

# Università degli Studi di Padova Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Geografiche e dell'Antichità

Corso di Laurea Magistrale in Local Development

Narrow Lanes, Broad Connections: Netnography of Filipina Commuters' Online Community

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**ABSTRACT** 

This study investigates the "Pinay Bike Commuter Community" (PBCC) on Facebook

exploring how the group enables the exchange of information, experiences, and strategies

within the cycling community. Moreover, this study explores the insights this group provides

into the development of sustainable and inclusive transportation in the Philippines. PBCC

serves as a crucial platform for women to share their challenges and seek support, particularly

during the transport crises worsened by the COVID-19 pandemic, which acted as a catalyst in

increasing bicycle use due to the inefficiency of public transport.

The research utilizes Netnography to observe and analyze the interactions within the PBCC.

This method involves immersion through the lenses of intersectionality and narrative analysis

to understand the members' storytelling through posts. Key themes identified are use of

emojis in expressing emotions, gendered experiences of cycling, and the supportive dynamic

of administrators.

The findings highlight the importance recognizing intersectionality to understand the

storytelling of individuals. Moreover, it was essential for dissecting how information,

experiences, and strategies are carried through the comments sections of the group. By

exploring the PBCC, this research contributes to a broader understanding of gender and

mobility in the Philippines.

**Keywords**: cycling, women mobility, digital community, netnography

**EXTENDED SUMMARY** 

Questo studio indaga la "Pinay Bike Commuter Community" (PBCC) su Facebook,

esplorando come il gruppo consenta lo scambio di informazioni, esperienze e strategie

all'interno della comunità ciclistica. Inoltre, questo studio esplora le intuizioni fornite da

questo gruppo sullo sviluppo del trasporto sostenibile e inclusivo nelle Filippine. La PBCC

funge da piattaforma cruciale per le donne per condividere le loro sfide e cercare sostegno, in

particolare durante la crisi dei trasporti aggravata dalla pandemia di COVID-19, che ha agito

da catalizzatore nell'aumento dell'uso della bicicletta a causa dell'inefficienza dei trasporti

pubblici.

La ricerca utilizza la netnografia per osservare e analizzare le interazioni all'interno della

PBCC. Questo metodo prevede l'immersione attraverso le lenti dell'intersezionalità e

dell'analisi narrativa per comprendere lo storytelling dei membri attraverso i post. I temi

chiave identificati sono l'uso degli emoji nell'esprimere emozioni, le esperienze di genere nel

ciclismo e la dinamica di supporto degli amministratori.

I risultati evidenziano l'importanza del riconoscimento dell'intersezionalità per comprendere

la narrazione degli individui. Inoltre, è stato essenziale analizzare il modo in cui le

informazioni, le esperienze e le strategie vengono trasmesse attraverso le sezioni dei

commenti del gruppo. Esplorando la PBCC, questa ricerca contribuisce a una più ampia

comprensione del genere e della mobilità nelle Filippine.

**Keywords**: cycling, women mobility, digital community, netnography

#### **PREFACE**

In a world where marginalized voices are silenced to accommodate the privileged, it is the duty of a scholar to provide a platform for the marginalized to be heard.

When quarantines were slowly being lifted and people can finally go outside, Filipinos turned to cycling as an alternative transport option. I was one of them. I decided to learn how to cycle in 2021 which was also the year that I moved to Italy. This was where my interest in cycling behaviors deepened. This study came to light because of how intrigued I was with the difference between the cycling behaviors in the Philippines and Italy. This research is crucial as it addresses the gap in the existing literature by focusing on the specificities of the geographical context of gender and mobility in the Philippines.

By exploring the experiences of women commuters within the "Pinay Bike Commuter Community," this study aims to reveal the challenges faced by women in navigating transportation crises within a patriarchal society. Furthermore, the research contributes to the understanding of how digital communities influence transportation policies and behaviors, thereby informing the development of more inclusive and sustainable transportation options.

The use of netnography is essential for this study because of the deep social media immersion needed for this study. As the community mainly exists online, it was appropriate to choose a method that specifically caters to the dynamism of social media.

# 1 Setting the Journey: An Introduction

#### 1.1 Background and Rationale of the Study

The low-cycling culture in the Philippines and the scarcity of cycling infrastructures make it difficult for Filipinos to accept cycling as a part of daily life. In many European countries cycling is a common mode of transportation across socio-economic classes — the Philippines show the contrary. Historically, cycling in the country was reserved for the affluent or those who could not afford to purchase or maintain motorized vehicles; it was not an option for many Filipinos who were part of the middle class. This dichotomy was prominent until the start of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the pandemic acted as a catalyst for the significant increase in the popularity of cycling among Filipinos, as more sought alternatives to the congested and unreliable modes of transportation (Gaspay et al., 2022). Traffic congestion in the Philippines is ranked ninth worst globally and first among the Association of Southeast Asian Nations countries. (Sanares, 2023; Mercurio, 2021).

The Filipinos' practice of cycling has been increasing throughout the years, especially with the hair-trigger from the pandemic, which exposed the transport crisis (Dela Peña, 2022) but also opened options for alternative modes of transport. This awareness extended to the governmental sphere. For instance, the Bangkok Declaration for 2020 was established between the years 2010-2020, which became one of the first commitments of the country towards sustainable transport. This declaration encouraged over 20 Asian countries to shift to sustainable modes of transport, further highlighting inclusive transport through having transport options that are pro-poor and gender inclusive (Bangkok Declaration for 2020, 2010). Some cities in Metro Manila – the capital region and largest metropolitan area of the Philippines – were pioneers in creating cycling infrastructures ("A Closer Look Into Marikina's Bicycle Infrastructure," n.d.) but more cities and infrastructure became involved with cycling during the pandemic. Despite all these efforts and the government's push for sustainable transport, implementation remains limited to metropolitan areas leaving cyclists in under-serviced areas unnoticed.

The lack of attention given to marginalized members of the Philippine society is not limited to cyclists, but this is also visible in the experiences of a Filipina. On the surface, the Philippines

may seem to be progressive particularly having elected two female presidents in the course of its independence or the fairly equitable number of women leaders in positions of power. Regardless of how well the country may seem to do on paper, it cannot be disregarded that cultural stigma on what women can or cannot do still exist. The patriarchal dynamics of the country is exemplified through the adamant desire to control women's bodies through having abortion illegal or the fact that divorce remains to be illegal in the country. "Filipino women have biases against their own gender because they think this is 'natural or inevitable'" (Africa-Verceles, n.d., in Enriquez, 2023) as 99.5 percent of Filipinos hold biases against women wherein women had a higher percentage bias at 99.67 percent and men at 99.33 percent, as reported in the UNDP's Gender Social Norms Index (GSNI).

The patriarchal dynamics in the Philippines (Enriquez, 2023) make sustainable transport a herculean feat, particularly for women's mobility. Infrastructure is often not designed with women and more so women's safety in mind, leading to increased harassment and crime against female cyclists. Despite the enactment of laws such as RA 1131 or the Safe Spaces Act of 2019, which penalized all forms of harassment, including in online spaces, the harassment faced by women is still perpetuated. According to the report by Plan International entitled, "Free to be online? Girls' and young women's experiences of online harassment" nearly 7 in 10 women and girls in the Philippines experienced harassment on social media (Narvaez, 2020). Hence, women are expected to adjust their behaviors, for instance, cycling only during well-lit hours and only in visible areas thus, only affording them limited freedoms (Song et al., 2019).

Social media platforms like Facebook and Messenger have become crucial in raising awareness and building communities around cycling (including initiatives and activism) and other government initiatives. These platforms area a necessary part of life during the pandemic as they facilitated information dissemination and community support, this role of social media continued even after the pandemic. These seemingly disjunct concepts of gender, cycling mobilities, and digital activism necessitate being scrutinized through an intersectional and local development lens to understand how they play a role in sustainable transport and development. This exploration highlights how digital communities can play a vital role in advocating for and implementing more inclusive transportation policies.

Women, having more sustainable patterns of movement are at the core of this study. Hanson in 2010, drawing from multiple studies synthesizes that mobility patterns of women tend to be expressed as 'sustainable mobility':

"[W]ork on gender differences in daily mobility patterns supports the contention that in many ways (not all) and in many places (not all), women's travel looks more like sustainable mobility than does men's travel (Zauke and Spitzner, 1997; Polk, 2003; Plaut, 2004; Johnsson-Latham, 2007). Specifically, women travel shorter distances (Rosenbloom 2006), make less use of the car (Schwanen, 14 S. Hanson, Dist, and Dieleman, 2002; Rosenbloom, 2006; Vance and Iovanna, 2007; Srinivasan, 2008; Tanzarn, 2008) and more use of public transit (Polk, 2003; Cristaldi, 2005; Rosenbloom, 2006; Vance and Iovanna, 2007; Srinivasan, 2008)."

The Philippines has the potential in becoming a cycling country, with a bike to car ratio at 4:1 (Social Weather Station, 2023). Among the country's neighbors in Southeast Asia, it is among the lowest in car ownership at 38 per 1000 inhabitants. In comparison with Vietnam at 50 per 1000 inhabitants and a 14 percent growth rate on car ownership. Malaysia ranks highest in Southeast Asia at 535 per 1000 inhabitants (Neufeld, 2024). However, the low car ownership does not aid in traffic congestion particularly when road infrastructures are still created for cars and other motorized vehicles.

Various mobility advocacy groups were created to lobby the needs of cyclists, however, women bikers in the country saw the lack of safe online spaces for women to discuss their experiences (Tarinay, 2021; Fragante, 2021). Various women-led cycling pages and groups became champions of sustainable mobility in a country that prioritized motorized vehicles but also highlighted the necessity of creating a separate space from the mainstream, male-led biking advocacy groups. Hence, emphasizing the unique experiences and challenges faced by women in practicing sustainable mobility. After all, "mobility is not gender-neutral" (Diehl & Cerny, 2021) and will remain political.

# 1.2 Goal and purpose of the study

The goal of this study is to expose the inner workings of the 'Pinay Bike Commuter' and how this Facebook page functions as a platform for women to interact with each other. Facebook is the most utilized platform in the Philippines (source) and hosts a variety of cycling advocacy groups. This means the page contributes to sustainable transport and inclusive development. Through focusing on the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' Facebook group, this research seeks to contribute to the literature on women and cycling in the context of low-cycling culture countries like the Philippines that lack established cycling cultures.

This study responds to the call from feminist geographers for a shift in gender and mobility studies (Hanson, 2010, Cruz, 2017). Given that gender and mobility require to be contextualized within specific 'places' this research focuses on 'virtual and digital spaces' through the observation of digital communities. Gender and mobility are concepts that exist in our daily lives but only become tangible when they are enacted. Despite the increasing trend in gender and mobility studies (Xu, 2024, Hidayati et al., 2020; Cresswell, 2016; Hanson, 2010) there is an existing gap in how these concepts interact with 'places'. This study emphasizes the significance of these 'places' as avenues for Filipina commuters to manifest aspects of their mobility and simultaneously contribute to policies that may change the course for commuting for the Filipino masses. Furthermore, aligning with SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities and SDG 5: Gender Equality, emphasizing the importance of promoting gender-inclusive and sustainable transportation solutions for urban areas.

Through addressing the unique geographical context of gender and mobility in the Philippines, this research furthermore sheds light on the challenges faced by Filipina bikers in a patriarchal and highly motorized society. Moreover, it contributes to the understanding of how digital communities influence transportation policies and behaviors, thereby informing the development of more inclusive and sustainable transportation options. In the words of Hanson (2010), mobility cannot be divorced from its socio-cultural and geographical context. Understanding everyday mobility is fundamental – intersecting with livelihoods, community life, and sustainability. Therefore, this study contributes to this discourse, highlighting the complex connections between gender, cycling mobilities, and digital activism.

#### 1.3 A brief overview of the structure of the research

This study begins with a literature review on gender and transport geographies, sustainable transport, and digital communities. Subsequently, intersectionality will be explored to uncover the relationships of the concepts explored in the literature review.

Netnography, a qualitative research method, is chosen for this study to systematically observe and analyze the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' on Facebook. The methodology chapter explains the process of netnography, as re-conceptualized by Robert Kozinets in 2015. Moreover, a more specific subtype of this method, 'political netnography' as conceptualized by Dino Villegas in 2021 is chosen to amply focus on the lived political experiences of the community members, aligning with the study's objective to explore the nuanced gendered experiences of Filipina bike commuters and influence on transport policies.

This is followed by an in-depth case study of the 'Pinay Bike Commuter' including background information and the rationale for selecting this page. The core findings and insights are discussed in the next chapter, analyzing gendered mobility experiences and the influence of digital communities on transport policies. This study concludes by synthesizing key findings, extending recommendations for future research, and discussing this study's limitations.

#### 1.4 Navigating the Journey

The 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' is an all-women only private Facebook group where Filipina bikers can share their cycling stories, tips, and thoughts. This group is a space for Filipina bikers from all over the country to form connections and converse about cycling topics that are relevant to them. The primary objective of this study is to understand how 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' Facebook group functions as a digital community, as observed through the netnographic process. Thus, emphasizing on group dynamics, interactions, and the exchange of information among members.

This study is guided by the question: "How does the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' Facebook group enable the exchange of information, experiences, and strategies within the cycling community? Moreover, what insight does this provide for the development of sustainable and inclusive transportation in the country?" To answer these broad questions, a set of sub questions are posed:

• What types of experiences are commonly shared within the Facebook group?

- In what ways does the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' serve as a platform for women to exchange strategies for navigating the transport landscape?
- How do the discussions within the Facebook group contribute to the development of sustainable and inclusive transportation options for women commuters in the Philippines?

At the end of this study, the following is to be achieved:

- An analysis of the dynamics and interactions within the Facebook group using netnography;
- A snapshot of how 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' operates as a digital community; and
- Insights into how the group contributes to sustainable and inclusive transportation.

This study begins with a review of the existing literature. Expounding on aspects of transport geography and mobilities through gender lenses; the gendered experience of cycling; the move from active transport to political activism; and finally, discussing the intersection of the aforementioned. In Chapter 3: Landscape of the Philippines, we contextualize this study through a glimpse of the Philippines and its' transport infrastructures, cycling culture, cycling activism, and digital communities in social media. In Chapter 4: Selecting the Route, we discuss Netnography and how it was used as a methodology for this study. In this chapter, I, as a researcher discusses my positionality in studying the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community'.

In Chapter 5: The Journey, the case of the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' is discussed, exploring its history and posts wherein findings on the community are integrated within in the chapter. In the succeeding Chapter 6: Discovering Lanes, a discussion of the insights garnered during the immersion is reported and analyzed through intersectional analysis and narrative analysis. This study concludes at Chapter 7: Final Stop, where key insights on the study is highlighted while expressing limitations of this study. Subsequently, Chapter 8: Pedaling Forward where we offer recommendations for policy and further research.

# 2 Mapping the Terrain: Review of Existing Literature

# 2.1 Transport geography and mobilities through gender lenses

Transport in many developing countries is recognized as an essential sector for quality-of-life improvement. The development of transport systems allowed individuals to move easily between cities and revolutionized transport patterns. In developing countries where rapid urbanization is experienced, transport geography is often used to understand the challenges that rapidly urbanizing cities face (Song et al., 2019), however a gender perspective is often overlooked (Rivera, 2017).

Transport geography emerges as a branch of economic geography where it provides emphasis on the location of economic activities and the monetary costs of distance. It aims to understand relationships that happen in transport systems. This may come in the form of socio-cultural complexities or environmental implications of a transport system. Moreover, another aspect of transport geographies emphasizes on the location where these complexities actualize. This is described through three central concepts namely: 1) transportation nodes which is characterized by the access points to the system particularly where the flows originate, end, or converge. 2) transportation networks refer to how transport infrastructures are situated in the spatial structure which directly influences the movements of users of the infrastructure. 3) Transportation demand as it denotes to how many users seek to use the nodes and networks wherein once this demand is realized the flows within nodes and networks are evaluated (Rodriguez, 2017). A study on transport networks done in Kualalumpur, Malaysia showed that before the actual mobility happens, the choice of modes of transportation is already gendered, and the demand for certain transport options are divided among genders (Hidayati et al., 2020). This study exemplifies that transport geography cannot be solely viewed through a spatial lens as aspects of 'humanness' bleeds into these areas of interest.

Shaw and Hesse (2010) discuss that the dichotomous view of transport geography studies and mobility studies is not necessarily compulsory as each expands on the other. Mobility studies focus on the social and cultural aspects of movement and the overall human experience of movement. It is only apt that the idea of transportation is viewed along with mobilities to create an overall understanding of how movements interact with spatial aspects. Cresswell (2010) further argues that mobility is inherently political since movement involves production

and distribution of power, whether intended or not. Therefore, social groups would experience mobility differently, where some would enjoy more freedoms and others would face more restrictions. Those who enjoy more privileges tend to be the ones seated in the decision-making table and little is heard of from marginalized social groups such as cyclists, women, or in this case – the intersection of both.

## 2.2 The gendered experience of cycling

The concept of gendered mobility "encompasses the gender differences in travel behaviors [...], structural reasons behind these differences, and associated implications in terms of access to socioeconomic resources, lifestyle preferences, and social expectations of gender roles" (Xu, 2020). Hence, women cyclists paint a complex issue as they navigate designated narrow lanes particularly in a country like the Philippines which has a car-centric infrastructure and transport system.

The experience of transportation and mobility varies across social groups (Cresswell, 2010). It may be a way for individuals to actualize abstractions into realities – Cycling for women may be the manifestation of freedom and independence through using their own bodies to traverse spaces (Cruz, 2017). Therefore, cyclists experience transport infrastructures differently from car-owners, as they use their physical selves to experience the infrastructure around them. Cubells et al. (2023) argue that the recent rise of micromobility highlighted differences of gender in mobilities, wherein they further a state that men tend to exhibit performative normative masculinity in their travel behaviors particularly engaging in risky actions and assertions of spatial dominance. Meanwhile, women tend to be risk averse in their travel behaviors. However, due to the prevalence of male cyclists, women tend to adopt two types of strategies to cope; 1) Abstaining from the competition in using bike lanes by changing their travel schedules or routes and 2) "mirroring fast riding practices" (Heim LaFrombois, 2019; Sersli et al., 2022 in Cubells et al., 2023)

As the uptake of active transport increased in the past few years, the use of cycling is still limited to an individual's socio-economic status and cultural factors. It has been observed that the mode of transportation is highly contextual, noting that women with lower income status tend to cycle more as they have more time and access to safe and convenient infrastructures

(Yuan et al., 2023). Though, socio-economic factors are one of the leading reasons as to which type of transport mode is chosen, gender has an equal gravitas – even at similar socio-economic status; men still take the bulk of the transportation spending and mileage (Lecompte & Juan Pablo, 2017). Moreover, it is also necessary to recognize that gender roles and responsibilities greatly impact travel patterns wherein women tend to take multi-purpose journeys that relates to household management on top of work-related journeys (Rivera, 2007).

# 2.3 From active transport to political activism

Sustainable transport is defined as to how individuals take into consideration the impact of their travel habits toward the planet; sustainable mobility allows everyone to move towards a positive impact to sustainable development. In essence, its aim is to have transport options that are "low or zero-emission, energy efficient, and affordable" (Loughlin, 2023). It is a prerequisite for sustainable transport to contribute to sustainable development. (Li et al., 2015 in Shah et al., 2021) Given the desire to have more sustainable cities, sustainable transport is one of the most necessary strategies in achieving this goal. As Nesmachnow and Hipogrosso claim that:

"Sustainable mobility is one of the sustainable development goals (SDGs). SDGs provide a framework for cities to prioritize sustainability in their development strategies, with specific targets. By embracing sustainable mobility initiatives, cities contribute to the advancement of these goals, fostering a more inclusive, resilient, and environmentally responsible urban environment. (Nesmachnow & Hipogrosso, 2024)"

This argumentation echoes the argument of Cruz in 2017 that through the SDGs, it provides a framework for urban transport development to adhere to sustainable cities that promote inclusion of marginalized groups. However, it is still necessary to remain wary on the discourse of sustainable development. It is a popular catchphrase and concept among scholars, politicians, activists, or your everyday individual. Regardless of its pervasiveness the concept of sustainable development remains to be unclear and has not been standardized across various key players.

Mensah in 2019 explores the paradigms of sustainable development through an extensive literature review arguing that entire issue of sustainable development centers around interand intragenerational equity anchored on three pillars: environment, economy, and society. In the same article Mensah, synthesizes the debate on SDG wherein the question now falls on how the UN can be a strong institution when it comes to having 'teeth' in the implementation of SDGs. Meanwhile, Breuer et al. in 2019 argued that though many SDGs are interlinked and tend to have positive interactions than negative ones, the negative interactions show the struggle to have coherence in policies. However, scholars like Christopher Barnatt argue that sustainable development is merely 'politically convenient' as it allows a catch-all narrative to policies making it palatable to many (Funnell, 2021). Irrespective of the debate on the validity of the concept of sustainable development, it remains to be the prevailing idea on how policies and initiatives are created. Sustainable transport, which is a framework under sustainable development, may take various forms such as, electric vehicles, public transport, walking, or cycling.

Active transport is defined as the use of physical activity for transport, it may come in the form of cycling or walking (Joint Administrative Order, 2020; UN Secretary General, 2016). Cycling is one of the most suggested solutions regardless of the rise of many electric vehicles or motorized vehicle with more ecologically-sound systems, cycling still tends to be an option that is preferred due to the multitude of benefits that it brings to the people and the planet.

On the other hand, political activism is characterized by protests, strikes, campaigns, and other forms of advocacy that is aimed towards influencing public policies or societal norms. Political activism comes in many forms such as grassroots activism, digital activism, advocacy campaigns, etc. (Neumayer & Svensson, 2016; Norris, 2004).

#### 2.4 The intersection

Kimberlé Crenshaw who coined the term intersectionality revisits the concept more than 20 years later from coining the term and clarifies that:

"Intersectionality is a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects. It's not simply that there's a race problem here, a gender problem here, and a class or LBGTQ problem there. Many times, that framework erases what happens to people who are subject to all of these things." (Crenshaw, 2017)

Cruz (2017) in her study on women cycling in Metro Manila highlights that "various groups of women will have different relationships with cycling. Cresswell (2010) in 2010 already established that transport research tends to focus on "fact of movement" but lack of emphasis on the "representations and meanings" of how and why people move. Moreover, Hanson in 2010 argues that "to effectively understand the intersection of gender and mobility within sustainability goals, it is essential to recognize both the detailed meanings and identities related to gender, race/ethnicity, and class, and the specific patterns of mobility. Achieving sustainable outcomes requires studies that integrate the dynamic and diverse aspects of gender with those of mobility while also considering the social and geographic context (Hanson, 2010)".

Studying gender and mobility through the lenses of intersectionality is also supported by Kozinets as he where he argues "an intersectional frame can help reveal how people build divides or alliances across their differences, how identity categories are elided or acknowledged, or how commonalities in differences are either negated or recognized. These perspectives can assist those interested in activism and social movements and their online elements and manifestations. An intersectional approach to netnography can help researchers 'identify the effects of interlocking oppressions' (Haslanger, 2000: 36 in Kozinets, 2015)

## 3 Transport landscape of the Philippines

The Philippines is an archipelagic country with over seven thousand islands. The islands are mostly connected through airports and nautical ports. Public transportation in the country mostly exists within each region or inter-regional for regions within the larger islands of Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. Jeepneys, buses, motorized tricycles, and trains are the most common modes of public transportation seen on the streets. Individuals and households may also have their own car or motorcycles that they use for daily trips. However, mass transit systems are only available on the island of Luzon.

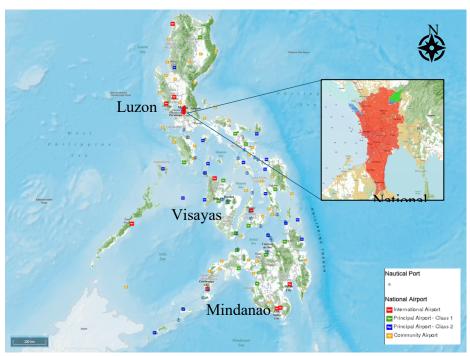


Figure 3-1. Map of the Philippine Islands (GeoPortal, 2024)

The available mass transit systems are located in the National Capital Region in the island of Luzon, and its neighboring provinces of Laguna, Cavite, Rizal, Bulacan, Pampanga and Batangas. Below is a transit map that details the available motorized transit systems.



Figure 3-2. Greater Manila Transit Map (Sarne, 2018)

# 3.1 Transport infrastructures

The entire transport landscape in the Philippines is largely hinged on a strong private-public partnership. This ranges from infrastructures such as streets and bridges to the ownership of public transport systems. Public transportation in the country mainly come in the form of jeepneys (elongated jeeps originating from World War II, commonly used for intra-city travel over medium distances), buses, motorbikes (usually carrying one to two passengers), and tricycle taxis (where a motorbike is outfitted with a sidecar that carries the passengers). Occasionally, in areas with narrower alleyways tricycles are not motorized. The country has three major rail systems. The Light Rail Transport (LRT) Authority is a government owned system that has two lines. In December 1984, Line 1 of LRT which is a 15km elevated railway system started servicing the northwest and southwest areas of Metro Manila. Meanwhile, Line 2, a 13.8km mass transit rail project started in 1996 and started to run phase 1 of the rail in December 2003 and phase 2 in April 2004.

In pre-pandemic Metro Manila, one of the most densely populated mega cities in the Philippines and in the world, traffic congestion takes up to 3.5 billion of Philippine pesos in economic loss to the country (Siy, 2023; Tan, 2016 in Cruz, 2017). The annual population growth rate for 2020-2025 is at 0.85 percent and the Philippines is projected to increase in population for the next 35 years. Metro Manila (also known as, National Capital Region) alone is composed of 16 cities, namely: Manila, Caloocan, Las Piñas, Makati, Quezon City, Valenzuela, Malabon, Mandaluyong, Marikina, Muntinlupa, San Juan, Navotas, Parañaque, Pasay, and Taguig. As of 2020, this region has a population of 13,484,462 in 619.54-kilometer square area and with a population density of 21,765 persons per square kilometer. Because of the dense population and lack of infrastructures, the region continuously struggles with heavy traffic congestion (Luna, 2022).

The transport crisis already became the norm despite the efforts during the tenure of the Duterte Administration between the years of 2016 and 2022. The "Build, Build, Build" program was created to curb the crisis which featured an array of ambitious infrastructure projects including a long rail system, the crisis affected millions of individuals to the extent that President Duterte appealed for emergency powers, however this was not sanctioned by the congress (Sidel, 2022). The 2023 Urban Mobility Readiness Index by the Oliver Wyman Forum ranks Manila 60 out of 65 cities examined worldwide with the least preparedness in terms of urban mobility<sup>1</sup> and ranks 51 out of 65 cities in terms of sustainable mobility<sup>2</sup>.

Moreover, Manila was rated 48th in terms of Sustainable Mobility and 56th concerning Public Transit (Luna, 2022). When COVID-19 hit the Philippines and lockdowns were imposed, the streets became less congested as the government was trying to curb the disease (Peña, 2022). This became the opportune time for individuals to seek cycling as a method of transportation since public transportation was not allowed to run and the number of people allowed inside

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Urban Mobility Index "assesses the readiness of cities for future mobility trends across social impact, infrastructure, market attractiveness, system efficiency and innovation. Year-on-year ranking adjusted to reflect the addition of 5 cities to the 2023 Index. City scores are calculated in percentage representing the relative performance against other cities" (Oliver Wyman Forum & University of California Berkeley, 2023)
<sup>2</sup> Sustainable Mobility "Captures the extent to which the city is investing in and driving structural changes in pursuit of cleaner, healthier, and more risk-conscious mobility systems. City scores are calculated in percentage representing the relative performance against other cities." (Oliver Wyman Forum & University of California Berkeley, 2023)

cars were limited. This phenomenon was not exclusive to the Philippines. During the pandemic, capital cities similar to the congested characteristics of Metro Manila such as Bogotá, Buenos Aires, and Lima expanded bike lanes to aid crowding issues in public transportation and maintained social distancing (Moloney, 2020).

# 3.2 Cycling in the Philippines

Cruz in 2017 along with Aldred (2012) and Woodcock & Goodman (2016) argues that cycling as an urban transport option tends to be a herculean feat in countries that do not have a strong cycling culture. The Philippines is among the lowest in bicycle ownership in the world which then relates to having a lower number of women cyclists and the trend remains true across most cities, wherein lower cycling rates mean lower number of women cyclists (Oke, Bhalla, Love, & Siddiqui, 2015). The Metro Urban and Capacity Enhancement Program of 2012-2014 is the most comprehensive and current transport characteristics database for Mega Manila is considered a megalopolis which is composed of the regions of Central Luzon, CALABARZON, and Metro Manila. This report show that the Philippines have 85 percent of its cyclists in the working age (19-59) with a ratio of 19:1 favoring male cyclists. Most trips are made by individuals who make an income of less than 10,000 PhP (165€) per month. Gaspay et al. in 2022 uncovered that cycling trips in the Philippines are usually characterized by cycle-to-work where the demand tends to be more prominent in locations towards business districts and have above-average demand regardless of the lack of bike lanes in these streets. It has been observed that their respondents who cycle to work weekly did so for 6-7 times with travel times within 30 minutes however, most notable is that most of those who cycled to work had further nodes with destination points located outside the cities of their trip origin. It has also been observed that most cyclists cycle for leisure at least once a week but a lesser amount of express trip purpose to accomplish home related errands. In 2023, it was revealed that 36 percent of households nationwide are cycling households. (Social Weather Station, 2023)

The Bangkok Declaration for 2020, which was implemented in 2010, is one of the earliest treaties that encouraged active transport in the Philippines, before this treaty some cities in the country have adapted cycling infrastructures. In 2003, Marikina City installed 52 km of bike lanes and implemented segregated lanes for motorists, cyclists, and pedestrians. ("A Closer

Look into Marikina's Bicycle Infrastructure," 2022). Cervero (2013) recommends the partnerships of various institutions to improve cycling infrastructures in the Philippines, where it has between expressed that the active partnership between transit agencies, governments, and bicycle advocacy organization play fundamental role in the cycling infrastructure of the country.

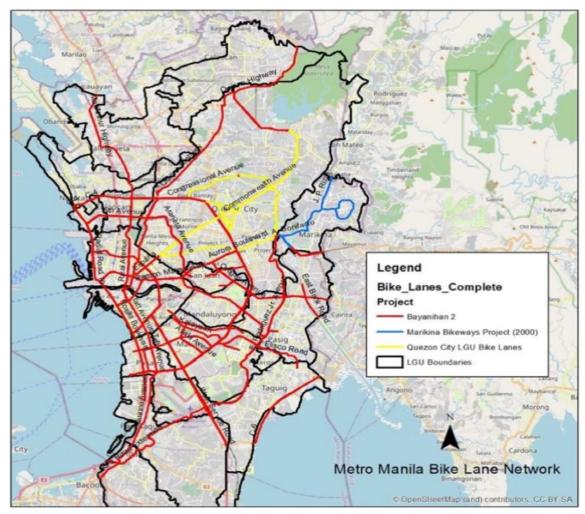


Figure 3-3. Metro Manila Bike Lane Network (Gaspay et al., 2022)

Moreover, a number of policies were enacted to try to shift towards more sustainable transport options, illustrated through various initiatives by the Metro Manila Development Agency illustrated by the installation of 15,6 km bike lanes and rentals in high tourist areas in 2015 but this effort was discontinued in 2017 due to poor maintenance (Gaspay et al., 2022). However, compliance to the treaty seemed to only actualize when the COVID-19 pandemic hit when people were not allowed to travel in closed cars or use public transport. The pandemic shifted paradigms. With strict lockdowns and public transportation shutdowns,

Filipinos sought alternatives – cycling surged becoming the sole option for many. Polices, such as RA 11494: Bayanihan to Recover as One Act of 2020 further supported cycling measures. To exemplify, 1.1 billion PhP (18,154,400€) funding was allocated for establishing bike lane networks and 200 Million PhP (3,300,800€) funding for bicycle sharing. (RA 11494, 2020) Meanwhile in the Marcos Jr. Administration (2022-present) the Philippine Development Plan for 2023-2028, active transport and road-based public transport are expressed to be priorities however, the budget reports say otherwise, wherein from the combined budget of RA11494 and the 2021 national budget, 1.6 billion PhP (25,278,400€) was allocated for active transport infrastructures and bike share programs. Meanwhile in 2022 this increased to 2 billion PhP (31,598,000€) but then this drastically decreased to 705 Million PhP (11,138,295€) in the 2023 national budget (Tanganco et al., 2023).

The pandemic shifted paradigms. With strict lockdowns and public transportation shutdowns, Filipinos sought alternatives – cycling surged becoming the sole option for many besides walking. The absence of cars on the streets temporarily eased road access, prompting a surge in commuter cycling. This phenomenon underscores the importance of understanding gender dynamics in transportation crises. However, noticeably those who started biking to work were isolated in Metro Manila.

# 3.3 Cycling gender gap

In March 2023, it is estimated that there are 27.4 million households in the country, which accounts to 112.9 million household members. Among them, an estimate of 15 percent is cyclist, wherein 12 percent of the cyclists are males and 4 percent are females, which is a 3:1 ratio (Social Weather Station, 2023). Gaspay et al. (2022) argue that the low number of women cyclists in the country is an indicator of social, cultural, and environmental challenges that women face in the country. However, it is worth noting that in Manila-Roxas Boulevard area, which is a more scenic and touristic lane, there was significantly higher number of women cyclists.

Fragante in 2021 reports that women cyclists in the Philippines encounter harassment both on the streets and online; women cyclists regularly report catcalls, lewd remarks, and even to the extent of physical obstructions while cycling. These types of harassment are further extended in the online spaces, particularly in the form of sexist comments and objectification. Ann Angala, who has been a bike commuter for three years, shares with Fragante (2021) that she gets catcalled or receive lewd remarks even before she mounts her bike. She also shares an incident where a school bus driver deliberately blocked her path to only scream "Wow, babae!" (Wow, a woman!). In 2020, an issue of a professional cyclist who took unsolicited photos of female minors on the streets as he rode and posted these photos in groups captioned as 'girls collection' (Malig, 2020). This incident piqued the interests of cycling groups to not only advocate for female bikers' rights but also pedestrians.

In the Cycling Matters Podcast (2019) where the host talked about women cyclists. Guests Chi and Jazz reveals an online harassment problem where they argue that because of the patriarchal system men tend to be "bastos" [rude]<sup>3</sup> towards women. They recollected that when a woman posts the comments are bordering harassment from men "ingat po ma'am" [take care ma'am] in a condescending manner. They also recount that when they see posts of women cyclists the narrative almost always revolves around weight loss. Jazz says, "it's always about the looks". They also shared personal anecdotes of not being allowed by parents to bike on the roads, even when they were more than 18 years old because it is not safe on the streets.

# 3.4 Cycling activism

In the Philippines, the current cyclists on the streets of NCR were already cyclists even before the COVID-19 pandemic with only 35 percent of the cyclists were identified as 'new' cyclists (only started cycling during the pandemic). It has also been shown that those who are active cyclists tend to not own motorized vehicles (e.g. car or motorcycles), which was also echoed by 'new' cyclists. Moreover, demand for cycling tend to be more prominent in locations towards business districts and have above-average demand regardless of the lack of bike lanes in these streets. Meanwhile safety of cyclists, particularly on the helmet use, higher helmet use was observed in cities with policies on mandated helmet use and usually early morning or later in the evening however, there is a decrease of use during the warmer parts of the day

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Translated Filipino words from here on forward are from the author

where temperatures are usually between 30-35 Celsius degrees throughout the year (Gaspay et al., 2022).

In the context of the Philippines, many advocacy groups tend to function as counterchecks for inconsistences in the implementation of policies. These advocacy groups tend to use social media or digital platforms to propagate their advocacies or activism. For instance, the MoveAsOne coalition creates briefers and statements that are forwarded to relevant governmental bodies to call out delayed government initiatives (Tanganco, 2023).

#### 3.5 Transport-related digital communities and social media

Social media played a crucial role in evoking awareness and community building for numerous government initiatives. Particularly in the Philippines wherein Meta Products, such as Facebook, Messenger, and Instagram are the main information dissemination platforms for the government and various initiatives. For example, during the COVID-19 pandemic almost all Local Government Units (LGU) used Facebook to disseminate information regarding pandemic protocols and updates. Government offices such as Department of Health also use social media for their health information campaigns. The online sphere is now a public space for individuals to congregate and form communities. As Lizzo and Liechty (2022) define that "virtual communities involve groups of people for whom communication is mediated through computers or other internet-based mediums".

There is a substantial amount of transport groups in the Philippines, for example: #MoveAsOne Coalition, Life cycles PH, Bisikleta Pilipinas Coalition, Cycling heARTs, Pinay Bike Commuter Community, Compact Utility Bike x Climate Action Tech, Bike to Work Pilipinas, The Firefly Brigade, Mobile in MNL, KOMYUT: Commuters Unite, EDSA Evolution, Tiklop Society of the Philippines, MNL Moves, Cycling Matters, AltMobility Philippines. In Some of these advocacy groups is the #MoveAsOne Coalition; a group that advocates for a mobility reform in the country which prioritizes people over cars. #MakeItSafer Movement asks for "inclusivity in our streets and priority for pedestrians, commuters, PWDs, PMDs, and cycling on our roads"

# 4 Selecting the Route: Methodology

# 4.1 Netnography

In order to capture Filipina bike commuters' nuanced experiences, this study is based on a qualitative method used in online studies referred to as netnography. Netnography as a method is rooted in ethnography which is defined as the systematic study of people and cultures from the perspective of the 'subject'. Key aspects of this method are 'cultural immersion' where the researcher spends a significant amount of time in the field to understand the context and culture of the observed and 'field notes' which are detailed notes taken during the observation which is used for the analysis of patterns and themes (Atkinson, 2007). Netnography stems from the fields of marketing and consumer research. It borrows from the perspectives of anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies (Lizzo & Leichty, 2022) In 2010, Robert Kozinets' defined the netnographic process through four overlapping steps namely, planning and entrée (initiation), data collection, representation, and evaluation.

This was further defined into six procedural steps in 2015 which begins with initiation where the researcher plans their entry into the community and identifies the focus of the study. Followed by data collection, in this stage the researcher delves into the social media universe wherein investigation entails the use of search engines map out areas of interests. Moreover, the immersion phase where the researcher inhabits the online space uncovering languages, rituals, stories, and dynamics within the space. Immersion may also be considered as a form of interaction even if it is unobtrusive as the researcher already interacts with the field sites, going through search engines, downloading parts of the field, and even to the extent of writing analytical field notes on it. There is no need for an explicit interaction with the participants in a netnographic methodology, however shall meanings remain unclear this is the time for interviews with the participants in order to clarify the observations.

As the lines between data collection, interpretation, and analysis blur in ethnographic studies, netnography follows suit. Therefore, the integration phase refers to the iterative process of data collection, interpretation, and analysis. Finally, the last phase is incarnation. It is essential for netnographic studies to be communicated and materialized to reach the appropriate audience.

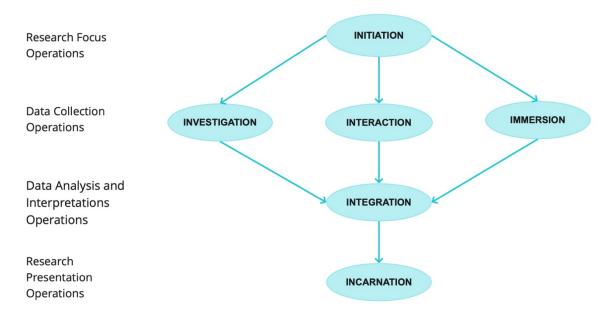


Figure 4-1. The six procedural movements of netnography (Kozinets, 2015)

#### Moreover, Kozinets describes that:

"[t]he foundation of netnography lies in the value of taking a cultural approach to understanding what happens on the internet in general and, particularly, what happens through interactive media such as social media. For netnography, a cultural insight is derived from an understanding of cultural elements such as language use, rituals, hierarchies and social structure, values, stories, myths, and meanings." (Kozinets, 2015)

Netnography also has two typologies which are participatory (active) and non-participatory (passive). Active netnographers directly engage with the online community, particularly actively participating in discussions that happen within the online community. Meanwhile, passive netnographers observe without active participation and take on a 'fly on the wall' role (Costello et al., 2017). Extending from its marketing and consumer research roots, Kozinets and Gambetti (2021) identify sub-sections of netnography such as netnography in healthcare, netnography in the military, netnography in public relations, political netnography and the like. Amongst these identified sub-sections, this study focuses on 'political netnography' as conceptualized by Villegas in Kozinets and Gambetti (2021). As described by Villegas, political netnography can be further categorized as: (1) netnography of formal politics, (2)

netnography of political encounters, and (3) netnography of lived political experiences. This categorization borrows from Baiocchi and Connor's (2008) classification of political ethnography. Amidst how quantitative online data has been more accessible than before, Villegas argues that ethnographic methods are commensurately as important particularly in a political context as many aspects of politics have now penetrated online platforms. Exemplified by how social media have increased access to political discussions, facilitated social movements, and on the flipside even spread of misinformation.

For this study, I will be looking into a Facebook group named: 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' wherein passive political netnography will be used to create a nuanced understanding of the dynamics of the community as they experience political encounters (e.g. transport policies, safe spaces, etc.). Moreover, in this context, Kozinets' ideation of cultural insights would be conveyed as how the members communicate, the norms and values that are expressed, and the stories they share about their cycling experiences. Hence, creating insights that may provide a deeper understanding of the community dynamics. Moreover, recognizing that context in netnography is not limited to the cultural context of the participants but also includes where the content or discussions happen. Therefore, taking into consideration the social media environment including typography and emojis used.

Upon visiting the group, the header that shows the name of the community welcomes the members. The top heading shows that the community is a private group with the number of current members. This area also allows members to invite other Facebook users into the group. This is then followed by a set of tabs showing different accessible areas in the group, namely, About, Discussions, Featured, Members, Events, Media, and Files. Adjacent to these tabs is an option to search the group for any keywords. Posts from members and admins are evident in the page, a typical post would be accompanied by either a photo or video. Below is a typical view of the group, superimposed are definitive features of the platform



Figure 4-2. Screenshot of the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' when viewing the page. Superimposed are descriptions of aspects of the social media environment.

#### 4.2 Locale of the study

Netnography as a method demands for the phenomena to exist in an online platform. As Facebook is the most accessed social media platform in the Philippines, it is the ideal space to

investigate digital communities. As of February 2024, the country has approximately 86,75 million Facebook users which is nearly 73,45 percent of the country's population. Majority of these users are women at 52,3 percent (Kemp, 2024). This widespread use of Facebook is indicative of Facebook's relevance to the lives of Filipinos.

To better understand Facebook as a social media environment, there are three main account typologies to which users have free access to, specifically: personal accounts, groups, and pages. Personal accounts are created by individuals which serve as their avatars or persona online, which allows them to post updates, share media, and connect with friends and family. Groups, on the other hand, are spaces where personal accounts can congregate based on shared interests, activities, or causes. Admission to groups is dictated by an 'admin' who decides whether a group is listed as public or private access. This privacy setting allows groups to be suitable for promoting community engagement and discussion around specific topics, such as biking and transportation, with like-minded individuals. Lastly, pages are typically used by businesses, organizations, and public figures to share information however, it is predominantly used for shared interests. Pages and groups may have a confluence on their purpose particularly in the aspect of information dissemination. However, the two are differentiated by the level of collaboration allowed in the platform. Groups allow contribution (through posts and discussion) from all the members that are accepted in the group meanwhile, pages only allow posts that originate from the 'owner' or 'admin' of the page.

This study focuses on the 'groups' that can be created within Facebook as a social media platform. Specifically, the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' group which serves as a digital space for Filipina cyclists to share experiences, advice, and support.

#### 4.3 Data collection procedure

Traditional ethnography often involves prolonged immersion in the field. However, the internet has made the acquisition and access to large amounts of data (whether archival or real-time) easier making way for shorter duration netnographic research. Kozinets (2015) argues that this accessibility now allows researchers to complete immersion within weeks or even days, referred to as the 'blitzkrieg' model. This model allows researchers to gather

extensive information in a shorter period due to having data readily available online regardless of time zones or locations.

This study involved fieldwork through immersion within the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' Facebook group. Immersion through the blitzkrieg model entails observing interactions and documenting experiences. Hence, I spent an average of 3 hours and 45 minutes per day within the group, these hours were derived from the average time Filipinos spend on social media (Barreiro, 2023; Baclig, 2022). The immersion lasted 10 days. During this period, I moved in and out of the Facebook group within the mentioned timeframe to mirror the typical activity of an average Filipino Facebook user. To further the data collection process, I kept an immersion journal as suggested by Kozinets and Gambetti (2021). This journal can be compared to 'field notes' used in ethnography.

The immersion journal is structured as follows: 1) Daily logs, used to document salient engagements, such as time spent, type of interactions observed, and key discussions; 2) Reflective notes, for capturing, thoughts, feelings, and interpretations of the observed phenomena; and 3) analytical memos, to assist in developing preliminary themes based on the recurring patterns and significant events. This journal was written within the timeframe of the immersion to remain true to the netnographic process.

Moreover, this journal served as curated content and observations from my perspective, only highlighting posts that were salient and wrote in-depth memos of my observations and feelings while going through the page. It is important to clarify that not all content had analytical notes written about them but rather I used my discretion in writing the memos. I wrote the journal with the aid of digital tools using deck slides in the writing of analytical notes. During the entire process, I was guided by the intersectionality lens and observed the storytelling aspect of each post for narrative analysis. Below is a sample of an analytical memo taken during one of the sessions:

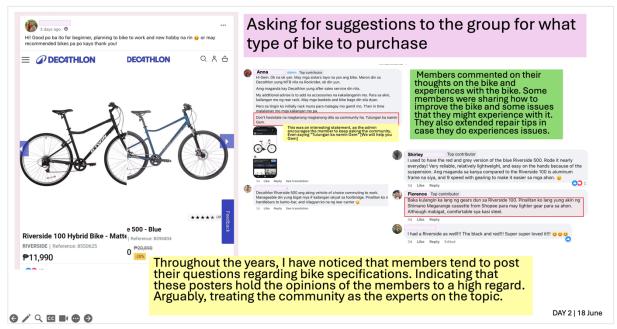


Figure 4-3. Sample slide from Immersion Journal Deck

Each immersion day followed a workflow that began with visiting the Facebook group, scrolling through the 'discussions' page, and noting down posts of interest. Below is a workflow chart detailing the process which is also color-coded to pattern Kozinets' netnographic process.

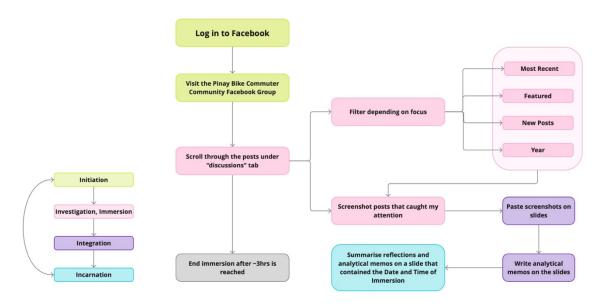


Figure 4-4. Immersion day workflow adapted from Kozinets' (2015) Netnography procedural steps

#### 4.4 Data analysis

Analysis for this study happens in concurrent with data collection that employs narrative analysis to uncover how the group constructs and shares stories within a private group. Narrative analysis is deemed to be appropriate as this analysis highlights the stories that people tell and how these stories shape their identities and experiences. Therefore, on the analysis for the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' this study will follow a two-fold approach: 1) Identification of key themes noting recurring themes shared by the members and 2) Cultural context, knowledge on cultural nuances of the Philippines is necessary, for this study, as specific aspects of societal norms and values related to gender and mobility may go unnoticed without this knowledge.

Moreover, I will also be guided by Kimberlé Crenshaw's framework of intersectionality. This lens is essential for understanding how different aspects of the members' identities—such as gender, socio-economic status, and political stance—interact and shape their experiences as they cycle through urban spaces. This approach allows for a unique understanding of how these different identities collectively factor to the experiences of a Filipina bike commuter. Through delving deeper into these intersections, may shed light on the multifaceted nature of gendered mobility and its possible implication for transport policies.

This combined approach aims to provide an insider look in the dynamics and interactions within the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' and create a snapshot of how the group operates as a digital community. Eventually creating insights into how the group contributes to sustainable and inclusive transportation policies and option in the country.

#### 4.5 The researcher's positionality

As this study uses netnography, the researcher ('I') plays a dynamic role in creating and analyzing the data. Netnography suggests the deep immersion of the researcher themselves in the online community in order to accurately observe subjects in the most natural setting possible. In this case, my role as both researcher and a keen follower of the 'Pinay Bike

Commuter Community' Facebook group is essential in understanding the lived experiences of Filipina bike commuters.

My interest in this research stems from my personal experience as Filipina who only learned how to cycle during the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic forced many, including myself, to find alternative modes of transportation due to the lack of options during community quarantines. However, it quickly became evident that cycling was a challenging feat, especially in the Philippines where infrastructure is designed with cars in mind. During my initial attempts to cycle in the empty streets of my village on my brother's mountain bike, I already faced several obstacles including, dilapidated concrete streets due to constant car movement.

Below are photos of me learning how to cycle last 28<sup>th</sup> of April 2021, I was using a mountain bike that was not fitted for my height and with a very low saddle. This was at the point of the pandemic when people were slowly being allowed to go outside of their homes and pursue outdoor activities. My brother had started cycling for leisure and I also thought that it was the perfect opportunity for me to learn how to cycle. In the first few minutes, he was holding on to the back of the bike to help me balance and guiding the handlebars to teach me how to maneuver. After a while, when the cars coming in and out of the village became sparse, he told me to just keep pedaling and 'you will figure it out'. It is worth noting that I was learning without any protective gear and no knowledge of traffic rules.



Figure 4-5. Screenshots from videos taken on 28th of April 2021 when my brother first taught me how to cycle using his mountain bike on the streets of our childhood neighborhood

Even when cycling inside the safety of my childhood village, I heard advice that I should avoid using mountain bikes and use 'city-bikes' (or what we called Japanese bikes which had wicker baskets attached to it) instead because they were deemed more 'feminine'.

This gendered advice piqued my curiosity to investigate whether other Filipinas had similar experiences and how these narratives affected their cycling experience. My subsequent move to Italy during the pandemic provided a stark contrast. In Italy, particularly cities with cycling cultures such as Padua, Bologna, and Mantova; it can be observed that cycling was a natural and widespread activity among women. Though not discounting the experiences that women still experience specially with harassment on the streets or how cyclists still struggle with biking infrastructures, it is still relatively more welcoming to cyclist. Coming from a low-cycling culture, I was at awe with how women confidently navigated routes, performed basic

bike repairs, and still expressed their femininity while cycling with very minimal societal judgement. This experience highlighted the differences in cycling cultures and safety perceptions between the countries, reinforced my interest in delving deeper into this topic. Moreover, a previous study that I conducted on 'mobility advocacy group' showed the lack of women representation and voice in the cycling narrative in the Philippines was another aspect for the need to explore the landscape from the perspective of women.

As a passive netnographic researcher, I serve as a key instrument in the data collection process since my identity lets me deeply observe the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' group. My identity as a Filipina, researcher, cyclist, and mobility advocate gives me a unique understanding of the group discussions, cultural practices, and shared experiences. In order to systemically capture my observations and reflections, I kept an immersion journal throughout the study (Kozinets and Gambetti, 2021). This journal includes detailed notes on the relevant activities, member interactions, and my personal experiences within the community (refer to 4.3 Data collection procedure and Figure 4.3. Sample slide of Immersion Journal Deck). As the research instrument, observed phenomena will be curated by myself and will be reflected on the journal. It is essential to note that not every post will be included in this study, and not every discussion will be noted since discretion of which posts are included in the analysis are decided in reference to the research question.

## 4.6 Ethical considerations

The widespread availability of data online raises unexpected complications that traditional methodologies would have never even considered. Particularly in the context of the public internet where the researcher does not need to disclose their identity and is seen as intrusive to the netnographic process (Kozinets, 2021). For instance, Facebook extends the right to process data collected from personal pages and public groups for research purposes.

The 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' is a private group that necessitates permission from the administrator (also referred to as moderator) to join the group. Hence, it is technically owned by the administrator and members' posts are under the moderation of the administrator. For this study, permission was acquired through messaging the group administrator and sending an email to them that a netnographic research will be conducted on the group. Kozinets (2021) in a webinar argues that traditionally only the administrator's

permission is needed and not the individual members. This is then followed by the administrator's discretion to announce to the group that a study is being conducted. However, it is courteous to keep the members' identities anonymous particularly for vulnerable groups. In this study, pseudonyms will be used to ensure that individuals identities are protected. Any sensitive information will be anonymized to maintain the 'private' aspect of the group. This aligns with ethical guidelines in ethnographic research which emphasize the importance of protecting participant identities, especially in online research where personal information can be easily accessible (Markham & Buchanan, 2012).

As a Filipina and part of the cycling community, I acknowledge that my experiences and perspectives may influence the interpretation of the data. I will maintain the immersion journal throughout the research process, documenting my reflections, feelings, and biases. Reflexivity allows the preservation of the research process, and the analysis is treated through the perspective of the researcher to keep the study as balanced as possible (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

## 5 The Journey: The Case of Pinay Bike Commuter Community

In the social media landscape of the Philippines, Facebook is the main information dissemination system used by many individuals and even government agencies. Facebook groups are place for individuals to access information that is specific to their needs. These groups may be as small as the online space for a clique of friends or as large as a nation-wide advocacy group with thousands of members.

### 5.1 Pinay Bike Commuter Community Facebook Group

During the pandemic the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community" came into existence. It was created on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June 2020 but became functional on 12<sup>th</sup> of June 2020, which is the celebrated formation day of the community.

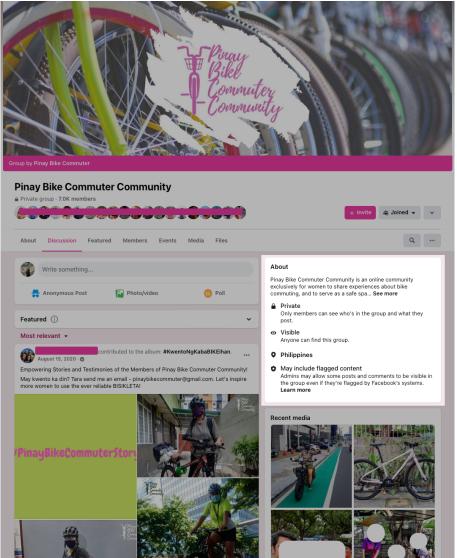


Figure 5-1. Screenshot of landing page of PBCC group

The creation of the group in June 2020, was at a time when individuals were slowly being allowed to slowly navigate back out of quarantine areas. However, there was limited access to public transportation and in the Philippines, the number of individuals allowed in private cars were also regulated. Hence, more people sought for other modes of transportation which eventually led to the rise of various digital communities whose identities and interests overlapped between online platforms and real life.

The group's description is posted on the 'discussion' and 'about' page which is visible to all members as soon as they are admitted to the group. Above shows how the description and purpose of the group, visible in the upper half of the group page.

This reads that the "Pinay Bike Commuter Community is an online community exclusively for women to share experiences about bike commuting, and to serve as a safe space to ask questions about cycling, or other bike-commuting related matters. We strive for empowering women to be able to get from point A to point B safely, and for women to feel safe on the road, both on and off the bicycle." (Pinay Bike Commuter Community, 2024)

In the 'discussions' tab, the community has the ability post thoughts, photos, and other media to the group. Posts that are shared from other groups or the Facebook home page are also seen here. Meanwhile, the 'featured' tab of the group has posts that were 'pinned' by the admin for easy viewing and access for everyone in the community. This is then followed by the 'members' tab where, as of writing, there are 7.041 members who can be viewed through this section. Members who recently joined the group are seen first on the list. On this tab, the administrators are also viewed on this page. As member of the group, I can also see personal Facebook 'friends' who are also members of this group. This section also suggests 'friend requests' to members of the community who may have the same profile details as I do, here I can see members who went to the same university as I did or individuals that I share 'mutual friends' on Facebook. This section is followed by the 'events' tab, which is categorized into two sections, upcoming events and past events, as seen below:

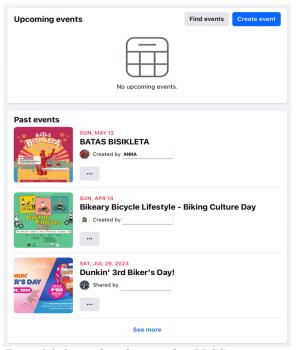


Figure 5-2. Screenshot of events tab in PBCC group

Any member can create an event that will be available to the community. In creating events in the group, there are options to personalize the events, particularly in which spaces the events

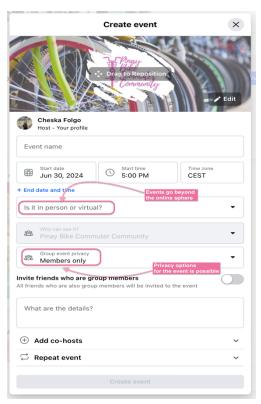


Figure 5-3. Screenshot of event creation within the PBCC Facebook group

will happen, the availability of the events to non-members, and the like. It is also possible to be add co-hosts to an event even as a non-admin member.

Above is a sample of how creating an event looks like, it shows multiple options for personalization from the header image of the event, time and date, privacy options, and the option to set recurring events. Furthermore, past events are also retained and archived in this section. Moreover, the events seen in this section are not limited to events created by members, but events can also be shared from other groups or creators.

As of writing, the PBCC group hosted 6 events that were on cycling laws, cycling culture, ecommerce, and webinars on safe spaces. As a community, Facebook tags the group to have joined 22 events most notable were bike rides for various advocacies, bike rides with other members, conversations with other cycling communities, and information sessions in mobilities and safe space.

There were only two files uploaded under the files tab of the group, and both documents referred to the pandemic. The first document outlines the Modified Enhanced Community Quarantine (MECQ) rules and regulations from the Philippine National Police regarding allowed activities during MECQ for 2021. This set of guidelines included the permission to conduct outdoor activities and opening of public transportation. The second document was a 'Solidarity Statement' that was co-signed by various mobility advocacy groups. This statement was issued on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2021, which called out government agencies for not implementing promised bike lanes from 2020.

### 5.1.1 Page transparency and history

Facebook offers a feature tagged as 'page transparency' which takes note of the history of name and privacy option changes that happened to the group since its inception. On the 'about' tab of the group, shows privacy settings of the group wherein it indicates that PBCC is a private group therefore, the only members of the community can see and post in the group. Though a private group, the community is visible to anyone who want to join the group as long as long as they get approved by the admins off the group. This page also shows where the group was founded and also includes a disclaimer that some posts that are flagged by Facebook algorithm may be allowed upon the admins' discretion.

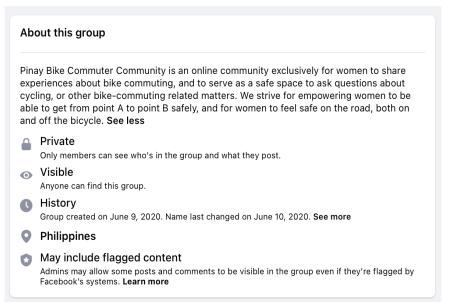


Figure 5-4. Screenshot of the PBCC 'about' tab

This section of the platform also shows the history of the group particularly on its existence within the platform. It is interesting to note that before the recognized official founding day of PBCC, it was first created under the name "Bike Commuter Mamas" as seen below:

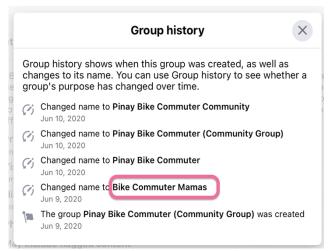


Figure 5-5. Screenshot of group history taken from the PBCC 'about' tab

Indicating that the group began as a group dedicated to mothers who used cycling as their commuting preference. This is then followed by a name change to 'Pinay Bike Commuter' and 'Pinay Bike Commuter (Community Group)', where the latter's nuanced name with 'community group' is further discussed in Chapter 5.2 Pinay Bike Commuter Facebook page.

Upon the creation of the group, some rules have been established by the administrators of the group. These rules are explicitly shown and listed upon joining the PBCC Facebook group. It is then reiterated in the 'about' section of the community. The main rule that is strictly imposed in the group is that it is a women-only group, this is reiterated across the platform. In fact, even before joining the Facebook group, a set of questions is given to the requester which is then reviewed by the admins. A few of the questions included "Are you a woman?" and "How long have you been cycling to work?" Below is a full list of rules that are followed within the group:

#### 5.1.2 Administrators

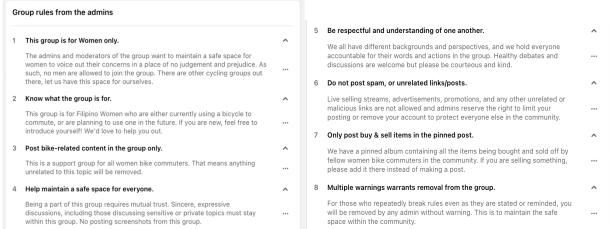


Figure 5-6. Screenshot of PBCC group rules

The 7.041 members of the PBCC Facebook group are managed and moderated by seven registered accounts, which are composed of six personal pages and one community page. These admins act as moderators of discussions in the group and ensure that the established rules are upheld within the group. The administrators are women from varying backgrounds and ages. It is also presented that administrators are the key opinion leaders of the group as their profiles are tagged as 'admin' and/or 'top contributor'. A 'top contributor' is automatically tagged by Facebook and is a dynamic moniker that changes depending on the amount of interaction that profile gets within the group, these interactions may be in the form of comments, posts, or reactions. This may also be achieved if the individual is an

admin/moderator. For the purpose of this study, pseudonyms were assigned to the admins as seen below:

### 5.2 Pinay Bike Commuter Facebook Page

The Pinay Bike Commuter Facebook Page is an offshoot of the Facebook group, which was also created and managed by Anna, one of the administrators of the group. The page is

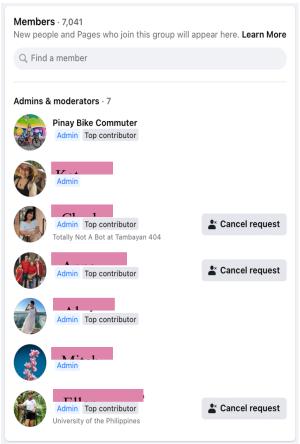


Figure 5-7. Administrators of the PBCC Facebook group

introduced as "Filipino women using their bicycles as their mobility partner!" with references to other campaigns through the use of hashtags in the introduction, "Cheers to #WomenEmpowerment! #SharetheRoadwithHer #PinayBikeCommuterStory #SafeSaanMan #BetterbyBicycle #KabaBIKEihan".

This page is often used by Anna to share bike-related content with the group; however, it has been difficult to distinguish between Anna's personal content and Pinay Bike Commuter page content as they often overlap with one another.

The community page also shares the same visual aspects with the Facebook group, such as the same header fonts and colors. The posts within the page are also cross posted to the group. Furthermore, the Facebook page is directly connected to the Pinay Bike Commuter Facebook group, indicating that the two are closely connected.

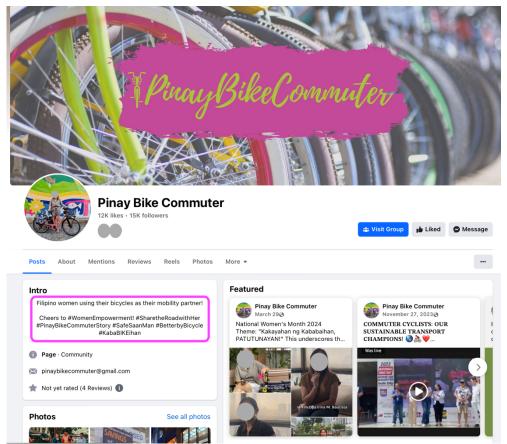


Figure 5-8. Landing page screenshot of the Pinay Bike Commuter Page

### 5.2.1 Page history

This page was created on 12<sup>th</sup> of June 2020, a few days after the inception of the Pinay Bike Commuter Facebook group. However, they share the same recognized foundation day. As of writing, the page has 12 thousand 'likes' and 15 thousand 'followers' over the span of four years. According to the 'Page Transparency' The Pinay Bike Commuter Page is managed by one person who is based in the Philippines.

However, not explicitly mentioned on the page that it is managed by the same administrator for the Pinay Bike Commuter Community, the similarities between the page and group show otherwise. Anna's identity as the moderator and administrator for the page and group was

only confirmed when the permissions for the study were acquired since she responded to both requests.

#### 5.2.2 Anna

Anna shares her story as a cyclist on both the platform. In a video featured in the Pinay Bike Commuter page, she shares that her cycling story began in 2014 during her pregnancy particularly when she realized it was close to impossible to use public transportation given her situation. The unsafe environment of public transportation, especially when individuals started pushing and elbowing each other to get a seat, made her uncomfortable to keep taking public transportation. She also mentioned that she also did not want to wait for her husband to pick her up, so she had to find a different solution. The solution was cycling, interestingly her husband also plays a huge role in her decision as he is also a bike commuter. She mentions that having strong support system was necessary for her to keep cycling. On top of that, the savings she gets from cycling are incomparable as she not only saves the money intended for commuting but also cuts her travel time from home to work and vice versa.

The Pinay Bike Commuter Facebook page is Anna's online persona as a cyclist, she uses this page to navigate social media platforms as she advocates for women cyclists' rights. This is seen in the abovementioned video when she introduces herself as "Anna also known as Pinay Bike Commuter". In parallel to running this page, she also runs the PBCC group where she uses the online persona as an admin/moderator for the group. However, her personal page is also registered as the admin/moderator of the group.

Furthermore, Anna is not merely an admin but is also a 'top contributor' of the group. This means that she is highly involved in the types of posts that is shared on the group and the narratives about a Filipina biker. Throughout the immersion process, it was also seen that she is also highly involved in external activities that relates to Pinay bikers' concerns, she represents the group in various roundtable discussions and is also the front-facing person who interacts with other mobility groups.

### 6 Discovering Lanes: Findings and Discussion

## 6.1 Pinay Bike Commuter Community semantics

The posts on PBCC group are varied and ranges from buying and selling of cycling related items to questions and tips about routes. However, the most prevalent posts are sharing of experiences on the streets, inquiring about opinions on a certain experience or topic, and cross-posting from other pages. However, the interaction mostly happens in the comments section where members can comment or provide reactions to a post. (*See* Figure 4.2. Screenshot of the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' when viewing the page). These interactions define how the Facebook group turns into a community as they interact and collaborate with one another.

In the first day of the immersion, I replicated a Facebook user by oscillating through the tabs and lurked to see what type of media is usually posted in the group. In the few hours that I spent within the group, it was easy to note that comments had a similar structure and that members often reiterated the tone and structure of the original post. In the entire immersion, this observation remained consistent across the board, showing that the members tend share similar 'voices'. The posts were repetitive but varied, many were along the lines of searching for volunteers, questions to validate experiences, queries on tips when a certain hazard is experienced, or searching for bike buddies for commute or for leisure activities.

Storytelling often came in the form of captions to a photo or video, while these stories are even made richer through the comments section where members would also post about their own experience. Cross-posting from other groups was also a regular occurrence but in the case of the group, members often added their opinions on the caption which incites discussion among members. A post that intrigued me that day was a cross-post from a cycling page called 'tara bike' [let's go bike] where a 'top contributor' member shared a video captured by a cyclist where a motorcycle is honking at cyclists and weaving through the bike lane. The member captioned it as:

"Kuyang rider na naka motor... Saang tabi mo pa po ba gustong dumaan ang mga siklista? Eh nasa Tamang Daan naman po sila at nasa BIKE LANE po sila. Katwiran mo

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Translations here on forward are made by the researcher.

NAGMAMADALI ka at gusto mong mag overtake sa mga siklista na nasa Bike Lane at Pasensya na kung nakaka abala sayo at di ka napag bigyang mauna. "[Male rider on a motorcycle... which side do you want cyclists to pass? Eh they are on the correct side and in the BIKE LANE. You say that you are rushing, and you want to overtake the cyclists on the Bike Lane and sorry if we are bothersome to you and we did not give you the chance to go first.



Figure 6-1. Screenshot of a post about Kamote riders

This sentiment coupled with the emojis indicate notes of sarcasm coming from the poster, particularly on the last sentence. The use of emojis greatly affects the tone of the posts, as many of the posts that I encountered during the immersion contained an emoji. A reflection of how the platform affects the storytelling and narratives of the community. It is often used to accompany comments or posts to emphasize on the feeling or emotion that the poster had in the moment of writing.

I found that the use of emojis to denote sarcasm is quite frequent among other posts written about other road users who refuse to share the roads with cyclists. Comments on the same post echo the same style of storytelling on similar experiences. Grace said: "May motorcycle lane at wala siya<sup>5</sup> dun tapos siya pa galit, just wow!" [There's a motorcycle lane and

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Filipino is a gender-neutral language. The use of 'siya' refers to the third person singular (he or she).

(s)he's not there and now (s)he's mad, just wow!]. The tone and framing of both members show how Filipinos online tend to deal with undesirable behavior seen on posts.

Another comment on the same post uses the same format of text partnered with emojis. Mica, a 'top contributor', adds to the discussion by saying the second comment below:



Figure 6-2. Screenshot of the comments on the Kamote rider post

This reads, "Buendia is notorious with these situations, happened to me, I was almost at the gutter, and the [motorcycle ride-sharing service] driver kept driving too close to me so I said, "this is a bike lane" and the driver yelled at me "it's because you are not from Manila!" I don't understand their logic "also they were a *kamote* rider "(translated from the screenshot)

In this second comment shows not just a similar tone of the original post but also talks about the treatment that they encounter with motorists. The comment touches upon a few complexities of a cyclists, in the experience shared by Mica, the rider assumed that her identity as a cyclist is lesser than that of a motorist because even if she was in the correct lane, she was being pushed and literally pushed to the fringes. Exacerbating her identity as a marginalized individual. Furthermore, it was also assumed that she did not understand traffic rules in Manila just for the reason that she was riding in the bike lane. Mica then calls the motorist as a 'kamote rider' which refers to riders who do not respect traffic rules and have bad driving habits. It is in these situations, that when cyclists (moreso women) raise their voices to be heard is when their intellect and rights are questioned.

#### 6.2 Discussions on infrastructure

Cycling infrastructure is one of the dominant topics in the group, wherein the discussions circle around the lack of it or the poor implementation of such. As bike lanes become more

evident in Metro Manila, it seems like the struggle has turned into respecting these lanes and sharing the streets.

In a celebratory post for the 4<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the PBCC group, expressions regarding infrastructure may not be visible but the video shows the difficulty of cycling. In this crossposted post from her personal page she captions the video "On my first ride with the Pinay Bike Commuter Community, we conquered the busiest road of Metro Manila, EDSA". This still shot of the video shows amidst the cheering is the poor infrastructure that the cycling event had to endure, as she expressed through the use of "conquer". However, what caught my attention was the juxtaposition of the celebratory faces of the Pinay cyclists as they get sandwiched by buses and motorcycles inside the bike lane. I have superimposed on the still

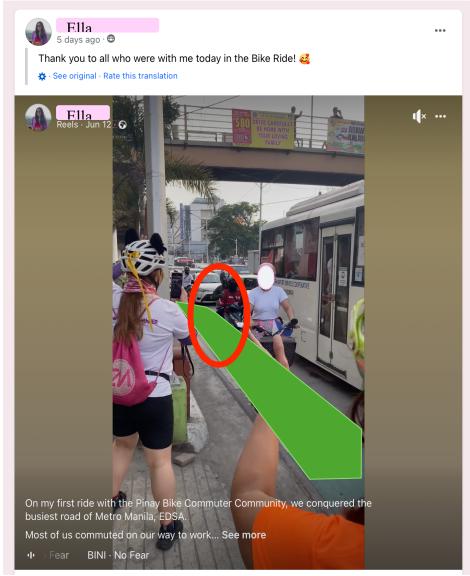


Figure 6-3. Screenshot from a video by a PBCC member during the 4th Anniversary

shot a green highlight to show the bike lane and circled in red is a motorcycle rider clearly

inside the lane. The lack of delineation between where the pedestrian walk starts, and end also shows the struggle that many pedestrians face.

The infrastructure in the Philippines may not be of great service to many commuters. In a post by Emma, another 'top contributor', she calls out the need for better infrastructure for cyclists particularly those who have to go through a footbridge and carry their bikes up and down the stairs. However, in her post she expressed that she is "happy to see 2 female biker[s] plying the foot bridge".

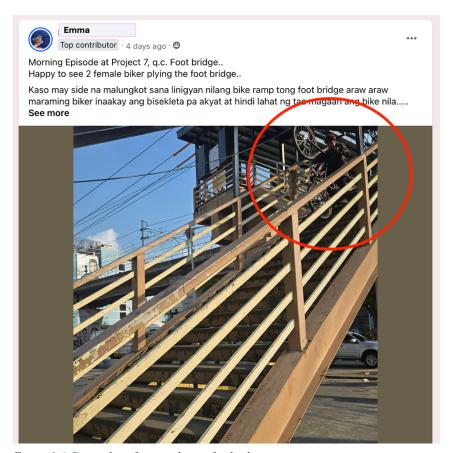


Figure 6-4. Screenshot of a post about a footbridge

More than the caption, the photo took my attention because of how this depicts the state of infrastructures in the country. Wherein it is almost always an either/or situation for many commuters and almost never an inclusive option that is able to cater to all types of commuters.

Posts on infrastructure is not limited to lack of bike racks, or the unsafe bike lanes, or non-inclusive transportation and commuting infrastructures. Sometimes, there are structures on the

streets that make cycling enjoyable. Below is a photo of Ellen, an admin and 'top contributor' of the group. In this photo she shows that some things on the streets spark joy. This post is a sample of some quirky conversations in the group about their biking experiences.

This was one of the earlier posts that I have truly felt like it was a community rather than just an advocacy group. It is when the members can laugh at their difficulties and have people listen to the stories.



Figure 6-5. Screenshot of a light-hearted post

## 6.3 Gendered experiences

As the group is mainly created to provide a space for women to share their experiences. However, many of the experiences shared are not mutually exclusive to an experience of a Pinay biker but are experienced by all types of bikers. For instance, in a post by Anna, where she asks "What about you sis!?!? Please share" in her question she addresses women in prompting her question about biking in the rain. The comments section mostly referred to tips that can also be done by men. Issa, who is also a 'top contributor' comments: "First of all, be ready to get wet. "If it's just a drizzle, it's fine to keep pedaling. If it is a downpour, and you think you are less visible to other drivers, stop for a while. If you have to proceed, be well lighted, wear light-colored clothes...". Another commenter adds: "Reflectorized vests and lights, on the rear-end and even on your helmet. Us, bike commuters need these to be more visible during this weather." These are also tips that you share with other cyclists and not because they are women cyclists.

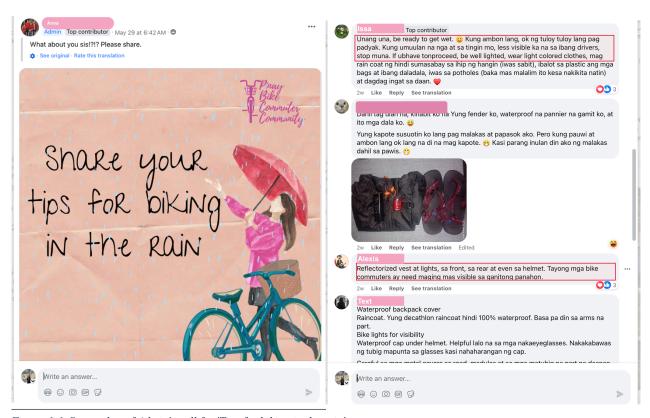


Figure 6-6. Screenshot of Admin's call for 'Tips for biking in the rain'

Nevertheless, there were still posts that still highlight the nuanced experience of a Pinay biker. Particularly on the clothing that Pinay bikers wear when the cycle. In the post below by Sam, which is also cross posted from her personal page, she captions her post on the group as "LET ME SEE YOUR BIKE FITS LADIES \*\*\* which denotes a fun and excited tone but her caption from her personal page (which also appears on the group) states "On most days, I just like feeling cute while biking. But on some days, like today, dressing nice on the bike is a survival strategy in this city: what will it take for fellow motorists, security, and traffic

enforcers to show me an ounce of the respect and consideration they have for motorists?". This post opened a discussion on the 'respect' that is given to cyclists on the street, regardless of the clothing that they wear. Anna comments on the post and claims that "I feel you. What you say is the truth. Sadly, whichever formal wear we choose, we still experience the discrimination because we are cyclists...". This discussion speaks to the type of cycling culture that the Philippines carry, where individuals on bikes are put on the lowest priority. Furthermore, this also prompted to how 'looks' still matter in the type of respect that an individual receives, which proves to put a layer of burden to women as the Philippines still expect women to dress modestly which is far from the norms of a cycling attire.

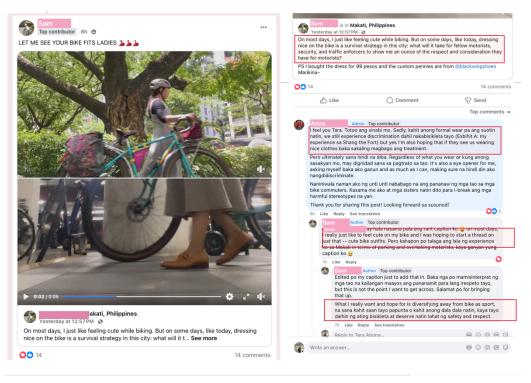


Figure 6-7. Screengrab and comments from Sam's post

This decision to cycle and 'dress-up' nicely may be a reflection of how an individual may want to be perceived as 'higher' in socio-economic status, as the literature states that decision to cycle is highly contextual however, Yuan et al (2023) argues that women with higher income status tend to cycle more because they have access to convenient and safer infrastructures, which is relatively true in the case of the Philippines as the members of the group talk about routes in the Makati/Taguig are which are business districts in the Philippines.

Amidst the negativity and harsh reality that women face, the PBCC group also recognize how far the movement have reached in terms of the cycling advocacy. The group has a dedicated hashtag where members can share their stories. Through the #KwentoNgKabaBIKEihan, which is a play on the Filipino word for women, *kababaihan*, and the English word bike. This hashtag campaign roughly translates to "Stories of Women on Bikes". In this campaign, Anna who is an admin of the group, publishes stories, that were shared to her by the members, on the #KwentoNgKabaBIKEihan folder of the group. In this folder, over 150 stories of women

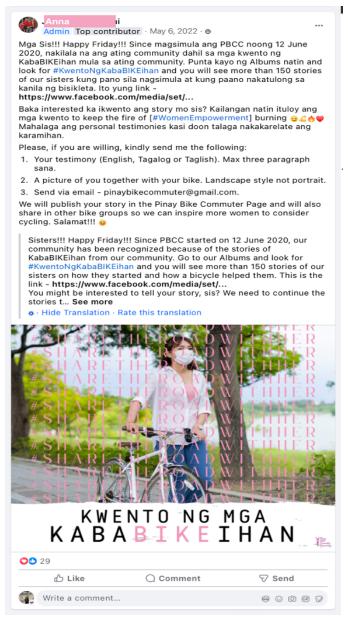


Figure 6-8. Screenshot of post encouraging members to join the hashtag campaign

on bikes are shared. On the post, the Anna calls for testimonies and she even says "... kasi doon talaga nakakarelate and karamihan" [because that is where a lot of people can relate].

The photo below is one of the stories that resonated with me. Particularly the part where Emily shares that she only learned to cycle in her adult life, which was a recurring phenomenon amongst the stories shared in the campaign. It was also the part when she speaks about "wearing the bike attire acceptable and dictated by society (bike jersey, cycling shorts with pads, bibs) and not the bike attire I am comfortable with". She then goes on further that after years of cycling it was her first time to bike to work in a skirt/dress with 40km distance to travel. Upon reading this, I remembered how I have almost always seen women who cycled in the Philippines in athletic wear and very rarely in casual clothes. This was a stark contrast to the experience of cycling in Padova, where I have seen more women cycle in casual clothes or dresses than those who wear a full cycling attire.

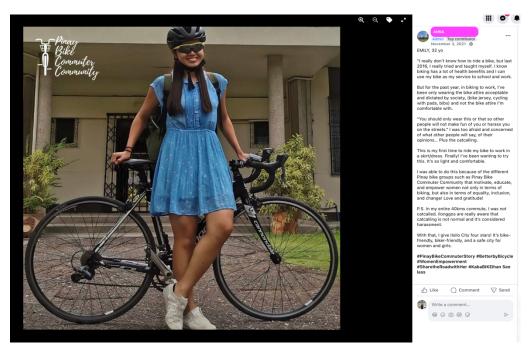


Figure 6-9. Photo of Emily and her cycling story as posted by Anna

But then, I am also Emily, reluctant to try what was comfortable at the behest of the norm. She goes further, thanking the PBCC group for the encouragement and motivation. Afterall, it was not just Emily who cycled to work in comfortable clothes.

But it was also Patty, who cycled to work in a Filipiniana<sup>6</sup> and Marielle who biked to a business meeting and wore the dress from the meeting on the bike home.

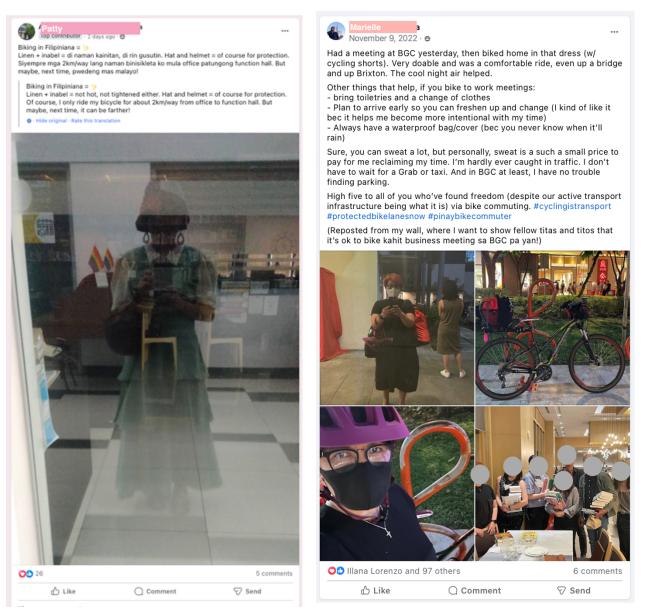


Figure 6-11. Patty in a Filipiniana

Figure 6-10. Marielle's post on experience cycling to a business meeting

All these women encouraged each other to wear what they wanted and express their femininity in a way that was comfortable to them. This shows that when people share their experiences, it inspires and encourages the people around them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Traditional Philippine garb for women

In a post by Eva, she begins by saying that she met a fellow Pinay cyclist on the streets. She describes having a "frenemy" relationship with this fellow cyclist who shares parts of the same route she uses for her commute. She further narrates the outfit of a fellow cyclist "maong na pantalon? Sa pagbibisikleta? Ang hirap kaya gumalaw niyan! Saka ang init" [jean pants? For cycling? It's so hard to move then! And it's so hot!". She applauds the cyclist for being able to cycle in such condition as she compares herself that if she can cycle in her underwear she would, so it can be cooler. Indicating that clothing may be an important aspect of cycling in a tropical country. She further goes on describing some tips that she learned from the fellow cyclist she was looking at. Not explicitly, rather by observing how the other cyclist navigated a space that was not made for cyclist.



Figure 6-12. Screenshot of Eva's story

The comments on this post also share the same sentiment by saying "kaya gusto ko laging nakapalda parati amalamig hanggang singit" [that's why I like to always wear a skirt cool until the groin. Expressing that their clothing choice may not be due to femininity but rather to suit the climate. In these posts, it had been evident how a member's travel plan and country's climate affected how they would navigate their journey. From the clothes they wear and the bike accessories that they carry with them.

Cubells et al. (2023) assert that women tend to adopt either 1) go against their right to the bike lane and change their travel plans or 2) mirror fast riding practices when dealing with risk-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Frenemy, a portmanteu of friend and enemy

seeking cyclists. In the post by Eva, it was also mentioned that the cyclist was quickly weaving through traffic, noting that it looked like she has done it multiple times. This sentiment resonates with Cubells et al. (2023) second theory that women would indulge in fast riding practices, however, this time around it is against motorists. In a post by Naomi, she recounts that sharing her bike online gets her comments like 'paps', 'sir', or 'mamaw'

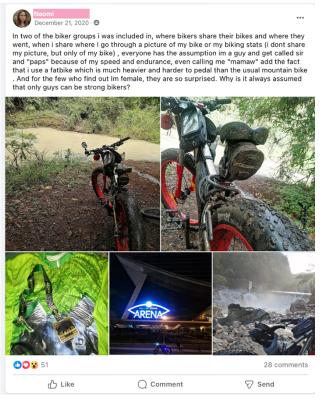


Figure 6-13. Naomi's recounting of prejudice against her

[monster] because of the type of bike that she rides. It is assumed that only men can ride fatbikes and people get surprised to find out she is a woman. This prejudice of what type of bikes woman can use is still perpetuated even with the increasing number of women cyclists.

Furthermore, a common thread among these stories are women who started cycling because their male significant other encouraged them to start cycling. These may be due to how men tend to be exposed more to cycling because of societal norms and now encourage their partners to join them in their hobbies or commute.

### 6.4 Dynamics and Interactions

The set of rules (*See* Figure 5.6. Screenshot of PBCC group rules) already dictates the type of dynamic that admins of the group want to perpetuate to the community. The rules state the following:

- 1. This group is for Women only.
  - Emphasizing the need for safe spaces for women cycling advocates online this is highlighted through the statement "There are other cycling groups out there, let us have this space for ourselves.
- 2. Know what the group is for.

In the description of the rules, this section talks about how the group is for Filipino Women who currently use a bike to commute or plan to do so in the future. This rule highlights that the group only accepts the individuals who identify as Filipina therefore, creating a community that already shares some similar experiences and adding another layer of identity as a cyclist or a prospective cyclist. In this section the admin also shares the sentence "If you're new, feel free to introduce yourself. We'd love to help you out." Upon reading this statement, it was revealed to me that it was not just a community for sharing woes and wins rather it is a community that also aims to build each other up.

3. Post bike-related content in the group only.

As a cycling community, it is without a doubt only cycling related content are allowed in the group. However, this rule may have been necessary because in my experience, many Facebook groups would allow various unrelated to their interest types of posts on their community discussion page.

- 4. Help maintain a safe space for everyone.
  - Since many women struggle with finding a safe space to engage in particularly in a male-dominated activity like cycling. This space is for everyone to feel safe and comfortable in, which is only possible if this is cultivated among the members.
- Be respectful and understanding of one another.
   The group recognizes that even though we are all women in the group, we are still
  - individuals who come from various backgrounds and may have disagreements.

    Discussions are encouraged as long as everyone remains respectful.
  - Discussions are encouraged as iong as everyone remains respec
- 6. Do not post spam, or unrelated links/posts.

The reiteration of this rule implies that there have been situations where posts unrelated to cycling have been repeatedly posted, that it merited a second rule pertaining to it.

7. Only post buy & sell items in the pinned post.



As there are a number of posts in the group about a. member selling their used bikes or bike accessories. The admins have created a dedicated folder in the media section where all products are posted. This is organized by year. Interestingly, the admin also captions the album by requesting 'sisters' to check the album first for potential purchases, in order 'help out' a sibling.

8. Multiple warnings warrant removal from the group

Members who repeatedly break rules even after reminder can and will be removed by
the admin, even without warning.

### 6.4.1 Use of familial terms

The admins of the group used the term 'Sis' or 'Sister' when referring to each other and members of the community. Some members who were known to be mothers were called 'Mama'. Another reference to family, is through the use of the word '*kapatid*' [sibling]. Such terms refer to a dynamic where all the members have each other's back similar to a family.

However, this may also be a factor of how in Philippine culture, an individual rarely calls another person by solely their first name. Women would have their names prefixed by 'Ate' [older sister] or 'Tita' [aunt] regardless of familial relationships.

### 6.4.2 Warm and welcoming environment

As a Filipina, I came into this study half expecting a myriad of sentiments on the harassment that women face from the men. I was perplexed to see that these sentiments were not dominant during my immersion rather, I was greeted with prejudices that women had towards themselves. Sentiments like "I am not sure if I can do this" or "is it okay if do x and y" but was pleasantly surprised when these sentiments were soothed by the members. Specially, supporting them into cycling or easing them through the habit.

The group has a pinned post on introductions where new members can post about themselves or even post photos of themselves with their bikes. This thread is showered by heart emojis or hug emojis for the reaction. Indicating pleasant emotions are felt when new members join the community. Posts on introductions also receive special attention from admins, specifically, leaving comments on the posts with lines such as "Welcome! Don't be shy to ask questions" or "happy you joined the group". This leaves an impression that it is a community that shares your interest and will be attentive in listening to your stories.

## 6.4.3 Key opinion leaders

The administrators and 'top contributors' of the group keep the community organized and dynamic. It is a seven thousand members group; hence, thousands of personas are in this community – individuals that carry their own identities and experiences come together and discuss a shared interest. Yet, the group remains to be dynamic and active with queries and informative posts.

The 'top contributors' of the group act as key opinion leaders in the community, they post more often and engage with members more frequently. Posts about webinars or trainings are usually shared by 'top contributors.' Many of these webinars are on cycling policies in the

country, alternative mobility, or self-defense. These tend to be hosted by other mobility groups implying that these members hold other cycling advocate identities. On the other hand, trainings are usually shared by admins which are usually training on riding a bicycle or fixing your own bike. The admins and 'top contributors' seemed to be very knowledgeable on how to navigate transport landscapes. It seems like members view them as experts, such that questions are always posted on the group and they are always answered by either an admin or a 'top contributor' occasionally, other members would chime in the discussion.

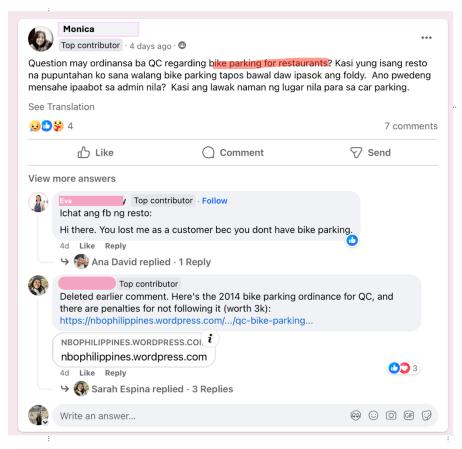


Figure 6-14. Screenshot of member asking about bike parking policies

Questions are widely varied ranging from routes, bike buddies, parking areas, opinions on a bike or bike accessory purchase. Essentially, anything that relates to cycling gets asked in the group, and it will almost always receive an answer. This made me realize that even if not appointer (in the case of 'top contributors') an individual with leadership traits or louder opinions would always be the most visible in a community. In this case, it was the three admins and roughly ten 'top contributors' who were the most visible during the immersion period.

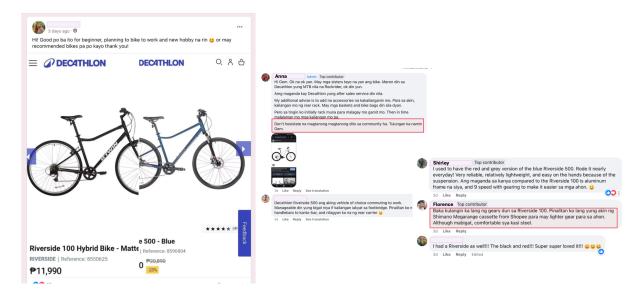


Figure 6-15. Screenshot of member asking about bike specifications

# 6.5 Pinay Bike Commuter Community as a digital community

### 6.5.1 A 'community board'

The social media platform echoing regular halls for discussion, particularly when the descriptions of the group is posted and available to be viewed by all. The group's description, which also details the purpose of the community, is visible to all members. Highlighting the importance of the purpose for all members to remind why this group exists and what are they supposed to do in the group. This reminded me of how in smaller government units in the Philippines, this is displayed on the walls of town halls where the community usually gathers. In this case it happens to be the discussions page.

The posts do not define if the group is a community because posting is not exclusive to a Facebook group. However, it is the interactions that happens within these platforms particularly in the comments section. In these areas, I can see how the members closely listen and share opinions with each other. Reacting to what is posted through emojis and in that sense also showing emotions.

It is through the comments section where the culture is seen particularly when the members break free from vocabulary of the norm. Here the members freely talk about how they deal with groin pains or cycling on their periods, topics that are taboo in mainstream cycling

conversations. These are topics that are deemed too personal to be shared in other cycling groups that have men in the spaces.

These women may speak about these topics when they meet in person, but the accessibility of the online platform allows them to be open about their inquiries regardless of where they are and in the comfort of their own homes.

As the PBCC group was created during the pandemic, it was a time when individuals cannot congregate in person and as human, sought for a community online where they can share their individual experiences and still feel like they are in a community. Comments that say something along the lines of "Relate, sis!" or "Me too" validated the experiences women and this was only possible when these stories are shared within a safe space, both in the context of the pandemic and when the streets started to open to all.

Similar to many towns or community, information dissemination in a community happens in the most frequented areas of the community. In the case of the Philippines, this is often the community or town halls where information is shared to the community. Parallel to this, the PBCC group uses the group and specifically the 'discussions' tab to disseminate information to the community.

## 6.5.2 Open to discussion

Establishing that the group is a safe space from the get-go is not enough in creating an environment as such – a safe space is cultivated. The PBCC group does both. In joining the group, members are asked to confirm that they will participate in the group in a manner that is respectful to everyone. This adamant request does not only remind members of what type of behavior is accepted to keep the community peaceful but cultivates an environment where members feel safe when sharing their experiences or discussing their opinions.

Within the group, women are open to talking about more gendered topics, such as suggestions for menstrual cups because cycling on a sanitary pad is uncomfortable or how they would love to cycle while wearing a skirt because it cools the groin area. These are some topics that are often discussed with no judgement in the group.

### 6.6 Insights on sustainable and inclusive transport policies and options

# 6.6.1 Community Building and Empowerment

The community now has a large number of members, reaching thousands may be easier with Facebook pages but it is not the case for Facebook groups. Particularly with PBCC as all members are screened before admittance to the group. As a member you can view all the members and visit the pages of each member which is indicative of the nature of the community which also replicates how physical communities' members are visible to other members and their existence can be validated.

Events creation can be done by anyone and not just administrations. It can really be ground up encouraging more community led initiative. This is important because the administrators could have turned off this feature and regulate events creation in the group. This empowers the community to create their own events all the while having the communities' backing. Moreover, these real-life events such as the Anniversary Bike Ride, Weekend Meetups, and the like perpetuate a sense of community among the members. The visibility of the events also allows outsiders to look in the community, in some of these bike rides community members get to meet new people and talk to them about the group. Furthermore, these biking together events or buddy biking empowers the members to become more confident in biking in urban areas. Afterall, there is safety in numbers.

These activities lead to collective action as when members become more visible, the community is able to establish its presence in policymaking. As of writing, the group is making waves by strongly advocating and co-signing manifestos and call-to action with other mobility groups. Though the group has yet to achieve a lobbying call to policymakers the community collaborates with other groups to have a stronger stance.

#### 6.7 Insights for Sustainable and Inclusive Transportation Policies and Options

The pervasiveness of digital communities allows them to be heard on the decision-making table. In recent years, PBCC members have been interviewed by news entities, allowing them to be seen and heard by a lot of individuals. Though many large-scale movements and lobbying have been made by male-led mobility groups, it is still important that women are

part of the narrative and have their view on issues that affect them. Women should have a say in policies and provide insights on sustainable and inclusive transportation, as they tend to participate more on sustainable transport such as active transportation due to the nature of their travel habits. Many women in PBCC walk to school with their children, cycle to work, or cycle when running nearby errands. These women are most vulnerable among many cycling groups, and it is only through sustainable and inclusive transport options that they can live a less hazardous life.

Furthermore, it is not only the options and infrastructure that allow them a better quality of life. More importantly, it is the policies that mandate governments to accommodate cyclists and other alternative mobilities. For the longest time, transportation policies have been written by men and have always catered to motorized vehicle. Even in the Philippines where car ownership is low, the policies and infrastructures are still made for cars. Therefore, these infrastructures are not inclusive spaces for many individuals. It is in the interest of many policymakers to put forward sustainable and inclusive transportation because more individuals benefit from this, and the benefits trickle down to everyone else in the community.

The PBCC is slowly integrating themselves into decision-making tables through members attendance in various webinars and trainings. This is important as many mobility groups are headed by men and it is them who are usually invited to craft policies for lawmakers. However, this is not to undermine the efforts of men who are allies of women cyclists who have easier access towards the (re)formation of transport policies in the county.

### 6.8 The intersection

During the immersion, it was evident that a woman is not just a woman. She almost always wears multiple hats. I have seen stories from a senior, diabetic, mother on how she is going back to cycling to manage her health. Stories from a young adult, who cycles to university to save up 145 PhP (2.5€) worth of pocket money. Or how a mother cycles to drop her kids at school and cycle to her full-time job. The list can go on and on but what is clear is that a woman interacts with this world as an amalgamation of identities. She can never be *just* a woman. Given the complexity of human, the way we see inclusive and sustainable transport may be varied. Therefore, how we react to these may also be varied because of our

intersecting identities. Added to the layers of politics, that all of us encounter on a daily basis, there might friction in how we perceive the world. But the recognition that a Pinay cyclist would always experience the Philippine transport landscape differently from a Pinoy cyclist regardless of the whichever policy is in place is necessary. In order to build a culture of empathy and respect to all identities.

# 7 Final Stop: Conclusions

# 7.1 Key Findings

This study was guided by the question: "How does the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' Facebook group enable the exchange of information, experiences, and strategies within the cycling community?" Specifically, addressing the following questions:

What types of experiences are commonly shared within the Facebook group?

The most commonly shared experiences within the PBCC group are stories about their cycling activities, their travel plans, and where they are in their cycling journey. Moreover, a lot of these experiences also include tips and tricks on how to have a better cycling experience and how to have a safer cycling experience. These tips and tricks usually involve clothing and how they can stay fresh while cycling, even in a tropical country, or how they can cool themselves while cycling. They also share advice on how to navigate when there's a heavy downpour.

This shows how, as a community, they look after each other and care for each other. Another common trend are rants about infrastructure or the lack thereof, or the bad implementation of such infrastructures. Some posts included the lack of bike racks in business district areas or hospitals, motorcycles weaving in and out of the bicycle lanes, and aggressive drivers that loudly honk and intimidate cyclists.

In what ways does the 'Pinay Bike Commuter Community' serve as a platform for women to exchange strategies for navigating the transport landscape?

The PBCC group serve as a platform for members through providing a safe space for discussion and advice for routes and cycling outfits. Sharing strategies often happen within the #KwentoNgKabaBIKEihan or #KabaBIKEihan campaigns. Some members would open the floor to discussion by cross-posting contentious posts or observations. It is in the comments section where the exchange of strategies. Interestingly, there are times when individuals post about their experiences or queries, a few minutes or hours later an update is provided on these queries, or a comment is left on the post. Making the community a collaborative and engaging platform for the members.

How do the discussions within the Facebook group contribute to the development of sustainable and inclusive transportation options for women commuters in the Philippines?

The more people talk about issues and concerns, it becomes more evident. Hence, more people joining the collective makes it inevitable to avoid. It is the awareness that is created within the community that mostly contributes to having more sustainable and inclusive transportation options for women. Sharing narratives make individuals more aware of which options are available to the rather than be complacent to the current transport system of the Philippines. Therefore, opening up room for alternatives to the age-old transport options of the country.

In essence, inclusive transport promises a more equitable options for everyone. Therefore, understanding the needs of the individuals who are on the most affected by creating such options. It is necessary to hear their stories to craft better solutions. The PBCC have created a safe space where women who may not be as active in the political sphere may be heard through their posts and their stories. Facebook groups such as PBCC provides a platform for the voice of the public can be heard. Particularly in a space that is not overtly daunting when one speaks about their experiences.

#### 7.2 Contributions to the field

Digital platforms have provided a way for marginalized individuals to be heard. Social media as a service that is accessible to many, have serviced unheard voice by providing a platform where they can share experiences with very minimal obstructions and validate their emotions and feelings as well.

Women's mobility cannot be understood without the context specifically through understanding how experiences interact with digital space and physical places. This study contributes to scarce body of knowledge on the topic of cycling and women's mobility in the context of the Philippines. This study provided an insight on how a Facebook group can serve as a safe space, an avenue to be heard, and a community.

## 7.3 Delimitations, Limitations, Assumptions

An early access to the Facebook group gave me a chance to have a "feel" of the study field before the systemized immersions. This early membership gave me lens to experience the group akin to what the other members also experience. I also have Facebook friend who are members of the group however, they were not active on the group themselves. As I am pursuing this study as a passive netnographers, I did not interact with any of the members of the group except for requesting the admins' permission to pursue the study.

During the immersion days, there were times when there was no activity happening in the group and I had to resort to browsing through the albums and moving in and out of other mobility groups. Which may have been similar to the experience of someone who is casually scrolling through Facebook.

It is important recognize that the Facebook group is dynamic, it is a living and breathing community that is subject to changes. Days, months, or years from writing the group may have changed and the current observations would no longer apply. However, as dynamic as it is, social media is also an archiving tool which I used to my advantage when I scrolled back to posts from 2020, 2021, and 2023.

This study is also limited to Facebook as a platform hence, results may differ if the questions are applied on other social media platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, or X (formerly Twitter) which also have nuanced dynamics.

#### 8 Pedaling Forward: Recommendations

This study shed light on the experience of a Filipina cyclist in a digital community. It was observed that a community that is welcoming and respectful allows members of the community to freely share their experiences. It was uncovered that women are intersectional beings whose identities cannot be separated from each other. Since some of the members were also part of other mobility groups it is suggested for a For-Women Mobility advocacy group is to be formed as to become more visible in the policy-making sphere. Moreover, as it was observed during the study that the community relates with other mobility advocacy groups. It is suggested to have these communities to strengthen linkages to improve their campaigns for effective, efficient, an inclusive transport in the Philippines.

For policymakers, positive impact comes from research-based policymaking, it is suggested to refer to studies such as this one to better understand the identities and plights of your constituents.

For future researchers, a cross-sectional study across mobility groups would prove to be beneficial in understanding the state of community-led advocacy landscape of the Philippines. Moreover, as this study focuses on Metro Manila, Philippines, a comparative study across other metropolitan cities in the country may serve beneficial in understanding Filipina cyclists' experience within a digital community. Furthermore, a policy impact analysis on transport and women mobilities in the Philippines may also serve beneficial to the creation of more sustainable and inclusive transport policies.

# 9 Glossary

Administrator (admin) Moderator of a group or page

Filipino An individual with Philippine

identity

Kamote rider A motorcycle rider who has bad

riding habits on the road

LGU Local Government Unit

MMDA Metro Manila Development Agency

NCR National Capital Region

Pinay A woman with Philippine identity,

also referred to as: Filipina

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#### 11 Annex

#### 11.1 Request to conduct research sent to administrators over Facebook

Hi [Name of Administrator]! I am master's student from the University of Padua and currently writing my thesis on the experiences of Pinay cyclists. I'm using netnography as the method for my study and plan to explore the Pinay Bike Commuter Community in my research. I've been a part of the group for quite some time now and I have found the group influential in the cycling culture in our country.

As the admin of the group, I was hoping to get your permission to proceed with my study. Thank you very much!

### 11.2 Email request sent to Pinay Bike Commuter

Good day,

I am Cheska Folgo, a graduate student from the University of Padua studying Local Development. Currently, I am in the process of writing my graduate thesis on the cycling culture in the Philippines specifically exploring how women cyclists navigate the cycling in the country. I have been a member of the Pinay Bike Commuter Community for quite some time now and have noticed the positive impact and influence that the group brings to our country's cycling culture, which prompted me to delve deeper into the dynamics of the group.

I am writing to request permission to proceed with my study, as I am using netnography as my method, there might be screenshots or quotations included in the study. However, I would like to assure you that real names will not be used during this study, and protecting the privacy of the members will be my utmost priority.

I look forward to hearing from you and hope I will be allowed to proceed with this endeavor. Thank you very much for your consideration. Ride safe!

## 11.3 Sample Immersion journal and analytical notes

