

CHILDHOOD AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN ZAMORA CITY INFANCIA Y DERECHOS HUMANOS EN LA CIUDAD DE ZAMORA INFÂNCIA E DIREITOS HUMANOS NA CIDADE DE ZAMORA

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<p>KEY WORDS: childhood adolescence participation city policies</p>	<p>ABSTRACT: Current cities are offering spaces of citizenship answering to social transformations and new realities; turning territories into sociopersonal development universes. In this context, children and adolescents are interacting, leading to know what are urban developments located in this healthy, intelligent and sustainable cities paradigm. The main objective of this study has been to analyse parental, professional and technical figures opinions who work with children and adolescents in Zamora city, related to childhood and adolescence's municipalities' policies. It's used an exploratory and descriptive research, be means of a qualitative approach generating 3 focus group discussion which children and adolescents. The narratives show that children and adolescent's rights in this city are not always a priority, although participants reveal there should be a special concern for those children in vulnerable circumstances. These results will allow adapting municipal programs and spaces, and contribute to children autonomy and empowerment, by means of coordinated political processes and the children's participation.</p>
<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: infancia adolescencia participación ciudad políticas</p>	<p>RESUMEN: Las ciudades actuales están ofreciendo espacios de ciudadanía como respuesta a las transformaciones sociales y nuevas realidades; convirtiéndose los territorios en espacios de desarrollo sociopersonal. Interactuando en este contexto se encuentran los niños, niñas y adolescentes, lo que lleva a conocer cuáles son los desarrollos urbanos que se sitúan en este paradigma de ciudades saludables, inteligentes y sostenibles. El principal objetivo de este estudio ha sido analizar la opinión de los niños, niñas y adolescentes de la ciudad de Zamora en relación con las políticas de la infancia y adolescencia del municipio. Para ello se utilizó una investigación de tipo exploratorio y descriptivo, utilizando un enfoque cualitativo traducido en 3 grupos de discusión. Los relatos muestran que los derechos de los niños, niñas y adolescentes en la ciudad no siempre son prioritarios, aunque los participantes manifiestan que debería haber una especial preocupación por aquellos menores de edad en situación de vulnerabilidad. Estos resultados plantean la necesidad de coordinar los procesos políticos, incluyendo la participación de los niños, niñas y adolescentes en la planificación urbana, lo que contribuirá a adaptar con eficacia los espacios urbanos y facilitar su autonomía y empoderamiento.</p>

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<p>PALAVRAS-CHAVE: infância adolescência participação cidade políticas</p>	<p>RESUMO: As cidades atuais estão oferecendo espaços de cidadania em resposta a transformações sociais e novas realidades; transformar os territórios em espaços de desenvolvimento sociopessoal. Interagindo nesse contexto estão crianças e adolescentes, o que leva a saber quais são os desenvolvimentos urbanos que estão localizados nesse paradigma de cidades saudáveis, inteligentes e sustentáveis. O principal objetivo deste estudo foi analisar a opinião das figuras parentais, profissionais e pessoal técnico que desenvolvem seu trabalho com crianças na cidade de Zamora em relação às políticas de infância e adolescência do município. Para isso, utilizou-se uma pesquisa exploratória e descritiva, com abordagem qualitativa, traduzida em 3 grupos de discussão, nos quais participaram crianças da cidade de Zamora. As histórias mostram que os direitos das crianças na cidade nem sempre são uma prioridade, embora crianças afirmam que deve haver uma preocupação especial pelas crianças em situações vulneráveis. Esses resultados levantam a necessidade de coordenar processos políticos, incluindo a participação das crianças e adolescentes no planejamento urbano, o que contribuirá para adaptar efetivamente os espaços urbanos e facilitar sua autonomia e empoderamento.</p>
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1. Introduction

The 30th anniversary of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and the consequent legislative reforms that Spain has implemented show the commitment to the well-being of children and adolescents (CA). This has meant an important advance in the defence of the 'best interests of the child'; substantive law and procedural rule, included in the CRC (1989) and in the General Observation No. 14 (2013) of the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child. This recognition of children as subjects of law has allowed the European Commission to adopt an EU Agenda for the Rights of the Child (COM 2011/60 final) in whose General Principles it states that "the *child rights perspective* must be taken into consideration in all EU measures affecting children".

Despite legislative progress, greater specialization and improved coordination, the system is not capable of reducing social exclusion; rather, the lack of compensatory policies and bureaucratic management models become phenomena that lead to vulnerability and social inequality. 31.3% of the child population is in the AROPE2 situation; 9.8% live in households with low employment intensity (BIT H) and 6.5% support Severe Material Deprivation (SMD) (EAPN, 2017). In 2017, 47,493 minors were attended by the autonomous child protection systems, representing an 8% increase over the previous year (Ministry of Health, Consumption and Social Welfare, 2018). In this same year, the rate of early school leaving reached 18.3% (Childhood in Data Web). Brazier's study (2017) places the country in 21st place in a ranking of rich countries (41 OECD countries), after selecting 10 SDO and comparing them with child welfare levels. It presents a vulnerable Spanish society which, although it ranks 3rd in relation to health (SDO 3), descends in the table to 28th in

the reduction of inequalities (SDO 10) and in the eradication of poverty (SDO 1).

In the last Concluding Observations to Spain (CRC/C/ESP/CO/5-6), in February 2018, the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the body that monitors every five years the implementation of the CRC by the States Parties, welcomes progress and reiterates previous recommendations related to legislative harmonization, coordination of inter-ministerial and Autonomous Community sectoral policies, take action on the budgetary needs of the CA, conduct impact assessments of measures and expand the capacity to collect disaggregated data on CAs in all areas of the CRC. Its main concern, however, is the impact of cuts in public investment in social protection systems affecting children, especially after the publication of General Comment No. 19 on public budgeting for the realization of children's rights (2016), which sets out the obligations of States in relation to the allocation of budgets for the realization of children's rights.

A study carried out on investment in children's welfare and rights in Spain (Assiego y Legal, 2018), specifically on the draft General State Budget for 2018, concludes that there is no direct investment in children, but rather through "tax benefits to which households in situations of greater vulnerability and with lower incomes do not tend to have access" (pp.16). However, the lack of specific criteria for evaluating the sufficiency of public resources allocated to children causes UNICEF Spanish Committee to propose a methodological tool to quantify public spending on children. Through this study, which categorises public expenditure on children (Garcimartín, 2018) and applies it to the General State Budget for 2017, it is concluded that this expenditure "barely represents 7.05% of total expenditure and 1.66% of GDP; around 2,218 euros per year per child...a reduced figure, compared to the estimates offered by other countries" (p. 25).

In view of the lack of inter-territorial equity, the challenges of guaranteeing uniform protection for children of all regions and the weaknesses in the child policy management model, a profound legislative reform is being undertaken with the aim of prioritizing children on the political agenda. In 2015, more than 20 state laws on civil, criminal, labour and immigration matters, among others, were amended, linking all public administrations for the protection of children and adolescents. Commitment that means promoting changes in state, regional and municipal governments from the perspective of rights, equity and child participation to transform the realities of the CA; with implications for the Autonomous Communities, for their legislative capacity in the protection of children and adolescents, by virtue of the EC, having to make a legal and technical-operational adaptation.

This coordination at the three levels of the administration will be achieved by creating a local child care network that provides services and resources, drives actions and promotes community awareness, but also facilitates the creation of bodies for child and adolescent participation, making effective Articles 12, 13 and 15 of the CRC, essential in the creation of prosperous, inclusive and sustainable cities. The CA are placed in the center of the city by the New Urban Agenda for the 21st century of the UN Habitat III Conference (2017, p. 5), with the ideal of “equality in the use and enjoyment of cities and human settlements..., known as the right to the city”.

It is a new paradigm of urban strategy that considers that the most important objective is the well-being of the citizenry: security and protection. Therefore, cities must be inclusive, designed for all, as spaces of opportunity and empowerment, and configured by people themselves, by children and adolescents. This means allowing the CA to develop a citizen consciousness (Gaitan, 2018).

The justification for this exercise, as well as the need to “place childhood as a priority on the political agenda”, according to the II National Strategic Plan for Children and Adolescents (2013-2016), leads to a participatory, integral and transversal urban planning, with programmes that orient municipal actions towards childhood and adolescence, and that contain the vision of Agenda 2030 to achieve the SDO, therefore, with the incorporation of the perspective of children’s rights.

3. Rationale and objectives

The importance of the best interests of the child, as defined in the Convention on the Rights of the

Child, is evident as a social challenge. Its consideration as a subjective right, interpretative principle and procedural norm (Villagrasa, 2015) causes difficulties in delimiting its content and translating it into political practice (Solis, 2016). The right to life, identity, family and well-being, among others, are elements for its interpretation; although, to understand it in all its breadth it is essential to know this self-perceptions (Liebel, 2015). In this framework, it is fundamental to create opportunities for dialogue with the CA, so that they can express themselves and make decisions freely, as social actors (Gaitán, 2006; Qvortrup, 1992); and research becomes a possibility to construct these participatory dynamics, so that decisions are not taken vertically.

From this reality, the purpose of this work is to study the opinions of the children and adolescents of the municipality of Zamora in order to show, from their vision, what their reality is and what contributions they make to improve the current practice. It will make it possible to know, from their feelings and perceptions, if their municipality complies with the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which will allow them to obtain indicators and criteria to optimize the design of the municipality’s childhood policies, with special attention to the focus on children’s rights.

The study presented here is part of a more extensive research on the reality of the CA in the municipality of Zamora, with the aim of drawing up the Municipal Children’s Plan to apply for recognition as a UNICEF Child Friendly City. It was also attended by parents, teachers, municipal technicians from different areas (social welfare, education, culture, environment, sports, police, civil protection, etc.) and civil society organizations (Red Cross, Caritas, Young Menesian Centre, Trascampus), as well as the Management of Social Services, the Provincial Directorate of Education and the Management of Health, which are usually involved in the design, management and evaluation of programs and activities related to children.

Thus, the general objective of the study is to know and analyze the positions and expectations that the CA of Zamora have about the city in which they live. How do municipal policies influence the rights of the CA and transform power relations? Are there services and programmes that take into account the opinions of the CA? What collaboration strategies exist between families, schools, associations and the City Council? What changes would be necessary to improve the well-being of the municipality’s children and adolescents? Considering SDO 11: ‘Sustainable Cities’, these questions are intended to diagnose the impact of municipal policies on the welfare of the

CA of Zamora, under the child rights approach, identifying strengths and weaknesses to improve their management and comply with the focus of Agenda 2030: 'Leave no one behind'.

4. Methodology

A methodology is used that responds to the objective and the research questions, supported by the deductive method, to analyze the actions of municipal policies and their impact on the CA, and the inductive method based on the experiences of the CA on their vital contexts (Patton, 2002). In order to understand the object studied through the context in which it is inserted, in this case the city of Zamora, without seeking generalization to other contexts, the qualitative approach, characteristic of the Social Sciences, is resorted to. The technique chosen to gather the information was the discussion group because of the possibility it offers of accessing in depth the meanings that the CA give to the important aspects of their daily life; because it allows the diagnosis of the social reality being studied (Murillo and Mena, 2006). For its constitution, the guidelines of García, Ibáñez and Alvira (2005) were followed, considering the criterion of residence in the city of Zamora.

This technique has already been used by numerous researches with the same object of study, with interpretative character and construction from multiple identities (Plummer, 2003). In this line of analysis of child citizenship, previous studies contribute with participatory methodologies with CA (Fernandes, 2016; Pascual and Castro, 2014), increasing in recent years, and arguing that the minor has to occupy the central role to guarantee their points of view. This protagonist strategy constitutes for them a real way of participating in decision making, with the power to transform reality, allowing their personal growth and empowerment.

The selection of participants is carried out by means of a probabilistic sampling of an unintentional, propositional type, without rules to decide the size of the sample (Parton, 2002); adding two criteria to ensure the representativeness of the participants: the ownership and the physical location of the educational center in which they were schooled -center and periphery of the city-. It was decided to include in the research adolescents who had fulfilled the protection measure, with 18 years of age, in order to also know their reality. All participants collaborate voluntarily, with the authorization of those responsible for the CA, the commitment of confidentiality and with the utmost respect for their protection against any

negligence, as a guarantee of an ethical basis in research with minors (Fernandes, 2016).

The participants were a total of 22 CA, of whom 59% were girls (n=13) and 41% boys (n=9). 45% are in primary education (n=10), 32% in secondary education (n=7) and 23% (n=5) are in 'emancipation flats'; all of them residents of Zamora City. The educational centres selected were: 10 public, 7 subsidized and 2 residential centres for minors at social risk, with 3 DG, according to the optimal size of Krueger (1991): G1- primary students, N=10; G2- secondary students, N=7 and G3- adolescents in protection N=5.

For the development of the DG, considering that they were going to be developed with CA, special attention was paid to the creation of a permissive atmosphere but with rules of behavior, non-judgmental, starting by explaining to them what the study consisted of and assuring the confidentiality of their names and opinions. The DG script was designed taking into account UNICEF's Municipal Indicators of Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Ochaíta and Espinosa, 2009): health; school-education; culture, leisure and free time; environmental sustainability; family; cooperation and participation. Considering these criteria, we worked with four dimensions of the object of study: a) The condition of the CA: general vision, b) The rights of children and adolescents, c) Thinking about the future of Zamora's childhood and adolescence: what to do or what to change. It should be noted that in the development of each DG, which took place at the Zamora Teacher Training College, two members of the research group were present, as moderators and observers. It was agreed that an observer would participate in each DG in order to make it possible to obtain other types of information -non-verbal- not recorded in the audio recordings, their presence being relevant to comply with the principle of triangulation (Cohen and Marion, 1990).

For the segmentation of the data, distribution of the contents (categories) and generation of theoretical constructs with meaning for the study, from the narratives of the CA, the program ATLAS.ti is used.

5. Results

The general vision of childhood in Zamora is conditioned, among other factors, by the size of the municipality (just 61,827 people registered as of January 1, 2018), which means that it is a pleasant city to live in, where you can enjoy freedom of movement, security and tranquility, regardless of age. Some of the expressions of the interviewees

affect precisely the scope of these important dimensions of daily life: “people are not as bad as in other cities” [G2]; “you can go out with your friends without as much concern as in Madrid or in other cities” [G2]; “there is more freedom because there are fewer people and we know them” [G1]; “you play more peacefully because there are fewer cars” [G1]. It is clear, therefore, that these kinds of intangible resources make Zamora provide a pleasant, healthy and protective environment for children, a dimension that is especially relevant and recognized in the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

However, one key aspect must be highlighted that should not be forgotten: the perceptions of childhood and adolescence about their own situation (problems and needs, life experiences, knowledge and recognition of rights), as well as the measures that should be implemented so that Zamora can obtain the “Child Friendly City” seal from UNICEF, are conditioned by the socioeconomic situation of the family, the place of residence (centre-periphery) or the social and community support networks. In this sense, the reflection of one of the children is very significant: “I live in a place where a few kilometers are Las Llamas and there live all the junkies” [G1]. These factors, which are known, can be traced in other studies on contemporary childhood in different contexts (Gómez-Mendoza and Alzate-Piedrahíta, 2014; Acuña, Aguilera, Cesario and Imhoff, 2016) and in specific reports from different governments, such as those issued by the High Commissioner for the fight against child poverty in Spain; international bodies, such as the Committee on the Rights of the Child; and NGOs, such as the Red Cross, in its studies on energy poverty, Save The Children, Intermon Oxfam, UNICEF or the rest of the entities that make up, in the case of Spain, the Children’s Platform.

a) The condition of the child and adolescent. General overview

The day-to-day life of children in the municipality of Zamora takes place between attendance at the educational centre, the performance of homework and extracurricular or school support activities offered by various institutions and social organizations. This saturation of activities sometimes leaves little room for play and the use of time-sharing in parks or other spaces in the city. However, although these limitations are recognized or “some (parks) do not have much space” [G1], this scarcity does not limit the possibilities offered by the street: “There are fewer parks, but we play more in the street” [G1], which cannot always be done and enjoyed in larger cities.

Consequently, Zamora’s childhood has a relatively optimistic view of the environment in which they live, valuing tranquility, safety and other experiences that often go unnoticed by other sectors of the population, such as river walks, the beauty of the old town and, in particular, freedom: “There is more freedom because there are fewer people and we know them” [G1].

Weekends and holidays vary greatly depending on the age of the children. Quite a few go to rural areas, where they perceive two values that, once again, are recurrent in their speeches: safety and tranquility. Others, however, take part in sporting activities, walk with friends or go to places of entertainment, such as shopping centres in the capital. Thus, it is recognized that “the leisure zone during the weekend is the McDonalds or the Carrefour” [G1], a very significant indicator that reveals changes in the forms of socialization of childhood and adolescence in the information society, also in small cities such as Zamora.

Similarly, the boredom of some young people, which can be seen in the study conducted, is framed in a documented trend of active and passive boredom driven by the relationship with ICTs and with rapid social change as a backdrop (Gil Villa, 2007). This use of free time is largely explained by the family and community resources available to children; a situation that is clearly identified in Zamora: “Before there were recreational activities, but now there are not” [G1], “swimming pools (there are no more heated swimming pools in winter)” [G2] or “there is no library in some neighborhoods” [G2]. Also, adolescents, and especially those who are under the child and adolescent protection system, recognize that “with respect to spaces for young people, there are no recreational spaces, there are no bars for us” [G3]. In this case, the references to a mythical space in the collective imaginary of the city are very eloquent: “Today, Friday, I go to *Herreros*, which is the area of bars, but they are 14-year-olds; for us 17-20-year-olds, there are no more places. If you wanted to see people you go to that street.” [G3]. Therefore, also the lack of specific resources for leisure is evident in the Zamorano context analyzed.

Likewise, Zamora’s childhood is aware of an increase in individualism due to the excessive use of new technologies and the polemics they maintain, in many cases, with their parents due to their excessive use of them. This affects a transformation of social relations, becoming more virtual than interpersonal, so that, as a consequence, joint leisure decreases considerably except in the city’s neighborhoods where there are spaces, gardens or common courtyards in which they can meet

to share other experiences. Therefore, these perceptions correspond to the results of other analyses on the digital gap between adults and adolescents, the encounters and (dis)encounters at school and at home on the use of ICTs (Morón, Busquet, Aranda, Ruano and Ballano, 2010) and their impact on the processes of transition to adult life (Marí, 2016).

b) Rights of children and adolescents

If knowledge of rights is a prerequisite for their recognition, development and implementation, then it should be noted that, in the case of Zamora City, the CA have relatively high knowledge of their rights. They emphasize above all the right to education, to health, to play, to express themselves and to relate to one another. This knowledge of their rights comes mainly from activities carried out through schools, taught either by personnel of the educational center or almost always by social institutions or organizations, such as the Red Cross, the Police, the Civil Guard, and others.

The interviewees reaffirm the importance of children's rights being respected for all, recognizing that, in some cases, they are not fulfilled, citing some specific examples of various breaches: "Sometimes yes (they are fulfilled), sometimes no [G1] or "in a subject a teacher did not let me give his opinion" [G2]. Furthermore, it is very significant that they themselves confess that some of these rights are not respected with certain children, expressly quoting those who have some type of disability: "There are times when rights are not fulfilled for children with disabilities (...) for example, they make fun of that person" [G2].

In the visions on the knowledge and fulfillment of children's rights, particular reference should be made to adolescents who are under the system of protection for children and adolescents and who feel their rights being curtailed, mainly that related to work, although not only: "At work, they take great advantage of young people and the first opportunities they have (...) they don't try to play with you as much in adulthood because they see that you have had more experience before and they won't be able to play with the same cards" [G3]. These adolescents also demand other types of professional support in certain circumstances:

"In Our Lady of Transit there was a nun there who was also a nurse, but if you were sadder it was not treated. They can take you to the hospital for something more serious, but nothing else. That it be of nuns also does, because you are more afraid and you do not tell what happens to you" [G3].

And even this group expressly claims "more freedom of expression" and the right "to a second chance and not to be judged for having done something wrong in the past" [G3].

In addition, the CAs stress the importance for them to respect their tastes and opinions. They highlight, above all, the demands of adolescents on health issues, demanding that institutions develop specific programs related to mental health, depression or anxieties, as well as sexual health counseling in general and, in particular, in cases of unwanted pregnancies. Regarding the latter, it is significant what one girl says: "There are no spaces if I get pregnant to go; in Menesians yes, they would help us, but not out here" [G3]. But so are perceptions about the existence of other types of resources:

"In anxiety, stress, bullying, there are no programs that address these issues. You put socks on when someone says something, but if not, there is no specialized service. For battered women, yes, or abuse of women, yes, but not for the rest. I signed up for an activity, but at no time have I been called, it was a pilot experience without developing" [G3].

It is also very revealing that none of the participants in the discussion groups knows whether Zamora has parks for children or adolescents with different functional capacities adapted to their needs.

c) Thinking about the future of Zamora's childhood and adolescence: what to do or what to change

The general perception of the CAs is that with the exception of the activities programmed for the city's festivals, and those carried out through schools or some neighborhood associations, few specific activities are offered for them in Zamora, since they are included in the proposals for the rest of society and those that there are tend to have limited places or with prices that are not very affordable for a large part of the families (cinema or theatre, for example), and there are activities through the Social Action Centres (CEAS) for certain specific groups.

Other claims are equally important. Among them are those related to mobility and, in a very special way, to the extension of the cycle lane, the creation of new pedestrian spaces in the city or the extension of sidewalks: "Extended cycle lane, which passes through the city centre if possible, architecturally" [G3], "that the whole old town be pedestrian, not just for residents and such things" [G1] and "that there be more places on the sidewalks and not so much road" [G1]. But neither should we forget the safety problems when children have to cross some pedestrian crossings:

“Near my house there is a zebra crossing that the cars do not stop because they say the children are waiting” [G1]; nor the demands that are made in terms of conditioning and improving the green areas of the city.

The CA also demand the implementation of new leisure resources, such as “areas for children that are not just parks that are like larger areas but that there are not only things to play, more for what you want (...) as a forest I mean, some area where there are no swings, but where you can play” [G1], without forgetting the demands of adolescents related above all to “more libraries in which you can study, study rooms, so you can work in groups” [G3], “bookstores-cafeterias where you can have a coffee and read the book” [G3] and other more specific infrastructures, such as bowling alleys or skating areas.

Likewise, the demands for more information to the administrations, and in this case to the City Council, are very significant. Thus, it is requested “to put in La Marina a suggestion box” [G3], “more information on the Town Hall twitter” [G3], a “radio station in which young people participate” [G3] and the “representation of young people in the Town Hall and in plenary sessions” [G3]. As can be seen, these measures are very easy to implement and, nevertheless, they can not only mean an explicit recognition of the opinions, in this case, of childhood and adolescence, but also that their implementation would be transmitting a message to all citizens about the importance of participation in the life of the city, including children and adolescents. All of them would be, therefore, actions that would reinforce the awareness of a much more active and participative citizenship, in line with the provisions of the aforementioned Convention on the Rights of the Child and its General Observations.

6. Discussion and conclusions

The global vision of childhood and adolescence in Zamora is positive, highlighting intangible values of a social and community environment characterized by tranquility, security and freedom. It is also very significant to note that when children talk about the different resources existing in the city (public services, parks, leisure, etc.) they are aware of the difficulties of access for the most vulnerable groups or depending on the place of residence. And the same when they recognize some problems of childhood in general, such as school failure or the emergence of problems linked to the misuse of new technologies.

Regarding children’s rights and their recognition, although they must be guaranteed by the

families themselves and the rest of the institutions, it must be pointed out that these are not always sufficiently covered in the city of Zamora, despite the fact that different entities and social agents, such as schools and some NGOs, work on them.

Generally speaking, rights related to child survival tend to be differentiated, taking them as priorities, as opposed to rights linked to the development of children’s capacities in different aspects, which are equally vitally important. Nevertheless, practically all the interviewees, regardless of age, have shown an interest in preserving and ensuring the rights of children and adolescents in Zamora, and it is therefore essential to work on these rights and to have a special impact on the most vulnerable groups (gypsy groups, children with AD/HD and other different abilities, minors who infringe the penal norm or are protected, among others). Therefore, these perceptions are a very important step whenever new initiatives are undertaken in favour of the infancy in Zamora, applied to the general principles of the Children’s Rights Convention in different scope of action: education, mass media, development cooperation, etc. (Monclús, 2001; Vega, 2013).

It has also been observed that most of the initiatives that have been carried out in favour of childhood and adolescence in Zamora are especially focused on the educational sphere, other spheres having been neglected, such as leisure. In this sense, the importance given to the need to increase the supply of public and accessible leisure for all ages and groups, as well as the convenience of articulating tools and spaces to collect and work on the own opinion of children and adolescents, is highlighted. On these questions, it is worth recalling the objectives of the International Charter for Education in Leisure, published by the World Association for Leisure and Recreation-WLRA (1993) which, despite being considered an essential educational need and beneficial for human development, does not seem to have permeated. Let us remember the first of them: “To train and empower the person so that he can improve his quality of life”.

With regard to the most vulnerable children, the analysis carried out shows some lines of action that are particularly recommendable. For example, it would be advisable to carry out a detailed follow-up with the trajectory and life history of each young person who leaves the protection centres at the age of 18. This could be enough to detect in time a number of vulnerabilities that can lead these people to situations of social exclusion, for which multidisciplinary approaches are required from different fields: social, legal, psychological,

school setting, sanitary, etc., (Rodes, Monera and Pastor, 2010). Other initiatives that are in line with the philosophy of Child Friendly Cities should also be implemented; in particular, programmes that disarm the typical division between formal and non-formal education (Gómez, Jiménez and Cornejo, 2017). In this sense, schools should open their doors to the community and carry out activities that seek intergenerational coexistence. This also achieves the objective of fighting against the vulnerability of the elderly and eliminating the prejudicial gazes of each of these two vulnerable groups, adolescents and the elderly, with respect to the other. The institutionalized organization of shared activities would reduce their vulnerability. Today's youth lack "stories" to guide their moral culture after secularization and cultural relativism. At the same time, older people lack interlocutors who can reduce their feelings of loneliness and ineptitude. Therefore, programmes related with intergenerational education should be stimulated and developed, taking as a reference the numerous experiences, which already exist in this matter (Martínez, Moreno and Escarbajal, 2017) and the so profitable lessons of debate among generations (Martín, Sánchez and Pérez, 2008). Although, in a particular manner, rehearsing participative methodologies which allow a better mutual knowledge and contribute in breaking false myths and stereotypes among different generations (Martínez and Bedmar, 2018).

It is also proposed as an improvement a greater health coverage, not only physical but also includes psychological and mental health.

Teenagers themselves request specific prevention programmes and psychological and socio-educational intervention in areas such as anxiety or depression, either at specific moments in their lives or continuous over time, in order to improve their quality of life. They demand it as a right to health and wellbeing, and so UNICEF also proposes it as an objective of sustainable development for children in Agenda 2030.

This new vision forces all social actors to recognize the new role of boys and girls in Zamora's urban ecosystem and, therefore, to implement and practice a new way of thinking the city (Tonucci, 1993). If for the Zamora children "a Child Friendly City is a city for children; that if someone comes from outside, they want to stay; that if children come from other countries, they do not have to go again" [G1], in view of the results presented, achieving a "Child Friendly City" in Zamora is possible and reasonable, as long as actions of prominence of childhood and adolescence are arbitrated in order to participate in the identification of the problems, already exposed, and in decision making. This final conclusion can be deduced from the analysis of the encounters held with children and adolescents, as well as with the rest of the groups involved in improving the quality of life of children; but also by the degree of consensus that has been observed in the identification of current problems and the possibilities for improvement that can easily be assumed with effective social policies for childhood and adolescence, integral, communitarian and participative.

Notes

- ¹ This work is part of a broader research and development contract between Zamora City Council and the University of Salamanca's GIR-SEVIN Recognized Research Group. Reference: Art. 83-2018/00390/001.
- ² AROPE: At-Risk-Of Poverty and Exclusion. European indicator that groups three sub-indicators that measure poverty, material deprivation and low labour intensity in the household.

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