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Urban Mobility and Social Life: Exploring Cebuano Commuters' Perceptions On The DOTr - Cebu Bus Rapid Transit System

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ABSTRACT

A qualitative phenomenological research design was used to investigate the experiences, socio-spatial adaptation, and perception of Cebuano commuters regarding the Department of Transportation (DOTr) - Cebu Bus Rapid Transit (CBRT) system corridor. This research is theoretically underpinned by the Social Production of Space by Lefebvre, the Theory of Planned Behavior, and the Mobilities Paradigm, which sought to examine the effects of modern transit on the social production of space. The data collected consisted of interviews conducted with fifteen (15) respondents, including commuters who were workers, students, and a housewife, and were analyzed using the six steps of thematic analysis by Braun & Clarke. The findings show that transit modernization is experienced as a duality where the CBRT corridor creates systematic predictability, fast travel times, and protection from environmental threats, allowing for time management and psychological certainty. But at the same time, transit formalization calls for a sacrifice in behavior. More importantly, the findings of this study bring out the existence of such equity problems as physical barriers that exist for disadvantaged populations, such as the elderly population, and the aesthetic vs. functional problem that exists in the case of the weather-exposed and 'leaf-inspired' station designs. This research study shows that although the CBRT does well in terms of technical efficiency, other aspects of design and accessibility need to be considered to ensure equity.

Keywords: *Urban Mobility and Social Life: Exploring Cebuano Commuters' Perception on the DOTr – Cebu Bus Rapid Transit System, Cebu Bus Rapid Transit (CBRT), Urban Mobility, Socio-Spatial Adaptation, Phenomenological Study, Transit Equity, Urban Infrastructure.*

INTRODUCTION

The fast pace of urban development in contemporary metropolitan areas has led to mobility becoming much more than just a logistical need but rather a cornerstone of social equity and livability. Globally speaking, according to Jain & Garg (2025), the need for an effective transportation system is considered to be one of the key elements defining the city's arteries, which are responsible for how people have access to economic and social opportunities and interact with their surroundings. As cities develop and grow, the pressure on the transport infrastructure usually leads to congestion, which not only results in delays but also negatively impacts the lives of citizens. Hence, according to Bhatt (2025), many developing countries have sought ways to revitalize their cities with the help of Bus Rapid Transit systems.

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The Metropolitan Cebu region in the Philippines acts as one of the key economic centers of the country, but it has been facing challenges associated with an inadequately integrated transport system and increasing traffic volume. To address this problem, the Department of Transportation (DOTr) launched the Cebu Bus Rapid Transit (CBRT), which is described by Antonio (2026) as "world-class" mass transit infrastructure. In its turn, such an initiative is aimed at decreasing travel time and emissions by allocating lanes for large-volume buses. Nevertheless, despite the importance of the infrastructure projects in terms of engineering and economy, the impact of the changes in the transit space on the social context of the community members is usually ignored.

The Cebuano commuter belongs to a particular group of people who have formed their perspective within a cultural setting which emphasizes the use of informal means of transportation such as the jeepney. Although the technical objectives of the DOTr-CBRT are clearly defined, the lack of understanding of the psychological and sociological impacts of the conversion to formal means of transport among these people remains to be an important gap in the literature (World Bank Group, 2025; Navarrete-Hernandez & Zegras, 2023). Most scholarly studies about the project revolve around its practicality and environmental or political challenges.

The integration of the Department of Transportation (DOTr) – Cebu Bus Rapid Transit system is well aligned with the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), especially SDG 11 – Sustainable Cities and Communities (The Global Goals, 2025), which calls for ensuring access to safe, affordable, and sustainable transport systems for all. With the movement from a dispersed and high-emission transport system into a coordinated and high-capacity BRT system, the project aims to meet the target of improving road safety and increasing public transport, with an emphasis on vulnerable situations. Additionally, the move helps to fulfill the requirements of SDG 13 – Climate Action by lowering the carbon footprint of the metropolis through effective traffic management and upgraded fleet standards (The Global Goals, 2024) and SDG 8 – Decent Work and Economic Growth by making commutes reliable for the workforce. Thus, the analysis of commuter perceptions in Cebu will help to ensure the realization of the above goals through a socially-inclusive approach to achieving sustainable urban social life.

While there is no shortage of information regarding the technical aspects and economic forecasts for the Cebu Bus Rapid Transit, one important aspect that lacks attention within the academic field is the social consequences of such a transit system, especially the feelings of the people who will use the system on a daily basis – the Cebuano commuters. This research will try to fill this gap by looking into the views of commuters with regard to how the CBRT affects their social life and mobility needs.

Theoretical Background

This study's theoretical base is drawn from the theory of Social Production of Space, first introduced and made popular by Henri Lefebvre, whereby urban spaces do not just consist of physicality but are rather products of society created by humans and institutional actions (van Lanen & Meij, 2025). In the case of the CBRT, the Department of Transportation is not simply building the roadways and stations, but it is changing the urban space in which social processes take place. Within this framework, "the conceived space of planners" needs to work together with "the lived space" of the Cebuano commuters. When a large-scale infrastructure project disrupts the old routes of the citizens, new social interactions are created, thus making it important to know how these changes are perceived by the commuters.

Along with the aforementioned concept is the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB), which helps in explaining the psychological aspect of how perception and attitude towards the adoption of a system play an important role (van Lanen & Meij, 2025). According to this theory, the intention of a commuter in using the CBRT will depend on his/her attitude toward the system, subjective norm, and perceived behavioral control. For the case of Cebuano commuters, such attitudes are often based on their past experience regarding public utility vehicles, as well as their perception of the credibility of the initiative taken by the

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government. The application of the theory can help in understanding whether the commuter's perception of the CBRT is based on its efficiency or the social status attached to modern urban transportation.

In addition, the research includes the Mobilities Paradigm, an approach that sees movement not only as a process of going from one point to another, but also as a socially engaged practice in its own right (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Thus, according to this theory, the act of commuting is seen as an opportunity for social interaction in which the individual negotiates his/her identity within the urban landscape. For the Cebuano population, the move from the socially engaging experience of travelling in a jeepney to the more controlled environment of a BRT bus would constitute a major transformation in the "sociality of transit". With the use of these interconnected theories, the research will provide an overarching perspective on how the CBRT becomes a social reality for the Cebuanos.

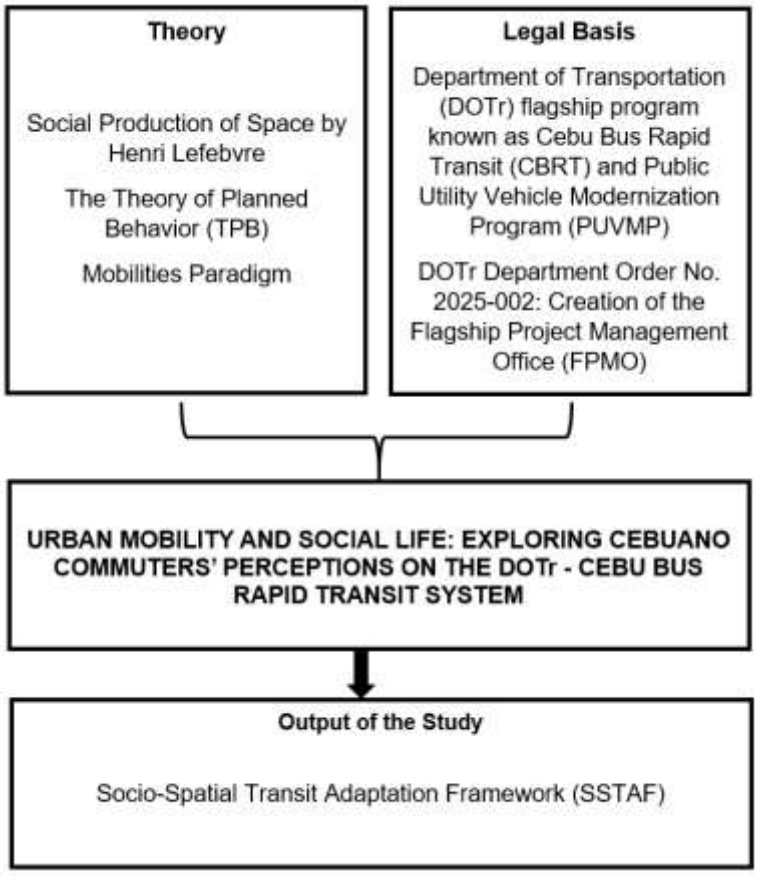

Figure 1. *Theoretical Conceptual Framework*

Statement of the Problem

The main goal of this study was to investigate and analyze how Cebuano commuters perceive the CBRT, particularly how this public transport impacts their urban mobility and social life. It tried to answer the following inquiries:

1. How do Cebuano commuters perceive the influence of the Cebu Bus Rapid Transit (CBRT) system on their daily urban mobility and travel efficiency?
2. What are the perceived impacts of the CBRT system on the social interactions and "lived experiences" of commuters during their transit?

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3. How do commuters describe the transition from traditional transportation modes to the formalized CBRT environment in terms of their sense of community and social well-being?
4. What challenges or benefits do commuters identify regarding the inclusivity and social accessibility of the CBRT system within the Cebuano context?
5. Based on the results of this study, what output may be developed to widen the perspectives of the daily commuters regarding the CBRT system?

Assumption of the Study

The assumptions behind this research are made on the basis of the idea that Cebuano commuters are reflective people who can provide a profound analysis of their experiences of daily traveling. It is assumed that the subjects have enough knowledge about the CBRT project of the Department of Transportation, both by personal experience of the usage of some parts of the project and by observation of its development and discussion of it in the public sphere, which would allow for a proper analysis of its influence. The assumption of the research is that Cebuano commuters will be able to reflect on the connection between their mobility in the city and their well-being.

In addition, the present research rests on the methodology assumption that the qualitative information collected through interviews or focus groups actually mirrors the real-life experiences of the participants. Specifically, the assumption holds that the social and cultural context of the Cebuano population, who have historically been dependent on informal means of transportation, represents a valid way of measuring the success of a formalized mass transit system. Lastly, the study is based on the assumption that the concept of urban mobility is intertwined with social experience, and hence, any change in the transport structure automatically results in the change in the way people interact with each other and with the urban space.

METHODS

Research Design

In conducting this research, a qualitative research design, based on the phenomenological paradigm, was employed. It differed greatly from the quantitative approach that concentrated primarily on numbers and generalizations about them. It offered deep insight into the question of "how" and "why" the people behaved the way they did in the particular setting of urban transformation taking place in the city of Cebu. Through the focus on the perspectives of the commuters themselves, the social interaction and cultural perceptions towards modernization and the psychological changes experienced during the shift were revealed.

This approach was particularly selected since the aim was to describe the essence of the phenomenon through the study of the phenomenon from the experience of the individuals involved in it (Bantugan, 2025). In this case, the phenomenon under study is the shift to and usage of the Cebu Bus Rapid Transit (CBRT) system. This enabled the researcher to come up with recurrent themes among the commuters' stories and uncover the shared social reality of the respondents. Through the use of these personal stories, the research was able to reveal deeply entrenched perceptions about travel efficiency, social justice, and community bonding.

To ensure systematic data collection and analysis, a rigorous inductive approach was employed in the research design. This entailed the use of open data collection and analysis techniques using semi-structured interviews and thematic analysis where patterns can be allowed to emerge organically based on the respondents' answers as opposed to making them fit into predetermined categories. In such a way, the findings were able to be authentic to the Cebuano culture, giving a holistic understanding of urban mobility that encompasses both the physical and social aspects of mobility.

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Flow of the Study

The structure of this study followed the structure of the Input-Process-Output (IPO) approach, which was used as a logical map for exploring the social and mobility perceptions of the Cebuano commuters.

The Input stage included all of the necessary components for conducting the research, such as the initial data obtained from the experience of the commuters about the Department of Transportation (DOTr) - Cebu Bus Rapid Transit. The Input also included all the theoretical approaches, namely Social Production of Space, Theory of Planned Behavior, and Mobilities Paradigm, along with the research questions.

The Process phase indicated the process by which these inputs were transformed using qualitative methodology to obtain insightful results. The process entailed the selection of respondents using the purposive sampling technique, conducting semi-structured interviews to collect the rich narratives of the commuters, and undertaking thematic analysis. During this process, the raw qualitative data collected were transcribed, coded, and classified to establish commonalities or essences of the experience of the respondents. This phase ensured that the subjective voice of the commuters was structured to meet the aims of the study without compromising the authenticity of the Cebuano context.

In the Output stage, the final product of the study was made, wherein the study gave a thorough description of the perceptions of the commuters and the social aspects of the CBRT system. The outputs from the study involved the identified themes on urban mobility and social aspects, an improved definition of the difference between the technical infrastructures and the human experience, and recommendations that could be applied by policymakers and urban planners. In the end, the output proved to be useful in contributing to the "human-centric" mass transit in Cebu City.

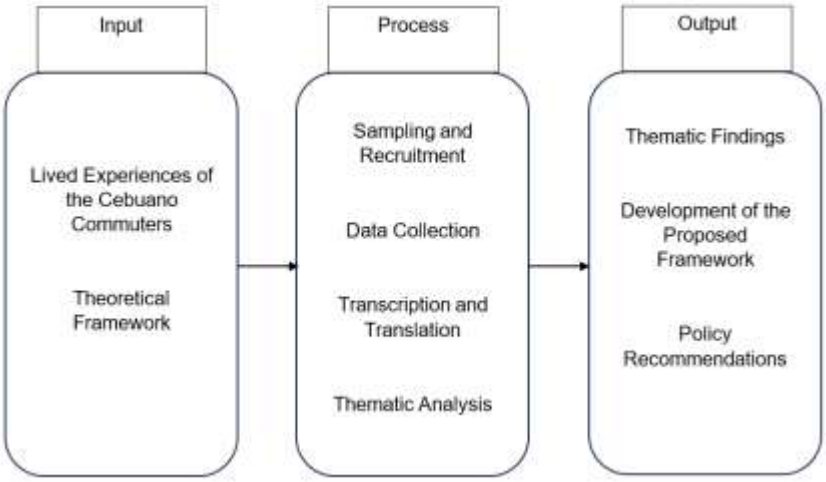

Figure 2. *Flow of the Study*

Environment

The research environment was found in the busy metro setting of Cebu City, which is the main economic and administrative center of the Central Visayas province. The particular focus of the research was on the key transit corridors, which were the main elements of the initial operating phase of the Cebu Bus Rapid Transit (CBRT) system. This environment involved the densest part of the region starting from the Cebu South Bus Terminal on N. Bacalso Avenue, through the historical and commercial district of Osmeña Boulevard, and to the Cebu IT Park in Barangay Lahug. By early 2026, these areas formed a transitional environment with dedicated median lanes for buses in the mix with the mixed traffic.

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This site had the character of active socio-economic interaction, where people coming from different backgrounds, such as students, office workers, squatters, and local businessmen, could find themselves at this site. There were also significant landmarks present, such as the Fuente Osmeña Circle and the Cebu Provincial Capitol. These sites were not only important transit hubs but also places of civic importance in Cebuano life. The significance of this particular site was also emphasized by the process that was taking place at the moment, which could be termed a "spatial reconfiguration". Here, the roadside socializing and dominance of the jeepney as a form of public transport had been challenged by the fenced-off lanes of the CBRT system.

Figure 3. *Research Locale*

In addition to the physical infrastructure, the research environment comprised the conditions of atmosphere and society in the form of the city undergoing the transformation brought about by the extensive transportation changes. This was a time when the traffic situation was bad in the city, and the PUV Modernization Program was underway. By selecting such specific locations within Cebu City, the researcher was able to capture an environment that represented a period of transition for the people in the city. This was the perfect environment for carrying out a phenomenological study where the researcher could encounter commuters caught up in the conflict of the old and the new way of traveling in the city.

Respondents

The study participants were varied persons who constantly traveled through the transport corridors in Cebu City and have been directly exposed to the changing transit experience in the city. In particular, the research looked into the commuters who use the key transportation lines covered by the DOTr – Cebu Bus

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Rapid Transit, which included students, office workers, and local workers. Through involving various social groups, the study ensured a wide-ranging view on how these varying social classes viewed the transformation of transport from the conventional jeepney service to organized and higher-capacity bus service. These participants were chosen based on their ability to describe their experiences in traveling through these transportation networks.

Purposive sampling using criterion-based technique was used in order to guarantee that only information-loaded cases would be chosen in accordance with the nature of qualitative research. This technique presupposed that certain criteria would be defined and those people who meet these criteria (being a resident of Metro Cebu and a commuter in N. Bacalso to the IT Park area for more than six months) would be chosen as research participants. The criterion-based technique is very suitable for phenomenological research because the criterion here is not statistical representativeness but experience that people have during the course of the phenomenon under study. It helped the researcher to obtain information about the complex interconnection between modern mobility and social relations.

The total number of participants was established based on the principle of data saturation that was reached when further interviews did not provide any new insights or themes related to commuters' perception. This helped to explore the stories of a selected few in a deeper way to make the qualitative study meaningful and rich. All participants were interviewed while maintaining the guarantee of confidentiality and informed consent to ensure that their contributions to the research were ethical and credible. This way, the study managed to get the authentic voice of the Cebuano commuting public.

Table 1. *Distribution of Respondents*

Category	Demographic / Occupation	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Gender	Male	8	53.33%
	Female	7	46.67%
Occupation	Worker	8	53.33%
	Student	6	40.00%
	Housewife	1	6.67%
Total	**Total Respondents**	**15**	**100.00%**

Instrument

The research tool for the qualitative study was the semi-structured interview guide, which was created very carefully for the purpose of conducting a thorough dialogic exploration of the experience of the participants. The guide was comprised of open-ended questions with sub-questions that were supposed to elicit narratives and not yes or no answers. The use of semi-structured interview as the research tool ensured that there was both consistency in the purpose of the research and flexibility that allowed for interesting leads from the dialogue to be explored by the researcher. These leads were grouped according to the research questions concerning the perception of efficiency of traveling, social interaction patterns, cultural change caused by the shift from jeepneys to CBRT, and its effect on social inclusivity among the Cebuano people.

In order to ensure the credibility, reliability, and academic standing of the tool, a formal content validation stage was conducted involving three experts/professionals in the fields of urban planning, sociology, and research methodology. The content validators assessed the interview guide according to its clarity, objectivity, and appropriateness for the qualitative research being done. Their insights were essential in ensuring that there were no leading questions included in the tool, that the language used was appropriate for the Cebuano community, and that the tool was grounded in the theory of the Social Production of Space and Mobilities Paradigms.

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Data Gathering Procedure

The data collection process conducted within the study took an organized and ethical path aimed at capturing the true experiences of the Cebuano commuters without compromising the integrity of the qualitative research process. The process started with the preparatory stage that entailed obtaining the required approvals from the relevant authorities and validation of the interview guide through the involvement of three chosen experts. After refining the tool, the researcher went ahead and recruited respondents from various transit areas such as the Cebu South Bus Terminal and Fuente Osmeña. This was done through a screening stage followed by an invitation of the participants to join the research process.

The implementation phase focused on the carrying out of semi-structured interviews, which were done in an environment that was comfortable and convenient for the respondents in order to facilitate a relaxed interaction. At the beginning of every interview, the researcher would give an elaborate introduction to the objectives of the research in order to obtain informed consent from the respondents to make sure they knew they had the right to terminate participation at any time. In order to capture the "essence" of what the commuters thought about the situation, the interviews were recorded with the consent of the respondents and field notes taken to capture any non-verbal behaviors or context that may help in the analysis of themes.

Management and preparation of the collected data was the last phase after the data collection process. This entailed the transcription of the collected audio files in a verbatim fashion while paying particular attention to the nuances in the Cebuano language and ensuring that the transcribed data accurately captures the emotional and intended meaning of the responses. The credibility of the collected data was ensured through the use of member checking, whereby the transcripts would be returned to the respondents to confirm whether the collected data truly represents their views. Once the collected data was prepared, it was put in an electronic database and prepared for the coding process, which resulted in the discovery of the perceptions of the Cebuano commuting public.

Data Analysis

For the analysis of data in this research, the Six-phase process of Thematic Analysis as proposed by Braun & Clarke (2006) was used. It was very appropriate for the phenomenology research, since it was systematic, but still flexible enough to discover, analyze and report patterns (themes) of the qualitative data.

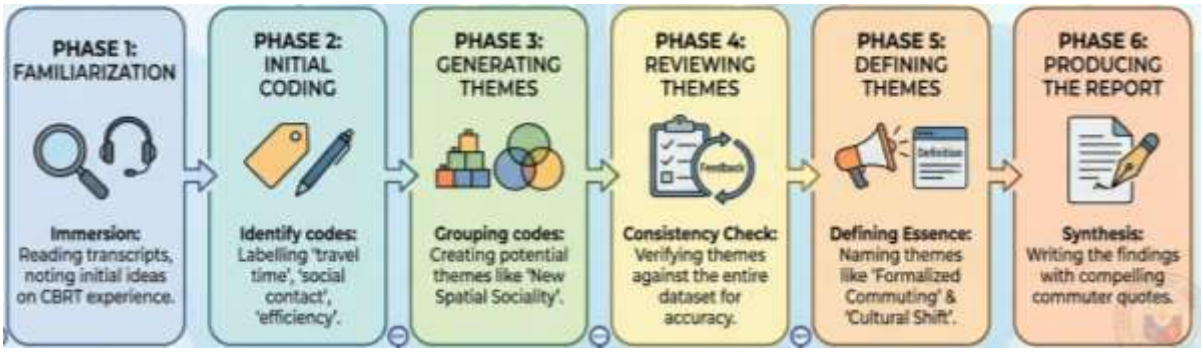

Figure 4. *Braun and Clarke's Thematic Analysis*

The first step in this process involved familiarization, where the researcher reviewed the interview transcripts and audio recordings repeatedly to get immersed in the data. At this point, the researcher took some preliminary notes on how the commuters viewed the CBRT system to make sure that they got the "essence" of the Cebuano commuter experience before the actual coding process.

The next two steps involved the generation of codes and searching for themes. The researcher did line-by-line coding of the transcripts and looked for those portions of text that had to do with urban mobility,

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social interaction, and changing from the traditional means of transportation. Then these codes were used to generate some candidate themes, which represented some important patterns among the participants. For example, codes such as "reduced waiting time" and "timed scheduling" could constitute a theme on "Perceived Reliability," while codes like "loss of roadside conversation" and "enclosed bus ride" could be grouped under "Spatial Shift in Sociality."

During the final stages of the study, the researcher proceeded to theme review, theme definition and naming, as well as the report writing process. In doing so, he undertook an iterative process of rechecking the candidate themes against the original dataset so that they would accurately capture the stories of the respondents as well as be responsive to the research questions. At this stage, each of the themes underwent a process of naming and defining in such a way that they would have catchy names as well as detailed definitions that would articulate their significance to the social world of the Cebuano public.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations in this study revolved around three main concepts, namely autonomy, beneficence, and justice. The principle aimed at respecting and protecting the rights of the Cebuano commuters in the course of data gathering. A fundamental concept in this principle was informed consent which involved giving each participant a clear description of the nature of the study as well as their role in the research process. The participants were notified in advance about their right to refuse to answer any particular question asked during the interview or even the right to withdraw from the interview without giving any reason. This was meant to make sure that the balance of power between the researcher and the commuter was not compromised.

To maintain the reputation and dignity of the respondents, anonymity and confidentiality principles were strictly maintained throughout the entire process of research. Considering that the research setting included the corridors of public transport and some of the respondents might have had sensitive opinions on government initiatives, the process of transcribing the data and analysis included replacing any form of identification, including names, residential addresses, or places of work, with pseudonyms. The audio records and transcripts were saved in encrypted files with passwords available to the researcher only, while any paper notes were kept in a safe place.

Moreover, the researcher adhered to the ethical principle of non-maleficence and made sure that the interviewing process would not result in any form of psychological or social harm to the respondents. The conversation was carried out in a neutral and unbiased way, especially during the discussion about the changeover from conventional jeepney transportation to DOTr-CBRT in order to avoid any prejudice on their part as well as any unnecessary anxiety in relation to the modernization process. Lastly, the research guaranteed data integrity and transparency by making sure that the results were truly representative of the respondents' point of view. After the completion of the research, a synopsis of the results was provided to the respondents upon request.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Qualitative findings from this phenomenological research investigate the phenomenon of commuter experiences and perceptions within the DOTr-CBRT system corridor among Cebuano commuters. Data gathered from fifteen (15) purposefully chosen respondents consisting of workers, students, and one housewife were subjected to extensive thematic analysis based on the six-phase method proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006). The findings are presented based on the four key SOP research questions.

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SOP 1: Perceptions on Daily Urban Mobility and Travel Efficiency

Analysis of commuter narratives revealed a profound shift in daily transit mechanics, yielding two core themes: *Systematic Predictability versus Route Inflexibility* and *Temporal Control and Schedule Optimization*.

Theme 1: Systematic Predictability versus Route Inflexibility

Most of the respondents realized that through the implementation of the CBRT system, there has been an imposition of order on the volatile transport system of Cebu City. The change from the conventional PUJ to bus lanes organized in zones has eliminated chaotic conduct along the roadways. Yet the consequence of this spatially formalized structure is the fact that commuters have to sacrifice the flexibility of the conventional jeepney system.

- ***MW3:*** *"For me, the presence of CBRT infra has made my daily travel around the city more convenient compared to the previous setup. PUJ's now stop at designated bus stations, which allows passengers to sit, rest, and wait comfortably for their ride... Overall, it has made commuting more organized and efficient."*
- ***MW2:*** *"The CBRT makes the community more organized because there are designated stations. However, I have to walk farther sometimes since I can no longer get off anywhere like with jeepneys."*
- ***MS1:*** *"Now, it's more convenient since it has designated bus stops; however, before you can ride and stop at any point, now, coz of the new system, you need to pull over to the designated bus stop."*
- ***FW2:*** *"It's more organize and there are more available buses on the system... You can now arrive at your destination earlier than traditional jeepneys since they are not allowed to stop and pick up passengers at any point..."*

The shift in structure from the organic informal transport system of PUJ to the formally structured rigid system of DOTr-CBRT clearly points out an inherent contradiction within the field of urban geography – the conflict between institutionally conceived space and lived space of the commuter. As per the Social Production of Space theory proposed by Henri Lefebvre, urban infrastructure is more than just physical infrastructure; it is a social construct that has a significant impact on human behavior and activity (van Lanen & Meij, 2025). It has been shown through the results that the creation of median bus lanes and docking stations has been able to inject order, structural consistency, and efficiency to Cebu's chaotic transit line (Antonio, 2026). Through limiting the random boarding habits common with the regular jeepneys, CBRT has greatly reduced traffic frictions and increased mobility within the city. It is important to note that an efficient system of public transport serves as the lifeline of a city and determines the interaction that people have within their physical environment (Jain & Garg, 2025). Indeed, this strategic alignment works towards the goals of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 of providing sustainable transport for all urban residents (The Global Goals, 2025).

Nevertheless, the formalization process requires a major behavioral change on the part of Cebuano commuters. The abolition of hailing taxis wherever and whenever they wish from the roadside constitutes a massive disruption of the traditional "sociality of transit" and the flexible spatial practices that have been ingrained in local commuting culture. Commuters under the CBRT framework must make a sacrifice of this tradition of convenience and adjust themselves physically to fixed spatial boundaries. The Mobilities Paradigm posits that travel is an inherently social practice in which one constantly engages in negotiating physical access and personal safety (Sheller & Urry, 2006). In accordance with the findings provided by the respondents in the study, the structural need for pedestrians to cover increased distances in order to access isolated median bus stations imposes an additional physical and logistical challenge to their daily travel routine. The physical friction presented herein indicates that although the technical objectives related

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to the modernization of transport systems have been attained successfully, these come at the cost of creating barriers to accessibility.

Theme 2: Temporal Control and Schedule Optimization

The use of structured lanes and defined docking locations has greatly helped in reducing the usual delay problems encountered in the past due to the unpredictable boarding procedures of PUJ. Commuters found that their ability to make an accurate schedule for the day was much more reliable, and they attributed this improvement to the predictable nature of the CBRT system.

- ***MW1:*** *"Compared to before, my travel time is shorter and more predictable. I can get to places faster, and transportation is more reliable with fewer delays... Yes, I feel more in control of my schedule now because commuting is more predictable."*
- ***MW5*****:** *"Yes, I can manage my travel time, and it is shorter than before, from 1 hour to 30 minutes, because of the CBRT system... As a worker, I like the new system, unlike before, from the traditional jeepney that has no system of stopover..."*
- ***MS2*****:** *"Before, it had more heavy traffic compared now due to the systematic CBRT; you can estimate your time in travelling, and you can just easily ride a bus since there are pick-up and drop-off points."*
- ***FW3:*** *"I can now report to work on time due to this system of CBRT... Oo, because it really helped a lot and reduced the heavy traffic."*

The introduction of temporal control and scheduling optimization is indicative of how structural changes to transport systems alter the psychological and behavioral aspects of life in the city. According to the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB), a commuter's adaptation to and acceptance of a new transport system is largely determined by their perceived behavioral control, which refers to one's perceived capacity for carrying out the behavior with ease (van Lanen & Meij, 2025). In the conventional PUJ model, commuters were faced with perpetual temporal anxieties resulting from inconsistent boarding behaviors, a fragmented network, and growing congestion that continuously undermined the well-being of the citizens. This is evident from the results, indicating that the designated lanes and docking zones in the CBRT have helped to reduce these unpredictable delays and allowed commuters to efficiently schedule their daily activities.

This psychological comfort is directly related to increased socio-economic productivity and dependability. With the help of the creation of special drop-off and pick-up points, the CBRT helps organize the movement of people in such a way that reduces the amount of time spent traveling, with some of the people stating that their trips have been reduced from one hour to thirty minutes. According to the Mobilities Paradigm, the time of transportation is not seen just as an empty transition from point A to point B but rather as the period in which people arrange their relation to the city (Sheller & Urry, 2006). This increased reliability makes it possible for people to arrive at work and school on time, which supports the UN SDG 8 – Decent Work and Economic Growth, as it helps in improving the reliability of the workforce (The Global Goals, 2025).

SOP 2: Perceived Impacts on Social Interactions and Lived Experiences

The micro-environment of transportation is a key social-production site. Moving from the MBRT to the CBRT environment has led to changes in commuter social relations that have generated two themes: "The Spatial Privatization and De-escalation of Transit Spaces" and "The Loss of Roadside Vibe."

Theme 1: The Spatial Privatization and De-escalation of Transit Spaces

The change from the outdated jeeps that run in the open physical environment and which are exposed to urban criminal acts to the newly designed buses that are spacious and air-conditioned has resulted in great impacts on the nature of social interaction. Increased space contributes to increased

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physical well-being and increased safety from crimes like being pickpocketed. This shifts the psychology from being highly alert to being very sanitized in the sense that people turn inwards.

- ***MW1:*** *"Using CBRT feels more organized and comfortable. Compared to traditional jeepneys, the ride is usually smoother, less crowded, and easier to follow... During the trip, the community of commuters feels calmer and more orderly. There's less complaining during the trip."*
- ***MW3:*** *"The atmosphere of my commute using the CBRT feels more organized and safer compared to the usual commuting experience. Passengers wait at designated stations, which helps maintain order and reduces congestion along the roads."*
- ***MW2:*** *"People seem more focused on getting to their destination. There are fewer casual conversations, but the commute feels more orderly."*
- ***FW1:*** *"As workers, tired from work, when we travel it gives us more comfort compared to before, and we can take some rest while not worrying of danger compared to jeepney. And when using cellular phones, you can feel that is safer than the traditional jeepney since it is an enclosed bus system."*

In essence, the shift in the structure of transportation from the traditional jeepney that exposes commuters to the open space, socialized microenvironment, to that of the CBRT system with its huge infrastructure and controlled environment has significantly changed the dynamics of interpersonal interactions in the process of transportation. According to the Mobilities Paradigm, the process of transit does not exist as a space but rather as a social process through which the passengers establish their sense of security and personal boundaries (Sheller & Urry, 2006). The move into an enclosed architecture means moving into an environment where there is no chaos brought about by traffic sounds and environmental pollution, hence making the commuter's mind focus less on dangers such as pickpockets.

As has been noticed in the descriptions provided by the respondents, the open design and separate stations help create a formal atmosphere that helps people concentrate on themselves. It results in the creation of private spaces in the train where exhausted workers are able to sleep safely and use their phones without being threatened by any crimes. However, at the same time, this change is associated with a decrease in affective subjective well-being of the commuters because they may feel that the formal and highly regulated environment is rather sterile and impersonal and that it is disconnected from the local social environment (Navarrete-Hernandez & Zegras, 2023).

Theme 2: The Loss of Roadside Vibe and Adaptability to Modern Flux

Even while recognizing the efficiency of the current system, a strong undercurrent of nostalgia exists in the minds of commuters. The inability to hail taxis from roadside locations is an example of the disruption of deeply ingrained behavior. Even while feeling this sense of nostalgia for the old "feel" of Cebuano transport systems, commuters recognize that behavioral adaptation is necessary for city progress.

- ***MS2*****:** *"I missed the old routine of dropping off and picking up commuters since you can be picked up and dropped off anywhere you want; however, it's the sacrifice of more organized and systematic transportation."*
- ***FW3:*** *"I will miss those routines before, when you could easily ride on the side of the road, unlike in the new system, where you need to go to the center of the road just to wait and ride in the CBRT. Its hassle for the passengers."*
- ***MW5:*** *"Yes, I miss the old way; however, all we need to do is accept the change in response to the changing demands of modernization."*
- ***FS1:*** *"I will miss the old vibe; however, modernization is underway, so we need to accept the change in transportation."*

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Even though the contemporary mass transportation system offers practical advantages regarding physical comfort and safety elements, it still generates its own form of cultural conflict, which is manifested in deep nostalgia towards the old ways of transport operation. It represents a good example of what Lefebvre calls “spatial friction” in his Social Production of Space theory, when the “conceived space” created by institutional planners dominates the natural habits of the “lived space” of the people (van Lanen & Meij, 2025). The jeepney transit system worked under a highly flexible framework, based on the spontaneous hailing and flexible locations of pickup. By removing the places of spontaneous pickup, one can disrupt the established habits of people and deprive commuters of the atmosphere of the Cebuano streets.

From the stories, it can be seen that asking commuter travelers to cross wide streets just to reach their destinations through hard median lines is viewed as a regular inconvenience that upsets the existing pattern of space arrangement. However, the local community shows great pragmatic acceptance. The commuters are able to adapt their own mindset and expectations to accommodate the transport reforms by the government while maintaining a balance between the nostalgic culture and urban development and advancement (World Bank Group, 2025). In other words, the cultural identity is always under constant negotiation, wherein the natural life of the roadside community is readily sacrificed for the efficiency of a city.

SOP 3: Transition and the Cebuano Sense of Community and Well-Being

This part of the paper focuses on the contradiction that arises between institutional planning and human life, as per Lefebvre, resulting in the emergence of two main topics: Environmental Protection and Psychological Security, and Loss of Community Warmth vs. Structuring.

Theme 1: Environmental Protection and Psychological Security

There was a direct relationship between the encasing physicality of the CBRTs and a marked improvement in their individual well-being. Commuters are exposed to harsh climatic conditions in open-air jeeps. The CBRT is shielded from such risks in terms of climatic exposure and toxic emissions on the roads since it is an enclosed structure, and this creates a feeling of security among the commuters.

- **MW5:** *"I feel that Cebuanos like this new system because of its modernized system, like going away with smoke belching and other health-risk chemicals coming from the outdated jeepney."*
- **MW3:** *"I personally prefer enclosed buses because they are more comfortable, especially during hot weather, and they provide a greater sense of safety and security while travelling. The structured environment also makes the commuting experience more organized and pleasant overall."*
- **MS1:** *"It's okay for me since it's more comfortable and it has air conditioning. It has proper ventilation and lighting."*
- **FW1:** *"I’m happy that even though you experience traffic during peak hours, you still feel comfortable due to the air-conditioning system and the more spacious interior than before."*

The physical transformation from the traditional Public Utility Jeepneys (PUJ) with their open-air space design into the CBRT system with its air-conditioned enclosed environment has positively increased the level of physical comfort and mental state of the commuters in Cebu. According to Henri Lefebvre’s “Social Production of Space”, urban spaces play an active role in forming the physical and emotional experience of people using them. Due to the traditional transport system, Cebu commuters had to face adverse weather conditions and high levels of pollution caused by the emissions of vehicles, which negatively impacted their physical condition and decreased their level of comfort. Filtering all those negative environmental factors by means of automated air conditioning and ventilation makes it possible for modern urban spaces to protect people from harmful substances. Thus, the modernization of transit spaces facilitates the realization of the UN SDG 13 “Climate Action”.

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These stories make it clear that this particular structural security has a direct impact on the attitude aspect of the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB), as people feel very satisfied with their interior spaces. Despite all the traffic that one may face during the hours of peak rush, the insulating effects of this environment from all the dangers posed by the outside environment make people perceive delays differently. By providing this shelter, the transport takes away the struggle of mere survival in the face of external dangers and turns the commute into a structured trip.

Theme 2: The Loss of Communal Warmth versus Structural Progress

The upgrading of the transit infrastructure has resulted in a rethinking of the definition of the "Cebuano sense of community." Interviewees mention a visible change for the worse in terms of the natural feeling of warmth and community interactions, which used to be the hallmark of the communal space within the traditional jeepney. However, the cultural degradation is seen in the context of the urban progress and its focus on structure, security, and efficiency.

- **MW1:** *"I think modernization makes commuting more convenient, but it can also make it feel a little less personal. The traditional jeepney often created more interaction, while the new system feels more structured and less community-oriented... It feels more modern... But at the same time, it can feel a bit divided, since not everyone has adjusted to the system..."*
- **MW2:** *"It helps people move around the city more easily. However, it feels like some of the warmth and social interaction that jeepneys were known for are slowly disappearing."*
- **MS1:** *"So far, it does not affect the sense of community no matter of the commuting system. What's important now is the comfort the CBRT system gives to the Cebuano commuters and its safety."*
- **MW3:** *"For me, CBRT makes Cebu feel more modern rather than divided. The improved infrastructure, organized station, and more efficient transport system show that the city is progressing and adapting to the needs of a growing population."*

There is an inherent contradiction present in the move toward CBRTs, where there is a conflict between institutional "conceived space" and "lived space" experienced by commuters. In the past, when jeeps had an outdoor design and were in very close physical proximity to each other, an organic "sociality of transit" characterized by the ease of interactions was established within the commuting community. The CBRT structure has diminished these interactions, resulting in a less sociable environment for commuters. This is further evidence of the Mobilities Paradigm's caution on how modernization structures may inadvertently turn public spaces into cold spaces devoid of civility and social interactions.

Even as they feel that the current system lacks personal interaction, Cebuano commuters perceive this culture shift in very progressive terms. Within the theory of planned behavior (TPB), social pressures and attitudes change depending on the perceived benefits of the system. It is evident from their perceptions that the citizens of Cebu prioritize safety, punctuality, and the development of the city over outdated traditions in transportation systems. Instead of seeing this shift in the system as a means of creating segregation within the urban center, the respondents see it as an indicator of the modernization of Cebu.

SOP 4: Challenges and Benefits Regarding Inclusivity and Accessibility

Equity in the transitioned landscape is the topic under which the third category emerges, identifying two distinct themes: Demographic Inequality in Mobility Adaptation and The Aesthetic-Functionality Gap in Infrastructure Design.

Theme 1: Demographic Disparities in Mobility Adaptation

Although the CBRT presents certain efficiency gains for young, mobile groups like students and business people, it creates certain obstacles for less fortunate people. This is because the station

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displacement, along with the compulsory need to cover long walking distances to access the bus lane in the middle, becomes very difficult for the elderly, people carrying cargo, and less familiar people with the new routes.

- **FS1:** *"For us, it serves well because we don't have to rush... But for the elderly, I think it's not favorable for them coz they cannot stop or ride wherever they want to."*
- **FS2:** *"It's fine for those who aren't very old and if you aren't bringing a lot of things. Because if you go grocery shopping and have a lot to carry, this is more of a hassle since the loading and unloading areas are so far away... For the elderly, it is somehow a bit of a disadvantage, especially to those who can't manage to walk to specific pick-up points..."*
- **MW1:** *"CBRT works well for many commuters gradually because it's more organized and safer. But it may still be hard for some people, especially those who are used to traditional jeepneys or have limited access to the new routes."*
- **MW3:** *"However, a challenge for some average Cebuanos is that the stations are farther apart compared to the usual stopping points of traditional public transportation, requiring passengers to walk longer distances to reach their destinations."*

The establishment of the CBRT framework is characterized by an obvious inequity in the urban community, which is due to the confrontation between the “conceived space” of institutional nature and the real “lived space” of marginalized social groups. Although for able-bodied pupils and employees of companies, the structure becomes easy and accessible, the formalization of the space imposes an inevitable problem for elderly passengers and freight haulers. The change brings about a necessity for commuters to make a behavioral choice by giving up the historical privilege of the door-to-door service of jeepneys. Walking extra distances to the central median busways imposes an inevitable problem for users of the transportation system. Considering the urban development of cities throughout the world, a well-established public transportation network is capable of becoming a proper artery of the city only if it guarantees access for all social strata (Jain & Garg, 2025).

As far as the empirical discussions are concerned, the rigidity and fixity of the BRT lanes do not allow any form of flexibility, thereby making the vulnerable groups feel ignored or disadvantaged. With regard to the Mobilities Paradigm, travel can be said to be a socially valuable experience in which people make continuous arrangements with respect to gaining physical access and understanding the changing cities (Sheller & Urry, 2006). If there are any restrictions imposed on the transport routes in terms of structural form, then this goes against the holistic approach of United Nations Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 by failing to provide safe, affordable, and accessible modes of transport for vulnerable groups.

Theme 2: The Aesthetic-Functionality Disconnect in Infrastructure Design

The architectural design of the CBRT stations, which is a key point pointed out by the commuters, can be considered a major failure since the very popularly talked about 'leaf' station design is focused on visual appeal and not environmental functionality. This is because of the fact that such open-air stations cannot protect people from harsh tropical heat and heavy rains at certain seasons of the year. Also, the corporate nature of the profit-oriented approach results in the overloading of vehicles.

- **MS2:** *"Before, it was inconvenient due to heavy traffic; now it is convenient due to systematic bus stops. However, the design of the waiting area does not really serve its purpose, especially in the rainy season. It's more about the aesthetic than the functionality."*
- **HW:** *"The challenge is functionality and accessibility of the waiting area. It is more about the aesthetic rather than its functionality."*

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- **FS2:** *"Please improve the waiting area/shed since it does not serve its purpose well. During the hot/dry season, the heat just bleeds right through while you're waiting, and during the rainy season, it's even worse—commuters still end up getting wet. The leaf-inspired design looks nice, but I wish it had been planned and thought out properly."*
- **MW4:** *"Overcrowding in these updated vehicles is a significant issue because drivers often take all passengers w/o considering the comfort of passengers... Implement strict regulations to prevent overcrowding of passengers per vehicle."*

The technical and architectural development of CBRT demonstrates an evident contradiction between aesthetic design and functionality. Commuters frequently criticize the fact that the leaf-inspired architecture of waiting sheds gives preference to visual appearance rather than protection from the elements. These deficiencies make passengers experience harsh tropical heat waves and rains during seasonal changes. From the standpoint of Henri Lefebvre's Social Production of Space, spaces that do not provide conditions that fit people's everyday needs but focus on purely visual aspects of their architecture become dysfunctional (van Lanen & Meij, 2025).

Indeed, this infrastructure challenge is further complicated by the constant presence of commercial challenges, such as the overloading of vehicles. It was stated that the operators often overload the modernized buses beyond their capacities, regardless of the passengers' comfort and safety. The pursuit of profit on the part of corporations affects the perception of well-being of the travelers, thus increasing the disconnect between what is promised to the public and the experience of using the public infrastructure (Navarrete-Hernandez & Zegras, 2023). As per the Theory of Planned Behavior, when public expectations come into contact with an uncomfortable transport environment, it undermines the support of the community.

Summary Matrix of Thematic Findings

Table 2. *Matrix of the Thematic Findings*

Research Question (SOP)	Emerging Core Themes	Key Dimensions Identified
SOP 1: Urban Mobility & Efficiency	1. Systematic Predictability vs. Route Inflexibility 2. Temporal Control & Schedule Optimization	• Shorter, predictable travel times • Displaced door-to-door convenience • Increased walking demands
SOP 2: Social Interactions	1. Spatial Privatization & De-escalation of Spaces 2. Loss of Roadside Vibe & Adaptability to Flux	• Safer, quieter, air-conditioned environments • Reduced conversational interactions • Nostalgia for traditional transit spaces
SOP 3: Sense of Community	1. Environmental Protection & Psychological Security 2. Loss of Communal Warmth vs. Structural Progress	• Eradication of health risks from emissions • Acceptance of modern systems for progressive growth • Diminishing organic cultural warmth
SOP 4: Inclusivity & Accessibility	1. Demographic Disparities in Mobility Adaptation 2. The Aesthetic-Functionality Disconnect	• Heightened physical burdens for vulnerable groups • Inadequate station shelter against severe weather • Persistent commercial overcrowding issues

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The Summary Matrix of the Thematic Analysis reflects the basic changes that take place when Cebuano commuters change from riding the traditional Public Utility Jeepneys to the Department of Transportation - Cebu Bus Rapid Transit. It is clear from the four Statements of the Problem that there is a clear macro pattern where consolidation of institutional order, technical efficiency, and physical comfort always come with a price of the loss of traditional cultural warmth, flexibility, and inclusion (Cresswell, 2010).

Within the first dimension of urban mobility and efficiency, predictability and inflexibility in routes reveal how the structured urban environment can completely reconfigure daily life rhythm in cities (Cervero, 2013). The centralizing corridor arrangement minimizes the chaos and assures short travel time, which clearly increases the individual power of planning the schedule. Yet, such an increase in efficiency comes at the cost of removing the old-fashioned door-to-door comfort of travelers, thus compelling people to adjust to the strict spatial confines (Scholl & Boons, 2021). This behavioral compromise appears in the form of physical strain due to additional walking distances to get to the middle of the road (Venter et al., 2018).

The reorganization of transit geography has direct implications for the micro-environment of socializing. The transformation of transit from small and open spaces to large, air-conditioned, and enclosed bus stations results in the spatial privatization and psychological demobilization of the transit space (Sennett, 2018). Passengers feel increased safety and comfort due to the quietness and cleanliness of the interior, thus focusing their attention on themselves instead of communicating (Bissell, 2010). Although such an environment provides passengers with restful conditions after hard work, at the same time, it excludes impromptu communication typical for street-level transit. Therefore, cultural nostalgia about the old roadside atmosphere combines with the acceptance of modernization as the inevitable process of city development.

The negotiation of cultural identity is also exhibited by the third domain about the Cebuano sense of community and well-being. The commuters link the sealed and ventilated bus design to higher psychological security and environmental protection, noting the removal of major threats to their well-being caused by toxic open-air fumes and the harsh tropical heat. However, as a consequence of that isolation, there is a considerable lack of organic warmth in the community. The locals solve this conflict by having a progressive civic mentality, deliberately reframing community health and modernization as better measures of civic development.

Lastly, the matrix highlights fundamental flaws in terms of inclusiveness and accessibility. As long as they remain active, able-bodied people prosper through the high-speed, predictable schedule; however, the discrepancies arise once the far stations become a major obstacle for elderly people and those carrying cargo due to their physical challenges (Lucas, 2012). Moreover, such problems have been made worse because of the mismatch between the aesthetic appeal and practicality of the "leaf-inspired" stations, thus leaving the passengers vulnerable to rain and heat waves during the tropical seasons (Dovey, 2010). Together with the profit-driven overcrowding of the trains, it is clear that until the modernization process integrates aesthetics, corporate control, and accessibility for people, technological advancement will result in more hurdles for the least advantaged.

Summary

A qualitative phenomenological study was conducted to explore the lived experiences, perceptions, and socio-spatial adaptations of the Cebuano commuters traveling through the Department of Transportation (DOTr) – Cebu Bus Rapid Transit (CBRT) system corridor. A purposive sample was utilized wherein fifteen (15) individuals belonging to the different demographic segments of the commuter population, such as corporate employees, students, and homemakers, were interviewed. Through rigorous thematic analysis based on the six phases described by Braun and Clarke (2006), the qualitative data collected were analyzed by looking into four structural aspects of urban transit systems:

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1. Urban mobility and travel efficiency;
2. Impacts on social interactions and lived experiences;
3. Sense of community and psychological well-being; and
4. Inclusivity and infrastructural accessibility.

Findings

Eight core themes emerged after thematic analysis of the Department of Transportation – Cebu Bus Rapid Transit (DOTr-CBRT) system as a whole, revealing the diverse influence of this innovation on regular commuters. In accordance with the first research track, two sub-themes came to the fore: Controlled Predictability versus Fixed Routes as well as Temporal Predictability and Efficient Scheduling. The shift from public utility jeepneys (PUJs) to the fixed structural bus lanes resulted in a noticeable decline in unpredictable behavior on roads, which created an additional layer of organizational structure. Nevertheless, the institution required an immense behavioral adjustment on behalf of commuters who had to give up door-to-door accessibility of PUJs and travel longer distances to reach median stations. Still, in spite of the inconvenience caused by long-distance walking, the introduction of the docking system drastically reduced traffic jams and delays.

Concerning the second research track regarding social interaction and life experience, the following themes have been identified: Spatial Privatization and De-Escalation of Transit Spaces, Loss of Roadside Vibe and Adaptability to Modern Fluxes. Going into enclosed, air-conditioned bus compartments allowed the passengers to feel more physically comfortable and more secure personally in terms of petty urban crime, such as being robbed or pickpocketed. The change in environment created a difference in social interaction as well, from the tense atmosphere to the quiet and sanitized one, where the passengers could take a rest. However, with the removal of spontaneous roadside hailing, some old traditions of transit have been ruined. Despite nostalgia for traditional Cebuano transit and its vibe, commuters showed their pragmatic attitude to the changes, seeing them as necessary.

For the third track concerning community and well-being, there emerged two categories from the collected data, namely, the category of Environmental Protection and Psychological Safety along with the category of Loss of Communal Warmth versus Structural Progress. It was observed that the commuters were aware of the fact that the enclosed bus fleet provided protection against the harmful emissions and severe weather conditions of the tropics, and therefore, resulted in better psychological well-being and dignity while traveling. On the other hand, this modern environment caused a marked reduction in the communal warmth and chitchat which is associated with the conventional jeepney ride experience. However, the local community was able to come to terms with this change in culture by viewing it as a sign of modernity.

Finally, the fourth track relating to inclusivity and accessibility brought out the Gap between Different Demographic Groups in terms of Adaptation to Changes and the Trade-off between Functionality and Aesthetics in Infrastructural Design. Although the system was modern enough to accommodate active people like students and office workers, there was no way it accommodated vulnerable demographic groups who found it difficult to move from place to place owing to the lengthy walks from one station to another. In addition to that, another defect in the “leaf-like” station design was pointed out; this is, the station design gave preference to aesthetics over functionality. Since the station is not enclosed, it does not offer any kind of protection against the intense heat or the rain during the tropical season.

CONCLUSION

The project has shown that the DOTr-CBRT system has indeed fulfilled its primary objectives of orderliness, reduction of traffic congestion, and predictability. The new infrastructure has helped to

reorganize the chaotic nature of Cebu transport and provided commuters with more control over their daily activities while at the same time shielding them from any potential dangers.

However, socio-spatial conflict arises as a result of such transformation. CBRT maintains orderliness and cleanliness in the environment, which is not conducive to the flexible nature and social aspect of traditional Cebuano means of transport. Although the public appreciates this cultural shift in pragmatic terms with respect to modernization, the geographical aspects of the system contribute to real discrimination. Overlooking the human factor, especially with regard to the positioning of the station and its design, has made the system a source of barriers for the elderly and for cargo carriers who cannot afford such a mode of transport, as it does not provide shelter from extreme weather conditions.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the qualitative analysis conducted in this study, a number of recommendations were put forward to make the CBRT system more inclusive, effective and culturally relevant. The primary area for intervention is the retrofitting of the stations with regard to their engineering to address the environmental weaknesses of the system. To fix the design issues associated with the exposed, "leaf-like" shelter system, it is recommended that lateral awnings, insulated roofs, and wind-resistant walls be installed to protect passengers from heat waves and tropical rains. In addition, high-velocity industrial ceiling fans, misting systems or mechanical ventilation techniques must be adopted at the median docking stations in order to make them more energy efficient and comfortable in hot seasons.

The second dimension involved the consideration of micro-mobility and universal accessibility modifications to redress systemic equity issues. In order to accommodate vulnerable groups, such as elderly individuals, people with disabilities, and commuters hauling cargo, it was proposed that project managers work with local government units for the creation of feeder routes through the use of PUJs or e-trikes within the local community. The said feeder system will ferry passengers right into the pedestrian overpass/crosswalks linked to the median stations. Moreover, transit officials were encouraged to integrate universal design elements in all station corridors, which include tactile paving, access ramps, elevator systems, and priority boarding lanes.

Priority three was aimed at introducing rigorous operational and business rules that will help ensure safety and consistency in service delivery for commuters. This can be done by introducing rigid capacity restrictions in each bus unit through the use of passenger counting technology in order to curb any overcrowding as a result of profit-making measures. In addition, intelligent fleet management methods can be used to increase the number of buses dispatched to the commuters' points.

Lastly, the recommendations included policy integration and future urban research in order to provide sustainable, human-centered planning. Future urban planners were expected to use a human-centric composite planning matrix in order to incorporate quantitative data, including speed of travel, as well as qualitative data, such as human stress level and commuter comfort. Finally, additional longitudinal research was recommended in order to measure the impact of the CBRT system on Cebuano civic identity, public health and regional economic growth.

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