working paper
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Everyday practices of frontline workers, school mobility and care work:
The Case of Ciempiés Caminos Seguros in Bogotá, Colombia

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Table of contents

Project's summary

"On the Way to School" (OWS) is an implementation research study aiming at understanding how to plan, develop, and evaluate Active Mobility To -and from- School (AMTS) interventions in urban and peri-urban contexts in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) in the Global South. OWS focuses on interventions that promote walking and cycling and evaluates their effect on children aged 8 to 16 concerning the prevention in reducing the risks of non-communicable diseases (NCDs).

The project is led by The Bartlett Development Planning Unit in University College London in partnership with nine academic and practice organisations in Colombia, Mozambique, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

About OWS Working Papers:

The OWS Working Paper Series is a collection of preliminary research outputs of the project that are currently under consideration for an academic publication. These are preprints that have not yet been peer-reviewed and are thus subject to change.

OWS Working Papers are available at
www.onthewaytoschoolproject.org

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OWS Working Paper | March 2026

#03

Working Paper abstract

Active travel to school public programmes underperform because implementation is viewed as a technical task rather than a social process. This working paper examines the gap using Bogotá's Ciempiés Caminos Seguros (CCS) as a case study. CCS involves escorted walks of up to 50 students near schools, monitored by two adults. Interviews reveal that monitors' daily practices, such as negotiation, adaptation, resistance, reinterpretation, and accountability, shape programme outcomes. Accountability often occurs outside formal systems, reflecting improvisation and age-based power dynamics in which children's concerns are less addressed. Monitors do more than accompany; they provide emotional and relational care and assist children's participation despite household constraints. CCS shifts mobility caregiving from women to the state but relies on informal, emotional labour, creating role tensions for monitors. Key lessons include viewing escorted walks as a mobility-and-care policy, supporting frontline care work, establishing accountability, including children's voices, and co-producing the programme with monitors to sustain effectiveness.

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Acronyms and abbreviations and abbreviations

Abbreviation	Description
AMTS	Active Mobility Travel to School
CCS	Ciempiés Caminos Seguros, by its acronym in Spanish
DNP	National Planning Department, by its acronym in Spanish
OWS	On The Way to School Research Project
SDM	District Secretariat of Mobility, by its acronym in Spanish
SED	District Secretariat of Education, by its acronym in Spanish
SLBs	Street-level bureaucrats
SOC	Social Organisation of Care

1. Introduction

Bogotá's two-decade trajectory in school mobility is evident throughout successive local administrations, which have led to the implementation of various policies and community initiatives to promote active school transport in the city. In 2006, Bogotá, Colombia's capital city, launched its Master Mobility Plan, which included a chapter dedicated to promoting non-motorised transport, setting a precedent for future interventions. In 2016, the city adopted the internationally recognised and nationally introduced Vision Zero policy to address road safety and eliminate traffic fatalities, a principle that underpins the 2017-2026 District Road Safety Plan. More recently, the city's 2020-2024 Development Plan established the strategic objective of 'Safe, sustainable and accessible mobility', providing a political and institutional framework for the implementation of the Niñas y Niños Primero Programme that will be referred to here as Children First by its translation from Spanish, jointly implemented by the District Secretariats of Education (hereinafter SED by its acronym in Spanish) and Mobility (hereinafter SDM by its acronym in Spanish) (DNP, 2020).

Children First is Bogotá's comprehensive programme aimed at ensuring safe, sustainable, and inclusive mobility for children and adolescents in public schools, while fostering their exploration of the city securely and enjoyably (SDM, 2019). The programme integrates eight strategies across four specific objectives: (1) facilitating access to education through safe, active, and enjoyable school travel; (2) improving the physical surroundings of educational institutions to reduce traffic-related risks through interventions such as Guardacaminos and Zonas Escolares; (3) enhancing safety and efficiency in school transportation using initiatives like Ruta Pila and exclusive school lanes; and (4) encouraging safe and sustainable behaviours among students and school communities through pedagogical tools such as MoviParque

(Observatorio de Movilidad de Bogotá, 2022). Implementation relies on intersectoral coordination between SED, SDM, and other city government secretariats, including Health, Security, Women, and Social Integration (DNP, 2020). Key strategies under the first objective, Ciempiés Caminos Seguros (hereinafter CCS by its acronym in Spanish), Al Colegio en Bici, and BiciParceros, specifically support children facing mobility or parents' and caregivers care-related constraints that hinder unaccompanied school travel (Hidalgo et al., 2016).

CCS is a key component of Bogotá's broader strategy for school mobility, aiming primarily to ensure the physical safety of children aged 5 to 12 on their walking journeys to and from school. However, beyond safety, CCS reimagines mobility as a formative experience, transforming routine commutes into opportunities for socialisation, play, and learning. It promotes recreational and educational uses of public space by encouraging children to engage with their surroundings, while simultaneously cultivating awareness about road safety, environmental stewardship, and healthy habits (SDM, 2019). Since its operational launch in 2019 under the leadership of the SDM, CCS has expanded its reach. Between 2021 and 2022, the strategy was upscaled from two to six of the city's twenty localities [1], reaching 2,410 girls, boys, and adolescents (Observatorio de Movilidad de Bogotá, 2022). It was also formally integrated into Bogotá's Master Plan for School Mobility. As of 2025, CCS operates in 33 public schools across nine localities, maintaining 55 active routes (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2025) and covers approximately 274,300 trips per year, with an average of 552 children and adolescents walking per month (Oviedo et al., Forthcoming).

The operational model of CCS, according to the protocols of SDM, relies on daily walking caravans for a group of up to 50 students who live within a 2km radius of a public school, accompanied by two adult monitors hired by

SDM who possess the necessary skills to carry out safe road accompaniment activities SDM (2023a). The protocol given to monitors encompasses a combination of general and more detailed processes for both operating guidelines and policies, as well as for staff and their respective responsibilities. Following the description of the protocol above, "monitors are trained to accompany students in the caravans in a safe, fun and educational manner. They are responsible for implementing the CCS in the locality, including dissemination, communication, and conducting theoretical and practical workshops on road safety, organising events, activities, and educational outings." (SDM, 2023d, p. 5).

SDM has increasingly recognised the importance of monitors in the implementation of CCS. In particular, their roles and functions have been documented in official protocols related to operations, games, events, waiting areas, and emergency responses developed during the consolidation and standardisation phase of the programme (Flórez et al., 2024). Yet, existing academic literature on school mobility remains focused mainly on macro-level analyses (Pang et al., 2017, Savolainen et al., 2024). It tends to prioritise intervention evaluations, institutional decisions, and policy frameworks, thereby overlooking the granular dynamics where the implementation of an intervention is negotiated and adapted to account for realities on the ground. This results in a limited understanding of how CCS and similar interventions function in practical terms and the pivotal role of monitors as frontline workers. In the protocols, their role is primarily framed as "accompaniment on the road" (SDM, 2023a, p. 5), which overlooks the complex ways in which they actively shape, redefine, and mediate the programme's outcomes through their daily practices.

This working paper addresses the following research questions regarding CCS and the role monitors play in it: firstly, **how do everyday practices of CCS monitors help shape the operation of the programme?** And secondly, **to what extent do everyday practices of CCS monitors constitute care work?**

My first hypothesis is that the everyday practices of monitors influence CCS operations and are key to understanding the programme's success. This will be examined using the actor-oriented approach (Long et al., 1989, Long, 1990), which centres on actors' life-worlds, social interfaces and strategies in development processes. In my second hypothesis, I argue that the role of monitors constitutes a form of care work. Apart from escorting children safely, monitors become the first line of emotional and physical support throughout the walking journey and, at times, beyond it. This dimension aligns with the notion of care work articulated by Luz Gabriela Arango Gaviria (2011), which sees care as relational, emotional and physical labour. Moreover, in the second hypothesis, I consider that this case illustrates how care responsibilities traditionally situated within the private domain, and primarily assumed by women, are socialised through public programmes like CCS. Here, I draw on the notion of the Socialisation of Care (Razavi, 2011, Araujo Guimaraes and Hirata, 2020) to explore how CCS enables the State to actively participate in the redistribution of care responsibilities in Bogotá, where the Care System, introduced by the District Secretariat for Women, is now embedded within the city's Master Plan, and builds on the premise that transforming cities may contribute to the recognition, reduction, and redistribution of care work (Guevara-Aladino et al., 2024).

To respond to my research questions and test the above hypotheses, the three chosen lenses (i.e., actor-oriented approach, the care work concept, and the socialisation of care feed onto a conceptual framework that I apply to the analysis of primary data drawn from

semi-structured interviews. The data were collected in Bogotá between 2023 and 2024 by the On the Way to School Research Project (henceforth OWS) led by UCL, as described in Section 2. Interviewees included monitors, decision-makers, child beneficiaries, parents and the school community. I draw insights from a Thematic Analysis that builds on the proposed framework to map everyday practices of CCS monitors, understand their relationships with their life-worlds and social interfaces, and assess their potential care work. The remainder of this dissertation is organised into the following sections: literature review, context, conceptual framework, methodology, findings, discussion, and conclusion.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Actor-oriented approach

A plurality of paradigms has long characterised social sciences, a reflection of both the inherent complexity of social phenomena and the absence of a shared epistemology for anchoring research methods and interpretations (Long, 2001). Within the sociology of development, Norman Long proposes a paradigmatic shift away from structuralist models, such as Giddens' Theory of Structuration, modernisation and dependency theories, that tend to explain social change through broader economic and political forces (Lippuner and Werlen, 2009) often at the expense of micro-level interactions and agency. Instead, the actor-oriented approach places individuals and social actors at the centre of development analysis. It recognises them as reflexive agents capable of interpreting, negotiating, and influencing interventions in situated and strategic ways (Long, 1990) One of the foundational concepts within this approach is **the "social interface"**, defined as the intersection of distinct life-worlds, where actors from different institutional and social contexts (e.g., bureaucrats and local

communities) engage, clash, and co-produce development outcomes (Long et al., 1989). These sites are typically characterised by power asymmetries, contrasting normative frameworks, resources and contested meanings (Long, 1990). The recognition of these intersections reconfigures development as a relational process shaped through negotiation, resistance, adaptation, and reinterpretation across social interfaces (Long et al., 1989).

Long's work stresses the importance of biography, situated knowledge, and everyday practices as analytical entry points. Rejecting false dichotomies such as macro/micro and structure/agency, the actor-oriented approach bridges levels of analysis through methodological pluralism, longitudinal ethnographic engagement, and context-sensitive research (Verschoor and Hebinck, 2001). Key analytical components of the framework include **the actor's lifeworld**, understood as socially and historically situated realities of actors which shape their response to intervention, sites of meaning-making and perceptions; **the social interface**, as a space of interactions between actors with differing values and knowledge system; and **strategic agency**, tactics to resist, navigate, negotiate or appropriate intervention process (Long et al., 1989, Long, 1990, Parashar et al., 2020) Reflexivity, among both actors and researchers, and attention to informal, situated practices are crucial features that distinguish this approach from deterministic models of change (Verschoor and Hebinck, 2001).

Empirically, Long's fieldwork in Latin America, particularly in Peru and Mexico, demonstrates how peasants engaged in irrigation and agricultural change processes actively negotiated development agendas, often producing hybrid or unintended outcomes (Long et al., 1989, Long, 1990). These insights laid the groundwork for institutionalising the actor-oriented school at Wageningen University, The Netherlands. Since then, the

framework has been applie across diverse geographies and sectors, including rural development, environmental governance, public health, and urban infrastructure. For instance, actor-oriented perspectives have been employed to examine how maternal and children's health services under India's health policy are shaped not by formal designs but by frontline negotiations, informal payments, and discretionary adaptations to constraints (Parashar et al., 2020) In another case, flood management in urban Senegal revealed how local governments reworked donor-imposed frameworks through informal practices, demonstrating how embedded power relations and institutional fragmentation mediate implementation (Schaer et al., 2017). In Mexico, research on Payment for Hydrological Services shows how landowners reinterpret conservation policies based on situated knowledge and equity concerns, turning technical objectives into socially embedded practices (Selfa et al., 2022).

The actor-oriented approach also enables analysis of how street-level bureaucrats serve as intermediaries at interfaces. In a South Asian water governance case, bureaucrats navigated gender norms, institutional contradictions, and community expectations, illustrating how accountability, legitimacy, and identity are co-produced in everyday bureaucratic practice (Jackson, 1996). Similarly, Dorothea Hilhorst's work on humanitarian aid positions field-level workers as co-constructors of aid practices who reshape humanitarian space through everyday discretion and local engagement (Hilhorst and Jansen, 2010).

Nonetheless, the actor-oriented approach is not exempt from criticism. Some scholars, such as Grillo (cited in Long et al., 1989) caution that it may overstate local agency while underappreciating the enduring effects of structural inequalities and global policy regimes. Additionally, as shown in Verschoor and Hebinck (2001), the approach faces methodological challenges in scaling up or systematically comparing interface dynamics across settings. Conversely, some applications, such as Schaer et al. (2017), suggest that combining actor-oriented analyses with frameworks capable of capturing institutional and multiscale dynamics may enhance its explanatory power, particularly in complex governance settings.

The body of knowledge presented in this section around the actor-oriented approach supports how it offers a dynamic, relational, and grounded lens to analyse development and governance. It foregrounds how actors navigate constraints, reinterpret norms, and co-produce outcomes within uneven institutional and socio-political terrains. It has evolved into a robust framework for unpacking the "black box" of implementation by revealing how everyday decisions, informal practices, and contestations shape policy enactment in real-world contexts. Its continued relevance lies in its capacity to incorporate intersectional dimensions such as gender, class, and local knowledge while remaining attentive to shifting power dynamics and institutional change.

Considering the hypothesis that the daily practices of monitors influence programme implementation and may explain the success of the CCS initiative, this section is transitioning from literature around the theoretical foundation of the actor-oriented approach to a more focused examination of frontline workers, as key actors in programme implementation, with a specific focus on their everyday practices: how these shape, mediate, and often transform public policy on the ground.

Frontline workers, or street-level bureaucrats (SLBs), have emerged in policy implementation studies and development research as central actors whose daily practices often shape, mediate, and redefine the effectiveness of public interventions. Far from passive executors of policy, they operate

at the intersection between institutional mandates and the realities of citizens' lives, occupying a liminal space "betwixt and between" accountability and agency (Gupta et al., 2022). This conceptualisation challenges linear, technocratic understandings of policy rollout by acknowledging the inherently political, adaptive, and relational nature of frontline work.

A central insight across this body of literature is the role of discretion as a defining feature of frontline workers' practice. Discretion, both in interpreting formal guidelines ('rule discretion') and in determining how to implement them ('task discretion'), is not merely tolerated but functionally necessary in the face of resource constraints, policy ambiguity, and complex social realities (Tummers and Bekkers, 2012). Rather than undermining consistency, discretion often reflects pragmatic efforts to reconcile institutional logics with citizen needs, especially in contexts of institutional fragility, informality, or social inequality (Hupe, 2019, Zedekia, 2017).

Empirical studies from the Global South have further developed these insights by highlighting how SLBs work in resource-constrained, politically fragmented, or socially unequal environments. For example, Indian school teachers navigating caste-based exclusion and Tanzanian health workers managing supply shortages are shown to adapt policy intentions through situated improvisation (Hupe, 2019). Similarly, traffic officers in Nairobi enforce road safety policies not based purely on public interest, but shaped by informal incentives, social profiling, and administrative gaps, thus making real-world discretion central to policy outcomes (Zedekia, 2017).

Daily practices of frontline workers are deeply embedded in social networks and informal infrastructures. Peer interaction plays a crucial role in shaping how frontline workers interpret policy, navigate ambiguity, and build legitimacy. Studies from Brazil, particularly in the employment sector, show how SLBs construct collective coping mechanisms through informal exchanges, shared judgments, and relational learning (Lotta and Marques, 2019). These practices help create an internal culture of mutual support and informal accountability, buffering institutional weaknesses and workload pressures.

Another recurrent theme in the literature is the ethical and emotional labour of frontline work. SLBs are shown to draw on personal values, professional norms, and moral reasoning when deciding how to prioritise tasks, bend-rules, or selectively apply procedures. These decisions are rarely neutral; they involve trade-offs between responsiveness and standardisation, or between managerial imperatives and citizen well-being (Tummers and Bekkers, 2012, Gupta et al., 2022). This moral dimension is especially salient in health service delivery, where health workers often face dilemmas between upholding bureaucratic goals and responding to the care needs of patients (Erasmus, 2014, Gilson, 2016).

Importantly, frontline workers are not isolated actors. Their practices are relational, embedded in institutional ecologies that include formal hierarchies, peer networks, citizen expectations, and contextual pressures. Research on health policy implementation in Kenya and South Africa has introduced concepts such as "everyday politics" and "distributed leadership" to describe how local actors manage competing priorities, negotiate ambiguity, and broker between national directives and local realities (Gilson, 2016, Hilhorst and Jansen, 2010). These forms of informal leadership often rely on routines such as team meetings, symbolic compliance, or strategic silence to sustain service delivery under challenging conditions. These interactions occur in what Long (1990) calls social interfaces, spaces where actors with different life-worlds, power, and interests meet. In these interfaces, everyday practices are not merely shaped by institutional scripts but co-construct the meaning and trajectory of

interventions.

Lastly, the concept of bricolage adds further depth by portraying frontline workers as creative actors who recombine formal rules, local knowledge, personal networks, and available resources to craft feasible interventions (Funder, 2015). These improvisational strategies are not signs of failure, but rather evidence of capacity, reflecting that implementation is a socially constructed, negotiated, and contingent process.

Critically, the position of frontline workers is often precarious, marked by low pay, lack of training, gendered expectations, and institutional neglect (Vives et al., 2020). Despite being the linchpin of many public programmes, their insights and experiential knowledge are rarely integrated into policy design or evaluation. As Brodkin (2012) argues, there is an urgent need to study the street not only to uncover what policies do in real life but to inform more just and effective programme design.

2.2. Care work and Social organisation of care

The conceptual shift towards recognising care work emerged as a critical response to the limitations of traditional understandings of labour, exposing historically invisible tasks disproportionately carried out by women (Pineda D, 2018). Since the 1970s, liberal and socialist feminists have begun to challenge the sexual division of labour through the distinction between productive and reproductive work (Benería, 2006), revealing how women's contributions to social and economic functioning, largely unpaid and domestic, have been systematically neglected. Feminist critiques argue that dominant labour concepts are androcentric, constructed from male experiences elevated to universal norms (Scott, 1986). These critiques gave rise to an interdisciplinary agenda that enriched the concept of care: materialist sociology analysed

domestic production (Delphy, 1980), while anthropology and history deconstructed the ideological and cultural construction of domesticity (Scott, 1986). At the same time, feminist economics from the Global North offered a strong critique of orthodox models that excluded unpaid labour. Scholars such as Diane Elson (1995) and Nancy Folbre (1994) underlined how this exclusion distorts understandings of economic systems, ignoring the value of women's domestic contributions and the household's role in economic functioning. This led to the development of the "care economy" (England, 2005), which highlights the domestic sphere's generative economic work.

A third feminist tradition, drawing from psychology and moral philosophy, introduced the "ethics of care" (Gilligan, 1982), positioning care as a foundational pillar of social organisation with profound political and economic implications (Tronto, 2013). Joan Tronto challenges liberal market ideologies, arguing that power structures within markets determine how care is valued, delivered, and distributed. In Latin America, Luz Gabriela Arango Gaviria (2011) builds on Pascale Molinier (2015) psychodynamics of work, to reframe care as a relational and embodied labour, involving physical and emotional acts like feeding, cleaning, or protecting, and structured by gendered, classed, and racialised power relations. These tasks are embedded in power structures and made visible only through failure, what Molinier terms 'savoir-faire discret'. The invisibility of care is further critiqued by Paperman and Molinier (2011), who warn against rationalist ethics that separate morality from everyday experience, echoing Tronto's (2013) concern about the "indifference of the privileged."

The care literature has evolved to include concepts such as emotional labour (Hochschild, 2012) and bodily work, which entail physical contact with others and the management of one's own emotions during caregiving (McDowell, 2009). Arango Gaviria

(2011) and Pineda D (2018) thus define care as a situated practice, combining ethical, physical, emotional, and symbolic dimensions, making it inherently interdisciplinary and multi-dimensional. This framing is central to my hypothesis: that CCS monitors perform a form of care work. Their daily practices with children constitute more than accompaniment; they embody physical, emotional, and relational labour embedded in unequal social structures and policy.

In CCS, daily walking alongside children on the streets creates shared corporeal experiences that differ from traditional school transport. Unlike school bus escorts, monitors perform visible and relational care through their continuous presence, responsiveness, and mutual engagement. However, when care work shifts from private to public domains, it encounters significant ethical and institutional tensions. Deborah Stone (2000) shows how care professionals remain committed to ideals grounded in familial ethics: affection, reciprocity, and attentiveness. This vision leads many to care for patients as if they were family members (Arango Gaviria, 2011).

Caregivers distinguish between "doing the job" and "caring," between technical performance and emotional connection. Yet, institutional demands increasingly prioritise efficiency, standardisation, and productivity, sidelining relational aspects of care. As Arango Gaviria (2011) argues, this mismatch creates stress and resistance among workers. Deborah Stone (2000) identifies core conflicts between public care norms and those rooted in private, relational ethics. Institutional frameworks favour rationalised descriptions and measurable outputs, excluding essential yet intangible practices like conversation and listening, further complicated by temporal pressures in frontline bureaucracies (Murphy and Skillen, 2015).

This institutional bias is echoed in Sadock and Sadock (2008)'s research on nursery workers. Using a psychodynamic lens, they explore how caregivers cope with intensive working conditions in large-scale daycare centres. Constant surveillance and contradictory expectations, balancing institutional schedules with children's and adolescents' individual needs, produce emotional strain. The maternal ideal that once guided their work is redefined as "compassion" and reframed as a professional obligation (Arango Gaviria, 2011).

Once care work is recognised in the public sphere, it starts permeating the policy agenda, giving rise to new notions around the Social Organisation of Care (SOC). SOC initially emerged from cross-national comparisons of welfare regimes and social policy frameworks found in international literature (Castiblanco-Moreno and Pineda D, 2024). O'Connor (1996) and Daly and Lewis (2003) introduced the concept of "social care" by linking care work within families to different systems of social security and welfare. This approach involves examining the normative and institutional frameworks in which care takes place, as well as the obligations and responsibilities that societies assign to different actors, and the costs or privileges these actors assume. In doing so, it opens up an agenda for studying how care is distributed among the various providers in society, namely, the SOC. This gave rise to the notion of the "care diamond" proposed by Razavi (2011), which represents the care regime resulting from the interaction among the state, the market, families, and the community.

Over the last few years, Latin America has seen a growing body of literature on the SOC. This work generally highlights significant heterogeneity across care domains within and between countries, as well as persistent and deep-rooted gender inequalities in care arrangements (Castiblanco-Moreno and Pineda D, 2024).

In this context, the principles of the "three Rs"-Recognise, Reduce, and Redistribute care work- proposed initially by economist Diane Elson (2009) have been central to the

development of care programmes, public policies, and care systems globally and across Latin America (Esquivel, 2015). However, it is only recently, thanks to decades of feminist activism advocating for comprehensive care systems (Bango & Cossani, 2021), that the public discourse has begun to acknowledge the need to "take care work out of the home," so that its provision is shared more equitably among the state, the market, and the community (Elson, 2017). These help analyse monitors' work and contextualise CCS within Bogotá's shifting SOC.

In this regard, it can be argued that public programmes like CCS reduce the care burden, especially for women, associated with school transportation by redistributing care among social actors, aligning with global calls for integrated care systems and a renewed social contract oriented toward the caring city pillars (Valdivia, 2018, Valdivia, 2021). Despite this, Active Mobility Travel to School (AMTS) programmes have typically been examined through public health, behavioural theory, policy design, intervention evaluation, road safety, and equity lenses (Pang et al., 2017; Savolainen et al., 2024), but rarely through the lens of care. As a result, care remains an underexplored dimension in the analysis of school mobility interventions. In most cases, monitors' roles are reduced to "escorting and protecting," limiting the conceptual scope of their work. This narrow view overlooks the multiple ways in which school mobility interventions, such as CCS, contribute to the Social Organisation of Care in Bogotá. By recognising monitors' work as care labour, I begin to examine the ethical, physical, and emotional dimensions of these practices, repositioning them within a broader feminist scheme of care and public policy.

3. Conceptual framework

The proposed conceptual framework for this research seeks to understand frontline workers' everyday practices in the context of active mobility to school interventions and the extent to which (1) they help shape and sustain the operation of the intervention, and (2) play a role as care work and contribute to the socialisation of care in the city. The framework situates frontline workers in an environment defined by the intervention arrangements. It uses the building blocks of the Actor-Oriented approach, initially proposed by Norman Long (1989; 1990), to understand the main drivers of decisions by actors that then lead to them engaging in a set of everyday practices, which in turn can be examined through the lenses of care work (See Figure 1). The interactions between these elements have a temporal dimension.

In the figure below, the institutional arrangements refer to the physical and institutional context in which the intervention operates. In the case of AMTS interventions, the physical arrangement refers to the streets where the routes take place, while the institutional arrangements refer to the institutional mandates and decision-making processes at different levels of the programme.

The drivers are defined by the building blocks of the Actor-Oriented approach (Long et al., 1989, Long, 1990, Verschoor and Hebinck, 2001). The first of these is Life-worlds, which, in their earlier interpretation, were understood as the site of meaning-making, later seen as the sum of individual perceptions and strategies. The second building block of the approach is the Social Interface, which refers to the points of encounter between actors with different values and knowledge systems. Knowledge, Interests, Power and Resources underpin such points of encounter. In this dissertation, Life-Worlds are operationalised as the situated realities of actors that shape their responses to the programme. In this case, the actors refer to the monitors who, as frontline workers, intersect with different actors' life-worlds (children, parents, school community, colleagues and decision-makers)

Fig 1. Conceptual framework
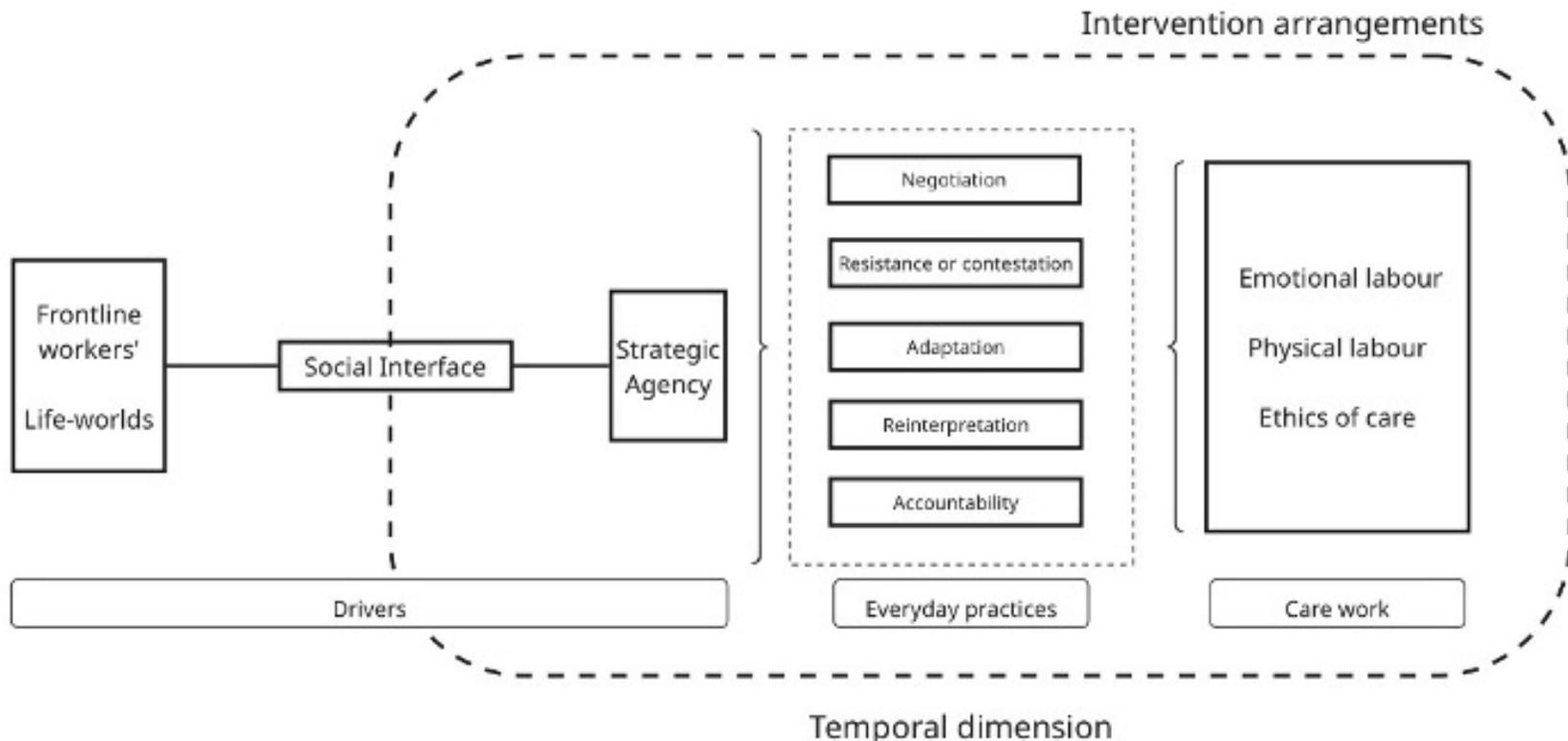
Source: Author's elaboration based on literature review (2025)

in the Social Interface created by CCS. **Strategic Agency** is also identified as a relevant driver, which refers to the tactics to negotiate, resist, or navigate an intervention process (Long et al., 1989, Long, 1990).

Central to my framework is the Everyday Practices as an entry point to identify how monitors' practices influence the intended programme trajectories. I operationalised everyday practices in categories such as **negotiation, resistance or contestation, adaptation and reinterpretation**, following Long et al. (1989)'s notion of development as a relational process shaped across different interfaces. To this, I add the category of practices of **accountability** (Jackson, 1996, Lotta and Marques, 2019, Gupta et al., 2022), likely to be highly relevant in programmes where the target population are children navigating public space, such as AMTS interventions, and where monitors are located

between institutional mandates and citizens' needs. These categories of practices are also displayed in subcategories of grounded practices, based on literature about the everyday practices of frontline workers, also addressed as Street-level bureaucrats, in sectors such as social policy, health, and humanitarian assistance. These subcategories are also informed by studies on transport policy implementation, particularly those dealing with road safety, which are less frequent in the literature, as I presented in Section 2.1.

Everyday Practices by frontline workers can be further examined through the lens of Care Work, which encompasses the relational process of emotional and physical labour, and ethics of care. These can be layered on to examine the extent to which everyday practices constitute labour, and are grounded in ideals of care, as well as the tensions

challenges, and internalised burdens emerging from actors' life-worlds and their intersection in the social interface.

4. Methodology

4.1. Case study

On the Way to School (OWS) is a three-year implementation research project aiming to understand how to plan, develop and evaluate active mobility to and from school (AMTS) interventions in urban, peri-urban and semi-rural contexts in the Global South, particularly in low and middle-income countries, analysing their effect on physical activity and mental well-being on children and adolescents aged 8-16 (Oviedo et al., Forthcoming).

The project considers three case study sites, one in Bogotá, Colombia, where the project traces and analyses the implementation of walking and cycling to school interventions: Al Colegio en Bici (cycling) and Ciempiés Caminos Seguros (walking); and another in each of the municipalities of Maputo and Marracuene, Mozambique, to design and implement two pilot AMTS interventions, laying the groundwork for a rigorous assessment of effects on healthy lifestyle behaviours and well-being among beneficiaries and their families informed by the Bogotá experience (Oviedo et al., Forthcoming). Together, these cases aim to shed light on the complexities and opportunities involved in the design, adaptation, implementation, and scalability of AMTS interventions (Oviedo et al., Forthcoming).

The OWS research project is guided by four objectives. This working paper arises from Objective 1 of the project, which aims to trace the trajectory and contextualise the environment, strategies, and mechanisms for implementing the two existing ATMS in Bogotá and characterise the context for implementation in Maputo and Marracuene

(Oviedo et al., Forthcoming).

The operational team of the CCS programme in Bogotá comprises 127 frontline workers responsible for implementation, of whom 118 are monitors and nine are area managers [2] , with a parity distribution of 64 women and 63 men (according to the internal database provided by the programme). The role of monitors is central to the daily operation of safe school routes, ensuring both the physical security and social engagement of participating children. According to the official protocols established by the SDM, monitors must have a high school degree and demonstrate specific competencies in community engagement, safety procedures, and child-centred pedagogy (SDM, 2023a).

Monitors play a central role in the implementation of the Caminos Seguros al Colegio (CCS) programme, carrying out diverse responsibilities that span logistics, care, education, and safety. Their duties include promoting the programme in schools and communities, mapping routes, enrolling students, recording attendance, and delivering road safety workshops (SDM, 2023a). They are also responsible for reporting participation trends, documenting incidents, and informing authorities of changes in infrastructure or security conditions, contributing to the sustainability and adaptation of CCS routes.

In the ground, monitors manage daily pick-up and drop-off logistics, ensuring children are handed over to authorised caregivers and activating protocols in case of absences or emergencies (SDM, 2023d). They walk with children along designated paths, integrating playful "microgames" to reinforce road safety and encourage participation (SDM, 2021a). If a caregiver fails to collect a child, they follow the "Sitio de Espera" protocol, which may involve alerting child protection services (SDM, 2021b).

Additionally, monitors coordinate special

Source: Communications archive from OWS research project in Bogota, Colombia, 2024.

Source: Communications archive from OWS research project in Bogota, Colombia, 2024.

events with schools and local authorities (SDM, 2023c) and serve as trained first responders, managing health incidents per standardised emergency protocols (SDM, 2023b). Altogether, their role blends operational, pedagogical, and caregiving functions vital to the programme's success and safety outcomes.

4.2. Data sources and analytical strategy

This paper draws on 16 anonymised interview transcripts selected from a broader dataset of 44 transcripts collected by the OWS Research Project in Bogotá. The selected interviews include children and adolescents, parents, members of the school community,

programme implementers, and multilevel policymakers involved in the CCS intervention. The sampling strategy was actor-oriented, prioritising interviewees with high exposure to monitors' everyday practices, familiarity with the school environment, insight into monitor-student relationships, or proximity to CCS decision-making processes (see Table 1, Annexe 1). The primary data were analysed using Thematic Analysis, a qualitative method for identifying patterns in textual data (Clarke and Braun, 2016, Braun et al., 2019). A three-stage process was conducted using NVivo 14. The first phase involved deductive thematic analysis informed by the conceptual framework (Figure 2). In the second phase, a coding system comprising 41 codes and subcodes was developed and iteratively refined. The third phase involved analytic memos to explore interrelations, informed by the perspectives of actors. Themes were categorised under eight analytical codes visualised in a hierarchy card diagram (see Figure 2, Annexe 2), including negotiation, resistance, adaptation, reinterpretation, accountability, intervention arrangements, life-worlds, and social interface.

5. Findings

In this section, I present a granular overview of the results from two perspectives based on the Thematic Analysis I conducted. The first part shows the practices CCS monitors carry out in their daily work. These practices include what they do in their role as well as practices they engage in outside of this scope. The second presents the relational nature of monitors' everyday practices or strategic agency embedded in the social interface of the CCS and intervention arrangements, where the life-worlds of actors intersect.

5.1. Everyday practices from CCS

In this subsection, I present a mapping of the practices that CCS monitors carry out in their daily work (Table 2), through the points of encounter with different actors who shape and reshape the programme. Those everyday practices are grouped into the five main categories presented in Section 3 and illustrated with specific practices (actions) from CCS monitors, based on the codification of interviews.

5.2. Relational nature of development processes

The findings presented in this subsection are grounded in both an actor-oriented approach and a care work lens. The former centres on the life-worlds, strategic agency, and social interface of those involved in implementing the CCS programme, while the latter adds a layer of depth to monitors' everyday practices.

The life-worlds, rooted in situated experiences, professional identities, and everyday realities, shape the responses of actors to the programme and serve as the primary drivers of the actors' perceptions and strategies. The interface between these life-worlds and the formal intervention arrangements of CCS gives rise to a diversity of everyday practices. It is within this social interface that power asymmetries are most vividly expressed, particularly through practices of accountability and resistance, often resulting in discontinuities between intended programme trajectories and lived implementation.

Several empirical examples illustrate how these discontinuities unfold. When monitors, for instance, prioritise certain tasks over others, such as shortening the route or omitting play-based activities to meet operational time constraints, children may complain about the absence of games, yet rarely contest decisions about unfamiliar or emotionally uncomfortable paths. This silence reflects underlying power imbalances when the child holds the monitors accountable. In contrast, when discontinuities stem from intervention arrangements, such as reassigning monitors who have established

strong bonds with children, caregivers often mobilise to demand reversals through formal channels, sometimes threatening to withdraw participation altogether. Similarly, delays in programme start-up or monitor recruitment have triggered vocal demands for accountability from the school community, with both monitors and managers bearing the pressure.

These moments of encounter also bring to the fore tensions around what forms of resistance or rule-bending are deemed legitimate and by whom. Drawing from the actors' life-worlds and the institutional arrangements of CCS, this research identifies three types of rule-bending practices. First, collectively enacted adaptations that do not violate formal protocols, such as donations or raffles during the pandemic, are usually supported by line managers but remain unrecognised by the Secretariat of Mobility. Second, practices beyond the monitor's control, such as when non-beneficiary children or community members join CCS routes for safety, are tacitly accepted. Finally, individually enacted rule-bending, such as taking a child home without authorisation, is subject to sanctions, even when rooted in care-driven motivations or community ties.

These empirical patterns demonstrate how development outcomes are co-produced at the intersection of diverse points of encounter and institutional expectations. The following sections provide a deeper examination of these findings by exploring the life-worlds of the close actors involved in the CCS programme, including children and adolescents, parents, the school community, monitors, and programme-level decision-makers.

Children and Adolescent Life-Worlds

Children's narratives suggest that monitors are more than operational actors of the programme; they are trusted figures who provide stability and affective support. Among children and adolescents, especially girls, the monitors are associated with emotional well-being. For instance, a 9-year-old girl described the impact CCS had on her loneliness: "What has changed is my sadness because I was very sad that I had no one to talk to". An 11-year-old girl shared a similar sense of confidence in her daily routine, noting that: "It's when the teachers are looking out for us, waiting for us at the meeting point". This sense of companionship is closely tied to the monitors' presence during the walking journeys, highlighting their role in emotional care. However, not all experiences were positive. Emotional discomfort due to peer conflict or harsh discipline by monitors was reported. Still, even these moments were often rationalised: "She said nothing to the other girl. […] Well, that's normal, because if it's true, if it's true that they tell me off, then that's how they correct us." (9-year-old girl).

Children often emphasised their safety as a primary benefit of CCS, which they attribute to the presence and actions of the monitors. For instance, a 9-year-old boy stated, "I feel safe, and I also feel that the teachers are good in that regard." Yet, safety is not unambiguous. The same boy admitted feeling fear when "I'm scared when teachers are coming down and they're stopping the cars from passing," highlighting how even protective behaviours can cause anxiety when monitors do their work roles. Additionally, he noted feeling "unconfident and scared" due to the rotation of monitors between morning and afternoon shifts: "teachers in the morning and the afternoon routes are different and I don't know them well." This suggests the importance of familiarity and communicating changes in the operation to children.

Children explicitly described monitors' protective behaviours, often referring to them as teachers. These actions, waiting at designated points, ensuring the group's safety, and reacting to unexpected events, are

Table 2. Everyday Practices from CCS monitors

Categories	Practices
Negotiation	
Aligning interests	• Presenting a proposal to the school outlining how the project works based on SDM protocols. • Meeting with the school's management team (coordinators and principals) to discuss the proposal. • Validating daily if students on the waiting list are willing to engage with the programme to clear it up. • Raising awareness of security issues within the school community. • Recurrent synergy meetings at the beginning of the year with school principals and coordinators to make decisions, such as choosing the routes based on some criteria, like the best and most impactful route.
Coalition building	• Weekly or monthly meetings with leaders and teachers from the local area to analyse the positive and negative aspects of the operation of CCS. • Work closely with the teacher responsible for supervising, coordinating, and managing all matters related to school transport at schools. • Making use of physical facilities enabled by the schools to conduct administrative work and integrate themselves better into the school environment. • During the pandemic [3]: Using the existing alliance with SED to get the permissions from each locality, to develop the project with an innovative approach.
Cultivation of relationships	• Informing parents directly about any news or changes to the route, or apologising for operational errors. • Attending family events of the children on the route, such as birthday parties, to which they are invited by their parents. • Listening to and supporting children who confide in them by telling them things they do not want to tell their families.
Incentive structures	• Meeting targets related to the number of children participating in the routes for each school.
Mediation of local power dynamics	• Reporting cases of violation of children's rights within the home. • Escalating to the programme lead cases in which conflict arises with parents around programme rules. • Negotiating spatialised power relations (invisible boundaries) in the definition of the route.
Strategic prioritisation	• During the Pandemic: Geocoding the data in the programme enrolment dataset and school enrolment dataset to identify children who would benefit the most from the new adapted modality of CCS and contact their parents to secure their participation.
Resistance or contestation	
Informal practices	• **During the Pandemic:** Visiting children in their homes to engage in a short game in the open air during the lockdowns resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic. Supporting children's families through food and clothing donations, raffles, and on other occasions when children needed additional support. • **Taking children directly to the child's home against the protocols**.
Negotiated compliance	• Electing not to enforce the upper limit of children walking in a group in cases where other children and often their parents are walking alongside the caravan. • Choosing to maintain communication and interaction with children and their families outside of the operating schedules when a child is facing social or economic needs.
Rule-bending	• Agreeing with parents that the stop they need to hand over the children is close to the meeting point (approximately 20 meters), so the parent does not need to stand there to receive him/her. • Stopping the route for almost 10 or 15 minutes at one meeting point to wait for parents who have not arrived to hand over their child. • Working a second shift when a peer is unavailable.
Adaptation	
**Bricolage**	• During the pandemic: Mobilise donations of laptops, repair them through personal support networks, including mentoring programmes, so that children who cannot afford these items can do their homework during the Pandemic's online school periods.

Creativity	• Presenting a proposal to the school outlining how the project works based on SDM protocols. • Meeting with the school's management team (coordinators and principals) to discuss the proposal. • Validating daily if students on the waiting list are willing to engage with the programme to clear it up. • Raising awareness of security issues within the school community. • Recurrent synergy meetings at the beginning of the year with school principals and coordinators to make decisions, such as choosing the routes based on some criteria, like the best and most impactful route.
Experimentation	• Weekly or monthly meetings with leaders and teachers from the local area to analyse the positive and negative aspects of the operation of CCS. • Work closely with the teacher responsible for supervising, coordinating, and managing all matters related to school transport at schools. • Making use of physical facilities enabled by the schools to conduct administrative work and integrate themselves better into the school environment. • During the pandemic [1]: Using the existing alliance with SED to get the permissions from each locality, to develop the project with an innovative approach.
Problem-solving	• Informing parents directly about any news or changes to the route, or apologising for operational errors. • Attending family events of the children on the route, such as birthday parties, to which they are invited by their parents. • Listening to and supporting children who confide in them by telling them things they do not want to tell their families.
Coping mechanisms	
Invoking institutional rules	• Enforcing protocols in the aftermath of breaking rules that had created conflict with the community
Peers' mentoring or advice	• Evidence not found
Selectively prioritisation tasks	• Not allocating time for games during the route or on courts on the way home.
Trade-offs	• Evidence not found
Everyday resilience	
Improvise	• Be accountable towards the community.
Innovate	**During pandemic:** • Meeting and playing games virtually with children. • Activities in parks with small groups of children (between 8 and 10) who lived nearby when Pandemic protocols were relaxed, as concerns began to arise about the children's mental health and also to keep the programme running.
Persist	**During pandemic:** • Calling a significant number of children participants by telephone. • Unifying schools according to the location of the participating students' residences.

Reinterpretation	
Local autonomy	• Implementing the programme autonomously and independently within the school, from the arrangement process to the daily operation.
Localised Knowledge	• Building deep knowledge about the challenging social, economic and family situations surrounding the children, i.e., Where do they live and with who?. • Understanding the bond that is formed and the emotional stability that is provided to children and families. • When entering a new location, it is essential to do so gently, with a transition process and by reading the context, i.e., understanding how invisible boundaries operate.
Translating policy mandates locally	• Evidence not found
Discretion	• Taking alternative routes to school, i.e., a little alley. • Strict adherence to the programme's operating schedule, i.e., when negotiating with the school about the possibility of including 10th and 11th grade students in the caravan.
Accountability	
Towards communities	• Avoiding the children's requests to have time to play on the way home or at the playgrounds near the route. • Commit to the children to start again the activities outside of the route schedule, called Safaris, that used to be done as part of the programme. • Frequently addressing questions from mobility programme coordinators at school regarding the vision of the programme's expansion, coverage and scope. • Having meetings with principals and the school mobility team to follow up on the programme implementation, and with parents in meetings facilitated by the principals. • Managing questions from parents who contact monitors directly when they have been rerouted and the procedure for requesting their return.
Towards line manager	•

Source: Author's elaboration (2025)

perceived as caring and necessary. An 11-year-old boy noted, "Because the centipede is good and the teachers take care of us." Similarly, an 11-year-old girl shared that she feels confident because "it helped us feel more confident about going out, giving ourselves time, and stuff like that." Monitor's everyday practices, such as making sure children don't stray from the group or take out their phones while walking, are interpreted by children as signs of protection. As an 11-year-old boy recalled: "We cross there, and no one steps out of line, because if someone does, they get told off." These expressions of discipline could be seen as punitive or as part of an overall practice that provides security.

Monitors also appear as facilitators of enjoyment, creativity, and physical activity. For example, a 9-year-old boy expressed enthusiasm for the activities encouraged by the monitors: "There are days when I arrive first and the teacher puts me first on the route, and other days when he doesn't put me last, and then I share with my friends." He also linked his participation in CCS with improved motivation and learning, such as improved math skills: "It has helped me with maths, like knowing how far it is from here to home." An 11-year-old girl mentioned, "Yes, well, they make us exercise there for a while." Yet, there are also nuances. While an 11-year-old boy acknowledged that "teachers play cool games," he expressed disappointment when "they took the game away from us just like that, to tell us the courts and that's it." This change affected his enjoyment, suggesting the importance of continuity in monitors' facilitative roles and their impact on children's satisfaction.

Monitors' efforts are recognised and reciprocated by children in meaningful ways. A 9-year-old boy exemplified this when he said, "There are days when I bring them cookies or bread." Such gestures reflect not only appreciation but also the internalisation of the reciprocal relationship. The monitors' impact extends beyond the route. A 9-year-old girl

expressed aspirations to create similar programmes in the future: "I think that's how you wanted to be when you are an adult, you wanted to make a programme like that."

Finally, across interviews, a central theme that emerges is care responsibilities within the household. For girls, participation in CCS reflects an awareness of their mothers' responsibilities for school transportation and a desire to alleviate their burden. A 9-year-old girl, for instance, explained: "Because I knew my mum had a lot of difficulties and wanted to work, so I wanted to give her a new life". This recognition is mirrored in the account of an 11-year-old girl, who noted that CCS allows her mother to better meet her work schedule: "If she can't pick us up, she drops us off at home and goes to work. It makes it easier for her". These perceptions uncovered the gendered side of school transportation, where women are mainly responsible for these tasks and girls are the ones who recognise the impacts of this responsibility.

Parents Life-Worlds

Parental perspectives on the CCS programme reflect a nuanced blend of appreciation, practical reliance, and occasional tension, with a shared recognition of the monitors' key role in shaping children's well-being, independence, and personal growth. Across interviews, monitors are consistently framed as responsible, caring figures who generate trust through attentive interaction with both children and families.

For the parents, the practical support CCS provides is indispensable. One mother with two daughters expressed how the programme eased her caregiving responsibilities: "I don't have to go all the way there to take them to school or pick them up anymore. It took up a lot of my time here, too, with all the things I had to do." Similarly, a father described the programme as enabling him to manage daily routines with greater peace of mind: "Similarly,

a father described the programme as enabling him to manage daily routines with greater peace of mind: "Well, it has made many things easier for me. I can start making lunch and know that it won't burn because I have to go to school to pick him up […] "I can go to work without worrying and I know that [son] is here because at 1:15 p.m. I call [son] and ask him where he is, and he says, 'I'm here at home'." (Man, one son).

Parents perceive the monitors as central to children's emotional and social experience of the programme. The youngest children, in particular, appear to form strong affective bonds, as evidenced by how a daughter described the monitors: "She says she likes it because they always go with the teachers, always doing activities, games or telling jokes, things like that. And because they walk" (Woman, two daughters). Another mother remarked that her younger son eagerly awaits the caravan's arrival: "He's very responsible and says, well, it's almost time, it'll be 5:15, and when he hears the whistle and says they're coming, they're coming" (Woman, two sons).

Importantly, parents also observed the adaptability of monitors and informal negotiation practices, particularly in response to families' needs. In one case, a father agreed to register his child because he saw that the monitors supported by some mothers were willing to find practical solutions: "Yes, so I could see that it was useful, because there were parents who were leaving the meeting that day […] then there were some mothers who said that, at the bus stop, the parents who knew their children could take them home. Yes, so we wouldn't lose the benefit" (Father, one son). This episode illustrates the flexibility, co-responsibility and community bonds that underpin the programme's implementation on the ground.

Monitors are also perceived as instilling discipline and awareness, with lasting effects on children's routines.

As one mother noted, "I feel like I used to nag him, but now he's careful to take his things with him, the kit they gave them[…]His jacket and stuff, because if it rains, because if it's… Before, it's already extremely. He wants to carry everything."(Woman, two sons). The same parent emphasised that the conversations and activities led by monitors were helping her children think and act differently.

Beyond the emotional and developmental benefits, parents saw CCS as supporting their children's personal growth and urban awareness. A father explained: "[son] is becoming independent, that he's learning to be very good, to get to know his neighbourhood, his area" (Father, one son). For this parent, CCS serves not only as a mobility intervention but also as a socially embedded intervention that fosters agency and awareness.

Despite this largely positive view, the parents acknowledged challenges in communication and coordination. A significant example came from a father who recounted a mix-up when his son was mistakenly not picked up: "They told me that the children didn't have class that day, but [son] did. […] I had to rush and leave work and come home […] I fight at school because I've always asked for everything, for the well-being of the children" (Father, one son). Although the monitor promptly apologised via WhatsApp, the incident underscored the fragility of trust when expectations are not met.

Notably, parents' willingness to overlook minor programme flaws appears linked to the overall value they place on CCS. As one mother summarised: "It's a good thing, because I save time" (Woman, two sons). Similarly, the father, while critical at times, remained committed to CCS, even suggesting extracurricular ideas like a weekend outing for children: "They're all very good friends and look out for each other. That would be great. Go to Simón Bolívar or Timisa Park […] just to get out of the neighbourhood for a bit" (Father, one son).

Parents recognise CCS as a care infrastructure and autonomy, and also a transformative space that fosters safety, independence, and emotional development made effective by the monitors' embedded, relational practices. Their perceptions of monitors reflect admiration for their dedication, even as occasional miscommunications highlight the need for continued responsiveness and mutual respect in implementation.

School Community Life-Worlds

The perceptions of school community actors, principals and school mobility coordinators, reveal a deeply rooted appreciation of the CCS programme as more than a logistical solution to school access. Rather, they frame CCS as a multidimensional intervention that fosters emotional well-being, strengthens community bonds, and enhances child safety in their socioeconomically vulnerable contexts. Across narratives, monitors emerge not only as facilitators of safe routes but as central actors in the creation of relational and pedagogical spaces within and beyond the school environment.

A dominant thread across the interviews is the recognition of CCS as a lifeline for families navigating challenging socioeconomic conditions. All four actors consistently emphasised that many families, particularly single-parent households, lack the time, means, or capacity to accompany their children to school. As one mobility coordinator observed, "We have too many single mothers who can't be with their babies all the time, bringing them and taking them… When you give them the opportunity to have someone pick them up… you say, 'Wow, how wonderful'" (School Mobility Coordinator – old route). For these families, CCS alleviates a significant caregiving burden, and its importance is amplified in contexts marked by violence, crime, and urban inequality.

This sentiment is echoed by a principal who, reflecting on the demands placed on working parents, described the programme as an essential support: "Often the parents leave very early to work long days… sometimes they don't see their dad, or there's no one to take them to school. And we're in a serious social conflict with risks all around us" (Principal – old route). In this context, CCS not only fills a logistical gap but is perceived as a necessary safeguard of children's right to education.

Across all reports, monitors are portrayed as trusted, respected figures who anchor the programme's success. Their daily presence, attentiveness, and relational labour are central to how the community experiences CCS. One mobility coordinator noted, "There is a lot of respect for the guides and the mobility staff who come to the institution. A relationship has been formed" (School Mobility Coordinator – recent route). Beyond their functional responsibilities, monitors are described as companions who foster emotional bonds, mediate peer relationships, and model civic behaviours such as road safety and cooperation: "Networks, leadership, collaborative work? No, because I'm part of the group, but I carry the paddle, I signal, I warn, I inform, I take care of things. So the older ones also empower themselves to help the younger ones. Yes. So, there are huge networks of collaboration and work being generated among the students, and they get to know and recognise each other." (Principal – old route).

Principals especially highlight the monitors' pedagogical role. One reflected that CCS "is not just going to school… they are doing pedagogy in the streets, and that is fundamental" (Principal – Recent Route). This form of "street-based pedagogy" is contrasted with conventional school transport, which is seen as passive and isolating: "Someone might say, 'But that's absurd.' But it's not just going to school. It's generating, like you say, beyond networks, it's generating relationships, attitudes, aptitudes in the children too, and there is a lot of added value that needs to be

taken into account." (Principal – old route).

The act of walking together, with monitors leading and children engaging in games and songs, creates a space of socialisation, learning, and joy that traditional motorised modes cannot replicate.
A recurring theme is the programme's influence on students' emotional and social development. The school actors associate participation in CCS with improvements in students' self-regulation, peer relationships, and mental well-being. One principal noted: "You see them happy coming to school, which is great because they're not like the kids who come in sad because they've been robbed on the street corner. Yes, it's different when you see a child who's accompanied, who's also doing activities, playing games, learning, socialising." (Principal – old route). A coordinator remarked that participants form "bonds of communication and friendship… another circle that is created, another network" (Mobility coordinator – recent route).

Importantly, these networks are described as fostering a sense of belonging, mutual support, and leadership. As one principal explained, "You take on the role of the older sibling, and the other takes on a leadership role … there are huge networks of collaboration and work being generated among the students" (Principal – old route). In his account, children not only feel safer and happier arriving at school but also "empower themselves" through their roles in the caravan. The effects of these emotional and relational dynamics are significant. The same principal associated the programme with a reduction in suicides at his school: "Our school went through a wave of suicides, and since last year we've had none… a child who comes with someone else, talking, maybe has a chance not to relapse into a problem" (ibid.). CCS, then, becomes a critical structure of emotional support as much as a mobility intervention.

Respondents consistently underscored the

centrality of trust between families, schools, and institutions in the programme's operation and legitimacy. For parents, entrusting their children to monitors is not automatic but develops over time. One coordinator described this process as:

"Generate trust in an entire community because it's not easy for you as a mother to take your little boy or girl and say to someone, 'Take them too, and I'll stay here,' and you start thinking, 'Will they? Will they go? Will they not? Yes, it must be true.' Ah, okay, and then they start to build that bond of trust, that bond of responsibility. Of shared responsibility." (School Mobility Coordinator – old route).

The successful establishment of these bonds is seen as the cornerstone of CCS's integration into the school community. At the same time, CCS is seen as contributing to broader forms of social cohesion and civic culture. As one principal put it: "That's what social cohesion is all about, because we are all part of this society that needs to deal with its problems in one way or another" (Principal – old route). The visibility of the walking caravans, marked by monitors' vests and road-crossing routines, not only reassures parents but signals collective responsibility across the urban landscape.

Despite its many benefits, from the school actors' perspective, CCS faces challenges of sustainability, scale, and institutional coordination. All interviewees expressed concern about the limited coverage of the programme caused by budget constraints and the monitors' contract delays. One principal lamented: "The programme is missing from the start, from the first day of school, which would be ideal" (Principal – old route). Demand from families is high, yet administrative bottlenecks and dependence on political will hinder expansion.

The school actors called for CCS to be institutionalised beyond the discretionary

power of school leadership. "I think the first lesson and something that should also be looked at is that this programme shouldn't depend on the headteacher.", stated one principal, noting disparities in programme uptake tied to individual leaders' priorities. Similarly, inter-institutional collaboration at the city level was highlighted as key to the programme's viability: "The coordination between institutions, because that is what enables the programme to function. It's important to know that there are two city-level institutions supporting this kind of practice, and that they have created an operational and pedagogical proposal." (Principal – recent route).

Finally, there is a shared call to connect CCS more deliberately with the school curriculum and child rights frameworks. As one coordinator put it, "The kid has the right to demand what he/she needs, and the state has to provide it now" (School Mobility Coordinator – old route).

Monitors Life-Worlds

The lived experiences of CCS monitors and the area manager reveal a strong sense of professional identity grounded in care, emotional labour, and community engagement. Monitors consistently view their role as extending far beyond accompanying children to school; they see themselves as facilitators of social learning, civic awareness, and emotional support. One monitor described this relational practice as shaping the students' social and spatial sensitivity:

"I am developing a person who is capable of interacting with their partner every day   […] we are going to play some games focused on something, we are going to have conversations that have to do with your appropriation of the place, with the recognition of the city, with geospatial location. […] This space for interaction […] allows them to socialise with different entities in the community, such as teachers, parents and neighbours".

Such interactions produce ripple effects that go beyond the CCS. Monitors frame their work on one hand, nurturing community support systems and on the other hand, generating infrastructure improvements in the surroundings where the routes are implemented. As one stated, "[Parent's talking] You cannot pick up your child. We organise it, we have the number, we are the trusted ones, the neighbour picks them up […] thinking ahead, programmes like these make us a slightly more aware society, with a much greater and more responsible road culture, which is what we want to achieve." These bonds, though informal, are vital to community cohesion and the sustainability of CCS itself.

Among their peers and operational supervisors, the monitors recognise themselves, and are recognised, as trained professionals who are not merely performing an operational role but responding to social demands from children, families, and the city, as one monitor illustrates in a collective interview:

"The training we receive, directly or indirectly, and that we provide through other institutions allows this large and consolidated team we have today to have a solid foundation for guidance. So we're not just fulfilling an operational component; we're addressing many societal needs where we truly know there is a marked absence of paternal or maternal figures, and in some way, these teachers are providing that presence within these families."

The monitors also identify their contribution to public goods, such as traffic safety and public health, arguing that these outcomes should be acknowledged in policy terms. They highlight a tension between statistical evidence and lived impact: "We are clear that we contribute beyond the numbers; we have deep roots in the environments where we operate". The area manager reinforces these views through historical reflection. During the pandemic, the programme adapted flexibly to restrictions,

generating joy for students, and the monitors felt positive emotional stimuli. However, that adaptation placed physical strain on them: "It was a bit exhausting for our team […] we went from doing the same routes to having to do a lot of activities, four times a day with different students". This moment sets the dual burden and fulfilment of the monitors' work under CCS.

Decision Maker at the Programme-Level

The perspectives of programme-level decision-makers underscore the complexity of implementing the CCS programme at scale, highlighting both the institutional enablers that underpin its success and the systemic vulnerabilities that persist. Both the Children First Programme Head and the CCS Operations Head view the monitors not merely as transport facilitators, but as central, under-recognised actors in the programme's transformative potential for care, pedagogy, and inclusion.

CCS's success lies in its responsiveness to the lived realities of families, particularly those for whom school transport represents a critical barrier to accessing education. She emphasises that the programme is effective, "You go with the children, and if that weren't the case, the children wouldn't go to school or would go alone, let's say, and be more exposed to risks.[..] This gives parents peace of mind, the schools feel secure" (Children First Programme Head). The institutional commitment and political will to allocate resources and establish formal protocols also play a vital role, ensuring that "the service is of high quality, from the selection and recruitment processes to the training of the team" (ibid.).

However, she also highlights how the attitudes of individual school principals can limit the programme's effectiveness. While some schools embrace CCS and perceive it as value-adding to their institutional culture, others resist involvement due to perceptions of increased workloads. As she explains,

"Many schools don't have a school mobility plan because, well, it's more work, because who's going to do that? Who's going to follow up on it? […] They perceive it as much more work and, obviously, they will have to contribute to it" (ibid.). These institutional frictions reveal that political will and protocols are necessary but insufficient without local ownership and commitment at the school level.

Both decision-makers strongly foreground the critical role of monitors, whose everyday practices reflect a profound, but often invisible, care work. The CCS Operations Head challenges the formal qualification requirements for monitors, critiquing the low recognition of their responsibilities: "A high school graduate cannot perform the role that monitors perform. You can't tell me that a person who has just graduated from eleventh grade can take charge of 50 children and move them from one place to another." In response, she has developed informal practices of rule-bending, hiring only professionals despite formal criteria, and advocating for changes in contractual recognition and remuneration. This decision, however, is not merely administrative but emerges from the life-world of the Operational Head, where the ability to care for children is closely tied to age, maturity, and professional standing. Her resistance to the intervention arrangements, specifically the SDM protocols that stipulate only a secondary education requirement, reveals how actors' personal assumptions and ethical commitments shape implementation. The figure of the "bachelor" is perceived not just as underqualified, but also as someone too young and unprepared to assume such responsibility with children in public spaces. Thus, through her discretionary power, she reframes the criteria for recruitment, prioritising relational maturity and care capacity over minimum formal credentials.

The emotional intensity of the monitors' labour is a recurring concern. The CCS Operations Head describes monitors as "social

development engineers" who foster inclusion, support mental well-being, and intervene when children show signs of distress or neglect. One particularly illustrative quote captures this burden in full:

"I think I've found a team that really delivers everything. I mean, you really don't see everything they do. It's impressive. Talking to a parent, seeing that the child has shoes, and then going and donating shoes, organising a raffle, buying groceries for the person... They put their heart, soul and money into this... They shouldn't have to do it, because it's not part of their job. But I think that's what makes these projects successful, which is what I'm saying. The social fabric has not been lost".

This form of unrecognised and emotionally burdening care work, while instrumental to the programme's success, is simultaneously a source of vulnerability and exhaustion. In this regard, the Operations Head identifies two layers of vulnerability: one structural, relating to the programme's contractual terms for human talent and the long-term policy guarantees in 2035; and another situational, related to the risk of external harm to children and the limited ratio of monitors to students. "On a very congested street, for example, something happens and the child is not there… Every day, the monitors are counting the children every moment". These risks are compounded by the broader social context of Bogotá, where risks, a lack of visibility for children as embodied in rights, and infrastructural deficits intersect with the programme's responsibilities. She proposes increasing CCS's outlook through public media campaigns to foster greater recognition and societal support. This would help "make it much easier to cross the street without having to fight with other road actors" (ibid.). This lack of societal understanding is also reflected in friction with parents, some of whom resist their own roles in shared responsibility for child protection.

Making decisions related to the monitors generates tensions with beneficiaries, who sometimes respond by exercising their right to demand accountability, either through formal channels or by taking immediate action regarding their continued participation in the programme. The Operations Head illustrates these situations with some examples:

"Reassigning a monitor from a route can lead to emails in my inbox saying, 'We want [monitor] back on the route.' Imagine, it's that serious. Or, for example, the changes happen in the same area, but the route is different, and then they arrive and say, 'But teacher, why aren't you on the route? Why did they remove you? Who do we talk to so you come back to us?' A very strong bond is created. So obviously, these changes sometimes cause discomfort among caregivers."

These decisions regarding monitors can even impact the programme's implementation:

"In a route of 50 children, when this happened, they said: 'No, we want you to bring the monitor back, or we won't participate.' [We had to talk to the caregivers]. It wasn't easy. We dropped to 33 students. We didn't reach our target that year due to the strength of the impact."

Both decision-makers underline the importance of co-production and contextual adaptation. This implies backing from the top for negotiation practices and co-production in interactions with actors, as well as the recognition of local knowledge as a key factor in the success of the CCS implementation. The Operations Head highlights the process with local leaders:

"Hold a meeting with them, explain what the project is about, how we are going to implement it, and say: come with us. Help us implement it. Walk with us […] Ensuring that their voice and their vote are reflected in what is being implemented makes the project work in context and gives it the strength it needs".

Finally, Bogota's current government is working towards integrating its care infrastructure, which is more prominent in the Care Blocks, with school environments. This integration utilises CCS routes that operate in proximity to a Care Block, allowing for the incorporation of other interventions that enhance the environment around the school in conjunction with the existing care infrastructure. As the Operations Head illustrated:

"So let's say they have accompanied us along the roads we have. Then they start. OK, here the rubbish has to be dealt with. Here, the water company has to intervene […] Together, all the Secretariats work towards the same goal. So let's say that's how it's been done, as it's not us changing our roads, but them adapting to where we already are."

6. Discussion

Findings demonstrate that the everyday practices of monitors within the CCS programme are far from routine or mechanistic. Rather, they constitute evidence of strategic agency exercised through negotiation, adaptation, resistance, accountability, and reinterpretation across interactions with diverse actors, children, parents and caregivers, the school community, and operational-level decision-makers. This resonates with Long et al.'s (1990) Actor-oriented approach, which highlights how development actors actively shape implementation processes from within. These practices are not static; they vary significantly in form and intensity according to temporal dimensions of programme implementation, both structural, such as the pilot phase, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the current stage of consolidation and standardisation (Flórez et al., 2024), and operational, which involve daily pressures and contingency management (see Table 2). Murphy and Skillen (2015) have pointed to the relevance of temporal variability in shaping frontline discretion, a finding supported by the differentiated practices observed across these programme phases.

These strategic practices materialise at the intersection between actors' life-worlds and the institutional arrangements that constitute the CCS social interface. This interface, following Long (1989), represents the space where multiple realities collide, interact, and co-produce development outcomes. Power asymmetries within this interface become particularly salient, especially in and around the figure of the monitor, an actor whose position is simultaneously close to the community and embedded within bureaucratic structures. As Long (1990) notes, power asymmetries are intrinsic to social interfaces. In the case of CCS, they are most evident when accountability practices are unevenly distributed. While monitors are held accountable by children and adult actors alike, actioning requests from that accountability tends to happen more consistently when those requests comes from parents or school staff rather than children. Similarly, resistance practices are typically carried out individually rather than collectively, exposing monitors to potential disciplinary consequences, a dynamic that further reinforces asymmetrical power relations within implementation processes.

Although the number of interviews with monitors was limited, this should not be interpreted as a lack of relevant practices. Rather, it reflects an empirical constraint in data collection and indicates the need for the broader OWS research project to deepen this strand of investigation. In keeping with the actor-oriented approach, this dissertation compensates for this limitation by analysing the life-worlds of a range of actors which closely have points of encounter in CCS implementation. Doing so makes it possible to trace how the strategic agency of monitors is enacted and reconfigured through everyday practices, particularly where these intersect with intervention arrangements and the expectations of other actors at the social

interface.

Structural disruptions such as the pandemic further reveal the adaptive capacities of monitors. As Funder (2015) suggests, adaptation in the face of crisis may take the form of bricolage, creativity, and problem-solving. In CCS, these included practices such as visiting children at their homes or reconfiguring programme delivery to accommodate social distancing, all of which emerged from collective reinterpretations of institutional constraints. In some cases, monitors engaged in coalition-building and strategic prioritisation, aligning with Tummers and Bekkers' (2012) typology of frontline negotiation under policy ambiguity. These actions were often responses to real-time constraints, policy contradictions, or gaps in formal guidance (see Table 2). Yet, the shape these adaptations took remained contingent on the monitor's individual interpretation of local needs and programme aims, underlining the fluidity of implementation as shaped by strategic discretion.

Monitors' relationships with the school community were similarly varied. On one hand, encounters characterised by mutual recognition and support facilitated local agency practices and alignment of interests. These practices often extended to negotiating access to physical space within schools or integrating CCS into educational activities. Such patterns align with Hilhorst and Jansen's (2010) and Selfa et al.'s (2022) findings on how field-level workers reinterpret and co-construct implementation through relational strategies. In particular, school principals' life-worlds revealed a strong alignment with CCS goals, recognising the intervention's broader emotional and developmental benefits for students, benefits not typically associated with motorised school transport, like school buses (see Section 5.2). This challenges macro-level analyses of active school mobility that tend to place more emphasis on infrastructure and travel time over

relational outcomes, as seen in Pang et al. (2017) and Savolainen et al. (2024).

Conversely, where support from school actors was absent, the space for monitors' discretionary agency diminished. In such cases, the intervention was reduced to its most procedural elements, and monitors were pressured to comply with official protocols as quickly as possible, placing the success of implementation at risk. The level of discretion afforded to monitors, then, was highly dependent on the alignment, or lack thereof, between their life-worlds and those of school actors.

A different dynamic emerged in monitors' interactions with children and their parents and caregivers. Here, practices of resistance and negotiated compliance, such as walking children home beyond protocols established, or tacit agreements that allowed parents to not pick-up responsibilities, were often employed to reconcile bureaucratic logics with relational demands. These align with findings by Erasmus (2014) and Gilson (2016) on how health workers navigate dilemmas between institutional mandates and care obligations. As Schaer et al. (2017) argue, these negotiated arrangements are shaped by embedded power relations and institutional fragmentation. The CCS case reveal how monitors mediate implementation not only through resistance but also through cultivation of relationships and mediation of local dynamics. Similar practices have been identified by Zedekia (2017) and Hupe (2019), who underline how street-level bureaucrats frequently engage in pragmatic forms of action to accommodate citizen needs.

Another salient dimension of monitors' agency was their use of situated knowledge, local understandings of space, community, and context, as a basis for reshaping programme implementation. As Long (1989; 1990) and Hilhorst and Jansen (2010) highlight, frontline workers constantly reinterpret policy through

grounded experience. This was evident when monitors identified specific operational expectations that limited their ability to support children effectively and responded with alternative arrangements rooted in their contextual knowledge. Gilson (2016) describes such adaptations as forms of "strategic silence" a means of sustaining delivery under challenging conditions. Yet, these practices seldom produced direct benefits for the monitors themselves. As revealed in Section 5.2, monitors rarely engaged in collective coping strategies with only isolated instances of selective task prioritisation. Contrary to Lotta and Marques (2019), who found that peer support mechanisms often serve as buffers against institutional stress. Most practices were instead oriented toward enhancing the programme or addressing children's needs, even when this came at a personal cost. This echoes Jackson's (1996) observation that street-level bureaucrats navigate complex terrain shaped by gender norms, institutional contradictions, and communal expectations, co-producing legitimacy and identity in everyday bureaucratic life.

Despite the absence of formal accountability mechanisms towards the community in CCS protocols, monitors enacted informal and often improvised forms of accountability in response to community expectations. These practices, though not formally recognised by the SDM, reflect a relational form of responsibility situated within the social interface. Gupta et al. (2022) argue that frontline workers occupy liminal spaces where institutional mandates intersect with lived realities, contesting technocratic policy logics. In this vein, monitors' practices reveal not only how accountability is enacted informally but also how implementation becomes discontinuous when shaped by individual interpretation and uneven institutional support.

The profile of the monitor is key to understanding the implementation of CCS. As noted in Section 5.2, the values and assumptions of decision-makers responsible for recruitment strongly influence programme outcomes, even if they have the best intentions. In this case, the decision to surpass minimum educational requirements for the role led to a team of highly qualified professionals whose competencies extend far beyond those formally required. Yet, these contributions remain largely unseen in formal protocols and remuneration processes, yet are, in a way, utilised by the programme. This reflects patterns identified by Vives et al. (2020), who argue that frontline workers often face precarious conditions characterised by low pay and a lack of training. In CCS, training is not lacking but limited, and the focus on professional qualifications may unintentionally hide the value of alternative forms of care-based knowledge. This has implications for the programme's sustainability, especially if future decision-makers hold different values and life-worlds, which could change recruitment criteria and threaten the intervention's scalability and replicability across various contexts.

Most significantly, this research has shown that although the programme defines monitors as guardians, in a way, road safety officers, or pedagogues, what they truly are, though never explicitly acknowledged, is caregivers, and, aligned with Jackson (1996), they also enact gendered norms and negotiate access, control, and legitimacy within the development process. Officially tasked with protection (see Section 4.1), monitors also do direct care tasks that include supporting children's emotional well-being, safeguarding them in public spaces, and meeting their material needs, often using their own resources. These actions reflect familial ethics, as discussed by Stone (2000), and a vision of care that treats children as relatives. Beyond physical labour, walking with children, leading play, or supervising outgoing, monitors engage in emotional labour (Molinier, 2011; Sadock, 2003), becoming confidants and empathic listeners, a dynamic that frequently leads them to act in ways that

exceed formal mandates. These same affective relationships often motivate rule-bending or informal resistance when monitors believe protocol compliance could endanger a child's welfare (see Table 2). However, this creates tension with intervention arrangements that prioritise mobility over care, compelling some monitors, especially those more concerned with time efficiency (Murphy and Skillen, 2015), which could result in de-emphasising care-related practices (see Sections 5.1 and 5.2). The relational nature of this care work, as elaborated by Arango-Gaviria (2015), is understood through the lens of care ethics (Gilligan, 1982) and theorisations of physical and emotional labour (Molinier, 2011).

Having established that monitors are indeed care workers, as indicated in the international and Latin America's literature on the socialisation of care (see Section 2.2), a necessary next step for policy and practice is to recognise this care function at the level of intervention arrangements and above (O'Connor, 1996; Daly and Lewis, 2000; Razavi, 2007; Castiblanco-Moreno and Pineda D, 2024). Understanding and articulating the operational and policy implications of CCS contributing to the redistribution of care responsibilities associated with school transport is another important and necessary step forward for the programme. Not only do school transport responsibilities tend to fall disproportionately on women in the household, but in the context of CCS, the state is directly contributing to the reduction of this care burden. However, under the current intervention arrangements, this is done at the expense of the individual trade-offs that monitors are making in their everyday practices. Similar to what Alvarez Rivadulla et al. (2024) found when analysing Bogotá's feminist care system, which suggests the introduction of the concept of "state care"; in other words, care is framed not as a service or moral value alone but as a political commitment that reshapes state institutions.

Making visible how monitors enable this care work becomes essential in explicitly acknowledging the contributions the programme is currently assembling implicitly and mitigating the potential negative impacts this may have on the monitors as frontline caregivers (Tronto, 2013; Alvarez Rivadulla et al., 2024). In the current situation, this is materialised through the decision of a specific actor at the CCS operational level, but it is not reaching the policy and decision-making levels, as proposed by Alvarez Rivadulla et al. (2024), on how a feminist vision of the state is advanced through policy design and operationalised in implementation.

Furthermore, the lens of care, which encompasses a feminist vision, enables practitioners and decision-makers to overlay additional arguments that support decisions, such as having a gender parity for monitors operating CCS routes, which is currently rationalised by the street nature of the programme and the characteristics of its beneficiaries. By having both men and women caring and protecting the children, the programme is implicitly defeminising care and advancing care masculinities. These contributions speak volumes about the transformative potential of the programme beyond the mobility agenda, but imply that significant work is needed towards better policy articulation to enable the integration of CCS into the broader care policy and the city's care system (Esquivel, 2015; Elson, 2017). Finally, from the literature of frontline workers in public programmes, Vives et al. (2020) found that the insights and experiential knowledge of frontline workers are rarely embedded into policy design and evaluation, as suggested by Brodkin (2012). Therefore, there is an urgent need to 'study the street' not only to uncover what policies do in real life but also to inform more just and effective program design (Brodkin, 2012).

7. Conclusion

This paper builds on the Actor Oriented approach to explore and analyse the everyday practices of frontline workers in the context of active mobility to school interventions from the public sector. I used the CCS programme from the SDM and the SED of Bogotá, Colombia, as a case study.

The Actor-Oriented approach provided a very useful lens to put actors at the centre of interventions through a conceptual framework that enabled me to understand life-worlds, social interfaces, and the strategic agency of frontline workers, which in the case of CCS are known as Monitors. Additionally, given the nature of the programme in which adults care for children, I also incorporated notions from the literature of care, which allows me to examine whether monitors' practices constitute Care Work. In this regard, my framework became a magnifying glass to see the details at the granular scale that can explain the challenges and complexities that emerge from the interactions between different actors involved in the intervention, and the quotidian and situated reality of those operating programmes to understand how the implementation processes translate into the various outcomes that may be observed from a more structuralist analysis.

My first hypothesis was that the everyday practices of monitors influence the operation of CCS and can, to some extent, explain the programme's success. To test this hypothesis and answer my first research question: What is the influence of everyday practices by CCS monitors on the programmes' operation? I analysed the interviews of the monitors and all actors more directly connected with them in search of practices that can be summarised in five large categories: Negotiation, Adaptation, Resistance or Contestation, Reinterpretation, and Accountability

The first key takeaway from this analysis is that monitors engage in a significant number of everyday practices that go beyond the functions defined for them by the operational protocols of CCS. Unpacking this further, my analysis showed that the first four categories emerge at the intersection between life-worlds and intervention arrangements. However, the last category of accountability, which is an addition to what the traditional Actor-Oriented Approach considers, emerges outside of what is contemplated in the official protocols. I find that this latter practice is the result of the intersection of monitors' daily strategic agency and the life-worlds of the community involved in CCS. This particular practice is where improvisation and power imbalances become more pronounced, given that it lacks institutional support from the intervention arrangements. For instance, demands from children tend to be less actioned than those from adults, with some differences depending on whether they come from parents or the school community.

In sum, the many practices that monitors engage in modify the operation by overlaying additional elements connected with weaving the social fabric of the programme and integrating it into the life of the school community. They also contribute to the programme's success by increasing its recognition by the community and increasing its value for the people involved in the CCS.

However, to fully answer the first question, it is essential to address my second hypothesis, that monitors engage in care work in their everyday practices, thereby contributing to the socialisation of care in Bogotá. This hypothesis and its related question are deeply interconnected with the previous part of my conclusion. To what extent do everyday practices of CCS monitors constitute care work? Many of the practices I identified are founded on ideals of a familial ethics of care and relational, embodied care work. These ideals in the public sphere create tensions and emotional burdens for monitors who are negotiating their life-worlds and the relationships they have built with children, their

families, and school communities, as well as their assigned functions.

My second takeaway establishes that CCS monitors, while formally framed as mobility or pedagogical actors, are fundamentally care workers. Their practices reflect a deep commitment to both emotional and physical caregiving, often exceeding programme protocols to meet children's needs. Drawing on care work and the literature on the social organisation of care, it becomes clear that CCS contributes meaningfully to the redistribution of school-related care responsibilities, traditionally borne by women, to the state. Yet, this redistribution relies heavily on the informal and invisible labour of monitors. Recognising their care function at the level of programme design is essential to alleviate individual trade-offs and sustain the programme's impact. Moreover, CCS is helping to redefine care by promoting gender parity among monitors, thereby defeminising care and fostering care masculinities. These findings underscore the programme's transformative potential, not only for mobility policy but also as part of the broader care policy and integration in Bogotá's care system.

This paper acknowledges certain limitations related to both sample size and the design of data collection instruments. Regarding the former, considering that the Actor-Oriented Approach centres the experiences and practices of social actors, and that the nature of the programme presents challenges linked to public space, it would be valuable to include a larger sample of monitors implementing the programme across different areas of the city and with varying lengths of involvement in CCS. The second limitation pertains to the interview guides, which were not originally designed to explore the granular dimensions of programme implementation from the perspective of frontline workers, nor were they framed within a research agenda explicitly focused on care practices within the programme.

Finally, future research should build on the recognition implicit in this research of CCS as a care programme, which opens critical opportunities to make visible the care work performed by monitors, as Tronto (2013) suggests, and to position school mobility interventions within the broader Bogotá care agenda, which has mainly remained sectoral. Additionally, the findings related to age-based power asymmetries within the programme accountability highlight a promising direction for further exploration of children's agency and intra-community power dynamics in development processes.

The insights into school community willingness and engagement with CCS suggest opportunities for peer learning and knowledge exchange across various contexts. The OWS research project can leverage these findings to facilitate horizontal learning between peers across the three study sites, thereby strengthening the design and implementation of pilot interventions in Mozambique. Lastly, advancing CCS's intervention arrangements will require co-production processes with monitors, children, caregivers, and school communities. These participatory strategies, rooted in actors' situated realities and local knowledge, will be essential to ensure the scalability, replicability, and responsiveness of the programme in diverse contexts.

8. Refences

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10. Footnotes

[1] Districts in which the city is administratively organised.

[2] The difference here is their professional profile and that they have line manager responsibilities with monitors. From the SDM official protocols, those are: i) Schedule the activities of the assigned team to ensure the proper execution of on-street operations within the designated zone; ii) Review planning and monitor the implementation of the safe routes and other on-street operational processes; iii) Lead the operational logistics in response to real-time incidents during on-street operations, in accordance with established protocols; iv) Support the development of protocols, procedures, guidelines, and manuals for on-street operations and incident management; and v) Review and consolidate databases or reports related to the on-street operations component and any operational incidents.

[3] This refers to the COVID-19 Pandemic.

## 9. Annexes

Annexe 1. Data sources: Interview summary

Table 1. Interview summary

Actor	Number and characteristics of interviewees
Children and adolescents	2 girls 2 boys
Parents	2 women 1 man
Academic community	2 school principals 2 academic coordinators
Monitors	2 monitors
Decisions makers	2 from District Mobility Secretariat 1 from District Health Secretariat
Total	**16**

Source: Own elaboration based on OWS primary data

Annexe 2. Analytical approach: Thematic analysis

Fig 2. Illustration of the thematic analysis: compared by the number of coding references
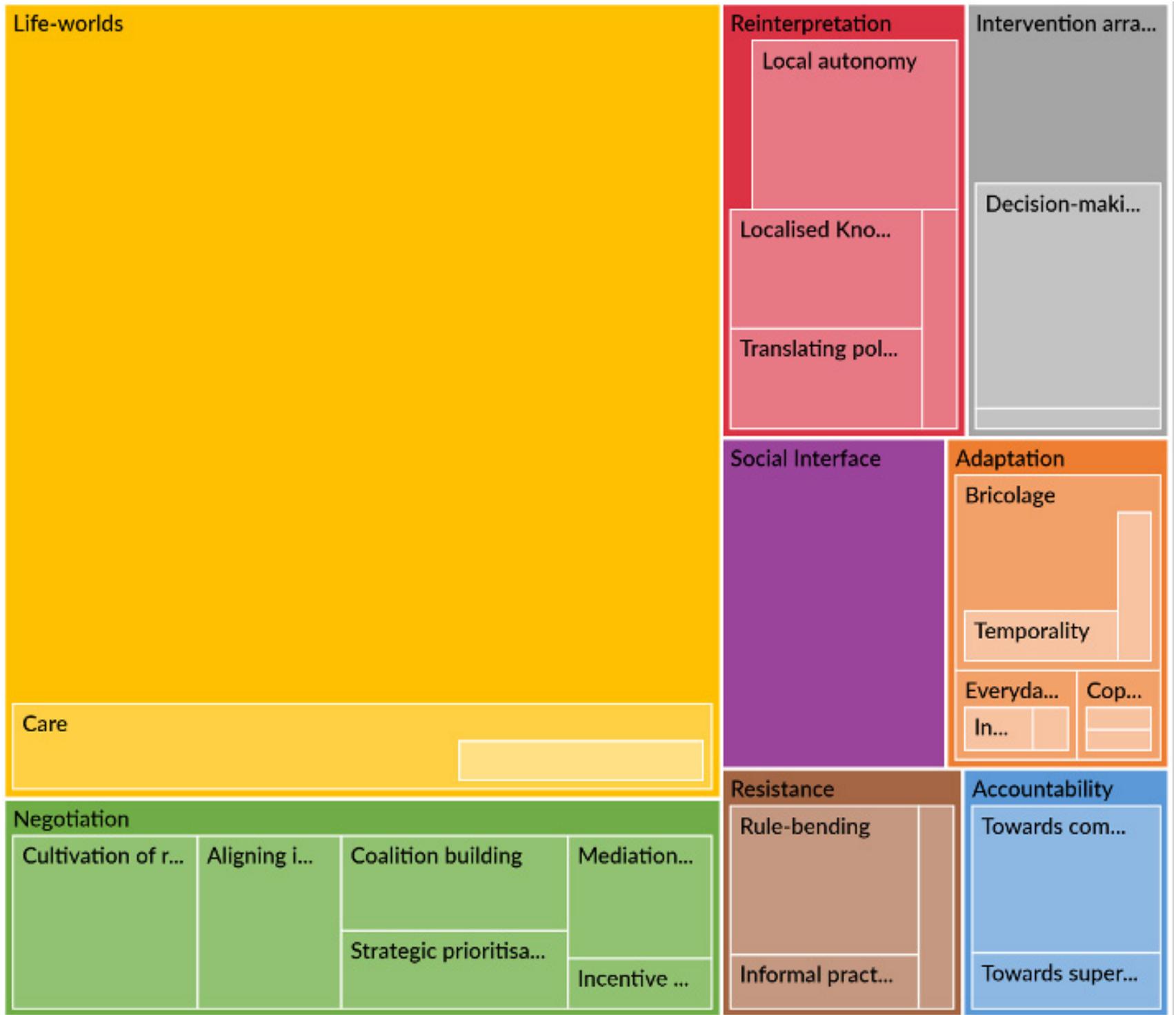
Source: Own elaboration based on secondary data analysis.

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Project's funders

Global Alliance for Chronic Diseases (GACD)
Medical Research Council (MRC UK)
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Produced by:

On the Way to School Project

Designed by:

María José Arbeláez Zapata

Funded by:

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