

# Globalization and urban sociability: Landmarks for an education towards citizenship<sup>1</sup>

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The Final Declaration of the World Assembly of Cities and Local Authorities (Habitat II, Istanbul, 30-31 may 1996) stated:

As the main arena of social interaction and exchange, the town must be recognized as the pivotal human settlement, around which and within which economic growth and sustainable development, the well-being and social cohesion of the majority of people, capacity of adaptation and technical, social, cultural and political innovation, the invention of our future and the renewed vision of the progress of humanity and the future of our civilizations, will be determined.

When providing the key definition of the sustainable development, which is regarded as the “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland, 1987), the United Nations report *Our Common Future* (also known as the “Brundtland Report”) focused on the individuals’ quality of life and the well-being. According to the World Health Organization, people’s well-being depends on their living conditions (WHO, 1997). In order to identify and specify the urban living conditions which support quality of life and individual well-being, two closely dependent aspects are

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to be considered: 1) the appropriation of the place of residence, i.e., the territorial rooting, and 2) the social and interpersonal networks that individuals can develop within their place of residence. Quality of life and well being in urban environments, in turn, are the prerequisites on which one can develop and foster citizenship as condition of sustainable development. In other word, without individuals feeling of belonging to an urban community, there is no possibility of civic education whatsoever. Thus education plays a crucial role as well in establishing as in consolidating urban citizenship.

Territorial rooting does not raise any specific problems in the rural medium because of the relative stability of its population within a lifetime and among generations. Instead, it becomes highly important within the large metropolises developed during the last century due to increased mobility. Feeling at home and being able to appropriate our place of residence are necessary conditions for our individual and social well-being. The process of appropriation changes a neutral space into a symbolically meaningful one (Pol, 1994). This highly dynamic process is based on two essential components: a behavioral component related to the action that the individual may take on space (i.e., transformations, impressions) and a symbolic component related to the individuals' identification with their environment. This makes *appropriation* and *identification* inseparable. Thus, appropriation is identification. Several environmental qualities of the immediate surroundings of housing seem to support both satisfactory relations with the urban fabric and the construction of "home". These qualities are both the physical attributes of the environment and its social dimensions, such as the existence of a social network and that of social relations perceived as pleasant (Lévy-Leboyer and Ratiu, 1993; Bonaiuto & al., 1999).

The appropriation of one's place of residence supports their feeling of "home" and is accompanied by various behaviors of sociability. Many research studies focused on the relation between the attachment to the neighborhood and/or to the district and frequenting a local social network or local friends. The findings show that the more close friends and neighbors in the immediate surroundings of the place of residence, the more important the attachment with the place (Mesch & Manor, 1998). It is of highest importance for the individual to belong to a social network and to maintain bonds with their friends, mainly in order to face stressful situations (Moser, 1994). Intense interaction with an extended number of friends correlates with a high level of well-being (Palisi, 1985). Because of the family withdrawal, the emotional support in urban environment mostly depends on friends (Amato, 1993).

## Cities and proximal territories

Urbanity may be seen as the result of an urban culture typified by relatively dense and compact cities, with highly concentrated populations and activities, a heterogeneous built environment, vital and secondary centers as well as commensurate communica-

tions networks (Fuhrer & al., 1993). This relation to the urban leads to accentuated differences with regards to investment modalities of the urban fabric and particularly to the configuration and organization of city zones. Indeed, the former definition of the proximity exclusively built on a spatial and objective basis seems to require more and more subjective dimensions, mainly related to the various actors' perception of accessibility and desirability of each sector (Blasco & al., 1998). Accessibility becomes multiform, proximity becomes multidimensional and consequently, the frequentation of the different parts of the city depends less on the local conditions, except for the populations who are confined within their place of residence.

The city is made up of many different intertwined and superimposed environments. Each one of them may be suitable for or adjusted by their respective inhabitants to various degrees, according to the latter's needs. Good & al., (1990) showed that the inhabitants' representation of the city is an aggregated system of multiple and various places. This representation is divisible into sub-spaces that remind the position of the districts, the center and the periphery. The relations between these places seem to be organized in a supra-space/sub-space hierarchy bound by spatial relations of inclusion/exclusion. Considering this hierarchical organization, the center would be the more developed space. Conversely, the periphery would be the less developed, or even stigmatized one.

The peculiar context of the districts resulting from mono-functional specialization of the city revealed other ways of relating to the latter within what Benoît calls an "everyday life pool" (Benoît & al., 1993). Under these new conditions, proximity depends on the distance to the city center. In addition, proximity plays a key role in the interpersonal relations. This new context generated two different ways of relating to the city: local *versus* extra-local, i. e. tied to the neighborhood or by investing various different parts of the city for work and leisure. The two lifestyles of the urban societies may even be regarded as local *versus* global, because "the city dwellers move more and more, farther and farther throughout the world for their leisure and work. The city becomes asymptotically a simple geometrical locus of these distances and mobilities" (Burgel, 1993; p. 82). These processes undoubtedly affect interpersonal networking.

The Paris area has a particular urban structure. Paris is made up of twenty districts and is surrounded by a circular boulevard which materially separates the inner-city from the periphery. Unless most of the other large urban agglomerations in the world, the center of Paris remains multi-functional and, with some rare exceptions, residential. The districts accommodate both fortunate and modest populations as well as, in some districts, commercial and service businesses. On the contrary, the suburbs became mono-functional on both residential and business criteria. How do Parisians invest their proximal environment according to their place of residence, periphery *vs.* center, or fortunate *vs.* low income environment?

Satisfaction with the district, neighborhood, equipment and services contributes to one's general satisfaction with one's place of residence. In addition to the

physical aspects of the district and its emotional investment by its inhabitants, well-being includes the social aspects of the neighborhood, i.e., social contacts, integration with the networks of solidarity of the neighbors, local friends and participation in local associations. Satisfactory social networks built by the urbanites seem to be an important condition for the positive appropriation of their residential environment. Feeling at home correlates with a more positive assessment of the population, with the existence of a social network of local friends and with frequent meeting with acquaintances within the district. But above all, feeling at home in one's district leads to a broader perception of the latter. In other words, individuals who are satisfied with their place of residence tend to appropriate and consider as familiar a larger space than those who do not feel at home, and they are more numerous to declare a Parisian urban identity. The more an individual feels at home, the stronger the spatial control, and the more he feels safe (G. Bahi-Fleury, 1997; 1998)<sup>3</sup>.

A main effect of the geographic position may be noted in Paris. Central districts are seen as more attractive; they are more heavily invested and generate stronger attachments. The suburbanites have a poorer knowledge of their district: they have lower praxis with their neighborhood, are less involved with the public space and they find their district attractive less often (Naturel, 1992). As far as the suburbs are concerned, it is only in the poor districts that people get involved with their district. Among the various dimensions of inhabiting (basic equipment of the house, relationships with the neighbors, safety, infrastructure of the surroundings, deterioration of the built environment, connections with outside, urban activity, noise, variety of the urban space and natural spaces), the two best predictors of the residential satisfaction for the low social status individuals are their attachment to their place of residence and their relationships with their neighbors (Amérigo, 2000).

Inhabitants of Paris inner-city name significantly more meeting places than suburbanites. This is even more the case when they have a high socio-economic standard and therefore stronger strategic resource. Conversely, it is mainly in well-to-do suburbs that inhabitants mention the least meeting places. Obviously, the more fortunate suburbanite households commute their social life. They probably develop specific strategies of space management, while the poorer inhabitants frequent preferentially their places of residence. What are the social behaviors developed in the neighborhood? The center of Paris displays a variety of meeting places where Parisians may socialize. Also, inhabitants of the central and fortunate districts are the ones who spontaneously name the most neighbors, acquaintances and friends. The suburbs, regardless of the district status (rich or poor), certainly offer less meeting places for socializing, but suburbanites name neighbors, acquaintances and friends as frequently as urbanites.

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<sup>3</sup> Research project with a sample of 180 Parisians living in the 20 districts of Paris inner-city, exploring the relationship between the attachment to the district and various perceptive and behavioral dimensions related to this space.

## The urban environment as a place of living

People identify with the place where they live: “My home is my castle”. Feeling at home is an important aspect of one’s well-being and this is a universal human experience. Individuals create privileged relations to their habitat which then becomes their “homes”, and their homes produce identity. This involves a way of building one’s life within a geographically delimited space. There are several characteristics which transform a habitat in one’s “home”: centrality, continuity, privacy, expression of self and identity, social relationships, atmosphere (warmth and pleasantness), as well as physical environmental characteristics.

### Place identity and attachment

There are two ways of relating one’s place and one’s identity. The first is place identification. This concept refers to a person’s expressed identification with a place, which becomes part of his or her social identity. The second way of relating one’s place and one’s identity is through the term place identity, as a specific aspect of the individual’s identity.

An important mechanism, that supports place identity, is the attachment to a specific place. Individuals often develop an emotional bond to their life space, essentially their home and the neighborhood, but often also urban places and spaces on a larger scale. Such anchoring is an on-going process, dependent on individual time perspectives: the duration of residence is essential for the individual’s appropriation of his/her life space, which in turn is indispensable for well-being. Anchoring reflects the individual’s motivations, social status, family situation and projects for the future. Urban environmental appropriation revolves around forming social and interpersonal relationships. Individuals who make emotional investments in their neighborhood are more satisfied with their interpersonal relations in that neighborhood and develop a sense of well-being.

Appropriation may be regarded as a particular affective relation to an object that may then become part of the identity of the individual. Appropriation means having control over one’s living space, and is a prerequisite of feeling “safe” and “at home”: it is essential to the construction of spatial identity. Appropriation is important for the individual to be able to organize and personalize his/her life space. This may be crucial not only in one’s home, but also in any other urban place in which one makes a temporal investment. Steady or transitionally occupied places produce place attachment and are often accompanied by ties to personal objects like furniture, pictures and souvenirs, which indicate the appropriation of places.

### From appropriation to urban identity

Appropriation operates not only at the level of one’s place of dwelling, but extends to urban places like the street, the district, the town or even the country, and is ac-

accompanied by social networking (family, friends, neighbors, communities). How can such appropriations extend to the urban tissue as a whole?

The most important aspect of this extension concerns the social ties. Due to territorial mobility and dispersion within the urban territory of the different places city-dwellers are to frequent for work, leisure and shopping, social relations may be spread out in the city. Beside the home and its neighborhood, city dwellers may appropriate their working place and identify themselves to different frequently visited places.

The urban identity is essentially acquired through various territorially bonded social networks. The feeling of being at home in one's neighborhood is linked to the frequency of encounters, the nature of local relationships, and to the satisfaction that they provide. It involves social integration extended to local service providers like physicians, shopkeepers and others, and constitutes the framework for the different individual networks (workplace, leisure, school, etc.). Furthermore, as far as the feelings of attachment are concerned, the social relations provided by a place may be more relevant than the place itself. Taking root corresponds to a desire for stability and permanency in one's way of relating to a certain place and one's involvement in the latter on the long run. The socio-spatial aspects of the traditional urban structures include the residential environment, the district delimited by architectural, social, and administrative boundaries. The mono-functionalism of city structures has extended the way of relating to the city regarded as a place of daily life beyond the traditional local district.

Increased residential mobility of the society has provoked a shift from place investment from one's housing to one's furniture and other "belongings" which contribute to the individual's identity. Moreover, "settlement identity", referring to individual preferences for certain types of habitat, allow residentially mobile individuals to conserve coherence and identity and span across various residences.

## Urban environment and interpersonal relationships

Grafmeyer (1995) identifies three types of urban sociability: organized or formal sociability, informal sociability characterized by exchanges of minimal regularity and duration, and interactive or contact sociability. These relationships, whatever form they take, are forged in multiple contexts. It is thus useful to distinguish between an internal sociability that includes the three levels specified above, oriented toward the home and its immediate surroundings, and an external sociability (Forsé, 1981). In a large metropolis such as Paris, the inhabitants grow relationships rooted in the vicinity of their home in parallel with spatially distant and dispersed relationships. In major urban centers, relational networks are not determined by spatial factors due to the city dwellers' higher social and residential mobility. Furthermore, the distinct locations of the places of residence and work may lead to the superimposition of several networks.

In small towns, the relational universe consists of a single multifunctional network shared by people who all know each other. Common social norms and the

presence of powerful constraints, a pressure to conform and little privacy, characterize this network. In large cities, many multifunctional networks coexist. City dwellers build for themselves a number of coexistent and spatially dispersed networks (work colleagues, leisure activities, etc.) instead of belonging to a single group located in the neighborhood. They convene with one or another of these networks depending on their activities or special interests. In comparison, small towns restrict relationships due to conformity requirements and low levels of privacy. There are fewer constraints associated with establishing interpersonal relationships in a large metropolis, and the lack of connections between networks fosters mobility and the creation of ad hoc networks. In other words, the diversity of their networks grants urbanites more opportunities to develop networks that satisfy their needs.

## Neighborhood relationships

A variety of relationships may be cultivated in the neighborhood: it is possible to know our neighbors without necessarily seeing them on a regular basis, but we can also form a network of acquaintances and friends in our immediate vicinity. What are the relationships built up in the neighborhood? Inhabitants of rich suburbs are the ones who most often mention their neighbors. To put it otherwise, it is mainly in well-to-do suburbs that neighbors constitute a positive support of social identification. In Paris, neighbors are not mentioned as often. On the other hand, as far as their relationships are concerned, the Parisians mention the most acquaintances and friends. Generally, it thus appears that the center is more favorable to fellowship than the suburbs. In the outskirts, regardless of the district status (rich or poor), the inhabitants refer much less often to friendly relationships in their immediate proximity. Poor suburbs constitute probably the ecological area the less likely to become an object of appropriation and investment: predominantly, it is in poor districts that the lower numbers of neighbors, friends, and meeting places are named. This finding demonstrates a certain amount of disinvestment for the district and its peopling. The above confirms the findings of Héran (1987) who shows that in the Parisian region, in large housing complexes, neighborhood relationships are less numerous. In the Parisian agglomeration, twice as many inhabitants of poor districts, compared to inhabitants of single-family houses, have no relationship with their neighbors.

*The homogeneity/heterogeneity of the neighborhood.* Parisians have a strong preference for a cultural and social mix in their home vicinity. Moreover, this preference exists regardless of the strategic capacity, notably the socioeconomic level, the geographic location, and the type of district (Marchand & al., 2003).<sup>4</sup> Most Parisian respondents reject the following ideas:

it is preferable that neighbors be of similar age; it is desirable that inhabitants of the same district educate their children almost in the same way; people

<sup>4</sup> Research project with a sample of 95 Francilians living in the center or the outskirts of Paris, rich or poor. "Proximités et identités urbaines: dynamiques des représentations sociales de l'urbanité et spatialisation de l'identité", Contrat ACI-Villes.

should have more or less the same beliefs (religious, political, etc.); it is a good thing when people share the same culture; social positions and lifestyles should be compatible (homogenous); it is important that neighbors live at a similar pace; families of the neighborhood should have a similar size (more or less the same number of children).

And consider that “*a neighborhood made of very different people can be enriching; it is essential to respect different ways of living*”.

## Social network

Living in Paris or in the Parisian region often suggests a mediocre quality of life. Life in a large agglomeration brings lots of constraints, and, among the numerous urban constraints, daily commuting between the home and the workplace is doubly taxing since it is particularly stressful and reduces available free time. The swift growth of mobility in the Île-de-France<sup>5</sup> is accompanied by the diversification and the lengthening of itineraries due to the expansion of life areas (Ipsos, 1991). And yet contacts constitute the essential condition to initiate social bonds through their repetition and duration. Thus geographical mobility and the lengthening of daily commuting time tend to limit opportunities of interpersonal relationships to the extent that individuals have no time to establish and cultivate stable relationships. Not surprisingly, many inhabitants of “Île-de-France”, i.e. the outskirts of Paris, complain about the impossibility of having a satisfying social life, having a lot of difficulties to see their friends and relatives due to high distances and lack of time. Correspondingly, more friendships and a more satisfying family life are found in small towns than in large agglomerations (Oppong, Ironside et Kennedy, 1988).

For some people, the city might appear as a site of cosmopolitan expression, yet this expression may be accompanied by a local investment other than the one found in the large city: childhood location, family home, and secondary residence, which facilitate local rooting. Escaping the usual living districts for a stay at the family home or a secondary residence provides an escape from the numerous daily constraints. A study conducted in Paris on residential satisfaction clearly demonstrates this duality for a number of city dwellers; a rural or provincial anchorage point essentially explains this duality (Lévy-Leboyer and Ratiu, 1993).

Inasmuch as living conditions in large agglomerations leave less time to interpersonal relationships, we can wonder if, on the one hand, the fact of residing in Paris or in the Parisian suburbs affects the extent of the relational universe, and, on the other hand, if the possibility of visiting parents or a secondary residence over weekends affects relational behaviors. In other words, we can ponder if residing in a large agglomeration such as Paris leads to a general sociability deficit. A study

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<sup>5</sup> Île-de-France: the greater Paris (15000 km<sup>2</sup>; 11 millions of inhabitants).



conducted with a sample of provincials, Parisians, and inhabitants of the Parisian outskirts (Moser, 1997; Moser & al., 2003) has aimed to find an answer to these questions by exploring their relational universe. Provincials have significantly more interpersonal relationships than those living in the Parisian outskirts (6.80/8.13;  $t = 2.56$ ,  $p. < .02$ ; Paris: 7.53 (666 / 89); suburbs: 6.80 (818 / 22), province: 8.13 (739 / 91). In addition, in Paris and in the Parisian region, the fact of not being able to vacate the urban fabric over weekends leads to a significant decrease of the average number of relationships, while this is not the case for provincials. The only way Francilians find the time to interact with their friends is by exporting their relationships to a vacation resort.

What is the relational universe of inhabitants of a large metropolis such as Paris and its outskirts made of? We can identify two relational domains based on the territorial dependence of the various relationships: 1) stable and long-standing relationships, acquired in school and the family, which date from childhood and adolescence, and 2) neighborhood relationships, connected to associative life and work relationships, which are more recent and highly territory dependent. While childhood and adolescence bonds remain invariable whatever is the residence location, proximity bonds and common interest bonds are likely to differentiate urban and rural dwellers. Proximity bonds are readily available. Inhabitants of housing projects rely on their neighbors for a whole assortment of services, but also for friendship. Resorting to the neighbors seems appropriate when other relationships are more difficult to establish. Common interest bonds are rarely available in the immediate vicinity.

In the relational universe, the segment of territorially dependent relationships is the most likely to differentiate urban from rural dwellers. Indeed, due to their mobility, inhabitants of Paris and the Parisian region are liable to loose track of long-standing relationships and tend to compensate this deficit by establishing relationships connected to their place of residence. In the Parisian suburbs, nearly half of the relationships (48%) originate from the work environment, neighborhood or association acquaintanceship. For this population, the network is thus relatively recent and essentially derives from the local settlement of the respondents. In provincial areas, friendships are the most frequent (they add up to nearly half the relationships). This, as opposed to the Francilians' relationships, is a sign of a rather stable network. If the structure of interpersonal relationships differentiates urbanites from small town inhabitants, it explains to a certain extent the relational deficit noted elsewhere.

In provincial regions, almost half the relationships are described as friendships (43%), while this is the case for not quite a third of Parisians and suburbanites. Conjointly, the proportion of relationships that grow through associations (sportive, political or religious) and those created in the neighborhood is significantly more important among the Parisian suburbanites (13.2%) than among Parisians and provincials (9.1 and 5.8% respectively).

***Meeting one another.*** More than three out of four provincials see their relations at least once a week while this is the case for only two Parisians out of three. There are even fewer Parisian suburbanites who meet their friends and acquaintances frequently. Moreover, in the Parisian outskirts, meetings are not only significantly less frequent, they are also more often planned in advance. Three quarter of meetings in the province and in Paris are conviviality meetings. Comparatively, in the suburbs, less than two thirds (60%) of meetings are informal. Conjointly, the proportion of meetings planned ahead of time and involving a shared activity (reunions, leisure activities, sports, outings, etc.) is significantly higher.

## Towards sustainable cities

### Well-being and appropriation

Although large cities have the reputation to offer an anonymous environment of bad quality, most urbanites do appropriate their environment and feel at ease where they live. The city is not an entity, but rather a superimposition of various spatial and social entities. City dwellers do not embrace the urban environment as a whole, but rather an environment defined in proximity of their residence that thus becomes the center of their anchorage and the support of their urban identity (Páramo, 2007). Large city territories are therefore the support of a multitude of different identities that are intertwined and superimposed on one another.

To feel at home and to appropriate one's residential environment generates a feeling of security and familiarity, and enhances social solidarity, a phenomenon presented long ago by community psychology in studies on the dynamics of communities of inhabitants in Latin America (cf. Wiesenfeld, 1998). The appropriation of the place of residence entails a more extended representation of the "home range", a familiarity with farther places, and often also the expression of an urban identity. Conversely, a lack of investment of the place of residence, for various reasons, is accompanied by withdrawal, fewer social relationships in the neighborhood, and an identity other than urban.

Feeling at home can be achieved in many different ways according to specific needs and the position in the life cycle. Besides, on the level of social and interpersonal relationships, we are currently witnessing multi-socializations. The city does not erode social relationships; it promotes a different organization of the relational universe on account of a greater mobility and often more recent settlements that could be explained by the globalized world in which we live, where the future of human settlements is urban and the kind of movement of goods, people and services that it allows. Just as in the province, an individual's relational network follows residential stability, in Paris it results from recent residences and investments in the neighborhood and the work sphere.

## Toward a socially sustainable city

In the current European metropolis, the cultural, religious, ethnic, economic and social diversities express themselves in a feeling of belonging and existing as a specific group and through urban territorial identifications. Individuals often unite spontaneously or are grouped within the urban territory according to social, cultural ethnic and economic affinities and form more or less homogeneous districts which tend to singularize within the urban community in its totality. How can we therefore foster an urban identity within this diversity?

When one shifts from the home and its neighborhood to the city as a whole, the shift concerns not only the physical extension, but also the social aspects and the type of control the city-dwellers may have concerning their environment (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL SHIFT FROM PROXIMAL ENVIRONMENTS TO THE CITY.

Environments \ Aspects	Physical	Social
Proximate	Proximate public spaces blocks of flats; neighborhood; district	neighborhood community
Public urban	public spaces town; city	aggregates of individuals

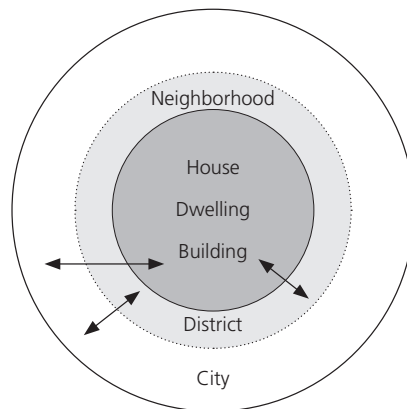
In urban territories, individuals deal no more with people sharing the same living space as well as common values and attitudes and behaviors, individuals are confronted to “a world of strangers” (Zimbardo, 1969; Milgram, 1970).

Urban density and concentration call for specific abilities to manage the omnipresence of others and fortuitous relationships as well as a distinctive requirement, which is the capacity of the individual to master and conciliate her/his relations to a contrasted city. The challenge resides in building connections to the city that intervene on several scales (local/total) and that integrate two opposite dimensions: territory and network (Haegel and Lévy, 1998).

Are we observing an identity or even a community withdrawal? Local rooting and mobility are not necessarily incompatible anymore: households with high mobility resources are also the ones who invest the most at the district level. From this perspective, we can consider the investment of urbanites in the area of their district as a relevant indicator of the evolution of sociabilities. The implementation of a sustainable development within the scope of the program Agenda 21 will be possible only if a consensus between the various local populations is established. This consensus can only be reached through the mean of an active participation of all concerned to decision processes having little compatibility with a community withdrawal. The point is to foster a common sense of belonging to an entity that stretches across a complete agglomeration. Many Third World communities

are involved in individual initiatives of “taking charge”, but rarely do they have the possibility to participate into the urban policies in matters of planning. Does the concept of citizenship explicitly impose a single, egalitarian political identity on the disparate and separate identities likely to exist within a population of any significant size? How may the intracommunity differences be recognized and how may they converge in a common urban citizenship? (Figure 2)

FIGURE 2. FROM DWELLING TO CITIZENSHIP: EXTENSIONS OF APPROPRIATION.



The challenge presented by the sustainable development of cities consists of encouraging the appropriation of the city and of assisting the individual in her/his identification to the urban community as a whole, which means to reinstate the citizen at the center of the public life.

Education certainly plays a crucial role in preparing individuals to consider themselves as citizens. This may be reached by intervening on two complementary and intertwined aspects: the physical and the social dimension of the urban environment.

The first aspect concerns the urban tissue as living space. Exploring the various aspects of the city and knowing its history and its symbols favours its appropriation (Páramo, 2007). The relationship between the individual with his/her living and urban spaces is quite important from the social and political perspectives considering that urban and national identity contributes to his/her expression as responsible citizen, and consequently to his/her level of participation at local and national (Moser, 2006).

The second aspect concerns the social diversity. Although cities increasingly shelter culturally heterogeneous populations (Moser, 1998), the clear preference for social heterogeneity expressed by Parisians supports conceptions of appropriation modalities stretching beyond the district and thus fostering social sustainability. The withdrawal on one's community can only be prevented through education insisting on the acceptance of diversity and of common goals. According to the CIS (City

Identification Sustainability) model, only the appropriation of the city space as a whole can help encouraging a commitment to behaviors compatible with a sustainable development (Moser et al., 2002; Pol, 2002). Working toward sustainable cities consequently implies favoring a citizen culture and advocating new policies of cohesion and cooperation.

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