-a word for “scratch”), its inhabitants eked out a living gathering from its seashores a local bivalve called *tuway* (Tapes Litterata Linne). Periodic Muslim raids however moved this coastal settlement inland to its present site, renamed Silay due to the abundance of Kansilay trees (Pacete, n.d.).

Formally founded by the Spaniards in 1760, it was settled mainly by affluent Spanish and Chinese mestizo families of Molo and Jaro who joined the exodus in 1850s to Negros in the greatest wave of local migration in Philippine history that raised the population of the island tenfold in less than fifty years from 30,000 in 1850 to 320,606 in 1883 (Echaz 1978, 33-37). On the frontline were the entrepreneurial Chinese mestizos who transferred their investments from the moribund Iloilo textile industry to the fledgling Negros sugar industry. The move was prompted by British vice-consul Nicholas Loney’s well calibrated orchestration of the demise of the Iloilo textile industry through the underselling of Iloilo’s handwoven local fabrics with manufactured Manchester cotton of which Loney was an agent (McCoy 1982, 314). Following Iloilo’s fall from grace, families like those of the Locsins, the Jalandonis, the Montelibanos, among others moved to Silay (Pacete, n.d.). These internal migrants brought not only capital but their own work force from Panay’s weaving towns like Miag-ao and Mandurriao. This may have set the cue for the feudalistic and paternalistic sugar culture characterized by the workers’ complete dependency on the

landlord who owned all the means of production and held authority over them from cradle to the grave. Migrants came from opposite ends of the social scale—those who had everything to lose who brought the capital, the *maysarang* (the haves), and those who had nothing to lose but had only their labor to offer, the *mapiut* (the have nots) (Hernaiz-Romero 1974, 30). This uneven relationship engendered a patron/client, master/slave mentality famously encapsulated in that famous expression *mando ni Nonoy* (order of Nonoy) where the lower class looked up to the upper class for every cue from their children's names to their choice of political candidate at the risk of eviction. The last was responsible for the much coveted sugar vote avidly wooed by many politicians during the hey days of sugar when it counted for 60 percent of the Philippines' export, 90 percent of which came from Negros (Locsin 1992, n.p.). Paradoxically, the city has also produced some of the more progressive-minded *hacenderos* who innovated on land sharing schemes and kibbutz style communities to break the cycle of dependency sugar culture has engendered (Locsin 2008). But then, ever since its first Gobernadorcillo Don Tomas Quilangit stabbed to death a Spanish alferes who insulted and assaulted him, Silay City has always marched to the beat of an entirely different drummer.

Thus, while the rest of the northern Negros was quiescent in the 1890s, Silay became the seat of the province's secretly organized Negros Central Revolutionary Committee since majority of its members were Silaynon. Among them was Leandro Locsin, who as Treasurer General used his drugstore as collection center devising the clever scheme of listing the names of donors in a prescription book as kinds of medicines and their contributions coded in grams to protect their identities. With Gen. Aniceto Lacson of Talisay and Silay's other *hijos de pais*, Locsin orchestrated a bloodless surrender of Spanish forces designed to spare Spanish pride that culminated in the cry of Cinco de Noviembre after a street in Silay where the cry for independence was first raised (Romero 1974, 85). The event which is celebrated annually today as the province's own official independence day sealed Silay's historical importance.

In like manner, while the rest of Negros Occidental was considered the backwater of Iloilo, Silay's upper class cultivated a cultural life that included watching in the local Kahirup theater the performance of the whole cast of the Italian San Carlo Opera or of a Spanish zarzuela troupe. These "little" bits of extravagance orchestrated by the late Silay hacendero, sugar trader, composer cum impresario Jose "Pitong" Ledesma was nothing compared to his bankrolling in the 1920s the construction by the Italian engineer Verasconi of Silay's silver-domed neo-Romanesque San Diego cathedral with a P180,000 donation (Locsin-Nava 1994, 14) so that the local folks can worship in stained glass splendor. Unfortunately, all these largesse did not trickle down to the lower class who remembers how imported entertainment and carnivals in the plaza carefully fenced off the hoi polloi while the cushioned pews in the church were reserved only for the perfumed set.

Nevertheless, Silay acquired a reputation as the cultural and intellectual hub of the province (Romero 1974, 85), playing host to world class pianist Arthur Rubenstein, Philippine diva Isang Tapales, and prima ballerina Liza Macuja. This lends credence to cultural promoter Ramon Hofileña's boast that Silaynons are so culturally savvy when national artists Vicente Manansala, Napoleon Abueva, and Manuel Rodriguez Sr. exhibited their works in Silay in the 1980s; they were snapped up in minutes. One can therefore forgive the presumptuousness by which this city has assumed the title "Paris of Negros."

Silay's cultural capital was bolstered in the 1980s when the city resisted a provincial road widening project that threatened to destroy some architecturally significant period structures built between the 1840s to the 1930s that lend the city its characteristic elegant antebellum quality (Locsin-Nava 1994, 17). While a less culturally conscious people would have sacrificed these old ancestral houses in the altar of development, civic-spirited Silaynons banded together and conducted a vigorous signature campaign to save, among others, El Ideal Bakery, a popular landmark which made famous Silay's culinary creations like *guapple pie* and *dulce gatas* that the road widening project was going

to cut in half. Another threatened structure was the Don Bernardino and Doña Ysabel residence which was later turned into the province's second lifestyle museum.

In 1984, Silay cemented its reputation as the cultural capital of the province when at the height of Negros' worst sugar crisis, the Kahirup Sang Barangay in coordination with the Silay City Government put up the Silay Sarsuwela Competition. A brain child of then City Development Officer and Kahirup Sang Barangay president Reme Dimacali—son-in-law of incumbent mayor Natalio Velez who built Centro Kansilayan, the city's new and second civic center—the annual competition was conceived to attract more warm bodies than what the occasional ballet, piano concert, and Philippine Basketball Association game from Manila drew since it features state-of-the-art facilities on par with that of the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) (Locsin-Nava 2001, 53). Kahirup sang Barangay that was composed mainly of Silay's social elite eventually gave way to the more egalitarian Silay Arts Council which was patterned after the regional arts councils promoted by then CCP artistic director, Dr. Nicanor Tiongson. In keeping with the Aquino government's new policy of democratization of art, the council was supposed to be made up of artists coming from all walks of life representing each of the seven arts. As it developed, Silay Arts Council was composed of members of the elite, who usually held the more important positions while the rest were teachers and employees of the city government. The latter which was composed of writers, directors, musicians, and community organizers, provided the real work force behind the sarsuwela competition. All served at the Arts Council without pay.

The competition got off to a shaky start with one participating barangay ingenuously presenting a tango number as its entry blissfully unaware that sarsuwela is "a play with songs and dances, usually written in prose, containing from one to five acts, depicting the vagaries of romantic love among idealized Filipino characters, and often incorporating contemporary social, political, economic or cultural issues of relevance and interest" (Tiongson 1983, 5).

Nevertheless, by its second year, participants had gotten their sea legs. Thus the competition now required original sarsuwela entries unlike the year before where a translation of Severino Reyes' *Walang Sugat* won first place. With support from the local government in the form of subsidies for the participating barangays and cash prizes for the winners, 1985 brought a harvest of twelve entries while 1986 elicited thirteen. Because of a change in political administration following Marcos' ouster, the Silay competition went into hiatus in 1987 and 1988. However, with enthusiasm for the revival of the form running high, there grew a pool of sarsuwela writers whose skills were honed by a sustained program of development consisting of periodic workshops on scriptwriting, music, and acting, handled by the likes of Fr. Manuel Maramba of the University of Santo Tomas Department of Music, Al Santos of the Philippine Educational Theater Association (PETA), and Monino Duque of the CCP. Hence, the competition emerged stronger than ever with fourteen entries in 1989, the highest in its fourteen years of existence. Furthermore, in 1990 the first prize winner, Hda. Adela's *Matam-is Man Gali Ang Kalamay* (Sugar is Also Sweet) won the unprecedented honor of being chosen by Manila critics to represent the Visayas in the First National Theater Festival at the CCP. However, after reaching its zenith, plagued by attrition among its performers' ranks composed of low level professionals who moved on to other professions and students who graduated, waning interest among participating groups who periodically lost out to the more achieving barangays and the cooptation of writers into other cultural projects of the mayor, the competition went into a two-year hiatus. It was resurrected in 1995 when the Arts Council commissioned one writer, Ver Pacete, currently the tourism officer, to write the sarsuwela *Cinco de Noviembre*. With the depletion of the participants' energies, the festival once again went into a third two-year hiatus in 1996 and 1997. It was revived for the last time in 1998 with a lean harvest of three entries on the occasion of the centennial of the Philippine Revolution with grant money from the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) to underwrite the cost of the competition as well as to professionalize the participants and sustain the project through the formation of the Silay Sarsuwela Company that would provide actors and other sarsuwela artists a

livelihood. At this point, what Turner calls the “tensional irruption in ‘aharmonic’ social process” when opposing interests and attitudes of groups and individual collide happened. Because she did not believe any member of the council measured up, the Arts Council president had her son installed as artistic director of the council. He in turn hired a secretary cum assistant. The projected Silay Sarsuwela Company never became a reality. Much of the project’s funding went to the salaries of the artistic director and his assistant. The “deliberate nonfulfillment” of the terms of the NCCA grant and the fact that everybody else served in the council for free created a breach within the council. It likewise shattered the illusion of egalitarianism in the council as the break developed along class lines with persons loyal to the presidents closing ranks behind her. The artists’ reaction ranged from disenchantment to resentment for the president whom they had chosen not only for her “leadership qualities [but also for] her contacts in Manila” (Pacete 2008). As a member of the ruling elite, she was looked up to by the artists to set the standard for ethical behavior. The crisis came to a head on awards night when the rank and file had to hastily round up students in the evening session from nearby schools to fill up the empty Silay Civic Center because the President of CCP was in attendance. As members of the council engaged in finger pointing regarding the fiasco, some turned in their resignations, officially, others, not. Thus, instead of the breach being “sealed off quickly within a limited area of interaction” (Turner 1974, 39), it widened into a dominant cleavage in the widest sense of social relations between conflicting or antagonistic parties. Though the older members of the Arts Council tried to limit the spread of crisis by carrying on as usual by way of redressive action, soured relationships among council members dealt the final coup de grace to the existence of the Silay Arts Council. Because it ran the sarsuwela festival, the conflict likewise brought the demise of the sarsuwela competition. Since then all efforts to revive both have been unsuccessful since the president refuses to work with past council members who disagreed with her especially one member (a school teacher) who felt it her duty to demand strict accounting of taxpayers’ money. Hence, instead of reintegration of the disturbed social group, there was irreparable schism between the contesting parties.

One saving grace of the competition was, working together artists developed a sense of community helping each other even when they belonged to competing groups, or when *delicadeza* prevented them from joining the competition because they had been coopted by the mayor's office to take charge of the competition. .

Furthermore, while it lasted, the sarsuwela festival did not just entertain, with Negros' economy was at its lowest ebb, it provided a venue for writers to ventilate their feelings about the pressing problems of the day. To run through the range of topics tackled by the fifty or so sarsuwela produced from 1984 to 1998 is to read the burning concerns of the province seen from below. These are: nationalism (*Pungsod Ko, Kabuhi Ko* [My Country, My Life], 1985, *Sa Ginsang-an Sang Kasaysayan* [At the Crux of the Story], 1985); smuggling and illegal fishing (*Ang Paghinulsul* [The Repentance], 1985); lack of social justice (*Sin-o Ang Dapat Basulon* [Who is to Blame?], 1985); political factionalism (*Ang Pagpangibabaw* [The Victory], 1986); gambling (*Baliskad nga Paya* [The Upended Coconut Shell], 1985); labor relations (*Trahedya*, [Tragedy], 1985); government corruption (*Kasanag sa Baryo* [Light in the Barrio], 1985); our justice system (*Ako si Moses, Ang Pilipino*, [I am Moses, the Filipino], 1986); environmental pollution (*Mga Tapak sa Hunasan* [Footprints at Low Tide], 1989); the peace and order situation (*Ang Kamatu-oran*, [The Truth], 1986); *gaba* (karma) and folk Catholicism (*Ang Salot* [The Curse], 1989); environmental degradation; drug addiction (*Basura sang Sosyedad* [Society's Trash], 1989); double standard of morality (*Mga Tunok sa Banas sang Pangabuhi* [Thorns in the Path of Life], 1989); colonial education (*Sang-una Lain sa Subong* [Then is Different from Now], 1989); landlord-tenant relations (*Paghigugma, Dugo kag Paghinulsul* [Love, Blood and Repentance], 1989); Muslim-Christian relations (*Isa ka Dugo, Isa ka Ambahanon* [One Blood, One Song], 1989); brain drain (*Ang Pagpanigbag-o* [The Transformation], 1990); the impact of tourism on the environment (*Isneg*, 1990); industrial pollution (*Tinangkas nga Himurug-ot* [Piles of Irritants], 1993); illegal logging (*Singgit kag Katarungan* [Shout and Reason], 1990); gender inequality (*Ang Bag-o nga Nanay* [The New Mother], 1990); dignity

of labor (*Matam-is Man Gali ang Kalamay*, 1990); the role of women in the revolution (*Dignidad kag Katarungan* [Dignity and Truth], 1990); the squatter problem (*Brokin Layns* [Broken Lines], 1993); the value of education (*Baw, Diutayan Lang!* [Whew! What a Close Shave], 1993); violence against women (*Paghimakas sa Baybayon* [Struggle in the Seaside], 1993); the perils of overseas contract working (*Ilusyon, Konsumisyon, Ambisyon* [Illusion, Aggravation, Ambition], 1993) and the struggle for independence (*Aninipot* [Firefly] 1989, *Cinco de Noviembre* [Fifth of November], 1995; *Dalimuos* [Tempest], 1998) (Locsin-Nava 2001, 53).

Nevertheless, in what Turner (1974, 13) would call a “liminal point” (“when those moved by a cultural script are liberated by normative demands”), in a kind of symbolic action 30 out of 57 extant scripts subvert the socioeconomic elite by casting all upper class characters in a negative light. Thus, but for two examples, namely, the logging concession heir Tamboy in *Mga Tapak sa Hunasan* (Footprints in the Sand, 1989) who refuses to carry out his dead father’s legacy of vendetta for the village that ruined him and the compassionate Gabriel in *Labaw sa Tanan* (Above All, 1990) who works for the betterment of the hacienda workers, all the members of the upper class are presented as oppressive, exploitative, and abusive. Granted the writers were working within the zarzuela tradition where the age old conflict between the rich and the poor is a standard topos, nevertheless given the efforts of the previously mentioned progressive minded hacenderos to level the playing field the statistics is revelatory. Thus, aside from the stereotypic disapproving moneyed parents/siblings who separate two lovers due to social distance (*Ang Paghinulsul; Sila Sa Baybayon*, 1986; *Paghigugma, Dugo kag Paghinulsul*, 1989; *Sin-o, San-o?*, 1989; *Pilipino ka nga May Salabton*, 1990; *Labaw sa Tanan*, 1990), the sarsuwelas likewise depict an autocratic upper class determined to pursue its own agenda at the expense of the populace whether it is by building a life-threatening and environmentally unsafe distillery (*Sila sa Baybayon and Tungod sa Baho*, 1986), by the forced sale of landholdings and fishpens to promote an export-oriented economy (*Sin-o Ang Dapat Basulon?*), by converting sugar land into prawn farms to escape land reform and cut down

employment (Paw-ay, 1989), by politically dividing the province into two to ensure economic dominance (*Ang Nagpangibabaw*, 1986) or by grabbing ancestral lands and turning them into logging concessions (*Singgit Kag Katarungan*, 1990) or resorts (Isneg, 1990).

Using money, power, and influence to accomplish their ends, the villainous elite is depicted as conspiring with corrupt public officials to deprive workers of their rights and their jobs (*Kasanag Sang Barrio*, 1985), kill whistle-blowers who threaten to unmask their plots (Pilipino *Ka Nga May Salabton*, 1990), recruit workers under false pretenses but underpay them to build substandard structures (Paw-ay, 1989), or sell off materials meant for public utilities on the sly (*Silak*, 1990).

However, in the tradition of the sarsuwela, there is a wish fulfillment quality in the way conflicts are artificially resolved with deus ex machina devices and poetic justice endings. Thus, the villain dies a violent death that is either self-inflicted (*Pilipino Ka Nga May Salabton*) or brought about by an accident (*Isneg*), the hacendero's son/daughter marries the overseer / hacienda workers daughter/son (*Paghigugma*, *Dugo kag Paghinulsul*; *Aninipot*), the oppressive landlord undergoes a change of heart after a bad dream (*Matam-is Man Gali ang kalamay*), and donates his land to the workers (Paw-ay) after a voice from heaven tells him to repent (*Sin-o? San-o?*) or after a timely revelation that he is actually the son of the servant he oppresses (*Silak*).

Nevertheless, in at least two sarsuwelas the writers refused to compromise their stand with facile solutions, though the anonymous author of *Paghigugma, Dugo kag Paghinulsul* (1986), issues a disclaimer in his Foreword that the sarsuwela is purely a product of the imagination and the characters are invented. In the last mentioned play, an abusive landlord drives his daughter's lover (whose parents he had killed) into the arms of the New People's Army (NPA). As NPA commander, he stage manages events in the hacienda detrimental to the landlord. When the latter unmasks him, his daughter takes the

bullet meant for the former and dies. In *Ako si Moses, ang Pilipino* (1986), a mother who fails to get justice for a raped daughter through legitimate means shoots her son (who has been trying to convince her justice is only for the rich and the powerful) when he is beaten up in front of her after he is captured for killing the mayor's son who raped his sister.

Although entries were not censored, writers admitted they practiced self-censorship. Hence, it was alright to make subtle and veiled allusions but not to challenge openly, much less attack the system. Everybody knew the rich never marry the poor; they married among themselves or within the same clan to keep the money intact. Furthermore, writers who were government employees were answerable to their bosses for whatever they said or wrote and during these tumultuous times, any hint of radicalism or militancy opened one to the suspicion of having ties with the NPA. Others who grew up in haciendas were beneficiaries of their landlord's generosity. In a small community like socially stratified Silay where everybody knows everybody one could not afford to jeopardize one's job or bite the hand that feeds especially when that hand holds all the means of production.

Besides, there were things the lower class tacitly accepted as the natural order of things in socially stratified Silay like sitting in the bleachers while the elite sat in the orchestra, going to the early or late afternoon mass in Ilonggo but not to the nine o'clock mass in English, celebrating the fiesta per sitio, instead of during the annual fiesta on 13 November, the feast day of the elite's patron saint, San Diego, and keeping a respectful distance from the carrozas like those of the Santo Entierro during the Holy Week procession which the well suited and well accoutered held on to escorted by uniformed Knights of Columbus.

There is a popular expression, *Silaynon, daluk kan-on* (Silaynon, rice-greedy), that the non-Silaynon loves to taunt the Silaynon with because of their penchant for exclusivity and reluctance to share. To outsiders this simply means not showing up uninvited in

a Silaynon's house during meal times at the risk of going hungry. To insiders however, the expression has wider implications for it extends according to one writer not just to food but to all other resources. Thus Silay lost out to Victorias for the distinction of becoming the site of the Negros Occidental Science High School because no landowner in Patag (the projected site for the school) would donate a piece of land for the project.

In 1983, Negros was represented in the Makiisa People's Culture Festival by the Negros Theater League (NTL), the largest and most dynamic theatre group in Negros Occidental. Using a rich blend of comedy, improvisation, and biting political satire, its entry of *Sakada* was met with standing ovation at the Dulaang Rajah Sulayman theatre in Fort Santiago. Eight years after, *Hacienda Adela*, the winner in the 1990 Silay Sarsuwela Festival, charmed Manila audiences in the 1992 First National Theater Festival at the CCP with its sarsuwela, *Matam-is man Gali Ang Kalamay*, performed by real hacienda workers.

Unlike *Sakada*, which critics unanimously hailed, *Matam-is Man Gali Ang Kalamay* in the words of Manila critic Basilio Villaruz was "touching in its simplicity" but "not reflective of the Negros situation." Nevertheless, if, as Brazilian drama critic Augusto Boal says, plays are the consequence of the social conditions of the times, the presentation may not have dovetailed with an outsider like Villaruz's concept of the Negros situation, but given the realities of the Silaynons' existence, it is just as valid.

List of Silay Sarsuwela from 1985 to 1999

1985

Ang Pagbutlak ang Adlaw

Ang Paghinulsul

Ang Pagmaldesyon

Baliskad nga Paya

Kasanag sa Baryo

Krisis

Pungsud ko, Kabuhi ko (by Ver Pacete)

Sa Ginsang-an sang Kasaysayan

Sin-o ang Sapat Basulon? (by Rosella Hinlo)

1986

Ako, Si Moses, Ang Pilipino
Ang Nagpangibabaw (by Mike Golez)
Ati-Ati sa Bukid
Ay, ... mga Paryente
Buas Ang Padya sang Kahapon
Ginsuguran kag Katapusan
Kanilay
Kapait sang Kalamay
Mga Tunok sa Banas
Mga Tunok a Banas sang Kabuhi
O, Nanay Ko, Diin had Na?
Sila sa Baybayon
Tungod sa Baho

1989

Ang Bag-o nga Iloy
Ang Salot
Ang Pagbinuligay May Kalipay
Aninipot
Basura sa Sosyedad
Isa ka Dugo, Isa ka Ambahanon
Paghigugma, Dugo ka Paghinulsul
Sa Mga Tapak sa Hunasan
Sin-o Ang Diyos?
Sang Una Lain sang Subong
Sin-o, San-o?

1990

Ang Pagpanibag-o
Isneg
Labaw sa Tanan
Matam-is Man Gali ang Kalamay
Pilipino ka nga May Salabton
Silak
Singgit kag Katarungan

1993

Baw Diutayan Lang
Brokin Layns
Kanser sa Sosyedad
Paghimakas sa Baybayon
Tinangkas nga Himurug-ot

1994

*Sa Tunog sang Bagtingan**Kapad**Ilusyon, Konsumisyon, Ambisyon*

1995

Cinco de Noviembre

1998

*Dalimu-os**Gintabuan**San-o Ayhan?*

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