



Power Sharing Stakeholder of Child-Friendly City Task Force

Nilah Wahyuni¹, Maryam Jamilah², Hidayatul Fajri³

^{1,2} Universitas Andalas, Limau Manis, Pauh, Padang, 25175, Indonesia

³ Universitas Negeri Padang, Jalan Prof. Dr. Hamka, Air Tawar Barat, Padang, 25132, Indonesia

ARTICLE INFORMATION

Received: November 18, 2021

Revised: December 23, 2021

Accepted: January 15, 2022

Available online: January 30, 2022

KEYWORDS

Collaborative Governance, Power Sharing, Social Network Analysis, Stakeholder Mapping

CORRESPONDENCE

Name: Nilah Wahyuni

E-mail: nilawahyuni@soc.unand.ac.id

A B S T R A C T

The task force collaboration forum is present to strengthen and increase stakeholders' commitment to developing Child-Friendly Cities in Padang City. However, the optimization of this forum has not been appropriately achieved. Previous research has shown that the cause of this is sectoral ego, low stakeholders understanding, a master plan suitable for children has not been formed. At the same time, the involvement and linkage of stakeholders in the task force is a determining factor for the success of a collaboration. Furthermore, a power balance must be established between stakeholders during deliberation and decision-making. This study aimed to analyze power-sharing in the collaborative forum of Padang City Child-Friendly Task Force. The analytical method used is stakeholder mapping and social networks analysis. Stakeholders involved in the Padang City child-friendly task force have diverse interests and influences. Eighteen parties consist of two actors as key players, two as subject, seven as context center, and seven as the crowd. The interaction pattern of the stakeholders in the form of information flow is not evenly distributed. Several participants can bridge the disconnection of this information network on the condition that the strong participants must establish a relationship with the weak. A more decentralized structure and precise working mechanism are needed to control the power imbalance among stakeholders.

INTRODUCTION

Children need to protect their rights as an investment for a country's sustainability, and the Indonesian government has long integrated them into an established constitutional foundation. Several programs from the government then appeared to synergize this, one of which was Child-Friendly City (CFC). As an area that has been running the program for a long time, the City of Padang already has several regulations that regulate this, namely Regional Regulation 2 of 2012 concerning Child Development and Protection and Regional Regulation No. 12 of 2019 concerning Child-Friendly Cities.

As a follow-up to the issuance of the regulation, a task force form to strengthen and increase stakeholders' commitment and encourage all sectors to play a direct role in developing CFC in Padang City. The task force consists of multi-stakeholder government institutions (state stakeholder) and stakeholders who are not from government institutions (non-state stakeholder).

However, the problem is that the task force has not run optimally until now. Our previous research showed several causes, namely sectoral ego, low stakeholders understanding, and the absence of a child-friendly master plan. The role of government actors who are too dominant in the task force creates a silo mentality that is difficult for non-state actors to enter. In the end, the involvement of non-state actors is just a formality. The absence of a master plan or precise working mechanism makes participating stakeholders not maximize their role (Wahyuni et al., 2021). In contrast, Ansell & Gash (2018) and Emerson et al. (2012), in their article, states that in a collaboration forum, multi-stakeholder involvement and linkage are something that must exist to achieve successful collaboration, especially the participation and linkage of non-state actors.

In addition, other experts also stated that a power balance must form between stakeholders during deliberation and decision-making to achieve success in collaboration. However, there will always be an imbalance in power relations and varying degrees of dependence between stakeholders, known as 'power asymmetry' or imbalance (Choi & Robertson, 2014). Several previous studies have suggested power-sharing as a solution (Berkes, 2010; Huxham et al., 2000).

Duadji & Tresiana (2018) stated in their research that strengthening policy models is a step in building Child-Friendly Cities. Nam & Nam, (2018) propose policies that focus, guarantee practical participation, active outreach, secure budgeting, and build collaborative organizations and networks to support the creation of CFCs. While Handam & Akbar (2020), in their research, assess multi-actor involvement and innovation as a step to achieve successful collaboration towards CFC, Whitzman et al. (2008) argues that children's participation and aspirations are a form of sharing power and responsibility in achieving optimal decisions in the development of CFC. These previous studies show that no one has specifically examined power-sharing as a step in achieving successful collaboration in developing Child-Friendly Cities.

How can stakeholders with different origins and power levels be able to move from power over (own gain), to power to (mutual gain), and/or to power for (altruistic gain) to establish a better balance of power in the process of deciding the best course of action to deal with the problem that is the goal (Choi & Robertson, 2014). A clear conceptualization of power is needed as a starting point to analyze the possibility of power-sharing in collaborative governance (Ran & Qi, 2018).

The author uses the stakeholder mapping method with a power versus interest grid technique to analyze this possibility. This technique can map influential stakeholders during the

policy process and understand synergies and conflicts between stakeholders (Reed et al., 2009). Furthermore, to find out the social relations and positions of these stakeholders in a network, the Social Network Analysis (SNA) method is used.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach carried out in July-September 2021. All the data we got through interviews, documentation, and observations were analyzed to get a systematic picture/description of the conditions/phenomena that occurred. The object of this research is the stakeholders involved in the Child-Friendly City Task Force of Padang City, referring to the Mayor's Decree no. 469 of 2019 concerning the Task Force for Child-Friendly Cities in 2019. The list of informants in this study is as listed in table 1.

The stages of data analysis that we carried out in obtaining power-sharing analysis were; 1) Stakeholder Mapping Analysis. It aims to identify all parties involved in the Child-Friendly Task Force in terms of the influence and interests of each stakeholder. The Stakeholder Mapping analysis used in this study came from Reed et al. (2009), is a model that can analyze the influence (power) and interest of the parties. Influence refers to the parties' power to control, influence, change, or hinder the collaboration process. Meanwhile, the interest is to see how far the stakeholders want to achieve Child-Friendly City in Padang City.

Furthermore, using the instrument of influence and interest, stakeholders will be grouped into 4 (four) categories: Key Players, Context Setters, Subjects, and Crowd. Through the four-quadrant graph, it will be able to provide information about the position and role played by each stakeholder in the CFC task force. That way, information will be obtained regarding the degree/level of influence and interests of each stakeholder; 2) Social Network Analysis (SNA) aims to determine the social relations of the stakeholders and how the position of these stakeholders in a network, namely the Padang City CFC Task Force. The aspects used in SNA are density and centralization (degree centrality and betweenness centrality), which Prell et al., (2009) have previously carried out. Density is the percentage of relationships in the network, and network density using to measure all stakeholders' interrelationships. On the other hand, betweenness centrality refers to the entity's role (party), which is the shortest bridge that connects two other separate parties. SNA analysis in this study uses UCINET 6.528 and NetDraw 2.141 software.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Padang City Child-Friendly City Task Force

For three years, the City of Padang has only won the Nindya rank in evaluating a Child-Friendly City. No significant improvement making regarding the CFC program in Padang City. There are still obscenity and violence against children, many neglected children, and street children are found at every crossroads; children addicting to gadgets, not all children have birth certificates, so there are still few children who have Child Identity Cards (KIA). Then, not all regions, both sub-districts and sub-districts, have formed children's forums according to the constitutional mandate, even though the existence of this children's forum is a forum for children to play an active role in society.

The Padang City Government has several times formed the CFC Task Force, which aims to accelerate and encourage the City of Padang to become a Child-Friendly City. Unfortunately, this task force, a multi-stakeholder, often experiences ups and downs. In 2011 the number of actors involved consisted of 29 state actors and 15 non-state actors. In 2017 they changed to 33 state actors and 11 non-state actors, and in 2019 there were 33 state actors and 10 non-state actors.

This indicates that the collaboration forum has complex issues. On the other hand, the sudden participation of stakeholders tends to be only a complement or a mere formality. It can see from the decreasing number of non-state actors involved. The involvement of non-state actors also determines the success of this collaboration forum.

To find out in-depth about the failure of the CFC task force, the author first wants to know the stakeholder mapping and, after that, analyze the social relations and positions of these stakeholders in a network. Knowing the form/pattern of sharing power in this collaboration process will help interested parties stimulate and improve previous performance. That way, the acceleration in implementing and developing the City of Padang into a Child-Friendly City can be achieved.

Stakeholder Mapping: Power Versus Interest Grid

To identify involvement and interest, the attributes of influence and importance use. There are 18 parties that we identified as involved: state and non-state stakeholders. State stakeholders represent by each coordinator for each Child-Friendly City indicator. The stakeholders categorize into four categories, namely key players, subjects, context setters, and crowd.

Table 1. Stakeholders Involved in the Padang City CFC Task Force

Stakeholder	Position	Type
Head of Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah (Bappeda)	Chairman	State
Head of Badan Pengelolaan Keuangan dan Aset Daerah (BPKAD)	Vice Chairman	State
Head of Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan, Perlindungan Anak, Pengendalian Penduduk dan Keluarga Berencana (DP3P2KB)	Secretary	State
Law Part of Sekretariat Daerah (Setda)	Institutional Coordinator	State
Element of Dinas Kependudukan dan Pencatatan Sipil (Disdukcapil)	Coordinator of Civil Rights and Liberties	State
Element of Dinas Sosial (Dinsos)	Coordinator of Family Environment Rights and	State

	Alternative Care	
Element of Dinas Kesehatan (Dinkes)	Coordinator of Basic Health and Welfare Rights	State
Element of Dinas Pendidikan (Disdik)	Coordinator of Education Rights, Use of Leisure and Cultural Arts Activities	State
Kepolisian Resor Kota (Polresta)	Coordinator of Special Protection Rights	State
Private Sector	Member of Institutional	Non-state
Child Forum	Member of Civil Rights and Liberties	Non-state
Mass Media	Member of Civil Rights and Liberties	Non-state
Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK)	Members of the Family Ward and Alternative Parenting Rights	Non-state
Bundo Kandung	Members of the Family Ward and Alternative Parenting Rights	Non-state
Asosiasi Ibu Menyusui Indonesia (AIMI)	Members of the Right to Basic Health and Welfare	Non-state
Lembaga Konsultasi Kesejahteraan Keluarga (LK3)	Member of Education, Utilization of Leisure and Cultural Arts Activities	Non-state
College Element	Member of Education, Utilization of Leisure and Cultural Arts Activities	Non-state
Ruang Anak Dunia (RUANDU Foundation)	Member of Education, Utilization of Leisure and Cultural Arts Activities	Non-state

Table 1 shows 18 stakeholders consisting of 9 state actors and 9 non-state actors. We selected several categories in this study: task force leaders, sub-task force coordinators, and non-state actors. The selection was based on these actors' crucial role and

the necessity of non-state actors to be involved as a prerequisite for successful collaborative governance.

Next, we mapped the eighteen stakeholders into four categories using the power versus interest grid technique to determine the level of influence and importance. From these results, there are 2 actors as key players, 2 as subject, 7 as context center, and 7 as a crowd.

Key players are stakeholders categorized as parties who have strong influence and interest in the implementation and development in Padang City. The parties in this category are the Head of Bappeda and the Head of DP3P2KB. This party has significant influence because it can influence other parties and has direct involvement with the implementation and development of CFC. Bappeda as a Regional Apparatus Organization (OPD) has a regulatory function related to the development of CFC, which is contained in the planning document and implemented by all OPDs listed therein according to the Mayor of Padang Decree Number 469 of 2019 concerning the Child-Friendly Task Force in 2019. At the same time, the Head of DP3P2KB is responsible for advocating for all parties involved in implementing the CFC program. This party's perception is a strong influence because it directly contacts all parties involved socially and informationally. That power comes from their influence in formulating binding rules and other sources of influence such as institutional capacity, quality of resources, budgetary power, and networks. This group should be involved in all organizational development, and stakeholders in other groups need to build good partnerships with these groups to ensure an effective coalition.

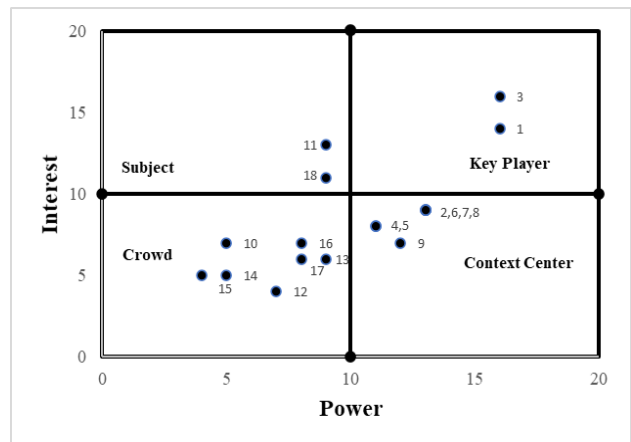


Figure 1. Stakeholder Mapping Based on Power and Interest in the Padang City CFC Task Force

Description:

1=Head of Bappeda, 2=Head of BPKAD, 3=Head of DP3P2KB, 4=Law Part of Setda, 5=Disdukcapil, 6=Dinsos, 7=Dinkes, 8=Disdik, 9=Polresta, 10=Private Sector, 11=Child Forum, 12=Mass Media, 13=PKK, 14=Bundo Kandung, 15=AIMI, 16=LK3, 17=College Element, 18=RUANDU Foundation

The second category is the context center, namely groups with a strong influence but low interest in CFC implementation. This group includes the Head of BPKAD, Legal Division of the Regional Secretariat, Disdukcapil, Social Service, Health Office, Disdik, Polresta. This party has a strong influence because it has strong institutions with adequate human resources, regulations, and budgets. The head of BPKAD plays a role in ensuring that CFC development programs and activities containing in the document and budget. Disdukcapil, Dinsos, Dinkes, Disdik play a role by their respective organizational principal duties.

Meanwhile, Polresta has a strong influence in terms of institutions and regulations in CFC implementation, especially Children's Special Protection Rights. The interests of this group are limited to the existing main tasks and functions; therefore, this group tends to be less participative in the CFC task force. These interest groups can be used as allies to support specific policies. Therefore, it is essential to let them know about the exciting subjects.

The third category is the subject. The party in this position has high interest, but the other side has low influence. The parties categorized as subjects in the Padang City CFC task force are the Children's Forum RUANDU Foundation. Both parties are non-government actors, so their influence is relatively small. The high importance of the children's forum is because the forum is a forum for children in the city of Padang to participate actively, both as pioneers and reporters. The existence of a children's forum is an obligation that must exist for every region. In addition, this children's forum is also the party that directly feels the impact on the implementation of CFC. The RUANDU Foundation is a non-government party that participates in the fulfillment and protection of children without discrimination. Due to their low power, collaborative forums are necessary to analyze these groups' potential interests and reactions to crucial developments. The parties in this group have high interests and need to represent in programs and processes. They have a strategic role in influencing stronger parties. On the other hand, their interests also need to be protected.

While the last category is crowd, both have low interest and influence. This category includes the Business World, Mass Media, PKK Mobilization Team, Bundo Kandung, AIMI, LK3, Universities. The parties in this group still have to get information within the required limits, and monitoring continues because their positions may change depending on the prevailing situation and conditions.

The results showed that the stakeholders involved in the Padang City CFC Task Force had different interests and influences. As key players in the collaboration forum, the Head of Bappeda and Head of DP3P2KB must fully involve other stakeholders. They also have to establish good communication and continuously monitor the presence of stakeholders who are categorized as a crowd because their interests and influence can change over time.

Social Network Analysis

The relationship between parties who are members of the Padang City CFC task force is analyzed using social network analysis to explain the existing interaction patterns through information relations between parties that occur. Molano & Polo (2015) state that the percentage of possible relationships in a network can measure by calculating the network's density.

Table 2. Network Density

Density	Number of relationships
0,699	214

Network density represents the distribution of relationships within the network, connectivity across the network, and the rate of information transmission among stakeholders. The value of high or complete network density is equal to 1. The percentage generated in table 2 shows that the overall network density is 0.699 or 69.9%, and the number of connections is 214. These data indicate that the network density that occurs is not high. This

network has the characteristic that many network members/actors are not related to each other or do not even recognize each other. The weaker the density value/network relationship obtained, the weaker the relationship or bond (Reed et al., 2009).

Degree centrality shows how stakeholders have ties/relationships with other stakeholders. A high degree of centrality indicates a more central stakeholder position. Stakeholders with the highest degree of centrality are popular stakeholders in social networks because they have many relationships with other stakeholders.

Based on the analysis results (figure 2), the Head of Bappeda, Head of BPKAD, and Head of DP3P2KB have 17 relationships with a degree centrality of 1. They followed the Education Office with a relationship of 16 and a degree centrality of 0.94. This means the Head of Bappeda, Head of BPKAD, and Head of DP3P2KB relate to all actors in the network and the Education Office relates to most of the actors. In other words, the Head of Bappeda, Head of BPKAD, and Head of DP3P2KB are central actors in the network that can accelerate the dissemination of information or resources to other actors on the network.

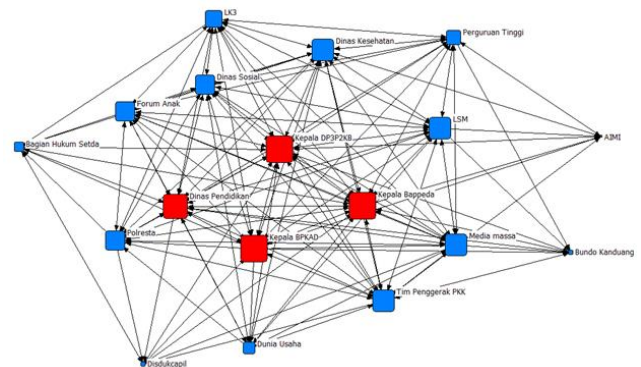


Figure 2. Degree Centrality of Information Relations of the Parties in the Padang City CFC Task Force

Then the betweenness centrality analysis shows the stakeholder's position as a mediator of the relationship between stakeholders in the network. Stakeholders who act as intermediaries are crucial because specific stakeholders cannot connect with other stakeholders without intermediary stakeholders. This analysis is essential because it relates to controlling and manipulating information by stakeholders who act as intermediaries. The more stakeholders who depend on a stakeholder to connect with other stakeholders, the greater the power possess as an intermediary.

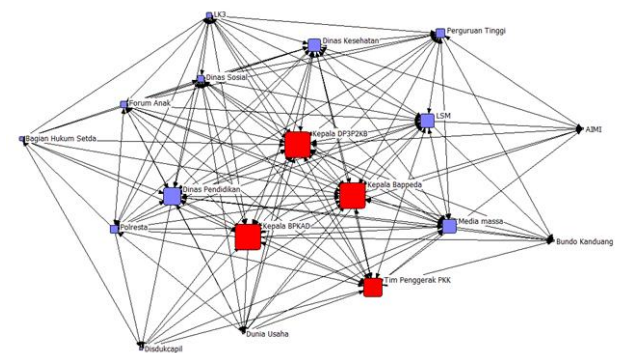


Figure 3. Betweenness Centrality Information Relations of the Parties in the Padang City CFC Task Force

The analysis results (figure 3) show that the Head of Bappeda, Head of BPKAD, and Head of DP3P2KB are the actors who primarily act as intermediaries, followed by the PKK. So, the most crucial stakeholders in bridging the information network in this network are the Head of Bappeda, Head of BPKAD, and Head of DP3P2KB.

Power Sharing as an Effort to Balance Power

The results of the analysis of stakeholders and social networks show a relationship of information and interests that occurs in the collaboration forum of the CFC task force. Information relations that occur are not evenly distributed among stakeholders or are called power asymmetry. If this condition is left unchecked, the task force's objectives will not achieve because there is no synergy between the related parties (Isakh et al., 2020).

The Head of Bappeda and Head of DP3P2KB as key players in the collaboration forum show centralization, according to Crona & Bodin (2006) and Olsson et al. (2004), needed as an initial stage in forming groups and building support for joint action. Unfortunately, the actor who plays the key role in CFC's implementation in Padang City occupies the same actor. This is a disadvantage for the task force because the long-term goal of collaboration requires a more decentralized structure, where there are more ties and strong and weak parties among all stakeholders (Crona & Bodin, 2006).

Actors who have weak interests, influence, and information relations dominate by government actors (non-state stakeholders) see Figures 1, 2, and 3. These stakeholders tend to have different backgrounds, the party has a variety of information and new ideas that can offer stakeholders access to various information and resources. On the other hand, these weak parties also lack good trust and knowledge; therefore, the Head of Bappeda, Head of BPKAD, and Head of DP3P2KB, as well as the PKK Mobilization Team is to bridge the disconnected network so that it can make it more resilient and adaptive to environmental changes as an implementer and developer of the CFC program in the City of Padang (Reed et al., 2009).

Stakeholders and their attributes that interact during the collaboration process affect the ties within the network. The strong actors occupy similar actors, namely the Head of Bappeda, Head of BPKAD, and Head of DP3P2KB. This kind of stakeholders can better communicate discreetly and manage complex information because there is a better understanding between them.

In such a situation, it may be beneficial to increase the diversity of stakeholders involved in collaborative forums, but it can also be problematic, as successful collaborative governance requires different views and opinions to be recognized and discussed (Maani et al. 2021; Crona & Bodin, 2006; Newman & Dale, 2005). Considering the theoretical and practical complexity of collaborative forums, it is helpful to understand the deliberation process and the impact of different decision-making that lead to final decisions (Choi & Robertson, 2014).

CONCLUSION

The study results show that the Padang City CFC Task Force stakeholders have various influences and interests. Eighteen (18) parties involved consisted of two actors as key players, namely the Head of Bappeda and Head of DP3P2KB, seven actors as the context center, namely Head of BPKAD, Legal Division of the Regional Secretariat, Disdukcapil, Social Service, Health Office,

Disdik, Polresta, then two actors as subjects. Namely the Children's Forum and RUANDU Foundation and seven actors as the crowd, namely the Business World, Mass Media, PKK Mobilization Team, Bundo Kanduang, AIMI LK3, Universities. Key players with strong influence and interest must fully involve stakeholders in other quadrants, especially stakeholders categorized as crowds because their interests and influence can change over time.

Then the pattern of interaction of the parties showed uneven results. The accumulation of knowledge and information accumulates between several parties so that some parties cannot access the information. Some parties can bridge the disconnection of the information network, requiring that the strong party establish a relationship with the weak party. Accelerating the implementation and development of CFC through this task force requires a more decentralized structure and a precise working mechanism to control the imbalance of power between the parties involved so that the various interests and influences that exist between the weak and robust parties can collaborate.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author is grateful to Andalas University, which has funded this research through Faculty DIPA funds with contract number SPK No: 01/PL/SPK/PNP/FISIP-UNAND/2021. Then thanks were also conveyed to Qori Pebrial Ilham, who helped process the data.

REFERENCES

- Ansell, C., & Gash, A. (2018). Collaborative platforms as a governance strategy. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 28(1), 16–32. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mux030>
- Berkes, F. (2010). Devolution of environment and resources governance: Trends and future. *Environmental Conservation*, 37(4), 489–500. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S037689291000072X>
- Choi, T., & Robertson, P. J. (2014). Deliberation and decision in collaborative governance: A simulation of approaches to mitigate power imbalance. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 24(2), 495–518. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mut003>
- Crona, B., & Bodin, Ö. (2006). What You Know is Who You Know? Communication Patterns Among Resource Users as a Prerequisite for Co-management. *Ecology and Society*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.5751/es-01793-110207>
- Duadji, N., & Tresiana, N. (2018). Kota Layak Anak Berbasis Collaborative Governance. *Sawwa: Jurnal Studi Gender*, 13(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.21580/sa.v13i1.2201>
- Emerson, K., Nabatchi, T., & Balogh, S. (2012). An integrative framework for collaborative governance. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 22(1), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mur011>
- Handam, & Akbar, R. (2020). *Journal la bisecoman*. 0987, 32–37. <https://doi.org/10.37899/journallabisecoman.v1i3.152>
- Huxham, C., Vangen, S., Huxham, C., & Eden, C. (2000). The Challenge of Collaborative Governance. *Public Management: An International Journal of Research and Theory*, 2(3), 337–358. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14719030000000021>
- Isakh, I. H., Rossa, J. C., Narendragharini, K. S., & Putri, K. S. (2020). Kolaborasi dalam Program Inovasi Pembangunan dan Pemberdayaan Kewilayahan di Kelurahan Babakan

- Ciparay. *Ministrate: Jurnal Birokrasi Dan Pemerintahan Daerah*, 2(2), 87–98. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jbpd.v2i2.9386>
- Maani, K. D., Fajri, H., Wahyuni, N., & Malau, H. (2021). COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE SEBAGAI SOLUSI DALAM TATA KELOLA PEMBERDAYAAN. *SOSIO INFORMA*, 7(2), 74–88. <https://ejournal.kemensos.go.id/index.php/Sosioinforma/article/view/2713/1493>
- Nam, H., & Nam, S. I. (2018). NU SC. *Children and Youth Services Review*, #pagerange#. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.08.033>
- Newman, L., & Dale, A. (2005). Network structure, diversity, and proactive resilience building: A response to Tompkins and Adger. *Ecology and Society*, 10(1), 0–4. <https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-01396-1001r02>
- Olsson, P., Folke, C., & Hahn, T. (2004). Social-ecological transformation for ecosystem management: The development of adaptive co-management of a wetland landscape in southern Sweden. *Ecology and Society*, 9(4). <https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-00683-090402>
- Prell, C., Hubacek, K., & Reed, M. (2009). Stakeholder analysis and social network analysis in natural resource management. *Society and Natural Resources*, 22(6), 501–518. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920802199202>
- Ran, B., & Qi, H. (2018). Contingencies of Power Sharing in Collaborative Governance. *American Review of Public Administration*, 48(8), 836–851. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0275074017745355>
- Reed, M. S., Graves, A., Dandy, N., Posthumus, H., Hubacek, K., Morris, J., Prell, C., Quinn, C. H., & Stringer, L. C. (2009). Who's in and why? A typology of stakeholder analysis methods for natural resource management. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 90(5), 1933–1949. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvman.2009.01.001>
- Wahyuni, N., Helmi, R. F., & Fajri, H. (2021). CHILD-FRIENDLY CITY: FAILURE TO BUILD COLLABORATION. *EL-RİYASAH*, 12, 159–170.
- Whitzman, C., Worthington, M., & Mizrachi, D. (2008). *The Journey and the Destination Matter: Child-Friendly Cities and Children's Right to the City*. 36(4).