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Urban Dwelling, Everyday life, Rootedness and Arctic-Antarctic Issues.

A comparative study of undergraduate students at the Universities of Buenos Aires, Iceland and Jyväskylä

Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez (University of Buenos Aires, Argentina), Helgi Gunnlaugsson (University of Iceland) & Miikka Pyykkönen (University of Jyväskylä, Finland)

Abstract

Departing from a theoretical framework where consideration of the urban dwelling in terms of rootedness as a social 'total phenomenon' is emphasized: multi-dimensional and interdependent, and of an everyday life recreated in the urban realm. Starting from the design of three non-probabilistic samples of students (with quotas of age, sex and SEL) from the universities of Buenos Aires, Iceland and Jyväskylä, levels of spatial, social and cultural rootedness are measured, in terms of urban belonging, active participation and involvement of the subject in the urban world and its everyday life thereof. Likewise perceptions of the subjects are studied concerning the North-South relation, the meaning of the Arctic and the Antarctica, and environmental problems thereof.

Key terms: City, Rootedness, Everyday life, Relation North-South, Arctic, Antarctica

Introduction

A city is a place that has been built secularly by a community, assuming that is task never external to its protagonists.

The role of a human being is so leading in his or her inter-relationship with space – the urban space in our case – that we could safely say, that it is through the fact of dwelling that any human being has access to the being of things thus taking a true contact with *realitas*. A vital rootedness of humans within a "living-together-oriented" habitat, such as the urban realm that determines a spatial, social, and cultural rootedness (cf. Heidegger, 1995, 1991, 1990; del Acebo Ibáñez, 2011, 2007, 1996, 1993; Bollnow, 1969, 1948).

Social sciences in general and Human Ecology in particular have stressed the anthropological and socio-cultural components inextricably united as well as integrated to any concept dealing with the habitat. The environment is a total phenomenon: it is both a natural and built up realm, hence both interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary approaches are required.

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The Ecological School of Chicago had already achieved important, founding contributions to this respect. Counting on the prominent influence of Georg Simmel's Sociology (1977), the theoretical-empirical production of the School of Chicago (Park, Burgess, Mckenzie, 1974) mainly between 1915 and 1925, is a real sociological landmark when it dealt with Urban Sociology in particular. Every eco-system is analyzed from its unity onwards and its constituent components such as population, milieu, social organization, and technology.

In Park's (1952, 1936) opinion, the inhabited spaces entail a representation originated in usages and traditions as well as the respective attitudes such usages and traditions have generated. This is a "moral order" combined with the structural, "physical" space. Park, however, goes a step further and – maybe without being fully aware of – he links his vision of the urban phenomenon to Plato's thinking: indeed, Plato envisioned the human being as a *micro-polis*, and the city as a *macro-antropos* – that is to say: inextricably interdependent.

It is Hawley's (1991, 1950) contention that it is necessary to distinguish between the *biophysical realm* (i.e. climate, soil, vegetal and animal life, minerals, etc.), and the *ecumenical realm* (i.e. cultural eco-systems including neighboring populations and even not so neighboring populations linked to the former, however, through communication and transport). At the same time, a self-criticism of

the ecological-human thinking (cf. Erpicun's, 1976) is very valuable when they introduce the *self-consciousness*, and consequently the environment (urban, rural) can be seen as an *interiorized milieu*.

This self-criticism allows links to be established with an existential Sociology as a fresh sociological re-reading of the existentialist thinking (Heidegger, Sartre, Jaspers, etc.). Because the human being, not only develops strategies aimed at the biological survival during his/her stay on board the planet Earth but also the human being *founds* space or territories that could be called "realms for meaning". So, the fact of inhabiting is a *proprium*, i.e. a characteristic which defines the human being as such as Heidegger put it most aptly in his famous essay *Bauen*, *Whonen*, *Denken* (cf.1995): the humans build and construct because they previously inhabit – and not the other way around.

To dwell, to live-in-a-house, to inhabit some certain space or local community, implies an action that is both foundational and founding. Precisely, inhabitants – more than architects or urban planning experts – are the real house and city builders, because they found them as of their being-themselves-in-a-society. As a continuous re-appearing of the *homo conditor*, in the action of living the contents that give the ultimate sense to architectural forms are created.

This attachment of man to the territory tends to emerge as rootedness, understood as a complete spatial-socio-cultural phenomenon. Since individual, society and culture –together with the space and time coordinates- constitute factors that are inextricably joined and inter-dependent, rootedness offers a multi-dimensionality that emerges from such components. The sense of belonging represents the intercrossing of the said dimensions, so that rootedness is the attachment of an individual or group of individuals to a certain space-time, society and culture (cf. del Acebo Ibáñez, 2011, 2007, 1996, 1993).

We consider social rootedness the extent to which the individual attaches or feels that sense of belonging to different groups and organizations, especially to those in which he feels intimately involved; this social dimension of rootedness also depends on the existence of participating structures, both in the local community and at society in large. Cultural rootedness implies the validity of the normative-axiological background that specifies such historical society in which he lives; in the antipodes of anomie, man – as presumably free, responsible and symbolic creature – critically identifies himself with such background that conforms him and which he helps to conform, thus nurturing a sort of *Weltanschauung* that shelters and strengthens him, a realm that is full of shared senses, the background and ways of human living that tend to –and facilitate – a nourishing rootedness.

Rootedness appears, then, as vocation and fulfillment: the human being lives (must live) in the world by means of forms of rootedness: otherwise, he excludes himself, leaves solidarity aside, and becomes depredatory. Rootedness (and unrootedness) is a complex phenomenon under a contingency and uncertainty framework, consequence of the continuing interrelation and overlapping of historic processes, socio-cultural worlds, institutional logics and existential realms.

Precisely, the urban everyday life shows signs and symbols, integrating a total semantic realm, a social text with many readings and possibilities. To this respect we must take into account the important critical works written by Castells (1976, 1975), as well as the sociologists of the everyday life, such as Lukács (1969, 1972), Lefèbvre (1972, 1969), Remy & Voyé (1976), among others, or the School of Budapest, based on Lukács and the Husserlian category of the *Lebenwelt*.

Methodology

On the basis of above-mentioned considerations and theoretical discussions, we decided to carry on an empirical and comparative research to check what are the representations about urban dwelling, circumpolarity and the environmental problems (northern and southern) for young people, undergraduate students of the Faculty of Economic Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires (UBA), the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Iceland (UI) and the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Jyväskylä, Finland (JYU). Comparative studies of Arctic and Antarctic areas are scarce and more research on this topic is needed (see Gunnlaugsson & Acebo Ibáñez, 2008). That's why we deepen the analysis of the urban living and the consequent perceptions and representations of reality the inhabitants (of two northern cities and one from the very South) have in relation to the circumpolar issues. Proximity and distance are variables to be measured, in terms of how distant could be a next-door neighor in a big or capital city, and how

near can be perceived distant regions or people (cf Simmel, 1977; del Acebo Ibáñez, 1996, 2007, 2011; Schutz, 1993; Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

A questionnaire with both close-ended and open-ended questions was administered in March and April of 2012 to the subjects of three non-probabilistic samples of undergraduate students of the Faculties mentioned: UBA, N=110, UI, N=105, and JYU, N=69, considering quotas of age (18-20, 21-25, and 26+ years old), sex and socio-economic level (SEL). The questionnaires in Reykjavík and Jyväskylä were administered online.

The universities¹ are sited in three completely different types of city: Buenos Aires, with almost three million inhabitants (without considering the metropolitan area thereof), metropolis and capital of Argentina, country with a total population of 40 million inhabitants; Reykjavík city area, with almost 200 thousand dwellers, near to the Arctic Polar Circle, the capital of Iceland, country with a total population near to 330 thousand inhabitants); and Jyväskylä, a city with 130 thousand dwellers, located in the center-south of Finland, country with a total population of 5,4 million inhabitants.

As a general objective, we have set out to find out how strong is rootedness in the undergraduate students studied, as well as their subsequent representations, perceptions, attitudes, and different types of behavior with respect to their urban realm and to circumpolar issues, and the environmental problems thereof. At the same time, different indexes were created, namely: a) spatial rootedness (territorial bonding), b) social rootedness (a sense of group pertaining —especially to primary groups, and grade of actual as well as potential participation, in matters related to the community at stake, c) cultural rootedness (grade of anomie), and d) total rootedness. Within each sample all the variables were crossed with sex, age and socio-economic level SEL.

I / City and Spatial Rootedness

The city, as a realm of sense, generates different ways and grades of spatial rootedness, which are very related to the kinds of social and cultural rootedness, as constitutive dimensions of a total phenomenon. Some indicators considered in relation to the spatial dimension are: the meaning of the street, the night, the neighborhood, as well as the pleasure or fear that the urban space produces.

Specialists coincide on a point, namely: the city has been losing its function as a prominent milieu for people to live together; that is either family, neighboring, or even working relationships have been deprived of their own space. Little by little, the city has lost its function as a *meeting place*, that is, a place where you are able to meet other people on the basis of a shared space-time. Urban individualism coupled to urban mass, crowding process put any possibility to achieve this kind of primary links in jeopardy.

Analyzing the case of the University of Buenos Aires (UBA), we see that for the 61% of the sample Buenos Aires is the habitual city of residence, while for the 28% they live in the Great Buenos Aires. Two thirds manifest that they have always lived in metropolis (67%).

The undergraduate students of the University of Iceland (UI) interviewed are young people who mostly reside in the Reykjavík area. Although its size (approx. 180 thousand inhabitants, including suburban areas), Reykjavík emerges as a real capital city, which is perceived and lived by its sophisticated inhabitants.

In the case of the undergraduate students of the University of Jyväskylä (JYU) almost the half of them manifest they have live for ever at the city of Jyväskylä (especially women and students with 21-25 years old), while others say to be born in other Finnish city or at least in the nearby rural areas (mainly those aged 25 or +).

i) Enjoying living in the city

More than the 80% of the undergraduate students included in the three universities state that they "enjoy living in the city" (mainly the youngest: 18-20 years old). When explaining why they enjoy the urban life, more than the 50% of the subjects of the three universities first mention "the offer of goods and services" that the city brings, as it can be seen at Table 1:

¹ The Faculty of Economic Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires has 36.250 students, almost the 15% of the total population of the UBA (250 thousand students), while the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Iceland has 4.600 students, almost the 30% of the whole population of the UI (15.000) and the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Jyväskylä has approximately 2.200 students, the 15% of the total population of the JYU (15.000).

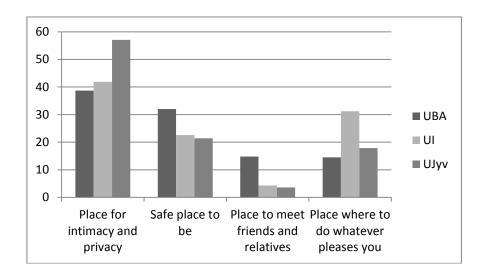
Table 1: Why the inhabitants enjoy living in the city (%)

	Offer of goods and	There are many	Increase of rootedness	Where my affections	Anonymity	%
	services	people		are	, ,	
UBA	56.7	21.6	13.7	3.0	5.0	100
UI	50.1	23.9	15.0	6.0	5.0	100
JYU	62.0	8.3	7.3	20.3	2.1	100

ii) Meaning of home

The majority of the subjects of the three samples consider that "home is a place for intimacy and privacy", as it can be seen in Table 2:

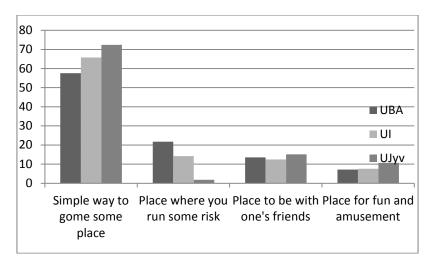
Table 2: Meaning of home (%)



Summing up, those who answered that home is "a place for intimacy and privacy" and those who said that is "a safe place to be", we have about 75% of the students that perceive home not only as a clear limit between public and private, but also as a means of the person's world to face the urban realm.

iii) Considerations on the street

When considering the meaning youth endow the streets with we have found out that, as far as the great majority of the young students of the three university samples conceive the street as "a simple way to go some place", that is consider the street from the point of view of its prominently functional aspect, as it can be seen in the next table:



Almost a quarter of the UBA's interviewees (21.7%) consider the street as a "place where you run some risk / a dangerous place", an answer most frequently found among female subjects, and subjects with a lesser SEL. While almost the 15% of the UI's students mentioned risk and danger linked to the street, in the case of the JYU only the 1.8% of the students answered in this way.

Street is perceived as "a place to be with one's friends" by similar percentages in the three universities (between 12 and 15%), especially male subjects and also by the 15- to 19-age group subjects); it is a situation likely to be observed when walking along the streets of the city of Buenos Aires: when evening is closing in, young males with some women meet in groups and "take possession" of the street, so to speak. For subjects with lesser SELs also, streets are the choice place to meet with friends. In other words, night seems to allow a better, a higher level of appropriation for the younger segment of population at large, mainly whenever grown-ups have got back home or, at least, are no longer to be found on the street as massively as they were in broad daylight.

When answering that the street is "a place for fun and amusement" (between 7 and 11% in the three samples) it is to be assumed that fun and amusement are also variables to be found in the opinion of subjects who consider the street as a place to be with one's friends.

In other words, for almost a quarter of our samples the street represents positive and attractive a place ("a place to be with friends, a place for fun and amusement").

Nonetheless, when we asked our sample subjects whether they agree or not with the following statement: "In the city, to go along the street is fine, even though you simply watch passers-by", we could observe that more than two thirds of each of the three samples agree. It means that although they privilege just a functional conception of the street (a way to go some place), they still recognize a latent function of the street in terms of socialization or sociability.

iv) Considerations on the night

The majority of the students under study consider that the night mainly represents "rest", with special reference to the individuals from Jyväskylä, whose 83% doubles the percentage of the students from Buenos Aires, as it is shown in the following Table:

Table 4: Meaning of the night (%)

	Rest	Fun	Freedom	Meeting /	Risk	Mistery	%
				Communication			
UBA	40.7	34.3	0.0	14.0	11.0	0.0	100
UI	65.8	13.8	7.9	6.3	2.6	3.6	100
JYU	83.3	10.7	4.8	1.2	0.0	0.0	100

While just the 24% of the UBA's students affirm that they "do not mix with their neighbors", the percentage increases significantly in the other two university samples (around the 58%). It means that the subjects from the UBA show the highest percentage in sociability within the neighborhood: the 62% mixes with some of his/her neighbors, and the 14% mixes with the majority

of his/her neighbors. Only around the 3% of the interviewed students of the universities of Iceland and Jyväskylä mixes with the majority of his/her neighbors, as it can be seen in Table 5:

Table 5: Social relations with neighbors (%)

	14510 51 500000 100000000 10000000 (70)						
	Subject doesn't mix	Subject mixes with	Subject mixes with				
	with his/her	some of his/her	a majority of	%			
	neighbors	neighbors	his/her neighbors				
UBA	24.0	62.0	14.0	100			
UI	58.1	38.7	3.2	100			
IYU	57.1	40.0	2.9	100			

Nevertheless it must be considered -in the case of Reykjavík at least- that there is not much outdoor public culture, more staying inside with family and friends, which is reinforced with the fact that students many times have temporary renting and housing with unknown neighbors. This is not clearly the case of the majority of the UBA students, living in a middle of the Buenos Aires metropolitan realm.

When speaking about the reasons to relate with the neighbors, more than a half of the young inhabitants of Reykjavík acknowledge they mix with them "due to the time they have been in touch" (52%); the inhabitants of Jyväskylä priorized "the characteristics of one's own personality (39%), while the inhabitants of Buenos Aires under study mentioned both "the personality of the neighbor" and "the characteristics of one's own personality".

Finally, those subjects who mix with a great majority of their neighbors (just the 14% of the UBA's students and around the 3% of the UI and JYU's students), this is due –according to the answers-to characteristics of one's own personality but a major factor is time –i.e. how long they have been acquainted.

When such data are analyzed pursuant to the interviewees' SEL, it can be observed that subjects pertaining to higher levels have a lesser contact with neighbors than subjects from lesser level do. It should be noted that, in the "house" districts of Buenos Aires —a characteristic of the lesser level population, the urban space is "occupied" so to speak by inhabitants. In summer evenings, people sit on the sidewalks to chat, in the afternoon kids play soccer on the roadway: this is a lifestyle implying people getting much more in touch with their neighbors who become friends promptly enough. A great majority (65%) interviewed subjects pertaining to the lesser SELs "mix with the majority of their neighbors", while this percentage drops dramatically as you climb up the social ladder.

When considering these data from a gender point of view, we can find that female subjects get much more in touch with their neighbors than male subjects, and same goes with younger subjects.

Qualities any good neighbor is supposed to have

The *qualities any good neighbor is supposed to have* is another indicator of the situation at stake, as can be seen in Table 6:

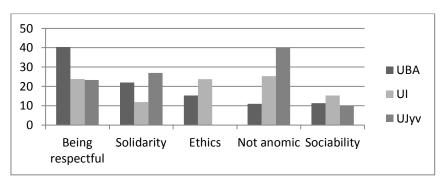


Table 6: Qualities any good neighbor is supposed to have (%)

"Being respectful" is the neighbor's quality more mentioned among UB's students (40%), but it is also important among UI's and JYU's undergraduates (approx. 24%).

Another virtues mentioned were "solidarity" (approx. one quarter of the JYU's and UBA's students, mainly among subjects with low SEL); "ethics" (only mentioned among UBA's and UI's

students, mainly individuals with low SEL); and "sociability": between 10 and 15% of the samples (the majority men).

In the case of the UI sample, besides the formality ("being respectful") and to be ethics, it were mentioned: "sociability": 15% (on the increase among males: 28%) and "solidarity": 11%.

Finally, it must be noticed that in the case of the JYU's sample the 40% stated that a good neighbor "must not be anomic" (mainly subjects aged 18-20 years), while "solidarity" is mentioned by the 27% (mainly subjects aged 21-25 years: 50%, and individuals with high SEL: 63%) and "sociability" by just the 10%.

vi) Aspects the individuals indentify the city with

The city is a resource for its inhabitants as a means for satisfying needs, but at the same time can be a restriction. Should we wish to either define or assess the (urban) realm in function of human needs, we understand that something else is needed besides understanding what are the possibilities this realm puts at the disposal of both groups and individual persons so that their needs are attended to. We have to "screen up to which grade the realm either represses, tolerate or stimulate how the available or predominant possibilities are re-created and widened by individuals or groups proper" (Max Neef, 1987). The idea not only lies in setting up a relationship with goods and services probably apt at satisfying those needs, but also such a relationship is to include social habits, types of organization, political models and values likely to impact on the ways those needs are to be expressed.

So, it is worth considering that residents should assess the quality of life in terms of the satisfaction of their psycho-socio-cultural needs. Indeed, human beings have multiple, interdependent needs that should be understood as a system wherein such needs are inter-related, and also inter-act. A breakdown of needs can be set up, pursuant to multiple criteria such as criteria related to existence-related needs, and axiology-related needs, a combination that allows us to operate a classification including needs related to being, having, and doing, on the one hand, and needs related to subsistence, protection, affect, understanding, participation, leisure, creation, identity, and freedom (Max Neef, 1987)

The urban realm thus becomes a satisfying factor in that sense that: a) the urban realm must be meaningful for any people dwelling there; b) the urban realm must offer things new, stimulation, and some uncertainty; and c) the urban realm must allow options to be selected, decision making, and freedom for action.

We could say that the urban image is being structured by city residents through questions dealing with a physical description of environment, an esthetic appraisal, a personal appraisal, expectations, mental representations, cognitive layouts –including previous perceptive experiences, a social assessment, a system of beliefs. In that sense, any urban image appears through fixed, built up elements (such as buildings, green areas, streets and the like) on the one hand, and, on the other hand, through one's own experiences –i.e. experiences you sum up about, and in, the city. So, such experiences construct one's own individual, and urban, history, a fact operating dialectically in terms of a re-significance of the constructed urban environment.

The fact of sharing an environmental heritage helps residents to get identified with their own community, hence, getting more integrated to it. A community defines its heritage through elements the community considers to be theirs while, at the same time, the community values positively those elements in view of community needs being satisfied. In sum, the city is a source for identity.

Considering that almost the 90% of the three samples acknowledged that "they enjoy living in the city" (it doesn't matter age, sex or SEL), we were interested in finding out what were the aspects that young inhabitants identify with the city thereof. The answers are shown in Table 7:

	Offer of good & services	Physical places	Stress	Cultural and leisure activities	Lack of safety	Primary Groups	Personality of the inhabitant	Lack of ethics	%
UBA	12.6	21.4	43.4	12.6	3.0	2.0	5.0	0.0	100
UI	10.4	43.5	14.1	21.5	5.2	5.3	0.0	0.0	100
JYU	58.2	8.3	0.0	0.0	16.9	0.0	8.3	8.3	100

Table 7: Aspects the individuals identify the city with (%)

- Aspects of the urban life which put quality of life in jeopardy, namely: stress", "noise", "roughness", are mainly present among the UBA sample subjects (43%), living in a metropolis such as Buenos Aires. The percentages decrease when analyzing the UI students (14%), while none of the JYU subjects mentioned this aspect.
- The offer of goods and services: almost the 60% of the Jyväskylä sample students refers to this (mainly males and those with low SEL); perhaps this high percentage is due to the fact that more than one third of them came from rural areas, near or not to the city.
- Physical places are significantly stated by the 44% of the UI sample inhabitants as the principal identity factor as the principal identity factor of the city (mainly among students with medium and high SEL), what is implying knowledge of the city and probably of its urban and cultural patrimony; it is not at random that precisely these sample inhabitants of Reykjavík also mentioned "cultural and leisure activities" as another identity urban factor (225%, almost the double compared with the Buenos Aires sample subjects).
- It is someway surprising that those who identified the city with the "lack of safety" were in the increase while decreasing the size of the city, namely: almost the 17% in Jyväskylä, and hardly the 5% in Reykjavík and 3% in Buenos Aires (a hypothesis can be that the inhabitants of capital cities —mainly the BA as a metropolis- are over-socialized with risks and insecurity).

vii) Pleasure and joy in the city

We have been interested in getting a more in-depth examination of the life experiences young people have when dealing with the city milieu:, what are the pleasurable facts in the urban realm, and what are the facts that scare them.

When analyzing the attractiveness of the city for its inhabitants in terms of everyday life and satisfaction of personal needs, we have dug out "what causes them pleasure or joy" in the urban realm. The answers are shown in Table 8:

	Offer of good & services	Meeting points	Being with the primary groups	Urban Cultural Patrimony	The night	Green areas	%
UBA	40.0	12.1	25.3	10.2	12.0	1.4	100
UI	39.7	12.8	16.5	12.6	10.2	8.2	100
IYU	31.2	28.3	4.6	2.5	4.5	28.9	100

Table 8: What are the pleasurable facts related to urban life (%)

We have found out that the "offer of goods and services" are mostly privileged by the three sample students: 40% of the UBA and UI subjects and almost one third of the JYU ones.

For more than one quarter of the JYU sample (28%) "the meeting places and the streets" an important pleasure factor (mainly males and individuals with low SEL –in this case the percentage arises to 40%).

"To be with their primary groups" is stated by one quarter of the UBA sample (25%), and by the 16.5% of the UI students; it must be mentioned that the percentages increase significantly in the three samples when the subjects have low SEL).

It is among the JYU students where "green areas" gets a significant percentage as a source of pleasure or joy in the urban life (29%, mainly subjects with medium and high SEL, and aged 21 or more, whose answers grow up to 55% of them).

viii) Fear in the city

In relation to what are the facts that scare them, the "lack of safety" rampant scares the subjects of the three samples as the main cause of fear. We must consider that "unsafe" is mentioned mainly by females (76% among UBA sample, and 46% among JYU sample) and subjects with medium and high SEL level (80% and 68%, thereof).

Among the UBA sample the "lack of communication" is a negative factor mentioned mainly by those with low SEL (40%), while "contamination" is just mentioned by subjects with medium and high SEL level (7.7%). Other facts that scare them are "drugs" (12%), "the night" (12%, but only among women and those aged 25 years or more) and "the urban traffic" (8%). Factors like "immigration" or "environmental pollution" are scarcely mentioned (less than 3%).

It must be highlighted that almost one quarter of the UI subjects (23.9%) there is "nothing" that scares them in the city (mainly males: 44% versus el 19.4% among women), while nothing cares to one third of the Jyväskylä students (mainly those aged 18-20 and with medium SEL).

In the case of the JYU sample it is also mentioned "the economic problems that impact in the city" (17%, although the percentage arises to 50% among the younger age d 18-20 and to 75% among the individuals with medium and high SEL).

ix) What does the city give and deprive of the inhabitants

An attempt has been done at deepening the aspect of the city as a means to satisfy needs (or not): we asked "what does the fact of living in the city either gives you or deprives you of?" Analyzing first the city as a "needs satisfier", the answers of the samples grouped as follows:

		Comfort	Meeting people /Communication	Stay with primary groups	Identity	Fun / Amusement	Peacefulness	Freedom	%
	UBA	54.4	10.2	20.1	17.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
	UI	35.9	13.3	14.0	15.7	5.1	8.7	7.3	100
ſ	IYU	7.2	7.3	11.5	22.3	20.3	15.2	16.2	100

Table 9: Positive aspects the fact of living in the city give to subjects (%)

The UBA sample subjects privileged in their answers the "comfort" that the city of Buenos Aires brings (54%, percentage that is in the increase among subjects with medium-high SEL: 85%), and the same happens with UI subjects sample in relation to the comfort that living in Reykjavík represents for them (36%, specially those with low SEL: 89%).

The Jyväskylä's subjects pointed up "fun and amusement": 20% (percentage that increases significantly among males: 67%, and among subjects with medium and high SEL level: 40%), "freedom" (16%) and "peacefulness" (15%) that the city brings.

It is necessary to point out that around the 20% of the three samples mentioned "identity" as a positive factor the urban realm brings them, which of course let us evoke inhabitants with a high level of rootedness the urban realm.

Let us examine now what the sample subjects consider that city *deprives them of,* as Table 10 shows:

		Table 10.2 ispens of the mount weing that depretes the instabilities of (1)								
		Quiet life	Safety	Time	Contact with	Being with friends	Creativity	%		
L					Nature					
ſ	UBA	31.7	27.7	0.0	23.8	16.8	0.0	100		
	UI	25.6	14.6	25.5	14.3	20.0	0.0	100		
ſ	JYU	17.5	5.3	12.2	18.2	33.3	13.5	100		

Table 10: Aspects of the urban living that deprives the inhabitants of (%)

Almost a third of our interviewees from Buenos Aires (32%) and Reykjavík (26%) consider that the city deprives them of possibilities to "live a quiet life", to "enjoy relax" and "silence", aspect which is basically perceived by: a) female subjects, and b) the 20- to 25-age group subjects.

While in almost the 30% of the UBA sample inhabitants of Buenos Aires pointed out the lack of "safety" (it doesn't matter the SEL level), one third of the JYU sample mentioned that Jyväskylä deprives them of "being with primary groups".

In the three samples, subjects mentioned that they have lost "contact with nature" (uncontaminated air, natural landscapes): almost one quarter of the UBA's students, the 18% of the Jyväskylä sample, decreasing to 14% in the case of Reykjavík.

Buenos Aires deprives the subjects of "safety" (almost the 24%) but less in Reykjavík (15%) and Jyväskylä (just 5%).

It is surprising that the "waste and lack of time" in the city is not mentioned by the inhabitants of Buenos Aires (although its dimensions and characteristics as metropolis), perhaps because they are already socialized with the pressures in terms of time and spatial distances. Meanwhile, the UI subjects did mention "time" (26%), and also the 12% of the JYU students (nevertheless the 14% of those subjects that stated the lost of "creativity" can be grouped with those who mentioned "time"; if so, this qualification of the time (and space) would be arising to almost the 40% of the subjects).

x) Spatial rootedness

Space, as a social space, is created –and re-created by every society and their respective production ways. A primitive community gives birth to an analogical space –a primitive community which adopt the human system as a model for inspiration so that the everyday life space is constructed. The ancient way of production originates the cosmological space: there will be a locus apt at reproducing the cosmic order as well as the Weltanschauung within the city. The Middle Ages type of production and its relevant city generate a symbolic space. With the Renaissance city, the perspective space emerges. The city and the capitalist mode of production originate a space, which is both homogeneous and fragmented that, as a cause-and-effect process finds that anything likely to be quantified, measured, and divided is an income generator. And, finally, we arrive to the differential space, relevant to the socialist production mode in which there will be a tendency to unite what was split (i.e. the public realm from the private realm, downtown from uptown, etc.).

Analyzing data as it is shown in Table 11, it is significant that around half of the UBA and JYU's samples the subjects have a "high level of spatial rootedness" (mainly among women: 53% versus 37% among males), being also important the almost 30% in the case of Reykjavík (where the percentage increases significantly when age or SEL are higher).

	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW	%
UBA	56.8	36.9	6.3	100
UI	29.1	58.0	12.9	100
IVII	47.0	41.3	11.7	100

Table 11: Degrees of Spatial Rootednes (%)

It is remarkable that the percentages of inhabitants with low spatial rootedness are not important (between 6 and 13%, although it increases in the following cases: to the 20% in the UBA sample's subjects with low SEL, to the 33% in the students aged 18-20 in the JYU sample's subjects).

II. URBAN EVERYDAY LIFE AND SOCIAL ROOTEDNESS

i) City and friendship

When it came to find out whether "life in the city makes deep friendly relationships easier or more difficult", answers were divided as Table 12 shows:

		Make them very easy	Somewhat make them easier	No influence	Somewhat make them difficult	Make them very difficult	%
ſ	UBA	20.0	26.8	23.0	27.0	3.2	100
ſ	UI	23.6	23.6	16.9	29.2	6.7	100
ſ	JYU	23.1	34.3	23.5	15.1	4.0	100

Table 12: The city as facilitating factor for friendship relationships (%)

We observed very similar results in the three samples, underlying both functionalities and dis-functionalities within the urban realm. If we sum up those who think that the city somewhat makes the friendship relations difficult or very difficult, we observe that while the 30% of the UBA students and the 36% of the UI students, just the 19% of the Jyväskylä students has this negative

perception. But while summing up the answers "somewhat make the friendship relations easier and very easier", the results are: UBA 47%, UI 47%, and JYU 57%.

When introducing SEL and sex, we can observe some significant percentage differences, namely:

- a) The percentage of sample subjects answering that *deep friendly relationships are made difficult by urban life* increases markedly up to 55% among young people with the lowest SEL. These are the same subjects that say that urban life *has no influence* on such primary, true relationships: this is most likely to be due to the fact they have suffered themselves the influence of the urban milieu in terms of restraint.
- b) Among female interviewees, the percentage of subjects answering that urban life makes friendly relationships rather easy or very easy, the percentage thereof is much lower: 25% vs. 38% among male subjects.

ii) The city as a relationship and meeting realm

The dialectic between public and private lives is an essential feature of the urban, as it was stated by Bahrdt (1970), although in big cities or metropolis the public life can become apparent and the private life grow weak, emerging phenomena like isolation, individualism or tedium, as we'll see later on.

Importance degree for meeting at home with primary groups

For the subjects under study, inhabitants of cities, to stay and spend time and activities with their primary groups becomes not only a source of joy and satisfaction of an existential need, but also a value. Thus, are understandable the high percentages of individuals who answered that this possibility has a maximum degree of importance, while just less than the 10% of each sample attributes low importance, as it is showed in Table 13:

Table 13: Importance degree for meeting at home with friends and relatives (%)

	High	Medium	Low	%
UBA	82.0	15.0	8.0	100
UI	66.7	30.0	3.3	100
JYU	67.9	25.0	7.1	100

Importance degree for meeting in public places

As it was said about the continuous interaction between the public and private realms, this has a particular importance in terms of urban everyday life where the inhabitant is perceived (and self-perceived) as protagonist. This is verified by the sample subjects when answering the grade of importance given to the fact of meeting in public places. The results are shown in Table 14:

Table 14: Importance degree of meeting people in public places (%)

	High	Medium	Low	%
UBA	60.0	32.0	8.0	100
UI	66.7	30.0	3.3	100
JYU	67.9	25.0	7.1	100

No significant differences were found: around two thirds of each sample give "high importance" to "meet people in public places", mainly among subjects with low SEL, for whom the public places are related not only with sociability and meetings but also imply the possibility of participation and protest, places and moments where to resolve individual, group and social problems. Less than the 9% of each sample conferred "low importance". For all the subjects sampled aged 18-20, this was of high importance, while just for those aged 26 or more this has "low importance" (20% of them)

That's why "to have places where to submit claims or complains" is important for approximately 75% of each of the university samples (nevertheless most of them stated that it was of "medium importance", while for others was of "high importance"; just for the 20% of each sample this is something of "low importance".

iii) Uses of the leisure time

Beyond the multiple demands implied in the urban everyday life, the inhabitant uses (or tries to) a free time that anyway it is not necessarily independent from the urban because is the city itself which brings spaces and times devoted to an *otium* that many times is more a confirmation to the urban belonging than a sign of independence or isolation of the inhabitant.

	Inner life (art,	Activities with	Physical and sport	Social and cultural
	music, reading)	primary groups	activities	activities
UBA	63.0	54.5	34.5	20.0
UI	64.2	66.7	47.8	29.9
JYU	67.3	30.6	45.3	34.6

Table 15: *Uses of the leisure time (%) (*)*

Around two thirds of the subjects of each of the three universities privilege activities linked with the "inner life", such as art, music, readings, religious activities; this percentage increases among individuals with low SEL ("I read", "I think", "I listen to music", "I write", "I draw", "I study acting", etc.).

The activities related with primary groups was mostly mentioned by the UBA and UI students, percentage that decreases to the half among JYU students (mainly women and subjects aged 25 or more) ("I go out with my friends", "I visit my friends", "I get out with my companion", "I either get out or stay with my family", "I go to a convenience store and I have some beer with friends", etc.).

It is also significant the percentage of people that mentioned *physical and sport activities*, but mainly among women: approx. 50% versus 24% of males ("I do sports", "I play soccer", "I do gym", "I ride my bike", "I go fishing", "I go to the countryside", "I go jogging", "I take a walk in a neighboring square").

In relation to *social and cultural activities*, around one third of the young students from Reykjavík and Jyväskylä (specially, among women) mentioned this use, while among the students from Buenos Aires the percentage drops to 20, which is surprising considering that as a metropolis it offers an ample offer of social and cultural activities; nevertheless, it can be argued that among the 55% of the UBA's subjects that answered "*activities with primary groups*" perhaps is implying that they will develop social and cultural activities with their primary groups; anyway, it is of course significant that the subject privileged the importance of with whom would use his/her leisure time, instead of the sort of activities.

Satisfaction with the uses of the leisure time

Finally, we have been interested in knowing the degree of satisfaction young people feel with regard to their leisure time. We could observe that the majority of the three university samples feel "happy with what they do for the most part of their time": the 85% of the UI and JYU students, and the 77% of the UBA subjects. These answers must be linked to the fact that most of the individuals (85.2%) agree when they were asked if "the city offers cultural and leisure time alternatives not easily found in other places".

In terms of the reasons for that "grade of satisfaction" related to the uses given to the leisure time, the answers can be grouped as follows, finding similar results in the three samples:

- The activities increase the existential authenticity of the subject and his/her life: 90% (UBA), 94% (UI), 83% (JYU).
- The activities increase the social rootedness of the subject, his/her groups belonging: 9% (UBA), 5% (UI), 13% (JYU, although the percentage is doubled among those with high SEL, aged 21-25, and females).
- Other reason: 2% (UBA), 2% (UI), 4% (JYU).

Tedium

^(*) Note: the subjects could answer up to three uses of the leisure time

We put on the arena a topic closely related to "leisure time", which is the *tedium sensation* the subjects could be suffering from: a sort of existential monotony and boredom. Tedium is one of the significant indicators mentioned by Georg Simmel (1977) when analyzing the urban and metropolitan life, together with exasperating individualism and extreme rationalism (cf. del Acebo Ibáñez, 1993).

We find out that between two thirds and three quarters of the three samples acknowledge they "sometimes" feel tedium or they feel bored in the city; if we sum up these answers to those saying they suffer frequently tedium, we see that the percentages climbs to almost 77% in the case of the University of Buenos Aires students, to 82.2% among the University of Jyväskylä students, and to 88% among the inhabitants of Reykjavík.

Table 16: How frequently the urban inhabitant suffers from tedium (%)

	FREQUENTLY	SOMETIMES	NEVER	%
UBA	10.0	66.6	23.4	100
UI	15.0	73.0	12.0	100
JYU	3.6	78.6	17.8	100

It is significant to observe that among the UBA subjects that manifest to have suffered tedium "frequently" (10%) it happens mostly among those aged 21 or more", and among those with high cultural rootedness just 8% has suffered tedium, like those with high total rootedness: the 93% of them have never suffered tedium.

In the case of the UI sample, 12% have never suffered tedium, while a significant 73% stated to have suffered it "sometimes" (among all the SEL levels, but less in the medium level). Among those who do suffer tedium, it is interesting to observe that it happens when the SEL increases (almost the 20% of those from the high SEL level suffered frequently tedium while just the 10% of those with low SEL do). Considering the variable age, we observed that the 50% of the youngsters aged 18-20 suffer this syndrome.

In relation to the inhabitants of the city of Jyväskylä, more than the 82% of the sample manifest to suffer tedium: 79% "sometimes", and 4% "frequently (all the subjects aged 18-20 "sometimes" suffered the syndrome, while the 90% of those pertaining to the medium-high SEL). The 18% of the Finnish students have "never" felt tedium in the city (mainly those aged 26 or more: 40%).

It must be underlined that in the three city samples those who have "never" suffered tedium in their everyday urban life are inhabitants with high total rootedness. It means that although the high percentage of subjects satisfied with their leisure time, the parallel high percentage or people that suffer sometimes tedium is demonstrating that one thing is the ways the society offer activities for the free time under a given consumerism framework, and another is the satisfaction of the existential needs in terms of self-realization.

iv) Participatory inhabitant's attitude

Participation, being real or potential, emerges as an important dimension of social rootedness. So that our attempt to measure different indicators, namely: attitude of service towards the community in general, participative attitude in social organizations, concrete and real ways of social and urban participation.

Importance degree of serving the community

Table 17: *Importance degree of serving the community (%)*

	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW	%
UBA	44.0	46.0	10.0	100
UI	35.7	49.4	14.9	100
JYU	14.3	60.7	25.0	100

For more than one third of the UBA and UI sample subjects "serving the community" has "high importance", percentage that drops dramaticly among the IYU's students: scarcely the 14%. But

at the same time it is considered important (not utmost important but rather important) for almost half of the UBA and UI samples, climbing up to almost the 61% among the Finnish students of Jyväskylä; nevertheless, one quarter of the JYU sample considered that "serving the community" has "low importance".

Importance degree of participating in organizations

Assuming the importance of social and organizational participation as one of the fundamental dimensions of social rootedness, together with the belonging to primary and secondary groups, we measure this in our three samples, as we can see in Table 18:

	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW	%
UBA	12.0	48.0	40.0	100
UI	15.7	53.9	30.3	100
JYU	16.9	51.0	32.1	100

Table 18: Importance degree of participating in social and urban organizations (%)

For approximately the half of the three samples, participating in social and urban organizations is considered "highly important" by percentages that fluctuate between 12% (UBA) and 17% (UI and JYU). Certainly this "active" participation is reduced because of the increasing "passive" participation, that is the access to the goods and services that a given society and city are able to offer. This is verified, precisely, observing the high percentages of young inhabitants that consider of "low importance" participating actively in organizations: 40% of the UBA sample, and something more than 30% in the other two university samples.

Actual and potential participation

When it comes to our samples subjects' own participation, only 20% say that, indeed, they attend rather frequently meetings organized by some district, environmental, political or student's organization. A significant 70% state plainly that they "never attend" meetings organized by this type of institutions mainly due to motives linked to "lack of interest" and "no time to go there". In that sense, we can classify the reasons for no-participation as follows:

- a) Motives linked to the Subsystem of Personality ("lack of interest", "participating just didn't occur to me", "unawareness", besides especially negative attitudes such as: "just no good", "it isn't worth my time"), and
- Motives linked to the Social and Cultural Subsystem ("no time to go there", "personal problems", "lack of opportunities", "I'll go when I'm a grown-up".

This no-participation, or no-interest for participation among young people, not only takes place notwithstanding gender, age, or socioeconomic level, but also has been taking place for some time now, as it had already been observed in previous research works that the trend is increasing. In those research works (i.e. Schufer, Mendes Diz et al., 1988; Hentschel et al, 1993), the level of participation reached a fourth part of the juvenile population while, in this study, the level of participation hardly reaches 18%. Nevertheless, it has been observed that participation at the level of district organizations increases as subjects' SEL decreases. This may be due to a greater "districtconsciousness", so to speak and a better sense of "local community" being present among those strata on account of being a population sector on the fringe of marginalization.

We could suggest that young people are not given (and they themselves do not find) genuine participation possibilities, so they kept being "pushed on the backburner", that is to a massive participation implying the consumption of objects -besides they are presented as "models" for the consumption market. When our interviewees were asked "what is the organization you would like participating to" again it could be observed that sample subjects with the lowest SEL evidenced the higher percentages for a potential participation; this happens mainly in Buenos Aires, where it could be considered that if they do not participate this is due to the time they input in achieving adaptive strategies aimed at overcoming marginalization situations.

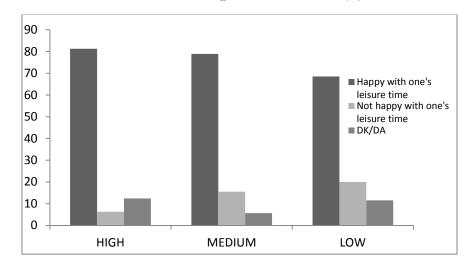
Although participating in organizations was a value for the sample subjects, very important indeed, this is not necessarily translated in concrete actions in terms of urban community involvement. That's why they were asked about how frequently they participate in organizational meetings, as it can be read in Table 19:

Table 19: Frequency of participation in organizational meetings (%)

	FREQUENTLY	SOMETIMES	RARELY	NEVER	%
UBA	4.0	9.0	21.0	66.0	100
UI	13.0	34.8	0.0	52.2	100
IYU	32.1	42.9	0.0	25.0	100

It can be seen that the UBA's subjects participate frequently in organizations in very low percentage (4%), and even summing up those who manifest that they participate "sometimes" (9%) we can observe just a 13%; and what is more significant is to verify that two thirds of them have "never" participated actively. When we relate "potential participation" with "satisfaction with one's leisure time" in the case of this Buenos Aires sample, we see significant relations between both variables, as it is shown in Table 20:

Table 20: Degrees of "potential participation" and "satisfaction with one's leisure time" among Buenos Aires inhabitants (%)



POTENTIAL PARTICIPATION

The situation betters in the other two samples. In the case of the University of Iceland's students, if we sum up those who participate "frequently" (13%) and "sometimes" (35%) in that sort of meetings, we can conclude that almost the half of the sample subjects has concrete active participation (48%, mainly among those with medium-high SEL). The other half of the sample (52%) manifest they "never" participate in those organizational meetings (mainly among males: 71% of them do not participate, while the 46% of females doesn't).

The subjects from the city of Jyväskylä show a clear active participatory attitude and behavior, as almost ¾ of the sample answer that they participate in those organizations and meetings: some participate "frequently" (32%) and others "sometimes" (43%), mainly those with medium-high and high SEL. Only one quarter manifests they never participate (with special mention of those aged 18-20, and subjects with low SEL). Recent Finnish studies in "trust" and "social participation" indicate the same as this study: importance and participation in third sector organizations, especially associations is on a high level in Finland, also among young people, but other forms of community participation are seen as less important (Alanen & Siisiäinen, 2011; Siisiäinen & Kankainen, 2014). The former actually explains the latter, because the third sector organizations are seen as the form of community participation on the expense of importance of other, more arbitrary and perhaps less organized forms. Those recent studies also consider strong public sector as one of the key reasons of lack of everyday community participation in Finland. This might explain part of the results considering Iceland as well.

Since the WW II Finland has traditionally been a society with high degree of participation

in third sector organizations such as associations (Siisiäinen 1990). Recent statistical studies show that almost 50 % of the young people (15-29 years old) with academic education work in civic organizations at some point in their life and 50 % of all the young people find participation in civic organizations important in attempting to influence on social issues (Myllyniemi, 2013: pp. 21, 25).

Considering our study, it was found a greater participative potential (i.e. "high" + "medium") in the lowest SEL (40%, mainly in Buenos Aires) probably due to the pressure prompting subjects to escape from situations either near socioeconomic marginalization or definitely sunken within.

We have also discovered some significant correlation, namely: a) between actual and potential participation with "one's leisure time": the more happy is the individual with the uses he/she gives to the leisure time, the higher the potential participation, and b) the lesser consumerist life, the greater the actual participation.

This should quite demonstrate the tendency –we have already set up in the Theory of Rootedness as a "total" phenomenon, to compensate a lesser "active" participation with a greater "passive" participation; that is, a participation limited to the consumption of goods and services the socio-cultural world offers.

Types of organizations where the inhabitants participate

Deeping in the analysis of the participation issue, we proceed to find out in what sort of organizations the sample subjects attend in their cities thereof. The results were grouped in table 21:

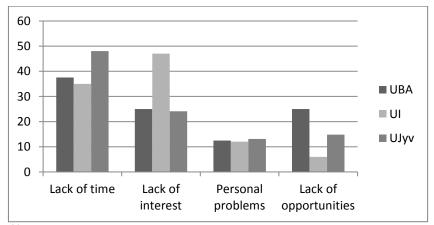


Table 21: Reasons why the inhabitant does not participate in organizations (%)

(*) Note: It could be mentioned up to 3 (three) organizations.

In the case of the UBA subjects, almost the half (45%) participate in *unions* (mainly among those with low SEL where the percentage climbs to 80, and in those aged 25+). This is not the case of the other two university samples.

In relation to the *educational & cultural organizations*, almost one third of the UBA students do participate in them, although the percentages of the UI and UJy students drop to 18 % (mainly among females: 50%). This type of organization many times refers to a student association or so, mainly among the Jyväskylä sample subjects.

It is remarkable that the 20% of the Reykjavík students participate in NGOs, half of them refered to environmental or ecologist organizations (this is particularly present in individuals with medium-high SEL: 50%, and among females (40% versus 17% among males).

Reasons for the lack of participation

We were eager to know the reasons given by the sample subjects to explain why they do not participate or the participation is clearly low. The result is shown in Table 22:

Table 22: Reasons why the inhabitant does not participate in organizations (%)

	LACK OF TIME	LACK OF INTEREST	PERSONAL PROBLEMS	LACK OF OPPORTUNITIES	0/0
UBA	37.5	25.0	12.5	25.0	100
UI	35.0	47.0	12.0	6.0	100
JYU	48.0	24.1	13.1	14.8	100

The "lack of time" is mentioned by a significant percentage of the students/inhabitants analyzed: 38% among the UBA sample (almost all belong to the low or the high SEL). A similar percentage is present among the UI sample (35%), while in the case of the University of Jyväskylä the percentage climbs to 48% (mainly in the case of the individuals aged 26+ where the 60% of them adduce "lack of time", perhaps because of their labor insertion).

Nevertheless, it must be considered that in many cases the students have paid jobs. For example, more young people hold paid jobs in Iceland than in any of the other Nordic countries, according to a recent Scandinavian study (Björnsdóttir, 2013). More than half of Icelandic 15-19 year olds were active in the labor market whereas just over 40% of Danes of the same age had jobs.

Young people in Iceland mostly have low-paid part-time jobs requiring no qualifications, often with irregular working hours, and attend college at the same time. The same holds for University students who in many instances also have part time jobs to pay for their living expenses. At the same time student loans are granted to university students by the government. Yet tuition is not required at the University of Iceland enabling lower income students to earn an academic degree. The life of the typical university student in Iceland is therefore to be very occupied studying and working at the same time, often with family obligations as well.

This is also the case of the students from the University of Buenos Aires almost the 70% work at the same time they study, but although just very few of them receive loans, tuition is not required at the public national universities in Argentina.

The "lack of interest" is pointed out by the 25% of the UBA sample (climbing to the 100% in the case of the students aged 18-20, and to the 50% among those of low SEL), while in the case of the Reykjavík students the percentage is higher: 47%, almost the double of the other two samples.

One quarter of the UBA subjects mention the "lack of opportunities", while almost the 15% among the JYU subjects and barely the 6% of the UI subjects; in general the expression "lack of opportunities" refers mainly to structural causes, although in some cases perhaps it also deals to some extend with the traits of the subject's personality or, better, due to both reasons at the same time. In the case of the JYU subjects this is mentioned mostly among inhabitants aged 18-20.

v) Individualism and anonymity in the city

Re-visiting again Simmel's thought and approach to cities, we included questions with reference to "individualism" and "anonymity" in the urban realm. The sample subjects clearly considered that the urban inhabitant is "individualist" (around the 50% of the three samples) or "very individualist" (30% of the UBA subjects, almost the 21% of the UI sample and barely the 6% of the JYU sample). It must be noticed that if we sum up both categories of answer the result is that three quarters of the UBA and UI samples recognized the "individualism" as a characteristic of the urban inhabitant, while another significant 66% of the JYU sample answered in the same way. This is important to point out because of the convergences and divergences of the three cities: Buenos Aires is a metropolis, Reykjavík and Buenos Aires are capital cities, while Jyväskylä is a medium sized city.

Table 23: *Grade of individualism of the urban inhabitant (%)*

	Not individualist	Rather individualist	Individualist	Very individualist	%
UBA	2.0	20.0	48.0	30.0	100
UI	5.0	22.0	52.4	20.7	100
JYU	10.7	35.7	50.0	5.6	100

In the case of the Finnish city those who clearly point out the "individualism" of the inhabitants are the subjects aged 21 or more (60%) and males (63% versus 47% among females), while the 100% of the youngers (aged 18-20) considered that the inhabitant is "rather individualist".

When thinking about "anonymity" we asked the subjects if they agree or not with the statement: "It is preferable to live in a big city where you are unknown". The answers were as follows:

Only near one third of the UBA and UI sample subjects acknowledged "to agree" (mainly in the medium and low SELs), while the percentage climbs significantly up to two thirds (62%) in the case of the JYU, with special reference to the younger aged 18-20: 100%, those belonging to the medium-high SEL (70%), and females (78%). We can presume the fact that other people "do not know you fully" is considered to be a resource more than a restraint: the motive may be linked to a lesser social pressure or control, co Aupled to a greater possibility to exert one's individualism.

vi) Social rootednes. Degrees thereof

Taking into account that we consider that *social rootedness* occurs whenever: a) a subject leads an active life in the primary groups where they belong (either their families, their peers, or their friends), and: b) a subject pertains to any organization endowed with a clear participative attitude and/or evidence a service attitude towards the community involved, we have created an index of this "social dimension" of rootedness.

HIGH MEDIUM LOW $\frac{9}{0}$ UBA 80.7 10.7 100 8.6 83.9 14.9 1.2 100 Ш JYU 12.0

Table 24: Degree of Social Rootedness (%)

It was verified a very high percentage of individuals with "high social rootedness" (more than the 80%), without significant differences between the three samples, apart from the almost 9% of the UBA students with "low social social rootedness".

In the case of the Buenos Aires inhabitants the social rootedness is high mainly among subjects aged 26+, but is lower among the low SEL as it happens with the Rykjavík students and the Jyväskylä ones. It means that SEL is clearly an explanatory variable.

III / URBAN EVERYDAY LIFE, CULTURAL ROOTEDNESS AND ANOMIE

i) Urban history and heritage

Assuming the impact that both the history of the city and the recognition of buildings and places as urban heritage, has on the urban identity and the inhabitants, the students of the three university samples were asked about the grade of importance given to the fact of "knowing the urban history and heritage". The answers are shown in Table 25:

	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW	%
UBA	25.0	56.0	19.0	100
UI	18.2	44.3	37.5	100
IVII	1/1 0	50.2	26.0	100

Table 25: Degree of importance due to know the urban history and heritage (%)

For one quarter of the UBA sample to know the "urban history and heritage" is highly important (in the cases of the other samples the percentage decreases: 18% with the UI students and near the 15% por the JYU ones). It has "medium importance" for the 56% of the UBA subjects (mainly for those with high SEL: 100%) and "low importance" for the 19% (specially, among those with low SEL: 100%).

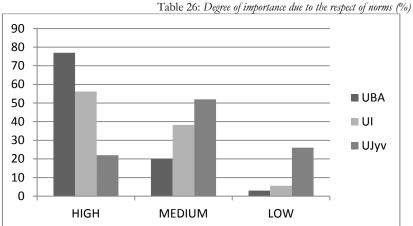
It is significant that for the 38% of the UI subjects that knowledge has "low importance" (nobody with high SEL answered in this way, while when the age is in the decrease the percentage increases: i.e. the 100% of those aged 18-20).

For almost the 60% of the JYU subjects the knowledge of urban history as heritage has "medium importance", while for almost the 15% "high importance" (mainly for individuals aged 26+). Summing up both percentages, we can see that for 3/4 of the sample, urban history and heritage have some grade of importance Just for the 26% it has "low importance" (mainly among subjets aged 18-20: 67%).

In sum, it can be said that the three university sample show that the majority of them recognized that the inhabitant should be knowledgeable about the history, and the architectural heritage of the city, which means to have (and help to have) affective links with the urban realm and, consequently, with . If you know and love something, these are existential moments providing his/her own everyday life.

ii) Respect for norms

The reference framework -integrated by norms and values, is not only reflecting a given society, but at the same time is establishing the urban phenomenon as a whole. Although there are societies - like Argentina for example - with an relatively high level of anomie, the metropolis and capitals (like Buenos Aires and Reykjavík) bring their own and specific framework many times reinforcing every structural and individual anomie. Because of this, we decided to request the subjects to state the degree of importance due to the respect to norms and rules in the everyday urban life. The results are shown in Table 26:



According to the answers given by the UBA subjects, 77% of them stated that the respect of norms and rules is of "high importance" (percentage that climbs to the 100% among those with low SEL). Surprisingly, this is significantly higher than the percentages registered in the other two samples: for example, among the Jyväskylä's inhabitants sampled is higher the percentage who consider the respect to norms has "low importance" (26%) than those who stated it has "high importance" (22%); however, two thirds of this Finnish sample give some importance to that normative respect (be medium or highly important). The students from Reykjavík are in between the other two samples in terms of those who consider this issue of "high importance" (56%).

It can be argued that in Buenos Aires there is an important level of anomie (clearly seen in the urban traffic and the urban everyday behavior), its inhabitants, precisely because of that, are stating and acknowledging the importance of something that is lacking. It can be also argued that Finnish social sciences students are in some sense more radical in their opinions towards social norms than the average students at that age because of their political identity; but, if so, it is difficult to explain that almost the 60% of the Icelandic social sciences students gave "high importance" to the respect of norms.

In any case if we accept that the Nordic socio-cultural worlds, and the Finnish as well, are in general significantly less anomic than the Argentine society, it could be also stated that for both northern samples the validity of the normative framework is so interiorized and embedded that they take it for granted, so its importance decreases in terms of individual representation of reality. We are not speaking in terms of better or worst but departing from a phenomenological approach to the city life as a complex and multidimensional phenomenon, where revisiting the dialectic relations between space and society, social proximity and distance, or between urban size and behavior are necessary to look for hidden variables (cf. Lorenz, 1965; del Acebo Ibáñez, 1996).

iii) Urban environmental pollution: causes and importance

It terms of defining what is known as "urban environmental pollution", the answers have been classified as follows: a) contamination as such ("something which is not natural", "something which is not pure", "something altered, debased", "something deteriorated", "a lack of environmental-ecological equilibrium", "air pollution"): approx. one third of the samples; b) consequence of the immediate action of humans ("refuse", "filth", "maltreating, destroying or marring the environment", "people just don't care": another third of the sample subjects; c) a general failure or deficiency in humans' way of life ("a wrong doing", "unhealthiness", "lack of green areas", "excessive advertising", "an existing evil", "a problem requiring urgent solutions").

Among the UBA sample subjects, the majority (51%) admits that pollution is the "consequence of the immediate human action (mainly females: 64% versus 49% among males). Other inhabitants conceive the phenomenon as "contamination as such" (25%), that is as something given, without questioning or going beyond the search for immediate solutions. While others see contamination as "a general failure or deficiency in humans' way of life" (mainly among males: 25% versus 12% among females). It seems that females assume more responsibility towards the phenomenon, while males prefer to show a more global approach to the issue.

For the students of the UI sample, pollution is "a consequence of the immediate actions of humans": 35% (specially, among those aged 25+). One third, instead refers to "contamination as such" (that is, a more "objective" approach than a critic discourse). And for almost one third more (33%) is "a general failure or deficiency in humans' way of life" (mainly among subjects aged 18-20: 100%).

Finally, two thirds of the JYU's sample state that is a phenomenon "consequence of the immediate action of humans" (mainly among males: 100% versus 50% among females, and those with high SEL: 89%). Pollution is also conceived as "contamination as such", without any causal analysis: 19% (mainly among inhabitants aged 18-20: 50%, and individuals with low SEL: 40%), or if not as "a consequence of mediate human actions": 14%.

Degree of importance due to not polluting the city

While for the 89% of the UBA's sample "it's highly important" that the inhabitants *do not pollute the city* (mainly among the low SEL and those aged 18-20), another 10% the issue has "medium importance", and just for a bearly 1% the importance given is "low".

For the students of the UI sample, not to pollute in the city has "high importance" in the 47% of the cases (percentage that increases up to 65% among those with a low SEL (versus the 33% of the individuals with medium and high SEL). Another 26% acknowledged it has "medium importance", and a significant 28% consider it has "low importance".

Finally, more than two thirds (68%) of the Jyváskylä sample assigned "high importance" to the fact of "not polluting the city by the own inhabitants", while for the other almost one third (32%) it has "medium importance". It must be noticed that none of the Finnish subjects assigned "low importance" to this issue.

iv) Individual representations on the environment

The concept of environment –focused at first on its physical and natural specification (the ecological system) covers also anything dealing with the social and the cultural. In that sense, it is E. Rothacker's contention that the human habitat is constituted by a selection of objects endowed with an existential importance for humans: such objects are significant, they make sense. As an object for an analysis rooted in social sciences, the environment means an intra- and trans-disciplinary approach

(human sciences, and sciences of nature), a holistic mode to grasp the complex inter-connections of the different components thereof. So, the habitat gets constituted as a system including interdependent subsystems (Cf. del Acebo Ibáñez, 1998).

We considered appropriate to find out –in terms of a "proof of concept", what young people understand by "environment". Answers, as it was to be expected, displayed a wide range of approximations that can be resumed as follows:

- a) A *holistic vision*, conceiving habitat as a spatial-socio-cultural phenomenon ("that's the space where we live in", "anything surrounding us", "physical space and architectural space", "a relationship among the environment, people, and living creatures inhabiting it", "society, rootedness, interaction", "our habitat").
- b) A *proactive, belligerent attitude* with regard to the environmental ("that's the place we have to take care of so that we can live", "all that is disappearing", "all that is neglected", "contamination, pollution", "a thing most valuable").
- c) A bucolic vision of the environment ("it's the plants", "it's Nature", "beaches, the sea", "air, oxygen", "green areas", "animals").
- d) Habitat as a *facilitator for innerness* ("it's your possibility to contemplation", "it's feeling well with everything", "peace", "purity", "something which gives you joy", "something which allows me to live fully").

Table 27: Individual representations on the environment (%)

	Holistic socio-	Belligerant	Bucolic	Facilitator for
	cultural vision	Visión	vision	innerness
UBA	53.0	32.5	14.5	0.0
UI	27.0	33.3	30.2	11.1
JYU	49.9	23.0	19.0	8.1

- a) The *holistic* vision is present in more than half of the UBA sample: 53% (mainly among the medium SEL), and almost the same in the case of the Jyväskylä inhabitants: 50.2% (percentage on the increase among the low SEL: 80% versus the 33% among the high SEL; and also increases among males: 72% versus 43% of females). It can be noticed that just the 27% of the Icelandic students have this representation of the environment (also on the increase when the individuals pertain to the low SEL).
- b) The *belligerent* and *pro-active* vision represents around one third of the sample in the cases of Buenos Aires (mainly among males and the low SEL) and Reykjavík (mainly among those pertaining to the medium-high SEL). The percentage decreases to the 23% among the University of Jyväskylä sample.
- c) The *bucolic* vision is present in almost one third (30%) of the Reykjavík sample (percentage on the increase in the low SEL), while the percentages decrease to around the half in the cases of Buenos Aires (almost the 15%, mainly females and the younger) and Jyväskylä (19%) samples
- d) The environment as a *facilitator for innerness*: this individual representation is present in very low percentages, such as the 11% of the UI subjects, and the 8% of the JYU sample. None of the UBA students demonstrate to have this sort of representation about the environment, clearly linked to the fact of being a metropolitan realm.

v) Level of depredatory attitude in the urban inhabitant

When dealing with a concrete behavior related to the environmental issue proper (that is, to think in terms of ecologic / conservationist attitude versus depredatory attitude and behavior), we tried to find out how the inhabitants perceive the level of depredatory attitude within the city realm.

The majority of the individuals speak in terms of "low" depredatory attitude present in the inhabitants: 52% of the UBA sample, percentage that climbs to more than ³/₄ among those with "high cultural rootedness" -which shows the explanatory link between pollution and anomie-, and also among those aged 21 or less. Almost two thirds of the JYU sample (64%) speaks in the same way (mainly among those with high total rootedness and low level of anomie). Although just the

41% of the UI subjects consider that the level of depredatory attitude is "low", the percentage is clearly on the increase among those with high cultural rootedness (74%) and with the lowest SEL (71%).

Table 28: Level of depredatory attitude in the urban inhabitant (%)

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
UBA	52.2	38.2	9.6
UI	40.9	47.7	11.4
IYU	63.6	36.4	0.0

In order to find out the congruency in the everyday life between what is said about the respect due to norms, and the level of predatory attitude perceived by the inhabitants, we crossed both perceptions in the next table:

Table 29 Congruency between the degree of "respect due to norms" and the level of "predatory attitude" among urban inhabitants according to the UBA, UI and YJYU students (%)

		UBA			UI			JYU	
	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW
Degree of respect due to norms	77.0	20.0	3.0	56.2	38.2	5.6	22.0	52.0	26.0
Level of predatory attitude	9.6	38.2	52.2	11.4	47.7	40.9	0.0	36.4	63.6

What we are comparing here is, on one side, the "desirability" of "respecting the norms in urban life", and on the other one the "observational" level of "predatory attitudes" according to the university students sampled.

In fact, it can be observed the congruency between the Buenos Aires inhabitants perception who consider that the respect due to norms in the city everyday life is "low" while the level of depredatory urban attitudes are "high", the same congruency is present with the Reyjavík inhabitants but with an important difference: while the 56% consider that the respect due to norms is "high", the level of predatory urban life is considered "low" (and again among them: while just the 6% of the Icelandic sample thinks that the respect to norms is "low", almost the 41% speak in terms of a "low" predatory attitude). This implicit anomie in the urban everyday life is also perceived in the answers given by the Finnish students: while just the 26% refers to a "low" degree of respect to norms, almost two thirds of them perceive "low" level of predatory attitudes in the urban inhabitants.

vi) Solidarity within the urban realm

Since we mention *individualism* as an urban characteristic, our sample subjects have been asked whether they disagreed or agreed with the following sentence: "In the city, if something happens to you on the street, it is quite difficult that people stop to helping you".

The 48% of the UBA sample, and around the 40% of the Reykjavík and Jyväskylä students agreed with the statement. But it must be said that among those pertaining to the lowest SEL of the three samples, an important percentage do not agree with the statement above mentioned, which perhaps can be explained because those who suffer more socio-economic difficulties and restraints are more socialized with behaviors of reciprocal aid, precisely because of their social vulnerability.

vii) Cultural rootedness

In relation to the cultural dimension of rootedness, and taking into account the different indicators considered in this comparative study, we found some significant differences, as it shows the next Table 30:

	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW	%
UBA	68.4	29.3	2.3	100
UI	38.7	49.5	7.5	100
JYU	28.6	67.9	3.5	100

A high cultural rootedness is present in the 68% of the UBA sample, above all among females (83%), those aged 21-25 (88%) and with a medium-high SEL (91%). There is a clear correlation between cultural rootedness and active participation: the 100% of the inhabitants with high cultural rootedness affirm they participate actively.

Although the percentage of individuals with "high" cultural rootedness decreases in the two other samples (around the 39% in the UI case and the 29% in the Finnish sample) it climbs up to the 64% among those aged 25+ in both samples.

An important 50% of the UI sample, and more than two thirds of the JYU sample have a "medium" cultural rootedness, while just non significant percentages refer to those who has a "low" level of this cultural dimension of rootedness.

IV / SELF-PERCEPTION AS INHABITANT

Taking into account the self-perception any young inhabitant has of himself/herself, subjects have been asked about which of their attitudes or behaviors they would criticize or praise as residents of the cities thereof. They were all also asked about their self-praise and self-criticism as urban inhabitants, and where/when they feel more alienated, and more themselves.

i) Meaning of being inhabitant of the city

For the 46% of the UBA sample, to be inhabitant of the city of Buenos Aires "represents nothing", while for the 21% means "to have an important access to good and services" (mainly among females). For the 18% to inhabit the city is "something that qualifies" (mainly among those aged 21+), while for almost the 15% represents "a way of living", as it can be seen in Table 31:

	Something that qualifies	Access to lot of goods & services	A way of living	Nothing
UBA	18.2	21.0	15.0	46.0
UI	50.0	5.8	3.6	40.4
IVII	30.0	30.0	5.0	35.0

Table 31: Meaning of being inhabitant of the city (%)

The subjects from the UI show to be proud of Reykjavík as the half of them affirm that to inhabit that city is "something that qualifies" (mainly for those aged 21+ and among males: 55% versus the 45% of the females). However, for an important 40% to inhabit the city means "nothing" (the percentage is on the increase when the age decreases –for example, the 100% of those aged 18-20).

For the inhabitants of Jyväskylä analyzed there is not a majority meaning for the city; in fact, for around one third it means "nothing" but for 30% of the sample is "something that qualifies" while for another 30% means "to have access to lot of good and services".

ii) Self-praise as inhabitant of the city

The self-praise (and the self-criticism as well) helps to deep in the knowledge of who is really the inhabitant, once we know his/her representations of reality, of space and time, and how the city is interiorized in spite of the different descriptions of behaviors or attitudes.

In fact, sample subjects were requested to state which, among their own attitudes and behaviors as city inhabitants, they would praise themselves for. Their answers have been classified as follows:

- a) Having an *environmental attitude*, doing *ecologic prevention* ("taking care of the city cleanliness", "not being dirty with waste and refuse", "save electricity and gas", "refraining from using more water than needed?").
- b) Evidencing solidarity ("keeping nice relationships with other people", "willingness to help", "not disturbing other people", "being a good neighbor").
 - c) Respect norms and regulations ("respecting rules", "being rightful").
- d) Having a spatial rootedness ("knowing one's district", "enjoying the visit of other urban districts", "being involved with urban heritage").
- e) Participating ("belonging to different organizations", "being involved with the urban district problems").
 - f) I wouldn't praise anything.

As we can see in Table 32, "solidarity" emerged as the characteristic with the higher percentage in the three samples (around one third of each one, climbing to the 67% among the SEL level with special mention of the Finnish sample). Secondly, "the "environmental attitude" is stated by the students from Buenos Aires (almost 32%) and Reykjavík (24%, mainly those aged 25+), while the inhabitants of Jyväskylä pointed out "to be rooted to the city" (almost the 25%, mainly the younger aged 18-20).

A significant percentage of the sample inhabitants of Buenos Aires (almost the 22%) mentioned the "respect to norms", while the UI and JYU samples showed lower percentages (between 10 and 13%). However, as we have argued before, the fact of mentioning this "respect" as a self-praise behavior perhaps must be analyzed together with the characteristics of the society in general, and which is the degree of structural anomie, because if anomie is the rule respecting the norms and rules is something to be self-praised of, while if the social structure is not anomic perhaps the respect to norms is part of the everyday life and, if so, the inhabitant is already socialized with this behavior. Perhaps the same can be said with regard to the environmental attitude. So this is just a hypothesis we put on the table, facing what most probable is a hidden variable.

	Solidarity	Environmental Attitude	Respect to norms	Participation	Rooted to the city	Nothing
UBA	36.5	31.8	21.6	4.8	0.0	5.3
UI	33.3	23.5	10.0	13.7	11.8	0.0
IYU	33.3	13.3	13.3	13.3	23.8	3.0

Table 32: Self-praise as inhabitant of the city (%)

iii) Self-criticism as inhabitant of the city

Continuing with the self-knowledge of the subjects as inhabitants, we concentrate in their "self-criticism". The answers were codified as follows:

- a) Being individualist ("my individualism", "I'm not committed", "I don't participate", "lack of solidarity", "lack of love for my city", "I only do what I please").
 - b) To pollute the city ("throwing garbage on the street", "soiling the city").
 - c) Lack of tolerance ("overreacting badly", "being violent", "being in a bad mood").
- d) Lack of respect for norms ("generally speaking, I don't respect rules", "I'm not considerate", "I don't respect order", "I don't take road safety into account", "I just cross the street as it pleases me most").
 - e) Nothing to self-criticize.

The fact that almost a third part of our interviewees acknowledged attitudes rooted in *individualism* in their daily behavior is in keeping with their answers when replying to the question: "Up to which grade do you think that the city inhabitants are individualistic?" (see II-v). Significantly, two thirds of the JYU sample and more than half of the UBA sample self-criticized "being individualist" (on the increase among medium-high and high SEL). However, less than a quarter of the UI sample mentioned this characteristic (mainly males: 56% versus 18% among

females), which can be related to the fact that one third of the Reykjavík inhabitants have "nothing" to self-criticize, as it shows Table 33:

Table 33: Self-criticism as inhabitant of the city (%)

	Being	To pollute	Being	Lack of respect		
	individualist	the city	intolerant	for norms	Nothing	%
UBA	52.4	14.2	14.3	15.1	4.0	100.0
UI	23.1	20.5	12.8	10.3	33.3	100.0
JYU	66.0	20.0	7.0	0.0	7.0	100.0

The "lack of respect to norms" is mentioned by the 15% of the Buenos Aires sample (on the increase among the younger aged 18-20, and among males: 16% versus 8% of females), and by the 10.3% of the Reykjavík sample.

At the same time, to "pollute the city" is part of the self-criticism of the 20% of the UI and JYU subjects, while among the UBA subjects the percentage decreases to 14%.

The intolerance is another characteristic mentioned, but without high percentages: between 13 and 14% in UBA and UI samples, and just 7% in Jyväskylä. This "lack of tolerance" is recognized mainly among those aged 21 or more in the case of the Buenos Aires inhabitants, and inhabitants with lowest SEL in the case of the Jyväskylä sample).

iv) Where/when the inhabitant feels more him/herself in the city

Assuming the complexity of the urban phenomenon, it is an important indicator of the multidimensional interaction between the inhabitant and the city realm the qualification given to places and times inextricably united to the everyday life. This is an attempt to deepen the knowledge about existential self-realization and urban alienation.

Table 34: Where/when the inhabitant feels more him/herself in the city (%)

	At home	Being alone	With friends	In the open air	Studying	In the street/ neighborhood	Allways	%
UBA	36.3	3.3	19.5	7.8	16.8	12.8	3.5	100
UI	62.2	0.0	11.1	7.9	6.3	4.6	7.9	100
JYU	23.5	9.0	23.5	9.0	29.1	5.9	0.0	100

To be "at home" was privileged by many of the subjects under study: almost two thirds of the UI sample answered in this way (on the increase among highest SEL, and among those aged 18-20) and more than one third of the UBA sample. In the case of the Finnish university students, females (43%) and those aged 21-25 (15.2%) agreed with this answer.

To "stay with friends" was mentioned by almost one quarter of the JYU sample (climbing up to the 100% among the younger aged 18-20, and to the 50% of females), and for almost the 20% of the UBA sample (on the increase –like in BA- among those aged 18-20: 38% versus 19% among subjects aged 25+). Just around the 11% of Reykjavík inhabitants refers to meeting friends (the percentage is on the increase when the SEL is on the decrease).

The space and time devoted to "study" is pointed out by almost one third of the Jyväskylä sample, arising to the 100% of the younger aged 18-20, to the 67% with the medium SEL and to the 43% among females. The place and time to study is also remarked by almost the 17% of the Buenos Aires sample (while none pertaining to the lowest SEL).

The "street" and/or the "neighborhood" was mentioned by the 13% of the Buenos Aires metropolitan subjects, and the 6% of the JYU sample (on the increase among those with low SEL: 20%, and among males and those aged 25+).

"Being alone" is selected just for the 9% of the Finnish subjects, mainly males aged 21-25 with a medium-high or high SEL.

A low percentage of the three samples chose "to be in the open air": not more than 9%, mainly among the lowest SEL.

v) Where/when the inhabitant feels more alienated in the city

The results (shown in Table 35) indicate that the "urban traffic" is mentioned by an important percentage of the Buenos Aires sample: 41% (mainly among the younger aged 18-20), understandable considering the size and density of this metropolitan area. It must be noted that the percentage is on the decrease depending on the importance and size of the city: the 23% of the Reykjavík sample mentioned "the urban traffic" (mainly among females and the medium SEL) while just the 16% of the Jyväskylä inhabitants (mainly those aged 25+).

"Crowds" is mentioned by more than the half of the JYU sample, while the percentage is lower in the inhabitants of Buenos Aires (28.4%) and Reykjavík (23), perhaps more socialized with throngs and movements of people, more normal in capital cities.

Finally, it can be noticed that "school or university" is specially mentioned by more than one quarter of the UBA sample, and "to be alone" was pointed out mainly by the 22.2% of the JYU subjects.

Table 35: Where/when the inhabitant feels more alienated in the city (%)

	Urban traffic	Crowds	School/	Alone	Allways	Never	%
			university				
UBA	41.1	28.4	28.4	0.0	2.0	0.0	100
UI	22.6	22.6	12.3	10.5	1.6	0.0	100
JYU	16.1	50.7	0.0	22.2	0.0	11.0	100

V / TOTAL ROOTEDNESS AND ITS DIMENSIONS

If we read again the School of Chicago with respect to the spatial-socio-cultural rootedness issue, we can observe many interesting contributions. In terms of Park (1974:1) the city is "rather, a

state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with the tradition". This means that the city supposes a social tradition coupled to a physical, infra-structural conglomerate —a tradition allowing the social rootedness of the resident to the city seen as a physical space pervaded with uses and customs that are strictly its own.

The social rootedness is thoroughly identified with cultural rootedness: "The city is, finally, the natural habitat of civilized man. It is for that reason a cultural area characterized by its own peculiar cultural type". This is why Park (1974: 2 and 4) emphasizes the tact that the city "is rooted in the habits and customs of the people who inhabit it".

It is Park's contention that the city not only possesses a physical structure but also a "moral" order, and both features interact thus modifying themselves mutually. All the urban, visible complexity finds its foundation –says Park, in human nature inasmuch as it is its expression. Lessard (1976:154) points out that Parks considers that human nature is "what man knows about nature, and himself, what he does thanks to this knowledge, is society in its widest sense. This human nature or the society is the beginning of any organization: either the city's or the countryside's".

A stage is reached wherein the mere geographical or spatial datum becomes, for example, a neighborhood –that is: "a place with feelings, traditions, and history of its own" (Park, 1974: 6).

Many a time, life in cities has been born out of rootedlessness, basically in function of a lesser degree of social rootedness –a consequence, at that, of the moral order disintegration: "In a great city, where the population is unstable, where parents and children are employed out of the house and often in distant parts of the city, where thousands of people live side by side for years without so much as a bowing acquaintance, these intimate relationships of the primary group are weakened and the moral order which rested upon them is gradually dissolved" (Park, 1974: 24). That is: social rootlessness intimately parallel to the cultural rootlessness in all anomie, and social pathology-laden manifestations Park mentions as a consequence of big-city life.

The crowding of many people —many a time an unwanted crowding, within a limited space generates psychological distances in turn generating isolation: "[...] it is possible within the limits of the city to live in an isolation almost as complete as that of some remote rural community" (Park, 1974: 26). We are mentioning here this unwanted nearness which is more likely to put people apart instead of putting them together thus favoring an intimate, human interrelationship such as Simmel had already set out the problem.

In this sense, to speak in terms of the rootedness dimensions (spatial, social and cultural, as it was explained) lets a better understanding of a very complex realm where converge socio-cultural, economic, political, psychological and environmental phenomena. Precisely, considering its multidimensional characteristic it was elaborated a total rootedness index, which was applied to the three samples, as it can be seen in Table 36:

	HIGH	MEDIUM	LOW	0/0
UBA	77.5	19.2	3.3	100
UI	60.0	38.7	1.3	100
JYU	55.6	44.4	0.0	100

Table 36: Degree of Total Rootedness (%)

It is significant that the majority of the three sample subjects presents a "high degree" of total rootedness: 78% of the UBA sample (mainly females and those with medium-high SEL), 60% of the UI sample (mainly those aged 25+, but none of the younger aged 18-20), and the 56% of the Finnish subjects (on the decrease with the lesser age and the lesser SEL).

Consequently, it is remarkable the very low percentages of subjects with "low total rootedness", fact that is corroborating the high psycho-socio-cultural centripetal phenomenon generated by the city realm, in spite of its constraints and negative aspects mentioned continuously by the inhabitants. That's why, when referring to cities, Simmel speaks in terms of "rotation point or axe".

Finally, we discovered that high total rootedness is predominantly found among subjects who not only know their own district but also other city districts as well, and also among those with passive participation,

generally related to "consumerism life": total rootedness drops as the "consumerism life" is on the increase.

VI/ NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN REGIONS: ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES THEREOF

i) North – South relations

As this comparative research deals with populations located in both hemispheres, we considered pertinent to analyze how the relation North-South is perceived by the subjects, as well as the convergences and/or divergences of both regions.

The first question formulated on this issue was if they perceive any relation between North and South, observing that who mention that "there is a lot of relation" are those with a "high level of real and potential participation", as well as those with a higher level of "spatial rootedness".

In the case of the UBA sample, the percentage of those who think there are "lot of N-S relation" is on the decrease among inhabitants with high cultural and social rootedness; what is more, the 100% of individuals with "high total rootedness" do not see any relation between North and South, perhaps because they are so focused in their own socio-cultural world and immediate environment that they do not allow themselves to look for similarities or differences with other worlds or hemispheres. Almost the 50% of those who do have real participation say that "there is a lot of relation". Finally, those with the lower spatial, social and cultural rootedness "do not perceive any relation" between N and S,

When considering the UI sample we see that those with low "spatial rootedness" in general consider there is "no relation between N and S", while those with social (72%) or cultural (62%) rootedness tend to consider that "there is a lot of relation N-S" (among those with high total rootedness the percentage climbs to 85%).

The 75% of the JYU sample considered there is "lot of relation" between both hemispheres, and the 21% states there is "some relation".

Convergences between Northern and Southern regions

A great majority of the subjects from the UI (86%: mainly females and those aged 25+) and the JYU (69% mainly among the lowest SEL) find "similar or common problems" in both hemispheres while just less than the half of the UBA students (45.5%) shares this position (mainly individuals from the medium-high SEL: 65%, females: 52%, and those aged 25+, like in the other two samples).

"The power of the North to the detriment of the South" is highlighted by the Buenos Aires sample: 53% (mainly among males: 63% versus 46% of females, and those coming from the lowest SEL: 100% of them versus just around one third of those pertaining to the high SEL).

	Similar problems	The power of the North to the detriment of the South	Lack of convergences	%
UBA	45.5	53.3	1.2	100
UI	86.0	10.3	3.7	100
JYU	68.7	31.3	0.0	100

Table 37: Main convergences between North and South (%)

When crossing the results by the dimensions of rootedness, including the participation level, it can be observed the following results:

a) In relation to the answer "the power of the North to the detriment of the South", in the case of the UBA sample was stated mainly by subjects with high level of participation (around two thirds), and also high levels of spatial (60%), social (61%) and total rootedness (56%), that is individuals with a proactive attitude and conflict-oriented approach to international and geographic relations. Those from the UI sample answered in that way mainly among males aged 21-25, with high social rootedness and

high potential participation, while in the Jyväskylä sample were those with the highest SEL (57%, with higher educational level), subjects with low spatial rootedness and total lack of real participation.

b) Regarding the answer "similar or common problems", were UBA subjects with high spatial and cultural rootedness (80%) but medium or low participation level, UI subjects high social rootedness (85%), high cultural rootedness (53%) and high total rootedness (68%), and Jyväskylä individuals with high spatial rootedness (80%).

ii) The Arctic: its meaning and environmental problems

Meaning of the Arctic

It must be noticed that just the half of each of the samples answered the corresponding questions. So it must be noticed that the results and percentages shown in these item refer only to those who answered. Of course, the fact of not answering is revealing the lack of knowledge (and interest) about the issue.

	Purity	Natural resources	Remote place	Part of the country	Valuable place for scientists	Nothing	%
UBA	5.5	16.6	55.6	5.6	2.7	14.0	100
UI	25.0	12.5	43.0	7.0	0.0	12.5	100
JYU	63.2	10.5	10.5	0.0	15.8	0.0	100

Table 38: Meaning of the Arctic

- a) The Arctic is "a remote place" for the 56% of the UBA sample (mainly among the low SEL: 75%, females: 66%, those with high real and potential participation level: 57%, and high social, cultural and total rootedness: between 55 and 65%), for the 43% of the UI sample (mainly males: 53%, and those with low SEL), and for the 10.5% of the JYU sample (mainly among females with medium SEL, and high spatial rootedness: 25%).
- b) The Arctic means "purity" for just the 6% of the UBA subjects (mainly those aged 25+: 12%), for one quarter of the UI sample (mainly among females: 30% and those with high SEL: 50%), and for almost two thirds of the JYU subjects: 63 (for all the subjects aged 18-20, and for the 83% of the males and those with high cultural rootedness: 84%; when introducing the variable "spatial rootedness" the percentages are on the increase while this variable "purity" is on the decrease, that is among those with low level of spatial roots, fact that can be linked to the fact that the utopian thought and attitude is mostly "non-spatial").
- c) The Arctic represents "natural resources" for almost the 17% of the UBA sample (on the increase among low SEL, and among those with high level or potential partitipation: 37%), the 13% of the UI sample, and just the 10.5% of the JYU sample (mainly among those aged 25+: 26%, in the lowest SEL, and among those with high spatial rootedness).
- d) It is also a "valuable place for scientists" for almost the 16% of the JYU sample (mainly among the inhabitants aged 21-25, females and the highest SEL), and only less than 3% among the UBA sample. Nobody from the Reykjavík sample answered in this way.
- e) The Arctic is considered as "part of the own country" for a few: just the 6% from UBA and the 7% from UI.
- f) It means "nothing" for the 14% of the Buenos Aires inhabitants (climbing to the 45% in the medium-high SEL) and for the 13% of the Reykjavík inhabitants (only those with the highest SEL: 50%).

Environmental problems in the Arctic

Table 39: Environmental problems in the Arctic (%)

		11	ibic 37. Environment	iai prooiems in i	130 2 11000 (70)
	Contamination	Predatory	Specific	Do not	%
	as such	human actions	environmental	know the	
			problems	issue	
UBA	4.1	4.1	38.4	53.4	100
UI	7.0	0.0	61.4	31.6	100

JYU	5.3	26.3	68.4	0.0	100

The subjects perceived the following Arctic environmental problems:

- a) Specific environmental problems (without mentioning causes or responsibilities): this was mentioned by the 68.4% of the JYU sample (mostly among those from medium and high SEL level: 80%, those aged 18-20: 100%, and males: 84%), the 61.4% of the UI sample (mainly among those aged 25+: 86%, males: 81% versus the 19% of females, and those with low SEL: 95%), the 38.4% of the UBA sample (on the increase among those aged 25+, and males: 49% versus 13% of females).
- b) Predatory human actions: for the 26.3% of the JYU sample (mainly among low SEL: 60%; nobody with medium or low spatial rootedness mentioned the predatory actions, perhaps for this lack of spatial consciousness), and for only 4% of the UBA sample
- c) Contamination as such: just for a very low percentages of the samples: 7% of the UI subjects (but for all aged 18-20), the 5.3% of the JYU subjects (mainly among those coming from the low SEL and aged 25+: 25%, thereof), and 4% of the UBA subjects (manly among those who use to participate in the urban and social problems: 39%, those with high spatial rootedness: 43%).
- d) Do not know the issue: more than the half of the UBA sample (mainly among the younger aged 18-20: 75%, and females: 68%), almost one third of the UI sample (mostly aged 18-20: 100%, and females: 40%), and nobody from the JYU.

Solutions for the Arctic environmental problems

The answers (as it is shown in the next Table) were as follows:

- a) Prevention: this is the main solution for the 54.1% of the UI sample, the 38.5% of the JYU subjects (with special mention to those aged 18-20: 100%, subjects with low spatial rootedness: 100%, and high cultural rootedness: 25%), and almost one third of the UBA students (the percentage is on the increase among medium SEL: 50%, with those aged 18-20, and in the case of those with low spatial rootedness: 67%).
- b) International / inter-governmental scientific works: approximately one third of the three samples pointed out this solution, namely: 38.5% of the JYU (nobody from the low SEL speaks in this terms, but the 50% of those pertaining to the medium and high SEL, and the 46% of females, and the 50% of those with high cultural rootedness); almost one third of the UI sample (mainly females: 43% and medium-low SEL: 100%), and the 27% of the UBA subjects (with special reference to those with low SEL: 50%, those aged 25+: 40% and males: 33% versus 19% of females).
- c) Information / socialization: 21.5% in the UBA sample (but 69% of females versus the 19% of males; the 40% of those who has real participation in the city problems, and those with high total rootedness: 43%: and high social rootedness: 50%); just the 7.7% of the JYU sample (one third of those aged 25+ and those with low SEL), while just the 6% of the UI subjects (mostly from the medium-low SEL: 25%, and females: 14%).
- d) Control / sanction: the 19% of the UBA subjects (on the increase among those with low SEL: 100%), the 8% of the JYU sample (but the double among the high SEL: 17%, and among those with high cultural rootedness: 25%), and just the 6% of the UI subjects (mostly from the medium-low SEL: 25%).

Table 40: Possible Solutions for the Arctic environmental problems (%)

		Information/	Control/	International	There is no	
	Prevention	Socialization	Sanction	scientific works	solution	%
UBA	32.5	21.5	19.0	27.0	0.0	100
UI	54.1	6.3	6.3	33.3	0.0	100
JYU	38.5	7.7	7.7	38.5	7.0	100

v) The Antarctica: its meaning and environmental problems

Meaning of the Antarctica

The Antarctica means "purity" for the 60% of the JYU sample (mainly among the aged 21-25: 82%, and males: 100%), for the 25% of the UI sample (with special reference to the aged 18-20), and for almost 15% of the UBA subjects (on the increase among the low SEL and among females: 21%).

The Antarctica is "a remote place" for the 36% of the UI sample (on the increase among those with low SEL: 80%), for the 28.2% of the UBA sample (with special reference to those with low SEL: 75%, and those with medium-low total rootedness. Nobody from the JYU sample considers the Antarctica as a "remote place".

The Antarctica represents "natural resources" for almost one third of the UBA subjects (42% in the case of those aged 18-20; around one third of those with active participation and high spatial rootedness, and the 47% of those with low cultural rootedness: 40% and medium-low social rootedness: 46%), the 11% of the UI sample (on the increase among males: 19%) and just the 5% of the Jyväskyla individuals (mostly those aged 25+ with low SEL: 25%).

It is also a "valuable place for scientists" for more than one quarter of the JYU sample (mainly among the high SEL: 43% and females: 45%), and just the 4% of the UBA students. Almost nobody (0.5%) from the Reykjavík sample answered in this way.

The Antarctica is considered as "part of the own country" for almost the 15% from UBA sample (on the increase climbing in the SEL), the 10% of the JYU subjects (individuals aged 18-20), and the 4.5% from UI (only those from the lowest SEL).

It means "nothing" for almost one quarter of the UI sample: 22.7% (mainly within the high SEL: 45%), and for just the 8% of the UBA sample. Nobody from Jyväskylä sample answered in this way. These comparative results can be seen in Table 41:

	Purity	Natural resources	Remote place	Part of the country	Valuable place for scientists	Nothing	%
UBA	14.4	31.0	28.2	14.4	4.0	8.0	100
UI	25.0	11.0	36.3	4.5	0.5	22.7	100
JYU	60.0	5.0	0.0	10.0	25.8	0.0	100

Table 41: Meaning of the Antarctica (%)

Environmental problems in the Antarctica

The subjects perceived the following Antarctic environmental problems (as we can see in Table 42):

- a) Specific environmental problems: the great majority of the JYU sample (92.3%, decreasing just a little among those with low SEL: 66%), the 55.6% of the UBA subjects (mainly the aged 25+, and those with high potential participation: 77%), and the 51.5% of the UI subjects (mainly males: 60%).
- b) Contamination as such: the 12% of the UI sample answered in this way, while just the 8% of those from Jyväskylä (mainly among females: 100%, low SEL aged 25+: 33%) and only the 2% of the UBA students under analysis.
- c) Predatory human actions: low percentages of the three samples stated the predatory actions, between 8% (UBA), 2% (UI) and nobody from JYU.
- d) *Do not know the issue:* almost the 40% of the UBA subjects (increasing to 50% among females and those aged 18-20), one third of the UI students, but nobody from Jyväskylä subjects.

	Contamina	Predatory	Specific	Do not	%
	tion as	human	environment	know the	
	such	actions	al problems	issue	
UBA	2.0	8.1	55.6	38.4	100
UI	12.3	2.3	51.5	33.9	100
JYU	7.7	0.0	92.3	0.0	100

Solution for the environmental problems in the Antarctica

The answers (as it is shown in Table 43) can be displayed as follows:

- a) Prevention: more that the half of the UI sample privileged this solution, while almost the 40% of the JYU (on the increase in those aged 18-20: 100% of them), and around the 30% of those from UBA (on the increase among medium-high SEL: 50% and younger aged 18-20: 63%, and also those with high level of potential participation: 57%).
- b) International / inter-governmental scientific works: almost the 39% of the JYU subjects (mainly medium and high SEL: 50%), almost one third of the UI sample (mainly females and those with medium and high SEL: 50%), and the 22% of the Buenos Aires sample (climbing to the 50% in the low SEL, with those aged 25+: 40%, among males: 33% and those with high spatial rootedness: 38%).
- c) Information / socialization: more than one third of UBA sample (mainly those with high active participation and high cultural and social rootedness, and among females: 69%), but just between 6 and 8% in the other two samples (in these cases the percentage increases to 30% among low SEL)
- d) Control / sanction: 16% of the UBA subjects (increasing to the 100% of those with low SEL, while a low percentages were registered among the UI and JYU subjects (in this case increasing to 17% among those with high SEL).
- e) There is no solution.

Cuadro 43: Solution for the environmental problems in the Antarctica (%)

	Information/	Control/	Prevention	International	No solution	
	Socialization	Sanctions		actions		%
UBA	33.5	16.0	28.4	22.1	0.0	100
UI	6.3	6.3	55.1	32.3	0.0	100
JYU	8.3	7.7	38.5	38.5	7.0	100

VII / CONCLUSION: THE CITY AND ITS INHABITANTS AS A SUBJECT OF STUDY

The three samples *identify the city* with its "offer of goods and services", although is also mentioned the "stress" by the UBA students, and with "physical places" by the University of Jyväskylä students. Consequently they state that this access to goods and services is what "they enjoy" in urban life. A city that gives them "comfort" but takes away "peacefulness" among the UBA and UI students, while for the Jyväskylä students the city gives them "identity" and takes away "contact with their primary groups".

At the same time, the three sample subjects signify *the place where they live* mainly as "a place for intimacy and privacy", and secondly as "a safe place where to stay", which is very linked to the meaning before mentioned (for the students from the University of Iceland also signify the place where they live as "a place where I do whatever I want").

Enlarging the concentric circles of belonging –in the sense given to this term by Georg Simmel-, it can be observed that *the street* is considered mainly a "simple way to go some place" and, in a lesser level, "a place where you run some risk", meanings that can be related with those given to home (intimate, private and safe place). If the street is a means or way to go some place, *the night* is –for the three sample subjects- fundamentally "relax", although among the inhabitants of the UBA sample the city of Buenos Aires is also "fun and amusement".

The youngsters under study manifest that a *good neighbor* must show "formal aspects" in his presentation of the Self, as well as "non anomic" and "ethical" behaviors; this certainly will generate more social foreseeability, indispensable within a spatial proximity that no necessarily implies affective or emotional proximity. To this respect, while the students from the universities of Iceland and Jyväskylä tend to "have not friends" among the neighbors, those from the University of Buenos Aires state that they have "some friends" en their neighborhood.

The participatory vocation stated by the majority of the three populations is not strong: they consider that participating has "medium importance" and normally "do not assist to organizational meetings" -beyond the Icelandic students tend to attend "sometimes", specially NGOs-. While the Buenos Aires and Jyväsylä students explain they do not participate because of the "lack of time", those from Reykjavík directly adduced the "lack of interest". Consequently, it is not at random that the majority of the individuals from the three samples recognize themselves as "individualist inhabitants" and that sometimes, they suffer "tedium".

Focusing more in relation to cultural rootedness, it was observed that for the great majority of the three university samples, to know the urban history and heritage has "high importance", as it has to respect norms and rules, although among the Finnish students this normative framework only has "medium importance".

At last, but not least, part of the research included questions about Northern and Southern hemispheres, about the Arctic and the Antarctica, their meanings, problems and solutions thereof in the light of the inhabitants. We wanted to search the individual representations on both "circumpolarities" present (and in what level) in the everyday life of the urban inhabitants, specially these ones, living in cities near (geographically at least) to those regions thereof.

Precisely, in relation to the circumpolar environmental problems and their possible solutions, the subjects' answers can be classified in the following categories, namely:

a) who highlighted the *Political subsystem* (prevention, government action proper, international scientific policies): the great majority, between 51 and 87%; b) who privileged the *Educational subsystem* (information, socialization): mainly among the UBA student, between one quarter and one third of the sample; and c) those whose answers pointed out the importance of the *Normative subsystem* (norms, control, sanctions): on the decrease in the three samples, but remaining almost the 20% among the UBA students.

When analyzing the percentages corresponding to both Arctic and Antarctic regions, it can be seen the congruency verified in the answers of the three samplet when referring to both circumpolar regions, as it is shown in Table 44:

Table 44: Solutions for the Arctic and Antarctic environmental problems given by the UBA, UI and
JYU student samples (%)

	UBA		UI		JYU	
	ARCTIC	ANTARCTIC	ARCTIC	ANTARCTIC	ARCTIC	ANTARCTIC
EDUCATONAL SUBSYSTEM Information,socialization	21.5	33.5	6.3	6.3	7.7	8.3
NORMATIVE SUBSYSTEM Norms, Control, Sanctions	19.0	16.0	6.3	6.3	7.7	7.7
POLITICAL SUBSYSTEM Prevention,Government al actions (national and internationally)	59.5	50.5	87.4	87.4	84.6	84.0

In sum, in this study we have tried to find out how the different ways of *being-in-the-world-of-the-city*, and the different ways to "live in it" find an echo, so to speak, in the different ways, and degrees of intensity in the representation of the urban everyday life, of the environmental problems and its possible solutions, the circumpolar regions, as well as the different degrees of individual involvement and participation.

Only a holistic and critical vision let us deep in the complexity and richness of the city, which of course is not only design or housing, but also and mainly everyday life and conflict, aesthetic expression, a realm of social implosion, communicative channel, while at the same time is message, culture and socializing agent. All these characteristics are so interrelated that they let emerge a unique and amazing entity: the city everyday life which is also memory: urban, biographic and socio-cultural.

These complex dimensions of the urban inhabiting impact and are reflected in the presentation of the Self of each subjects studied in this research. The complexity is in the increase because we are dealing with young populations and, what is more, university students, potential explanatory variables if we want to compare them with other populations with less educational level and other grades of professional insertion and consolidation, or to essay a comparison with older populations.

We must also take into account the continuous and normally intense interrelations inherent to the university life, increasing the levels of sociability and perhaps the social rootedness, in dynamic tension between the goals prescribed by the socio-cultural world and the institutionalized means that these youngsters have at hand and use.

It is a moment in history where many certainties coming from the consumerism society have disappeared after strong financial earthquakes —at national, regional and global scales-, with the consequent movements of collective "indignation" and social protest (mainly organized through the virtual social networks, generally colonized precisely by the young people), it can be considered that the university realm —although by sure shook by the crises above mentioned- increases the levels of sociability and social and cultural rootedness.

In fact, the university generates a spatial and socio-cultural centripetal movement helped by the implicit temporary cutting implied in this more less intense organizational belonging (on the increasing because of the time devoted to postgraduate studies, institutionalized by the arising "credentialism"), under the pressure of a strong tension between means (educational) and goals (socio-cultural). All this increases the social and belonging links helped by a normative-axiological framework highly legitimated both *ad intra* and *ad extra*: the university.

All these hidden variables (and surely much more) should be some way considered at the time of comparing attitudes and behaviors verified in the three university populations under study, so distant geographically but paradoxically not so different in terms of their ways and styles of inhabiting the city.

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