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Department of Art Studies
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MANILA'S UNBUILT MONORAIL

Transportation and an Alternative Modern Imaginary in the Marcos Period

JUDITH CAMILLE E. ROSETTE

Abstract

Three years after being granted a fifty-year franchise to build and run a monorail system in Manila in 1966, the Philippine Monorail Transit System, Inc. (PMTS) produced a study of the first phase of the planned network lines. However, despite support from local government officials, various planners, and members of Marcos's cabinet, as well as high interest from potential foreign partners, the monorail system was never constructed. Financial constraints, doubts from government planners and transport engineers, and lack of political support from Ferdinand Marcos impeded the project. This paper supports this historical interpretation while also attempting to contribute to studies of aesthetic representations of modernity in the Philippines via an analysis of the visual aesthetics of the published and disseminated monorail illustrations. Engineering and political considerations aside, the monorail presented a vision of modernity that deviated from a distinct (and exclusionary) brand of Marcosian modernist aesthetics. Ironically, despite the former dictator's apathy toward the project, mentions and illustrations of the planned 1969 monorail circulated online in the past decade, attributed as an unbuilt Marcos plan and in support of the idea of Ferdinand as a visionary nation-builder. This study considers how a seemingly futuristic (yet unrealized) transportation project can be co-opted for the construction of an imaginary modernity that rewrites the past and contributes to the ongoing rehabilitation of Ferdinand Marcos Sr.

Keywords: *monorail, Marcos, Manila, mass transportation, modernity*

Introduction

In 1969, a company called the Philippine Monorail Transit System, Inc. (PMTS) published a study on the first phase of a planned monorail system for the city of Manila, based on a franchise granted to them in 1966 (Project Technologists, Inc.). Included amongst the engineering and route plans in the study were illustrations of the monorail whizzing past different parts of the city, as rendered by the office of architect Otilio Arellano (Rosette and Reyes 15). These monorail images were published in national broadsheets and magazines such as *Mirror*, *Variety*, and *Manila Times* (see for instance, Tunay 4; Reyes 10; Arcilla 22-A). Although not the first to envision a monorail for the city during the '60s, it was the PMTS group that came closest to actualizing the dream (Rosette and Reyes 12). Unfortunately, no station or pylon was erected (35). Financial constraints, lack of political support from Marcos, and doubts from government planners and transportation engineers were among the biggest impediments (21-31). In the 1970s and '80s, Marcos set his sights on the Japanese and later, the Belgians, for help in creating a commuter rail system for Manila. The creation of an overhead light rail transit system (LRT 1 or Line 1) along the key routes planned for the monorail effectively ended the project (31-33). No monorail network for mass transit has been built in the country to this day.

Although largely unknown to the public and barely recognized in major transport plans, images of the 1969 monorail have been digitized, uploaded, and shared online in recent years; on one end, through websites and social networking pages that feature images of Philippine historical interest, and on the

other, through blatantly Marcos revisionist and propaganda pages. While the actual system was never built, the images that remain are visually arresting and symbolically loaded. The monorail remains an aspirational possibility, in light of our cities' present traffic jams and the frustrations towards our mass transit systems, particularly in Metro Manila. This paper analyzes the visual representations of the monorail images, in an attempt to unpack its significations under the framework of a modernist imaginary and in light of the return of the Marcos family to Malacañang. It seeks to contribute to the study of aesthetic representations of modernity in the Philippines; in particular, what vision of Philippine modernity did the monorail offer? How did that coincide and/or clash with the State-influenced modernity of the Marcos years?

The City as Site of Modernity

Modernity has been used to describe various epochs or periods characterized by a shift from consciousness that allows the present to differentiate itself from its preceding epoch. Initially, this distinguishing feature of the present has consisted of a renewal of ideas from antiquity (Habermas 3-4). In the 19th century, a more radical modernity emerged which sought to sever ties with both tradition and with classical historical periods in the past, opting instead for a completely new and modern experience of the world (4). Such shifts were borne from distinct changes in the economic and technological conditions of the new period. However, while a historicizing, period-based notion of modernity is present, other strands of thought in the humanities and social sciences emphasize instead the social

and collective experience of modernity (Frisby 5-6). In particular, they locate the metropolis as the locus of modernity, embodying and representing the modern through various signifiers therein (e.g., architecture, advertisements, streetscapes, transportation, etc.) (Hvattum and Hermansen xi; Frisby 7).

Walter Benjamin, in his unfinished work “The Arcades Project,” conceives of the modern social experience in the metropolis. Benjamin explores the experience of modernity through the various everyday sights, representations, architecture, and things of the city, defining modernity as “the world dominated by its phantasmagorias” (qtd. in Frisby 13). From Benjamin and consequent elaborations of modernity by subsequent critical theorists, the city and its various sights can be regarded as “a text that can be a dream (requiring awakening), a picture puzzle (requiring a solution), or hieroglyphics (requiring deciphering),” albeit not deciphered or interpreted unproblematically (Frisby 13-14, 18-20). Thus, the notion of the city as image-dream, constitutes a vital component of the experience of modernity.

The development of railways has also figured as a central aspect of modernity in industrialized societies. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, technological advances in iron and construction methods led to sprawling train networks (Crouch 19-21). This allowed for an accelerated pace of modern life in terms of mobility and communication. Previously unreachable distances became accessible in a short period of time, while information, in the form of books and other print materials, was readily distributed through the lines (Rosa and

Scheuerman 5,10; Crouch 21). The sense of speed, acceleration, and a denaturalized perception of time shaped the political, social, and cultural aspects of modern life (Rosa 82-88; Koselleck 116-9). Modernity, in a way, was characterized as a harbinger of change, and of rapid social and technological transformations that contained the promise of a better life (Sá 360). However, acceleration does not entirely encompass the gamut of experiences in modernity. In the case of both developing and developed countries, certain segments of the population suffer from varying levels of deceleration or inertia in their daily life (Rosa and Scheuerman 6).

In the Philippines, the link between railways and modernity has been further made complex by the shadow of colonization. Rail-based transportation took the form of an imposed modernity under the governance of foreign imperial powers. For instance, the electrification of the streetcar system, *tranvia*, by the American colonial government in the early 1900s was an important facet in the colonizer’s agenda of bringing modernity to what it deemed as a backward colony (Pante 112-13). The Americans especially derided the use of animal-drawn transportation in the islands (113), and the automobile and electric *tranvia* brought a modernizing influence. They helped shape a new kind of civic and political life under American governance, as its corresponding street rules, systems, and built infrastructure changed the way Filipinos related to their surrounding areas. It was a modernization that befitted the new imperial power’s image of itself as a civilizing and benevolent force to its colony—one that helped mask the native resistance of the Filipino people (115-20).

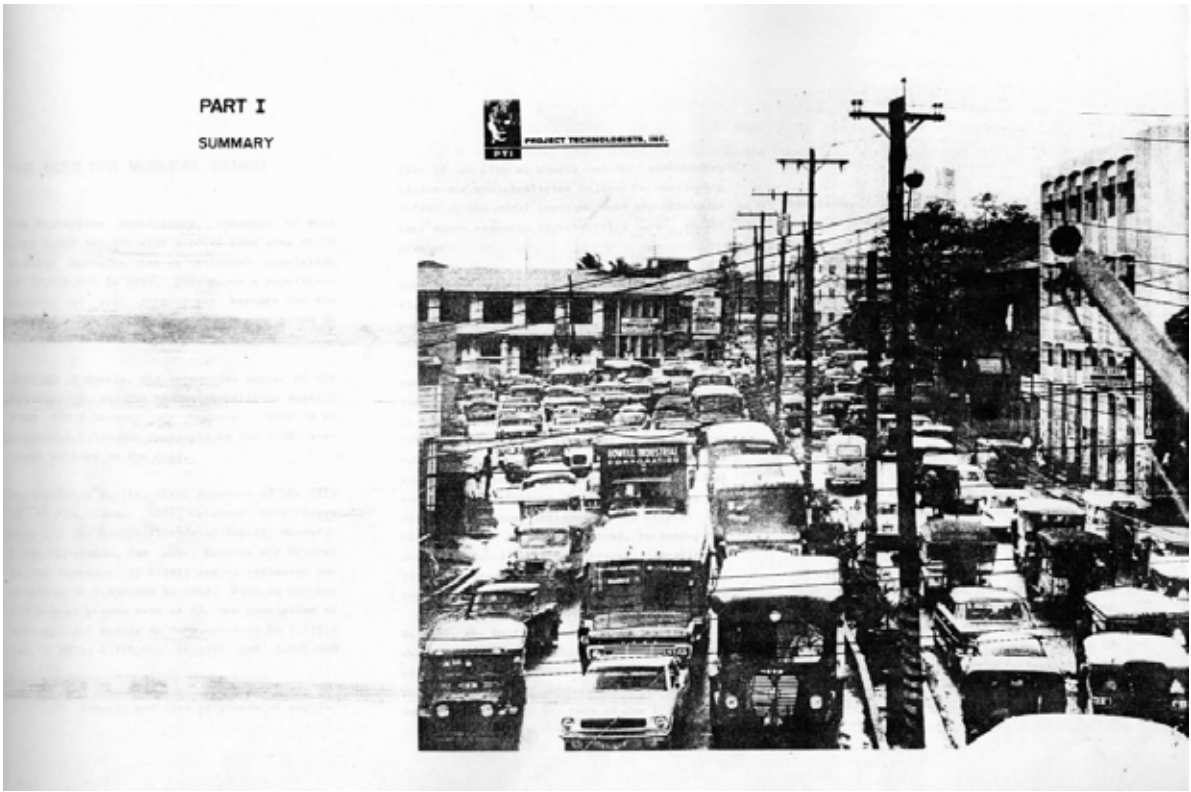
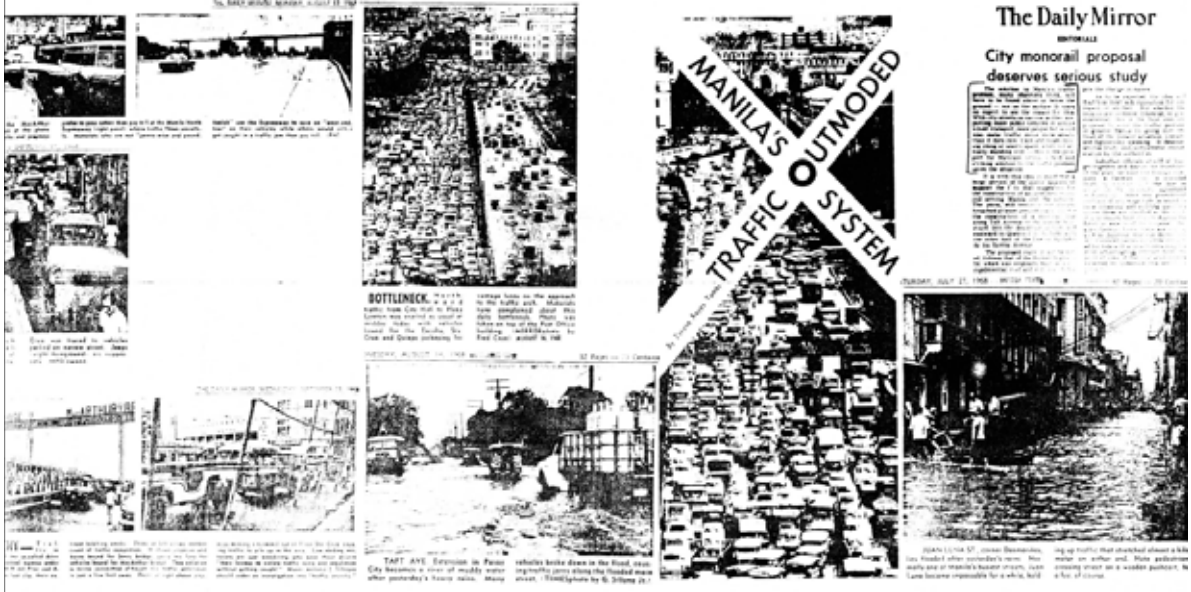


Fig. 1. Preliminary pages of the 1969 monorail plan feature images of Manila's dire traffic situation from Project Technologists, Inc.

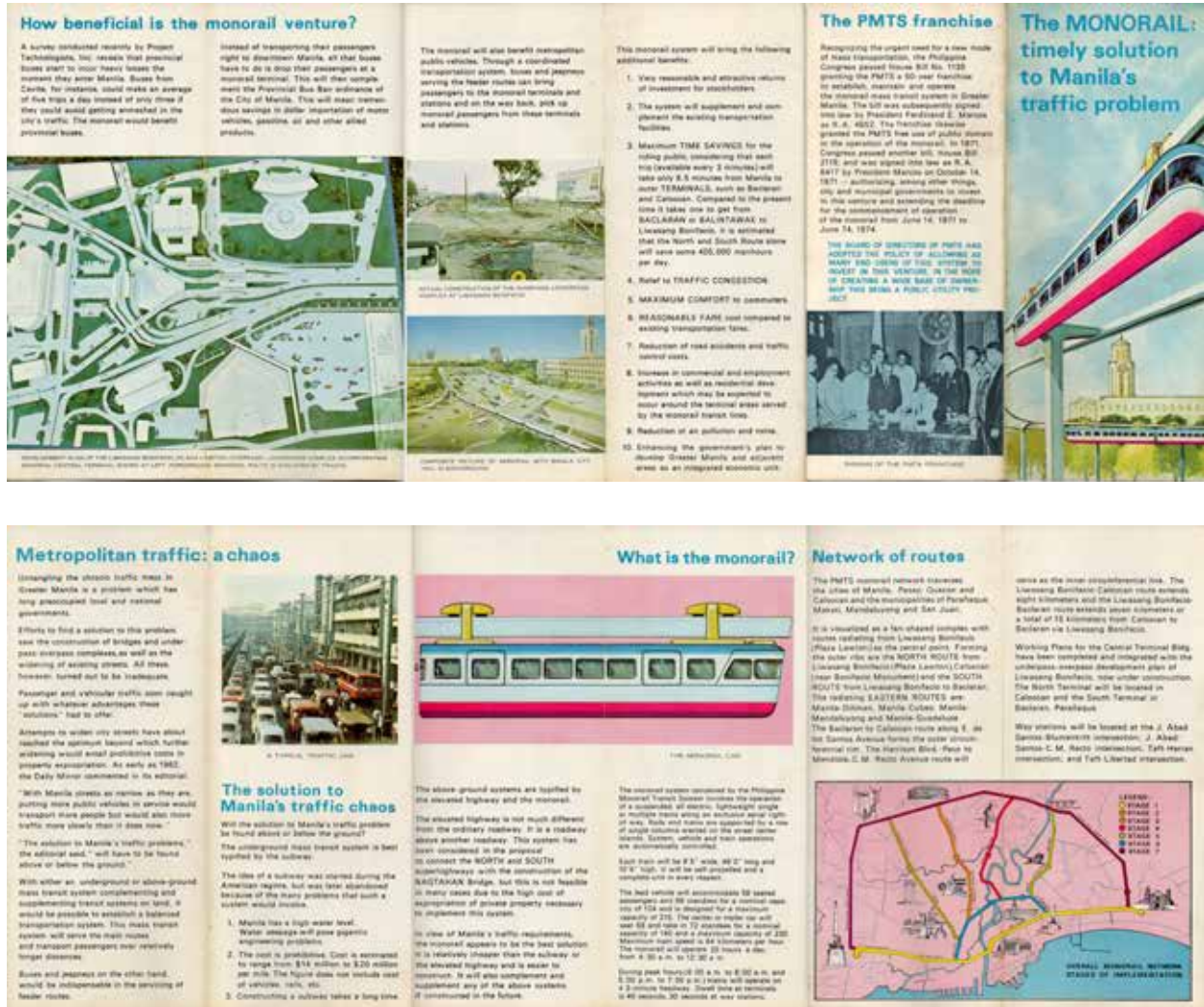


Fig. 2. Outside (top) and inside spread (bottom) of a PMTS pamphlet that was released after the extension of the franchise for the monorail lapsed into law, perhaps around late 1971. The title reads “The MONORAIL: timely solution to Manila’s traffic problem.” Inside spread devotes a section on Manila traffic.

Monorail and the Future

The '50s and '60s saw the advent of the Space Age in public consciousness, as war austerity gave way to better social and economic conditions (Lico, *Arkitekturang* 408). Alongside renewed faith and optimism in science, technology, and progress, the space race captured public interest and brought overlapping notions of space, flight, and the future. Furthermore, space age stylizations found their way into architecture, fashion, furniture, advertisements, decorations, and consumer goods. Its aesthetic was characterized by soft, organic forms, synthetic materials, science or space-inspired imageries, or streamlined accents that connote speed (Lico, *Arkitekturang* 406-8). In buildings and structures, “[t]he enthusiasm for air and space travel [was] translated into a visual language of long, lean horizontal lines suggesting airplane wings, soaring upright structures and parabolic arches that direct the eye to the sky, and sharply contrasted angles that express speed” (407). Examples of the space age influence in Philippine structures include the Church of the Holy Sacrifice in the University of the Philippines Diliman, erected in 1955, and whose thin, shell dome is suggestive of a flying saucer (407-8, 410); Otilio Arellano’s Philippine pavilion for the 1964 New York World’s Fair that featured the form of a *salakot*-cum-flying saucer (448-9); and even private residences in various cities in the country (419-20).

The monorail is similarly saddled by space age associations. An ALWEG-Monorail system debuted in 1959 in Tomorrowland, Disneyland in California. Dubbed “The Highway in the Sky”, Walt Disney himself believed the monorail as a prototype for

future transport systems and a solution to traffic congestion (Macdonald). With its sleek form and long nose reminiscent of a rocket ship, the Tomorrowland monorail readily signified space age futurism (Weiss). A few years later, another ALWEG monorail was featured in the 1962 Seattle World’s Fair, as part of its “City Century 21” exhibition. Century 21 presented a vision of a modern Seattle in the 21st century, with a high-speed monorail that can transport people and goods efficiently (Findlay 7). Similarly, it was hoped by city planners that the monorail would eventually be used for mass transportation and help rejuvenate the Seattle downtown urban center later on (2, 5). The 1962 World’s Fair itself was regarded as the Space Age Fair. Alongside the monorail, it featured futuristic-themed sights such as the iconic Space Needle, the NASA Space Exhibit, and simulations of space travel (8).

As part and parcel of the modernist dream was the efficient and accelerated circulation of labor and goods (Frisby 3; Rosa and Scheuerman 4-8; Koselleck 116-9), the future modern city ought to have solved urban problems such as road congestion. It is from this consideration of futurism and modernity that the monorail was introduced. Post-war Manila was saddled by motorized vehicles, serving as both private and public transport systems, heavily dominating its streets. By the 1960s—with its sheer volume of vehicles, narrow roads, lack of built infrastructure, and police forces’ inability to enforce basic road regulations—the general public perceived Manila’s urban ills to be incurable (Tamayo 38-9). Traffic jams, considered a form of dysfunctional deceleration, are an “unintended consequence of acceleration and dynamization” wrought by modernity itself (Rosa 94). While the

advent of motorized transport initially brought greater mobility and speed for the public, the urban infrastructure failed to catch up with the influx of vehicles and the situation denigrated rapidly, leading to inertia and deceleration in everyday urban life. In the context of crippling traffic conditions, the monorail was presented as a solution.

The monorail system was presented to the general public as a radical answer to Manila's dire traffic problem (see fig. 1). As a 1969 article in the publication *Mirror* claimed:

There was a need for a bold and striking solution. And the Philippine Monorail Transit System, Incorporated (PMTS) has this bold and striking solution: the monorail system. Apparently the ultimate remedy for Manila's ailing traffic situation, the monorail system which is successfully employed in cities abroad is expected to enable a considerable percentage of Manila's passenger volume to commute from one place to another at a minimum time (Tunay 5).

The modern amenities planned for the system are also extolled. These include air-conditioned monorail cars equipped with "television cameras, telephones, and loudspeaker systems;" automated ticket vending machines and magnetically-coded tickets; park-and-ride and kiss-and-ride areas at every well-lit station/terminal; and bus, jeepney, and taxi-loading areas. These amenities, aimed to "give the riding public a taste of modern-day comfort it has never known" (5), seem incredibly idealistic in hindsight. While such amenities may be possible in more industrialized countries, such visions for a convenient and integrated

mass transit system have so far eluded Manila. Some aspects, such as the air-conditioning of the cars, magnetic tickets, and automated vending machines, took decades before they were integrated with the built rail systems. In this regard, the monorail plan during that period can be seen as straddling the gray area between realism and utopia; plausible but questionably feasible. It was a modernist, albeit wishful, vision for the future—expressed in the language of transport engineering, entrepreneurial speculation, technical specifications, and financial calculations.

Reading the Modern Image-Dream

Following considerations of the city as a key site of modernity, and of the city's various representations and landscapes as probable modernist signifiers, we turn to the monorail illustrations. Images of the monorail plan bespoke of a modernizing and utopian impulse for 1960s Manila. The monorail illustrations consist primarily of images of the monorail cars shuttling above Manila streets (figs. 3 to 5), above the Pasig River (fig. 6), and of its stations (figs. 7 and 8).

Analysis in this paper focuses on the images of the monorail above Manila streets (figs. 3 to 5) as these are the ones that seem to have been reprinted/ reposted in 1960s news articles and at present, in online social networking sites. No original sketches of the monorail system have been found by the researcher as of this date. Most images are from photocopied reproductions of the plans and digitized microfilm copies of newspaper archives. A colored PMTS brochure (fig. 2), possibly produced for investors

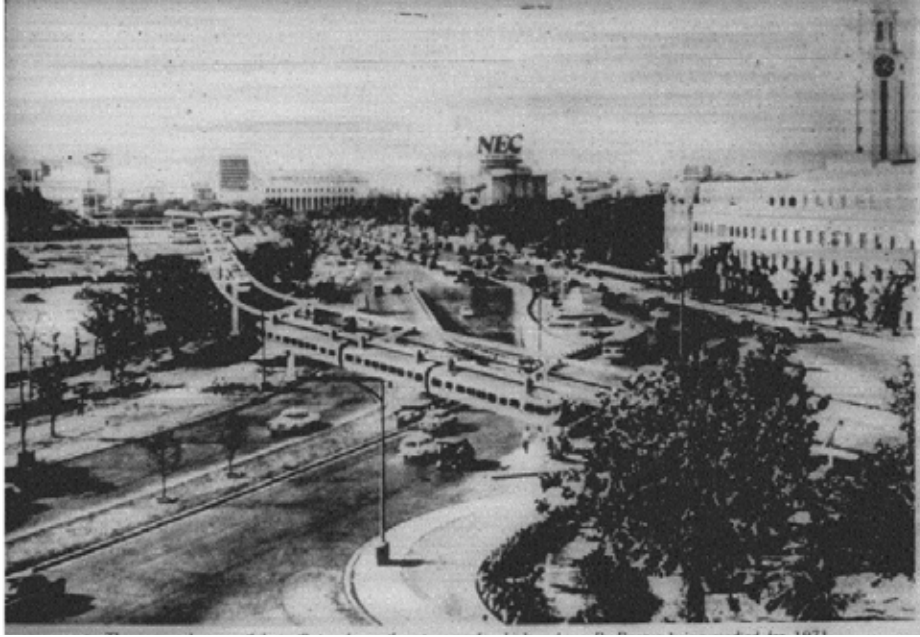


Fig. 3. Image of the monorail printed in a national broadsheet. It shows the cars whizzing past Manila City Hall. The Luneta grounds, the Metropolitan Theater, and the Post Office building can also be seen in the background (Tunay 4). This same image was used for the front cover of the 1969 Monorail Plan by PTI.



Fig. 4. A colored version of the above image from the 1971(?) PMTS pamphlet.



Fig. 5. The monorail along Taft Avenue. Jai Alai building seen in the background, from Project Technologists, Inc., page 99.

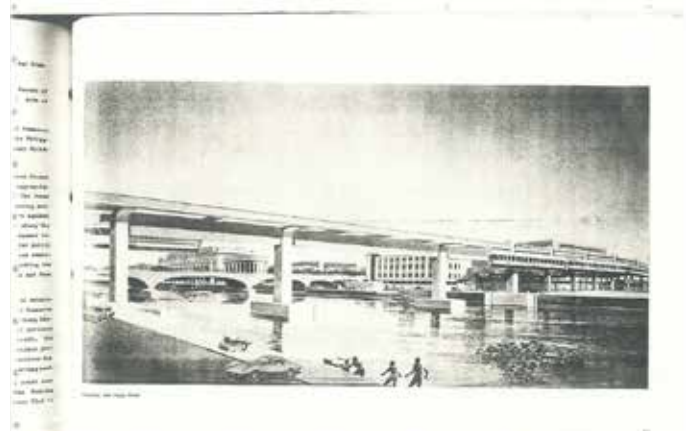


Fig. 6. Monorail cars passing above the Pasig River. The Post Office building can be seen in the background. From Project Technologists, Inc., page 99.



Central Terminal at Plaza Lacerda



Typical Way Station

Fig. 7 and 8. The monorail central station, left, and a typical way station, right. From Project Technologists, Inc., pages 88 and 95.

after the franchise extension lapsed into law in 1971, includes one of the images that have been featured heavily in earlier news articles (fig. 4).

In the images shown in figures 3 to 5, the monorail is realistically portrayed and seen from an aerial perspective, as if the viewer was floating on air or standing atop a tall building. The realism of the surrounding areas indicates that the creators relied on a photographic source, with the structure of the monorail pasted on top of the landscape.

In a discussion of photographic modernism, Eleanor Hight relates how

[Aerial] views are predominantly phenomena of the twentieth century, the era of high-rise buildings and airplanes. [Such] views represented values associated with modern technological wonders: industrialization, the city, the conquest of speed and space (118).

Such a perspective also abstracts architectural elements in space, reducing them to shapes, patterns, and lines (118). In the monorail renderings, the overall effect heightens the modern and dynamic lines of the rail system, set against the neocolonial architecture of Manila. The rail lines either curve gracefully atop the trees (fig. 3 and 4) or bisect the picture plane dynamically (fig. 5). Thus, while the cars themselves are frozen in suspension, held aloft by thin pylons, and despite the lack of blatant movement lines on the cars, a sense of movement is still generated.

Another aspect of note is how the monorail covers a small percentage of surface area in the overall image. The train cars are diminutive in size, as

though seen from afar, and surrounding elements, such as the vehicles on the street and the buildings in the distance, are included in the picture frame. The creators of the image could have easily highlighted the form and details of the monorail cars by providing close-up images. Instead, they created a panorama of a distinct urban landscape. In so doing, they situated the monorail cars within the urban fabric of Manila itself.

Additionally, the use of a three-layered composition of areas—street-level foreground, middle-level railway route, and a background of buildings—creates a zonal containment of the various elements in the picture (vehicles, monorail, and built structures), allowing them to interact while remaining separate from each other. This composition, along with the dynamism of the rail lines mentioned above, makes acute the fact that the train is whizzing above the city streets, an in-between layer for the vehicles below and the roofs and sky above. It betrays a utopian, future-oriented impulse, situated between dream and reality (Sá 359), a middle layer that mediates between two zones and allows movement between one zone to the other. The monorail system, in-flight and yet bounded to the earth, poised itself as the means to transcend the congestion of the street to its promise of speed and travel through the air.

While the vehicles on the street serve as markers of the urban afflictions of Manila, the built structures in the background serve as referents to Manila's colonial and war-torn past. Scattered throughout are iconic architectural and urban landmarks of the country's capital. These include the grounds of Luneta, the Post Office Building, the Metropolitan Theater, Manila City Hall, the Jai Alai Building, and the

Pasig River. Aside from Luneta and the Pasig River, the infrastructures were built during the American colonial period and sustained extensive damages during the Battle of Manila in 1945 and/or suffered neglect after the war (Lico, *Arkitekturang* 232, 310, 335, 347, 366). In contrast to these structures, the monorail's modern form escapes the trappings and ornamentations of the nation's past. While positioning itself as part of the urban landscape, the monorail contrasts with the background, appearing instead as an engine of speed and progress. By differentiating itself from the past, it thus orients itself towards the future.

Although the Manila monorail does not feature the stylistic accents of the Tomorrowland monorail, or the surrounding Space Age-themed architecture of the Seattle World's Fair, it still hearkens to notions of flight, speed, and modernity. The form and composition of the monorail images visually reiterate this message. The monorail can be regarded as an expression of a utopian impulse, but not of utopia itself. It was but a means to a larger dream—that of an urbanized, modern life in Manila, yet free of its urban afflictions—and was symbolic of a movement away from Manila's colonial past and towards a modern future.

The Modern and the Vernacular in Marcosian Aesthetics

While select neoclassical structures of Manila, such as the Manila City Hall and Post Office building, were rebuilt after World War II (Lico, *Arkitekturang* 367), architects and designers of the post-war period turned their backs on neoclassicism

and looked towards modern architecture in the West to develop new, hybrid styles (369). Designs that embodied ideas of rationalism, technological progress, utopianism, and universalism (372) were tweaked to reflect aspirations of a Filipino identity (390), make adjustments for the tropical climate (429), and incorporate aspects of the indigenous and the vernacular (444-9). Otilio Arellano belonged to the generation of architects in the post-war years that was part of this trend. He created structures that reflected Space Age stylizations and at the same time, utilized indigenous motifs. His structures for the 1953 Philippine International Fair in Luneta (447) and the Philippine Pavilion in the 1964 New York's World Fair (448-9) utilized the native *salakot*, a traditional wide-brimmed hat, as a main stylistic image while embracing sleek, modern forms that denoted speed and hearkened to flight (447-9). The monorail renderings produced by Arellano's design firm similarly contain elements of Space Age design, with its thin, graceful pylons curving above the streets and futuristic-looking rail cars. Such stylizations also fit well with the novelty of a suspended monorail system. However, there are no indications of any attempt to incorporate vernacular motifs in the system, either in the pylons or in the architecture of the Central Station and Way Stations shown in the 1969 plan (figs. 7 and 8). It appears that the vision of modernity imagined through the monorail did not give concessions to the self-orientalizing impulse prevalent in design and architecture during those decades (447).

The fusion of the modern and the vernacular, however, soon became the official design language of the State. True to Benjamin's statement that "[t]he logical result of Fascism is the introduction

of aesthetics into political life,” (19) various art historians have considered the Marcos period as having utilized aesthetics to legitimize and support authoritarian rule. Ferdinand and First Lady Imelda Marcos’ reign ushered an unprecedented era of State-supported cultural development that established themselves as the ultimate patrons of the arts (Baluyut). This necessitated the creation and rejuvenation of various cultural institutions, including the Cultural Center of the Philippines (10-41), Philippine High School for the Arts (42-64), National Museum (65-85), Metropolitan Museum of the Philippines (Cruz), and Design Center of the Philippines (Lico, *Edifice* 50), among others. In accordance with the presidential couple’s attempt to conflate themselves to mythic status and build a Filipino identity centered around the Great Malayan Ancestry, indigenous forms and narratives emblematic of a precolonial and prehistoric past were mined and applied in art and architecture (Lico, *Arkitekturang* 452; *Edifice* 45-9). Coupled with modernist aspirations, a hybrid national identity that fused urbane cosmopolitanism with mythical nativism was put forward. (Lico, *Arkitekturang* 452).

Lico describes Marcos’s mythologizing efforts as “*palingenesis* or *palingenetic*, a form of utopianism which evoked the idea of rebirth or spiritual regeneration,” and which necessitates the recognition of Ferdinand as father leading the nation towards greatness (452). In this context, the inclusion of vernacular motifs with modernist forms in art, design, and built structures becomes a moral and spiritual imperative, an integral cog in the Marcosian narrative and their bid to consolidate cultural, economic, and political capital. While the PMTS lacked political clout and the financial means to push through with the

project (Rosette and Reyes 21-27), the monorail was also emblematic of a modernist aspiration that did not coincide aesthetically with the vernacular-indigenous modernity of the Marcoses, thus ostracizing it further. In contrast, the Marcos-backed LRT Line 1 built in 1984, featured stations designed by Francisco Mañosa that had “prominently steep hip roofs evoking the thatched roofing of rural and mountain houses but [with] painted galvanized iron sheets to suit the metropolitan context” (Lico, *Arkitekturang* 472).

The Monorail Revived: Retro-futurism as Propaganda

Having been shelved for decades, the monorail could easily have been relegated to the footnotes of Philippine history. Yet in the last decade, images of the monorail have re-entered the public imagination via social media. Despite the Marcoses’ lack of patronage, more current reincarnations of the monorail images (see fig. 9) were used as propaganda material in pro-Marcos pages and accounts. Time and again, these online actors have utilized the numerous (and often anomalous) infrastructure projects of Ferdinand and Imelda to whitewash their dictatorship. Yet the monorail presents a unique facet of this new propaganda machine—tied to significations of modernity, progress, and the future—it is utilized to contribute to the myth of Ferdinand as a visionary nation-builder (fig. 10).

The monorail’s brand of utopian modernity hits a nerve in present-day, collective experiences of crowded, inefficient railway systems in Metro Manila. The dream becomes all the more

potent and alluring. After all, these illustrations were created not only as a visualization of the monorail project, but as a presentation of an aspirational way of life in the city: a transformed mode of living, working, and moving in Manila. In the past, its images constructed a dream of “what can be” once the monorail was constructed. In the present-day context, this easily morphs into the “what could have been” and, tied to the political rejuvenation of the Marcos family, further translates to “what will be” now that a Marcos has returned to the highest political office.

As per Arjun Appadurai, the modern imaginary in the age of printed and electronic mass media has moved from the realm of “art, myth and ritual” and entered into everyday life, resulting in “a plurality of imagined worlds” (5) and of the “work of the imagination as a constitutive feature of modern subjectivity” (3). As the monorail remains a potent symbol of modernity, or an aspiration towards modernity, it has been made useful in a pro-Marcos retelling of history. It is unfortunate that in this “plurality of imagined worlds,” Marcos revisionists have carved out a distorted version of imagined history in which the monorail is but another contribution. Furthermore, as the collective imaginary remains a potentially powerful springboard for action (7), the molding and shaping of such was used not only to fuel nostalgia, but also to support the political aspirations of the next generation of Marcoses. Ultimately, this paper points to how unrealized plans can still be framed as political propaganda, and by virtue of never having been realized, offers its own dangers. One can, after all, be disillusioned with the LRT1, but not with an unbuilt monorail that has never been tested in real life. It remains in the realm of the

imagination, perfectly whizzing above Manila, and now co-opted as another arsenal to revise history and serve as material for an already unfolding Marcosian return.

Conclusion

The illustrations made by the design firm of Otilio Arellano of monorail cars shuttling above Manila streets are emblematic of an aspiration for modernity underlined by a utopian impulse in the post-war period. The monorail’s distinct look of seemingly gliding through the air, its novel technology, sleek cars, and bold, elegant pylons intimately tied its image to the modern. Furthermore, it was of modernity oriented towards speed, technology, and the future, as it was against inertia, the colonial past, and Manila’s urban afflictions. Ironically, it is this same modernity that ostracized its aesthetics with that of the burgeoning Marcos dictatorship. Utilizing the arts and cultural sectors to legitimize their political reign, the Marcos period ushered a period of infrastructure development that favored a distinct design ideology. It was one that fused the indigenous and vernacular with modernist ideas and forms, thereby promoting a homogenous national identity tethered to both a mythical past and an aspirational, modern future. There appeared to be no place for the monorail in this Marcosian aesthetic and vision.

At present, the monorail re-enters the collective imagination through social networking posts and pages. Its image has been utilized and shared by online actors to defend and/or historically revise the Marcos period. It points to an aspirational modernity, alongside nostalgia, as one of the components of

present-day, pro-Marcos revisionism. Its symbolic modernist aspirations have now shifted and are made to revolve around the myth of Ferdinand Marcos Sr. as a visionary nation-builder—an ironic turn of events given the dictator’s lack of support for the plan in the past. Additionally, its non-realization was not a deterrent for its inclusion in the propaganda. Associated with an era’s optimistic faith in technology and progress, yet never concretized, it remains a potent image of a modern, but yet to be fully realized Manila.



Fig. 9.¹ Facebook posts in 2014 that claim the 1969 monorail as a Marcos project. Caption: urge Ferdinand “Bong Bong” Marcos Jr. to run for national office in 2016.

Notes:

¹ Source: E. Marcos. Post that attributes a monorail linemaster plan to Ferdinand Marcos Sr. *Facebook*, 13 October 2014, <https://web.facebook.com/marcos.709photos/a.706729006063771/809675902435747/>. Accessed 27 March 2023.

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About the Author

Judith Camille E. Rosette is an instructor at the Department of Art Studies of the College of Arts and Letters, University of the Philippines Diliman. She is currently taking MA Art Studies, major in Art Theory and Criticism, at the same university. She has previously researched on design history during the Marcos period and worked as a research assistant for the UP Third World Studies Center. She studied art history and industrial design at UP Diliman.