Research Article

THE INTERGENERATIONAL MEMORY OF CULTURAL HERITAGE AS A MEANS OF PROMOTING CITIZENS' SENSE OF COMMUNITY

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Community psychology increasingly emphasizes the importance of cultural heritage, especially in local communities. This study suggests that the reconstruction of autobiographical memory associated with cultural heritage can become a resource for consolidating a sense of community. Therefore, we have highlighted the link between memory recall and a sense of community through which it is possible to observe how memory recall can be a means of giving positive meaning to one's membership. The study focuses on San Cesario in Lecce in southeastern Italy, an Apulian local community known for its archaeological industrial heritage, i.e., its distilleries. The participants of the study were 29 citizens of San Cesario of different gender and age, who were interviewed. The transcription of the interviews was followed by a content analysis in which the evoked dimensions of the sense of community and the types of memory, such as place or autobiographical ones, were noted. The results showed that intergenerational memory of cultural heritage can be a way of renewing the meanings associated with feelings of belonging to a local community, but also a way of recovering conflicted and ambivalent memories in order to promote psychosocial empowerment.

1. Introduction

Cultural heritage is a construct that, in the human and social sciences but also in sociology, anthropology and tourism, is based on the complexity between materiality and immateriality or, to put it more clearly, between the tangible and the intangible. The 2003 "UNESCO Declaration Concerning the Intentional Destruction of the Cultural Heritage" (Hladik, 2004) provides a definition of cultural heritage and states the importance of preserving it. In fact, according to UNESCO (2003) cultural heritage is an important component of the cultural identity of

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communities, groups and individuals, and promotes social cohesion by increasing the participation of individuals in their communities (Mannarini et al., 2010; Scardigno et al., 2022).

On this basis, the importance of protecting both material and non-material cultural heritage, was also underlined by the Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (FARO), held in 2005, which produced implementing guidelines. The aim of the FARO Convention was not to address the question of how to protect cultural heritage, but why it should be protected (Fairclough et al., 2014).

At the local community level, it is essential to preserve both the material cultural heritage - local places, art, everyday objects and architecture - and the intangible cultural heritage, which includes memory, dance performances, music, theatre and rituals. The protection, and above all the enhancement of the material and immaterial cultural heritage of local communities, allows us not only to keep track of identity and belonging, but above all to maintain the transmission of a sense of belonging from one generation to the next, which could be lost in the absence of actors who keep alive the memory of community. In fact, the valorisation of cultural heritage becomes an intervention useful for the transfer of material and immaterial cultural heritage to the common good. The common good is based on sharing and is something from which all community actors' benefit (Silverman & Ruggles, 2007). Moreover, if we consider the interesting definition by Offe (2012), which goes beyond the purely legal aspect, the common good is also "a moral-political condition of society, to which present efforts are dedicated, which is realized in the future, and which is validated as such by looking back from a second future" (p. 676).

As a common good, intangible and tangible cultural heritage implies a sense of belonging that fosters self-awareness, facilitates communication and learning, and guides the management of contemporary culture and its historical past.

In this sense we can recognize the educational value of the cultural heritage itself, together with its historical and symbolic construction processes. Indeed, the current FARO guidelines insist on the intrinsic educational value of cultural heritage, and on the learning opportunities offered by participatory interventions aimed at valorising the community's cultural heritage. The participation and centrality of citizens are priority objectives in the broader concept of strengthening principles and strategies for the development of material and immaterial cultural heritage as a common good (Tzortzi & Lux, 2021). The involvement of citizens also promotes the improvement of relations between them, which is why (im)material cultural heritage becomes relevant for the common good.

Citizen participation is also necessary to build collective intergenerational memories, which are part of the intangible cultural heritage. From this perspective, an interesting body of research, based on the pioneering work of Maurice Halbwachs (2020, or. ed. 1950), has explored how intergenerational narratives gradually build a shared collective memory. Indeed, in the general flow of intergenerational conversations, older generations often share with the younger ones their narratives about some selected events or social actors of the past (Bellelli et al., 2007). Such seemingly trivial everyday communication allows young people to feel emotional reactions associated with the memory of episodes they did not directly experience or people they did not actually meet (Leone, 2006; Leone & al., 2018). Within communities, such as local communities, it becomes, therefore, important to appreciate the impact of such an intergenerational sharing of collective memories, which are seen as one of the most important ways of creating and

continually re-establishing an inextricable link between personal identity and the history of one's own community. On the basis of this frequently renewed connection, not only is a communicative memory (Assmann, 2011) constantly made available to those born after the facts told to them, but also an affectively charged sense of belonging is felt by all members of the community involved in this kind of intergenerational interaction. One way to assess how this meaningful sense of community emerges from the recall of collective memory is to observe communications focused on the social sharing of autobiographical memories of older generations (Leone, 2006).

Based on these assumptions, our study aims to understand whether an intergenerational exchange about a cultural heritage in a local community, in which participants were encouraged to recall autobiographical aspects, can indeed help to renew the meaning of feeling part of the community and thus strengthen their sense of community, as similarly supported in other studies (Tan et al., 2018; Reeves & Plets, 2015).

2. Sense of community and autobiographical memory as a way of exploring tangible and intangible cultural heritage

In this paper the definition of sense of community given by McMillan and Chavis (1986) seems crucial. The sense of community is a feeling that is based on the subjects' belonging to a common space and therefore to the same way of life, which creates a sense of participation in solving common problems (Musitu, 1999; Sarason, 1974). However, sense of community is a complex concept that refers both to places, to the people who live in the community and to the feelings that bind people to places. To capture the multidimensionality of this construct, there are several ways to "name" it: sense of community, feeling of community, or psychological sense of community. "Feeling" or "psychological sense of community" is usually used to refer to individual experiences, while "sense of community" (SoC) is used at the group level. The latter is more widely used and analysed in the literature, especially with regard to its components and dimensions.

In terms of components, McMillan and Chavis (1986) identified four elements:
a) Membership: a sense of belonging to a community or a network of social relationships;
b) Influence: a sense that the actions of individuals can influence the community and that individuals are influenced by the community;
c) Integration and satisfaction of needs: the security of being able to fulfil all the needs of a community through mutual integration;
d) Shared emotional connection: the belief of community members that they share a common history, a common place, a common experience and, therefore, a common good.

These elements of the sense of community are formed through dynamic relationships in a system of interrelationships that make them both cause and effect. The relationships between the four components must always be related to the specific context of reference, taking into account the differences between small communities, local communities, towns and cities (Vargas-Sánchez et al., 2009).

It is precisely in this relational context that community members can produce community memories. Community memory has aroused interest because the intergenerational transmission of oral narratives makes it possible to identify a level of memory that concerns the representation

that each individual constructs of his or her own memory. These dimensions, therefore generally refer to the forms of affiliation of an individual with his or her own past and the explicit construction of his or her own identity (Candau, 1998, pp. 27–28).

It is this level of memory that Candau defines as "meta-memory" (p. 26), and which he considers to be the only form of memory that can be associated with the group level, thus giving the term "collective memory" a solidity that it would otherwise lack (p. 28). Collective memory thus becomes a mode of access to individual memory, organized as a "social construction of memory" and as a point of view on a collective heritage that changes in relation to the position of the individual in the community (Halbwachs, 1971).

Indeed, collective memory is built on the continuous interaction between individual memory and the heritage of memories available and handed down within a community. Outside the community, the narratives derived from collective and individual memory may remain indistinguishable (Gods, 2005). This indistinguishability between the individual and collective mnestic traces can generate narratives that are linked to "pieces of repertoire" (Halbwachs, 1971, p. 17). These are narratives that are handed down, for example, from father to son, in which even those who did not live in a particular historical period find themselves strongly implicated in the memory, even swearing to the veracity of the narrated facts with expressions such as "I saw it with my own eyes". In fact, the use of repertoire pieces can have two functions. The first is to create a community identity strongly linked to the territory, while the second is the use of stereotyped stories that also act as a memory screen to cover up traumatic memories (Pasquinelli, 1993). For this reason, when we speak of collective memory, we cannot fail to refer to narratives and life stories. The analysis of what individuals tell about themselves and/or a particular moment or historical fact makes it possible to highlight precisely the steps from the individual to the collective, and vice versa (Costantini, 2012, p. 43). Narratives help to provide full access to the representations that an individual has in the privileged relationship between memory and the process of identity formation, allowing one to keep track of what the French philosopher Ricœur defined as "narrative identity" (2009, p. 35). Indeed, narration becomes the means by which the reconstruction of collective memory is realised. Within the collective memory of the community, one can distinguish autobiographical memory, historical memory, the memory of places and traditions, and relational memory.

In particular, autobiographical memory stores facts and events that have happened to the person in relation to patterns or pathways of meaning, implicit or explicit, conscious or unconscious. Autobiographical memory consciously unifies different life experiences, giving them a common meaning that is consistent across different memories. The collection of all this information makes up the baggage of knowledge that each of us possesses and that depends essentially on the experiences we have had. Mnestic traces of situations that happened far away in time can be vivid in our memory. This is because memories are embedded in a larger network of meanings that includes knowledge about ourselves, the world, and social relationships. A memory will therefore fall into one of these categories after it has been processed. The acuity of the memory is determined by the emotional or behavioural meaning attached to it. Autobiographical memory is used by individuals for three very specific purposes: to plan their present and future behaviour, to develop a perception of the continuity of their life history, and

to have knowledge of the social interactions that have been structured over time (Bluck et al., 2005).

One of the main goals of this study is to explore the role of autobiographical memory in maintaining a sense of community. The links between the information from one's autobiography in the form of memories provide a sense of continuity that accompanies one's identity. In practice, although individuals may have uneven and fragmentary experiences throughout their lives, autobiographical memory creates unity by acting as a mirror of a self-constructed over time, and this ensures a sense of personal identity (Bluck & Alea, 2008).

Next to this, historical memory has the function of placing subjects in the time of history, not so much as a "knowledge" of history (Smorti & Fioretti, 2016), but as a lived, significant and emotionally charged connection between the subjects and some selected public events. In fact, among all the significant historical moments that happened in the same historical period, only a few are selected to become collective memories, because they manage to transcend their singularity and are able to create strong connections between the members of the same community (Mininni, 2013).

3. The polyphonic and critical role of "place memory"

Place memory (Seedat, 2015) is a component of the territory, consisting of an "environmental unit characterised by perceptual aspects, that is, cognitive and socio-physical aspects modulated by the activity that takes place in an environment-specific context" (Amerio, 2000, p. 55). Place is perceived and represented in the mind through the flow of experience. In particular, it is a given order that is not only sensory but also endowed with the quality of symbolic meaning conferred by human activity. In other words, it is an active and continuous process, characterised by changes that highlight its specific characteristics and are linked to temporality.

Place memory is an expression of place identity (Proshansky, 1978). Place identity binds people to a territory that becomes a reference in the processes of identity construction. In particular, it is "a unique part of self-identity that refers to those dimensions of the self that define the personal identity of the individual in relation to the physical environment, through a complex system of ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, and conscious and unaware goals, combined with behavioural trends and skills relevant to this environment" (Proshansky, 1978, p. 149).

In particular, the memories associated with local traditions (Leone, 2008) are constructed in relation to the need of communities to create a "temporal dwelling" (Mininni, 2013, p. 103), through which cultural identity is constructed. Cultural identity is the part of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) that defines the sense of belonging to a community with which one shares origins and destinies, and in which narratives and their transmission provide an opportunity to define an image of self and community from which polyphonic positions (Zaharchenko, 2013) emerge. Some of these positions aim to preserve what is local, preserving the narratives and meanings derived from the local cultural self. Others' positioning of cultural identity, on the other hand, derives from "cultural contamination" and thus from the opening up the locality to the whole. In fact, the local ego is constructed with the diffusion of the "cultural syndrome" (Mazzara, 2007) – the set of beliefs, values, behaviours and practices organised around single themes that are part

of the culture of reference (Mininni, 2013, p. 75). The local self is the result of the intertwining of the constraints of local traditions.

Place memory is generally associated with the so-called relational memory (Gillis, 2018), which aims to overcome individualism by focusing on the connections between the inhabitants of a community. These different aspects of collective memory - place, traditions and relationships - when recalled, can activate a new process of attributing meaning (Bartlett, 1932). This aspect highlights the importance of intergenerational memory, especially in the case of reconstructing conflictual memories (Leone et al., 2018) that result from the construction of a past based on positive and negative aspects, such as crimes (McGrattan & Hopkins, 2017) and working power relations (Molden, 2016), of which shame and self-censorship are a part.

In particular, when a longstanding self-censorship (Bar-Tal, 2017) of older generations is broken, and some uncomfortable or awkward aspects of the past are finally communicated without fear, this once embarrassing or even discomforting truth, if finally understood and accepted by young people, can give them a precious opportunity to better understand some important reasons that account for the current features of their own lives (Leone, 2017). Conflicting memories, in fact, can make the sense of community more nuanced, allowing new meanings to arise from the contrast between what was positive and what was negative.

For example, memories related to the good of industrial archaeology can give rise to a sense of dual belonging, on the one hand to economic prosperity and on the other to working power relations. This is the case of the municipality of San Cesario di Lecce, whose history is linked to one of the assets of industrial archaeology, the Nicola De Giorgi Distillery.

4. Sense of community and memory recall: The case of San Cesario di Lecce

4.1. Study rationale

Based on these theoretical considerations, the research objective of the present study is, first of all, to understand whether intergenerational exchange in a local community can indeed be associated with citizens' sense of community, paying particular attention to the four dimensions of SoC– namely, integration of needs, shared emotional connection, influence and the membership – (Mc Millan and Chavis, 1986), by deepening the role played by sociodemographic variables such as age, thus observing the intergenerational point of view, and gender differences.

We started from the assumption that one way to assess the participants' sense of community is to observe the communication focused on the social sharing of autobiographical memories of older generations (Leone, 2006), in our case related to cultural heritage.

For this purpose, with the support of the Summer School on 'Performative arts and Community Care' (coordinated by professor Colazzo, University of Salento), we recruited participants from the local community of San Cesario di Lecce in southern Italy, which is characterised by an immaterial and material heritage mainly related to industrial archaeology. Specifically, we wanted to understand whether intergenerational exchanges about cultural heritage, in which participants were encouraged to recall autobiographical aspects, can indeed help to renew the meaning of feeling part of a community and thus promote a sense of community, as similarly supported by other studies (Tan et al., 2018; Reeves & Plets, 2015).

Specifically, this aim is pursued with particular attention to age and gender differences, as the relationship between the dimensions of sense of community and autobiographical memories related to cultural heritage has, to the best of our knowledge, not yet been investigated.

4.2. The local community of San Cesario

San Cesario, in south-eastern Italy, is an Apulian town located in the Salento region, 5 km from the centre of Lecce, the provincial capital. The local economy is composite, historically based on agriculture, crafts, small industry and trade (ISTAT, 2017). One of the most important economic activities in San Cesario is the production of distilled alcohol, which is most successfully carried out by the company De Giorgi, the largest of the five distilleries operating before 1900 (Gabellone & Monte, 2002). The De Giorgi distillery was also famous for the production of anisette, an aniseed-based liqueur exported all over the world (Monte & Stagira, 2007). In 1970, after the death of the owners and problems with succession and smuggling, four of the five distilleries failed, including the Nicola De Giorgi distillery (Covino et al., 2003).

The community of San Cesario is also linked to the artistic heritage of the local sculptor Ezechiele Leandro, whose story is shrouded in mystery and whose works were known throughout the world. Ezechiele Leandro was a visionary artist who died at the end of the 1980s (Galante, 2016). He was a solitary person who was considered "crazy" because he picked things up from the garbage and gave them new life by creating sculptures (Cassiano et al., 2004).

The municipality of San Cesario was chosen for this study because it was the first industry in the south of Italy that was able to attract human capital, and also because it is a good example of a renovated and recontextualised cultural heritage, also through the memories of the citizens. Therefore, the

Figure 1. De Giorgi distillery between past and present: personal archive

exploratory study, starting from the narratives of the community actors involved, has tried to understand the current state of the relationship between the community actors by investigating the citizens' sense of community through their memory recall, focusing also on age and gender differences.

4.3 Method: Participants and Procedure

The present research was born thanks to the annual summer School on 'Performative Arts and Community Care' (coordinated by Professor Colazzo, University of Salento), which involves local associations and citizens of the municipality of San Cesario di Lecce, with the aim of promoting the skills and the traditional crafts of the San Giorgi distillery, in an intergenerational perspective.

In this educational context, the local associations invited associated community actors, and then through snowball sampling, the sample size was further increased. The participants were involved in the first phase of the summer school, before the performative events and laboratories, and they were grouped in the focus group sessions (three in total) and then all interviewed individually. Both the focus groups and the interviews were recorded with the informed consent of the participants.

In the focus group sessions, which took place in the distillery in an informal atmosphere, the participants, mixed according to gender and age, were welcomed in order to present them the educational objectives of the Summer School and to begin a phase of mutual knowledge, mainly to create a familiar context. During the focus group, they were asked to introduce themselves and describe themselves through their personal stories, sharing their memories of San Cesario and the San Giorgio Distillery with other participants.

Later, in the individual interviews, the same participants were asked to describe their knowledge, their personal and family memories of the distillery, the history of the community from their point of view, trying to report both positive and negative aspects. The average interview session lasted about one hour.

A total of 29 citizens (15 women, 14 men) with a mean age of 41 years (total SD = 12.97; women mean age of 35.2, men mean age: 45.7) participated. Two participants did not report their age. Almost all the participants were born in San Cesario and had never left the community. A minority were not born in San Cesario, others had worked in Northern Italy or abroad but had returned to San Cesario.

To understand the sociodemographic variables associated with sense of community in relation to an intergenerational memory of community's heritage, we conducted a quali-quantitative analysis based on the content collected during the focus groups and individual interviews. The interviews and the focus group were transcribed and subjected to content analysis. The coding phase was carried out by two independent judges. In particular, the content analysis was theoretically guided by considering the four dimensions of the SoC (McMillan and Chavis, 1986) - Needs integration, Shared Emotional Connection, Membership and Influence - and the different types of memories presented in paragraph 3: autobiographical, historical, place, and traditional memory. For memory reconstruction, the absence or presence of sentences in which participants referred to a dimension of memory reconstruction was coded. If present, the following dimensions were coded: memory of place, historical memory, autobiographical memory, relational memory, traditional memory and a mixture of these.

For both SoC and memory reconstruction, the two judges reported an 'absent' dimension if they found no association with sense of community or memory reconstruction based in the participants' responses. In addition, two levels of intensity for sense of community were coded as 'low' or 'high' if the participants described the dimensions in terms of attenuation (e.g., a little, minimal) or intensification (e.g., very, very much, definitely), respectively (Caffi, 199; Vincze & Poggi, 2022; Poggi et al., 2013)

Once the coding phase was completed for each participant, we crossed this data with their gender and age. Participants above and below the mean age (41 years) were coded as 'adults and 'young', respectively. A chi-square test was used to obtain some descriptive percentages. In fact, during the focus groups, we noticed some intergenerational and intergender differences in

the definition of their community and in the recollection of cultural heritage; therefore, we hypothesized that they would be differently associated with these sociodemographic variables.

4.4 Results

For sense of community, evocations were more frequent [$\chi^2(196) = 24.564$; $p < 0.05$] in women (68.3% present) than in men (32.5% present) (Table 1).

Table 1. Presence vs absence of sense of community by gender

	Presence (N)	Absence (N)
Female	68,3% (56)	31,7% (26)
Male	32,5% (37)	67,5% (77)

This difference is also evident in the following excerpts, from female participants:

Ex. 1: "I feel that I belong to the community."
Ex. 2: "As for the distillery, I think it's a place that belongs to this territory."

In fact, among the women, the feeling of belonging to the community of people was emphasised several times, but they also emphasised belonging to the territory, where the community places were a central element, especially the distillery, which represented a way of belonging to the community. Men, on the other hand, did not have the same sense of belonging, as the following excerpts show:

Ex. 3: "No, I don't follow the community life, the meeting places, I don't like it."
Ex. 4: "I don't feel the need to meet others."

With regard to the dimensions of the sense of community in particular, we observed a different distribution between male and female participants. As shown in Table 2, the dimensions of sense of community most frequently mentioned by women were integration of needs (29.3%) and influence (22%). In fact, in the interviews and in the focus groups, women often used the term "enhancement" and its variants to refer to the integration of needs.

Table 2. Sense of community dimensions by gender

	Absent	Need integration	Shared Emotional Connection	Membership	Influence
Female	34,1%	29,3%	3,7%	11,0%	22,0%
Male	67,5%	7,0%	0,9%	4,4%	20,2%

The women's sense of community also developed discursively (see example 5), using of personal forms, such as "we have to focus" that denote emotional involvement.

Ex. 5: "The Aria Sana neighbourhood, which is an area separated from the city centre, which we have to focus on in these years because it is still the territory of San Cesario."

This recurrence of emotional involvement was present as a need and integration of needs, not only in relation to places but also to the cultural aspect of the community, as the following example shows:

Ex. 6: "I get goose bumps, it was a wonderful thing. He is an artist we have never seen: in the sense that we have to appreciate him more."

With regard to the dimension of influence dimension, women are increasingly linked to the concrete sphere of possibilities for action, as the following excerpt shows:

Ex. 7: "The community must first take an interest in its affairs, otherwise it is only a place where it is right to complain."

Example 7 indirectly shows how influence among the inhabitants of the community can increase the possibility of being heard by the administration in order to satisfy needs. Again, the discursive construction emphasises "community" and "interest" as opposed to "complaining", as an act of rebellion linked to influence.

Among the men, however, the dimension of sense of community most frequently mentioned was influence (20.2%), as a place where citizens can express their identity, traditions and values through the new generations, but they complain about the lack of solidarity or openness to others, as the following excerpts show:

Ex. 8: "The citizens of this country are not famous for their solidarity."
Ex. 9: "Very few people are sociable."
Es. 10 "A lot of selfishness."

It is immediately apparent from the excerpts how the men, in contrast to the women, used linguistic constructions of emotional distance: e.g., "the citizens", "very few people". There were also recurrent expressions of scarcity, such as "very few", which shows that the men's references to a sense of community were significantly $[\chi^2(196) = 26.307; p < 0.05]$ low (7.9%). In fact, references to the sense of community dimensions were significantly higher among women (42.7%) (Table 3).

The difference between low and high dimensions of a sense of community compared to gender is also evident from the following excerpts:

Ex. 11: "I really like the De Giorgi distillery. I think they should do something there for a group meeting, for a children's meeting, like they do now"

Table 3. High vs low sense of community by gender

	Absent (N)	High (N)	Low (N)
Female	31,7% (26)	42,7% (35)	25,6% (21)
Male	67,5% (77)	24,6% (28)	7,9% (9)

In extract 11, the woman spoke of the community space as a starting point for creating community opportunities, suggesting that the community is full of places that facilitate gathering. In fact, the interviewee indicated that the community was already organising itself to meet at this time. However, as can be seen in extract 12, the men highlighted the lack of entrepreneurial skills among community actors and the lack of commercial activities, especially restaurants, which are seen both as opportunities to improve the economy and as places to meet, different from squares or parks.

Ex. 12: "Anyway, the economic activities don't work here; if I'm next to you, either you work, or I work."

In terms of age differences, young people had a significantly higher sense of community than adults [$\chi^2(196) = 42.289$; $p < 0.05$] (Table 4).

Table 4. Presence vs absence of sense of community by age

	Presence (N)	Absence (N)
Youths	70,1% (68)	29,9% (29)
Adults	28,9% (24)	71,1% (59)

In fact, it is significant that there was a strong associative capacity among the young people, which increased their sense of community, as in the following excerpt:

Ex. 13: "From that moment on, I felt full of initiative but above all I felt supported by active young people. Then the political party of young people did not succeed, but I started to host travellers with Couchsurfing, so I was already organising local events. This brought a taste of internationalisation to San Cesario di Lecce."

Despite the initial difficulties related to the bureaucratic aspect, young people were more motivated to create associations and give new life to the community than adults (28.9%):

Ex. 14: "The community knows nothing about Leandro; they did not appreciate him and they knew when he was alive ... let alone now."

Among the adults, expressions of resignation such as "they will never understand", "they will never know", "nothing will change" with regard to the community and to those who lived there were recurrent. In fact, from a descriptive point of view, the sense of community dimension that can be considered relevant for adults was influence (16.9%), while for young people, were influence and the integration of needs (Table 5).

Table 5. Dimensions of sense of community by age

	Absent	Needs integration	Shared Emotional Connection	Membership	Influence
Youths	32%	26,8%	4,1%	10,3%	26,8%
Adults	71,1%	7,2%	0,0%	4,8%	16,9%

In addition, there was a significant $\chi^2(196)=[43.128; p < 0.05]$ prevalence of a higher sense of community among young people (45.4%) compared to older adults (21.7%) (Table 6).

Table 6. High vs low dimensions of sense of community by age

	Absent (N)	High (N)	Low (N)
Youths	29,9% (29)	45,4% (44)	24,7% (24)
Adults	71,1% (59)	21,7% (18)	7,2% (6)

Regarding memory recall, there was a significant $\chi^2(196)=[11.783; p<0.05]$ opposite situation regarding gender. In fact, men (68.4%) had a greater tendency to recover memory than women (43.9%) (Table 7).

Table 7. Presence vs absence of memory recall by gender

	Presence (N)	Absence (N)
Female	43,9% (36)	56,1% (46)
Male	68,4% (78)	31,6% (36)

From the interviews and focus group transcripts, it is clear that memory, especially among men, was linked to working in the distilleries, especially the largest, the De Giorgi Distillery, as the following excerpt shows:

Ex. 15: "My father was only a seasonal worker. Then there were the permanent workers who filled the bottles. Maybe they were more stable. Yes, they are more stable. It was always the women who did the bottling. They were paid less."

Table 8. Dimensions of memory recall by gender

	Absent	Place memory	Historical memory	Autobio-graphical memory	Relational memory	Traditional memory	Mixture
Female	20,7%	56,1%	11,0%	1,2%	3,7%	0,0%	7,3%
Male	9,6%	40,4%	31,6%	1,8%	0,0%	0,9%	15,7%

However, as can be seen from Table 8, both women (56.1%) and men (40.4%) reconstructed memories of places, particularly of the De Giorgi distillery, The prevalence of the reconstruction of the memories of places among women was related to the fact that the women had more relatives who worked at the distillery, as the following excerpt shows:

Ex. 16: "My grandmother, in addition to working in the De Giorgi bottling plant, was also a tobacconist inside the branch office ... she was the only one who received a salary, even if it was a daily salary."

The men interviewed, on the other hand, had more direct experience of working in the distilleries and therefore their historical memory was higher (31.6%). It is interesting to note that historical memory was also linked to the working practices in the distilleries or to the working relationships, usually between directors and employees, as documented in the following extracts:

Ex. 17: "I started working at the Cappello distillery, and that's where my life in the distillery began. I was responsible for the mechanical maintenance of the steam boiler."

Ex. 18: "Nicola De Giorgi? Ah, a strict, excellent person."

Ex. 19: "Commander De Giorgi lived in Lecce. He had dogs in the distillery, here in San Cesario. For the dogs he prepared bones and whatever was left over. Then there was a worker who got a container for the animals. De Giorgi would sit in the old Balilla. The Balillas were the cars of the past. Meat was a luxury in those days, so the worker would hide the best meat to take home, thinking the commander would not see it. In reality, he looked at the scene from the mirror of the Balilla and once surprised him so much so that the unfortunate worker choked."

Indeed, it is clear from the excerpts that the men's historical reconstruction focused on labour relations, as can be seen from the frequency of the word "worker" but also from the use of words related to the semantic sphere of the "empire", as in this excerpt:

Ex. 20: "It was an empire that I could not understand why it ended. It just failed, with children, with grandchildren. And nothing, that's all!"

In particular, in extracts 19 and 20, this recurrence of the semantic sphere of the "empire" is clearly visible in the repetition of "commander" to define the head of the largest distillery of San Cesario, but also to emphasise greatness, not only in terms of the distillery's dimensions but above all in terms of power.

In terms of age differences in memory recall, there was a significant difference [$\chi^2(196) = 42.289$; $p < 0.05$] between young and adult participants (Table 9).

Table 9. Age and Presence Vs Absence of Memory recall

	Presence (N)	Absence (N)
Youths	38,1% (37)	61,9% (60)
Adults	80,7% (67)	19,3% (16)

As might be expected, older adults (80.7%) were able to remember more than young people (38.1%). This was due to the fact that the older adults had lived longer in the community, especially during the period when the distilleries were in operation, as the following excerpts suggest:

Ex. 21: "San Cesario is called the village of vices because there were five distilleries, that is, there were four owners. In fact, there were four smokers that were always on, 24 hours a day. There was this smell that I can sometimes feel. I was born with that smell, like bilge water. It's a country of alcoholics, you know!"

Ex. 22: "Yes, gambling because there was money. San Cesario was considered to be the Southern Milan because these five distilleries were always lit, creating a fog in the countryside. Then, there was always fog, always! Especially when there was a sirocco, when there was no wind and it was always dark. It was a good, especially for smuggling."

As can be seen from extracts 21 and 22 and from Table 9, most of the adults were significantly [$\chi^2(196) = 46.567$; $p < 0.05$] related to the memories of communal places or the distillery, as if they were attached to the past, highlighting how, despite the fact that there was prosperity in San Cesario in the past, there were negative aspects in terms of vice and the circulation of money. This can be seen in the similarity between San Cesario and Milan ("San Cesario was the Milan of the South"). This comparison is positive in terms of job opportunities, and negative in terms of

lifestyle. In this case, in fact, what emerged was a conflictual memory on the spot (Leone et al., 2018) with regard to the older adults.

Table 10. Presence vs absence of memory recall by age

	Absent	Place memory	Historical memory	Autobio-graphical memory	Relational memory	Traditional memory	Mix
Young people	61,9%	17,5%	9,3%	1,0%	3,1%	0,0%	7,2%
Adults	19,3%	43,4%	13,3%	2,4%	0,0%	1,2%	20,4%

Young people (17.5%) reconstructed the memory of places more easily (Table 10), but with a qualitatively different sense than older adults, as the following extracts show:

Ex. 23: "I wanted to refer to the reuse of places and the rediscovery, because the former distillery De Giorgi is actually a very special place that is then reused. In other cities, like Milan, Rome, where I have been for some time, I have seen that such places are very much used, especially by young people, at the university level, even by young people. So, we should point out this possibility from this place, which is very close to Lecce."

As can be seen in extract 23, among the young people the conflictual memory of places was transformed into attempts to valorise the community as a common relational good, where the territory became an element from which to start again.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The study started from the assumption that the reconstruction of autobiographical memory associated with cultural heritage becomes a resource for promoting a sense of community, specifically by looking at the four dimensions of SoC. Indeed, based on classical studies on the reconstruction of memory, it can be noted that each time a memory is recalled, it takes on a different meaning, which can be detected through spaces of intergenerational discussion that help to integrate conflictual memories. In this perspective, the sense of community is understood as a process of reconstructing autobiographical memory – that is, a way of discovering and promoting emotional meaning across generations. We have therefore drawn out the connections between two types of literature, through which it is possible to determine how memory recall can be a means of giving positive meaning to one's membership. For this reason, the McMillan and Chavis (1989) model of SoC was considered.

The results show that in the intergenerational recall there is a higher sense of community among women (68.30%), which is also shown qualitatively by the focus of women on expressions such as "sense of belonging", in contrast to men, for whom there is no desire for the community;

this result seems to go in the opposite direction to the literature on sense of community (Peterson et al. 2008).

Regarding the dimensions of need integration, our female participants emphasised the need for resource integration, which is also qualitatively demonstrated by the expression of functional needs regarding the 'opportunity' of neighbourhood integration into the community, also for children and the future generation. This is also the case for the men, among whom the absent category of sense of community prevails (67.5%) and the most recurrent dimension was influence (20.2%), as a way to recognise their sense of belonging by expressing their values and also renewing common traditions through new generations; in fact, this is also visible on the qualitative side, where the men complain of an absence of sociality among the inhabitants of the community.

In terms of generations, 70.1% of young people experienced a sense of community, a sense of proactivity, in contrast to older adults, among whom a sense of resignation emerged. This was unexpected because in the literature on SoC, sense of community is higher among adults (e.g. Zhang et al., 2018; Peterson et al, 2008) because they have lived longer in the local community.

Looking at the dimensions of SoC, there is a slight prevalence in the need for resource integration and influence among young people, but only in influence among older adults.

In terms of reconstructing memory, however, with regard to gender, we can see a prevalence in men – 68.4% – due to the older age of the male sample, who report direct experiences related to working in the distillery.

The results regarding the types of memory are interesting, since women have a reconstruction of memory that is more linked to places, which in this case are also functional in nature – for example, compared to the community places where they take their children – whereas men have a construction of memory oriented that is mainly linked to historical facts and, in particular, to labour relations, as shown in the excerpt where the owner of the largest distillery is mentioned. In this case, the historical memory that emerges is a problematic one, almost contradictory, between the pride in the industrial heritage of the community and the problems of employment.

As for the generations, older adults reconstructed more memories than young people, but if we look at the types of memories, it seems that both young people and older adults are likely to experience memories related to places. Qualitatively, we can see that the meanings attached are different, since for older adults the elaboration of problematic memories related to community places and to the history of these places is maintained, whereas for young people this conflict is overcome in favour of a reshaping of these spaces in terms of community.

Therefore, in an exploratory sense, our study shows that recalling memories is a way of reinterpreting one's sense of community, and our results showed that women have a more pragmatic sense of memory associated with community (e.g., space for children). Men, with a lower sense of community, were more likely to reconstruct conflictual memories of class struggle.

Intergenerational memory of cultural heritage can be a way to reinterpret citizens' own sense of community, but also a way to reinterpret and integrate conflictual and ambivalent memories with the aim of promoting psychosocial empowerment (Arcidiacono et al., 2007; Zimmermann et al.,1988) and active participation (Mannarini et al., 2012).

Nevertheless, our findings also revealed a low level of emotional involvement among some community members and a low level of sense of community, especially among older men. This

should be further explored in depth in future studies, as the focus on emotionality and on the renewal of collective meanings and memories associated with an intangible, material and local heritage can help us understand potential changes in sense of community. The creation of discussion spaces is a good way to monitor the sense of community, but this should be studied with different frameworks and at different times. For this reason, another future perspective should be to monitor the outcomes of the intervention longitudinally over a longer period of time, also by expanding the sample of the present study.

Acknowledgment

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