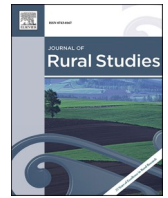




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Heritage places and the place attachment of adolescents: The case of the Castelo of Vila Nova de Cerveira (Portugal)

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ABSTRACT

Heritage places represent a reference for past action and experience since memories, values, and desires can be stored and processed externally. This emotional link is known as 'place attachment' that, according to different studies, is a high predictor for place-protective actions. Therefore, local community involvement has been fundamental to the conservation of heritage, and to sustaining tourism development.

Studying the case of Vila Nova de Cerveira, a village that is suffering progressively rural gentrification at the same time that heritage places are experiencing a process of commodification, it is possible to offer insights into how gentrification affects the community place attachment of adolescents in an environment of social change using a qualitative methodology.

In a way, material heritage becomes deterritorialized and dislocated from everyday life. Studies of place attachment need to also include an ethnographic dimension, to consider new situations which emerge when heritage places have become detached from the youth of the historical community.

1. Introduction

The maintenance and protection of material heritage (before entering the era of late-modernity) has been sustained by a process of integration in communities' cognition (Martín-Torres, 2008). Responsibility for its care and protection began to be a matter of State concern in Western countries after the French Revolution (Choay, 2007). Initially, regulations were developed which made the State the main agent responsible for the protection of heritage, but in the second half of the twentieth century a valuing of assets by the community was promoted instead, in order to enhance protection Quito rules, 1967/2015. This was because protective action anchored exclusively in the State was not giving the expected results.

The importance of community involvement has also been highlighted by the Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas 1987 (Washington Charter). Moreover, local community involvement has been fundamental to sustaining tourism development and the management of heritage conservation (Nicholas et al., 2009; Stephens and Tiwari, 2015), since having a sense of belonging to, and an in-depth local knowledge of, a locality helps a community to live in harmony with the region's assets as they are increasingly valued for

their uniqueness (Jaafar et al., 2015). According to different studies, place attachment is a high predictor of place-protective actions (Devine-Wright, 2013; Cheung and Hui, 2018). However, it was in the Faro Convention that the development of the concept of 'heritage communities' and a people-centred perspective first appears explicitly (Colomer, 2017). The content of this Convention confirmed that the associated analysis of the cognitive model of the subjects of a community is a protection factor because:

'people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations' (Council of Europe 2005, Article 2b).

In other words, there is an underlying awareness of the sphere of emotions as an important factor of an array of dimensions related to material heritage. It is important to be sensitive to the dynamics of space and place, and the role of practice in the cultural construction of places (Appadurai, 1988; Byrne, 2008; Munasinghe, 2005) by different segments of the community. This results in a focus on a deeper understanding of community since it is associated with an ethic of care, and it therefore becomes paramount to analyse attachment and sustaining

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relationships (Smith, 2014; Skelton 2007). The importance of adolescents regarding adult matters should not be underestimated in understanding the lifecycle of heritage themes.

This paper offers a perspective that it is necessary to understand the role of sentiments, emotions, and feelings held by adolescents across different generations, how they experience heritage in different ways to adults, and to focus on how subjectivities are inextricably connected with processes of long-term heritage protection, even while avoiding cultural casting processes. In short, it aims to go deeper into the framework of heritage regarding the (re)articulations of young human-non-human and ever-changing localized histories, areas of study with a shortage of scientific investigation (Yarwood and Tyrrell, 2012; Woods, 2007). In this approach, heritage places are conceived not as a more-or-less passive sensory field, but as comprised of actants that elicit and shape humans' varied affective responses to them. This leads to changing relationships with them, frequently in conjunction with new economic situations.

Most of the studies investigating place attachment as the main issue have had considerable scrutiny in the scholarly literature, but these have focussed mainly on adult segments of society (see e.g. Doheny and Milbourne, 2017; Manzo and Perkins, 2006) and are associated with elements such as migration (see e.g. Raffaetà and Duff, 2013), amenity migration (see e.g. Keske et al., 2017), class and cultural bonding (see e.g. Cheung and Hui, 2018; Phillips, 2016; Lewicka, 2011; Antonsich, 2010), mobility (see e.g. Gieling et al., 2017; Gustafson, 2009; Cuba and Hummon, 1993), tourism (Silva, 2014; Nicholas et al., 2009), technology acceptance (Devine-Wright, 2013; Kyle et al., 2004), as well as its measurement (see e.g. Williams and Vaske, 2003; Raymond et al., 2010). However, there are some studies that have focused on children and the importance of place attachment for their well-being (Jack, 2010), the diverse ways it can develop in their lives (Derr, 2002) and how it differs from adults (Pretty et al., 2003).

Even so, there has not yet been a detailed exploration of how young people, specifically adolescents, may be an important and as yet unrecognized stakeholder group with a significant role to play in future development and heritage protection. Simply put, this is an area which has often been overlooked (UNESCO, 2002; Wu and Pearce, 2013; Caldwell and Baldwin, 2004).

Nowadays, the globally dominant economic ideology of neoliberalism opposes the interests of local people and favours those of speculators and bureaucrats, subjugating the residents' lives to impersonal imperatives masquerading as improvement and development (Herzfeld, 2010; Harrison, 2010). With these new social logics applied to heritage, place attachment is also affected (Smith, 2012; Cameron, 2008; Phillips, 2004, 2014).

Overall, and to date, this approach to heritage communities over time has yet to be fully examined (see e.g. Thompson et al., 2008; Johnson and Schwadel, 2019); and comprises the main concern of this paper. Shifting place attachments over time will be explored, between adolescents from different generations in a rural village undergoing gentrification, with regards to heritage places. It is argued that, until relatively recently, insufficient attention has been given to variability over time and place in relation to place attachment.

This concept is then tested through a case study of Vila Nova de Cerveira, a small rural town in Portugal that has experienced significant changes, from being a poor village up until the middle of the twentieth century, before transformation through rural gentrification over the last few decades. Significant income has been generated by the heritage industry, since the town possesses an important legacy of obsolete historic military structures, and a landscape in which aesthetics, picturesque views and a romantic perception of nature play an essential role. For these reasons, it has been very attractive for tourism and second homes in the recent past.

An indicator of the attractiveness of Vila Nova de Cerveira is the price of houses, which average 1482 euros/m² (<https://www.idealista.pt>), however the average personal annual income in Vila Nova de

Cerveira was 11,127 euros in 2012, according to *Statistics Portugal*. Therefore, one of the consequences of the increase in house prices is that many of the local young people have been forced to live in nearby, less attractive, municipalities.

This case study offers a specific look at the changing perceptions of adolescents in the local community over time, with particular regards to the castle of *D. Dinis*. This is the key heritage site which first led to the village's creation in the 13th century, but which has repeatedly changed uses, ranging from periods as a residential neighbourhood, to reinvention as a luxury hotel, and finally to an urban void in the twentieth century.

Importantly for this study, one of the authors has lived and worked in the village for many years together with her family, offering access to the daily lives of the historical inhabitants in a variety of changing roles. This has provided an invaluable opportunity for her work as an ethnographer interested in the wide ranging facets of this community.

To summarise, this study seeks to understand the relationship between the different roles of heritage places through time and how emotional bonds with them were developed, with special attention given to how place attachment in the adolescents of the historical community were affected (understood as land- and place-based associations in the old sense). How has the response of adolescents in the village changed over time? Especially given that different generations and groups take distinctive positions on the different dimensions of place attachment (Gielsing et al., 2017).

This paper is organised as follows: In the first section, the question of how the adolescent mind works with regards to cognitive processes of bonding with places is explored, namely, place attachment. In the following section, the methodology used in the research is presented, before moving to the next, where the heritage place aspects of the area of study are shown. The fourth section focusses on an analysis of place attachment, provided by interviewing subjects across several generations, who grew up in the historic places already mentioned, and especially to examining the outcomes associated with the transformation of those spaces and places. The main conclusions are presented in the final section.

2. Theoretical framework

The connection of individuals with heritage is not just a function of experience, but also how they construct their own identities, through an interaction and mixture between their place/places of residence and past histories. Heritage is one way to create community and cultural continuity (Shackel, 2001) since heritage contributes to sense of place by providing a network of references helping individuals to place themselves (Hawke, 2010). The forms and images of heritage environments generate feelings of trust and security known as ontological security, that is, they maintain confidence in the continuity of the past, present and future, and connect that trust with routine social practices. (Giddens, 2013; Altman and Low, 2012; Nine, 2018; Mydland and Grah, 2012).

This is done by transmission of the beliefs, values, and practices inherent in the fabric of the physical environment, as complex objects of the extended mind (Nine, 2018). Therefore, the physical environment continues to represent and embody the memories of the rural community. However, until adolescence, children are not cognitively, socially, or emotionally prepared for the task of integrating and organizing knowledge about themselves into a coherent whole, since it is not until this period that an agentic, self-determining actor begins to emerge. Central to this maturation, is the developmental task of integrating disparate representations into a coherent whole in the service of identity formation. (Sharp and Wall, 2018).

In this developmental phase, non-verbal expression signs (for example, culturally shared physical gestures with specific meanings, such as a wink, or a shrug of the shoulders) particular to an individual and which have been used as internal mediators between place and

feeling, become internalized. That is to say, those signs (and the short-hand meanings they represent) which had been externally expressed, now become linked with an emerging level of mental imagery invisible to outsiders.

This imaginative behaviour is self-oriented and can potentially function without any external signs, because this level operates with mental signs instead. A dissociation is produced between expression and feeling in intrapersonal regulation that first permits the emergence of a world of private feelings to which other individuals do not have access, or only a very indirect one. This suggests that the intimate world of private feelings is a product of the internalization of previously externally perceivable expression signs (Holodynski, 2013). Therefore, cultural practices can elicit feelings of 'being at home' and a sense of community (Antonsich, 2010) based on this internalization process.

Place attachment is one of the cognitive processes that needs this type of maturation, since it emerges from phenomena associated with object-related feelings, and ultimately shapes and regulates community behaviour and activities. (Leont'ev, cited in Holodynski, 2013). The explanation of higher emotional functions as a place attachment requires a reconstruction of the development of human emotions from both a cultural, historical, and ontogenetic perspective (Holodynski, 2013; Rogoff, 2008; Engeström, 2001; Stetsenko, 2011). It is grounded in psychological, social, and cultural processes that are embedded in larger social contexts (Brown-Saracino, 2015; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013).

According to Sobel (1993), this level of maturity develops on average around the age of ten. However, this is now being delayed until the ages of twelve or thirteen, due to the shrinking world of childhood produced by increasing car use and higher levels of adult supervision (Gill, 2008), and a consequent reduction in children's independence and freedom, which are the main ingredients in developing the strength of their place attachments and feelings of belonging in their local communities. Therefore, the average ages of contemporary young people considered in this study are 13–15 years old, and 10–12 years old for previous generations.

But, how is place attachment produced? According to Hummon (1992) there are two forms of rootedness drawn on the level of consciousness, the traditional and the ideological. Traditional rootedness is an unconscious bond that is taken for granted. By contrast, ideological rootedness arises from a deliberate decision to dwell in one place (Barcus and Brunn, 2010).

Traditional rootedness is the form in which the young take part, but this appears only in the last phase of the three main ontogenetic phases that childhood goes through, in the way they appropriate and internalize the use of non-verbal expression signs, known as the principle of internalization (Holodynski, 2013). Cognitive systems must be developed in the child to manage this complex mechanism of internalization of sign-use to develop place attachment (Holodynski and Friedlmeier, 2006). Higher psychological functions are constructed from and reflect social activities and the corresponding cultural concepts regarding these activities (Ratner, 2000).

Social and affective factors linked to place attachment are particularly important in influencing aspects of adolescent engagement. In fact, based on a qualitative analysis of family practices, Lahire (1995) illustrated that the transmission of culture cannot be a simple transfer of cultural capital as presumed by Bourdieu (1989). Rather, Lahire argues that the child undergoes a process of transformation marked by work, appropriation, and the construction of a cultural heritage. As such, the adolescent plays an active role in cultural transmission and transforms the heritage received by adapting it to his or her context (Octobre, Deétrez, Mercklé & Berthomier, cited in Colbert and Courchesne 2012). Taking this into account, the social and affective processes have crucial roles in these maturational changes, since they involve implicit and affective aspects of developing values and attitudes, as well as the explicit cognitive processes of setting priorities. On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind that adolescents (throughout human history) may

have favoured a slightly different cognitive style (more flexible, exploratory and sensitive to social-affective influences) compared with adults. (Crone and Dahl, 2012). In some way, they have a role to play in reorganizing, developing and redesigning a future for heritage.

To operationalize the idea of place attachment, this study adopts the analytical framework drawn on four dimensions: place dependence, place identity, place affect, and place social bonding (Ramkissoon et al., 2013).

Place dependence is understood as the extent to which individuals and groups have a functional attachment to a place. From a cognitive psychology perspective, this is known as the idea of a 'schema', which from its most pragmatic sense is the result of selection processes that are routinized, simplified, formalized and objectified as practical knowledge and as orientations for action. (Neisser cited in Goicoechea, 2013). The social nature of these places makes them easily recognizable, and they are part of a community's cultural practices. Specifically, they are referred to as orientation schemata (Velasco Maillo, 2009). That is, the cultural construction of space that is not only physical space, but which also represents the spatial relationships between objects and their relative positions, and with the inclusion of subjects, providing knowledge about spaces. Normally these frameworks have been 'naturalized', and behaviour with regards to physical spaces ends up being marked by certain behaviours.

Place identity is understood as the way in which an individual identifies himself/herself in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment (Proshansky, 1978). Heritage has been used to represent a group's links to their homeland, as well as operating as a means of storing their memories and shaping their identities (Apaydin, 2018; Raymond et al., 2010; Nine, 2018). Particularly, in adolescents' place attachment, heritage is a part of the community-level sense of place, where broader cultural values and place relations take shape (Derr, 2002).

'Place affect' relates to how individuals and communities develop their emotional ties with a particular place. Finally, 'place social bonding' refers to the extent to which a place can act as a spatial medium for interpersonal interactions (Cheung and Hui, 2018).

3. Method

The nature of this study does not attempt to be conclusive, but to explore and discuss ideas for the academic progress of rural studies. The identification of shifting place attachment through different generations has required an exploration of the relationships among heritage places, community and social change. This has also involved investigating the back-and-forth negotiation inherent in dis-embedding and re-embedding processes related to the dynamic character of tourism. This is most accurately achieved (according to Foster, 2002) by means of the ethnohistorical and ethnographic methods, because they help identify complex changes and transformations occurring collectively with regard to identity, human-environmental engagement or sense of belonging. Specifically, the search for these findings was made using the perspective of different generations of residents through a comparative analysis.

The ethnographic field research draws data from participant observation from 2016 to 2019, although one of the authors of this paper has also lived and worked in the town since 2013, which has provided the benefit of countless informal discussions and observations, and which first prompted initial enquiries into a shifting place attachment among the citizens of Vila Nova de Cerveira. Thirty-seven semi-structured interviews with adult residents have since been carried out, as well as the collection and study of newspaper articles about cultural events from 1914 to 2018, municipal minutes from 1900 to 1974, and consultations in the *Arquivo da Direção de Infraestruturas do Exército* of reports relating to the purchase and sale of military assets, and to documented conflicts over appropriation.

Oral history has been considered a paramount part of the applied methodology of this research, since the main changes in the castle of D. Dinis of Vila Nova de Cerveira occurred during the last part of the 20th century. This technique allows consideration of voices from the recent past as an invaluable data source.

Qualitative data gathered from interviews and oral histories has focused on an analytical framework drawn on the four dimensions of place attachment: place dependence, place identity, place affect and place social bonding, as experienced by different generations of adolescents over time in connection with the castle of D. Dinis, recognizing that changes of use have been a key element affecting place attachment over time.

Subjects were selected for interview who were adolescents in the different stages of the castle's changing uses over time, starting with those from ages 70–80, then grouped in descending ten-year increments, and working down to a final group of current teens around 13 years of age. Representation of different genders as well as different social strata exist in each group, apart from the youngest (who are all male).

A detailed demographic profile of the participants is presented in Table 1. In total, 16 participants were female (38 %) and 26 (62 %) were male, with 5 of these (12 %) aged around 80 years old; 8 (19 %) from 60 to 70; 12 (28 %) from 40 to 50; 7 (17 %) from 30 to 40, 7 (17 %) from 20 to 30, and 5 (12 %) of 13 years old.

Interview techniques have been specifically tailored towards understanding behaviour amongst current adolescents. Even so, the use of traditional methods and techniques can project the authoritative researcher's stance, which may result in intimidation, with respondents providing answers which they 'think you want to hear', rather than their own feelings and opinions. This has been overcome by training a gifted thirteen year old boy as a researcher (whose cognitive and intellectual abilities have been independently assessed and recognized), to not only assist in designing the questions, but also to carry out his own interviews and focus groups (van Blerk, 2006). This has largely been done through the use of 'respondent moderator' focus groups, where one of the participants leads the discussion in order to positively influence the dynamics of the group and encourage participants' answers, thereby increasing the chances of varied and more honest responses (O. Nyumba, Wilson, Derrick and Mukherjee, 2018).

Kinship between one of this paper's authors and the adolescent who conducted the research, meant that the latter had also already acquired the main concepts addressed in the field work. The selection of five adolescents for interview made use of the adolescent-researcher's network of friends, as well as others attending the same state high school. An additional consideration was to choose those descended from multiple generations of the historic community, whose personal stories illustrate the intangible meanings and memories associated with this

historic environment, through 'layers of lived experience' (Cauchi-Santorio, 2016). This data was obtained over the course of 2019 in a number of different informal situations, both with and without adult supervision. This included unsupervised sessions during school hours, as well as a number of informal occasions such as teen parties and outings, where adult assistance and observation were also available.

4. Heritage places and the historical background of vila Nova de Cerveira

Vila Nova de Cerveira is a Portuguese town located in the north of the country near the Portuguese-Spanish border, and bounded by the Minho river, a strong border which has been repeatedly fortified since the ninth century. Several military structures were established over time in the municipality: the castle of D. Dinis (known locally as the *Castelo*), the fort of San Francisco de Lovelhe, and the Atalaia do Espírito Santo (Ciefa - Icomos (Espanha), CIS Galicia, Escola Superior Gallaecia, 2008).

At the beginning of the 13th century, the castle of D. Dinis was built by the Portuguese king of the same name, taking advantage of the strategic topography, and a cliff at a point along the river that provided greater control between Vila Nova de Cerveira (Portugal) and Goian (Spain) (Almeida, 2000) (see Fig. 1).

The castle of D. Dinis is located in the centre of the town, and has undergone several transformations during its history, the most significant being the creation of a second line of defensive walls in the 16th century, as well as further fortification after the clashes of the Restoration War in 1640. These were largely dismantled in 1875 to allow the growth of the settlement, although a wall and a checkpoint remain in the current 'Plaza de la Fontinha' (Magalhães and Costa, 2002), and further elements of the original fabric can be found integrated in later, ordinary buildings of Vila Nova de Cerveira.

The castle of D. Dinis has been classified as 'Imóvel de Interesse Público' (Building of Public Interest) (See Decreto n.º 735/74, DG, I Série, n.º 297, de 21-12-1974). (see Figs. 2–4).

Beyond the transformations wrought by construction of a second line of walls in the 16th century (later demolished in the 18th century), the role of the castle of D. Dinis has undergone other modifications throughout the 20th and early 21st centuries. The ways in which this has affected its relationship with the community are analysed in this paper.

In 2018, the population of Vila Nova de Cerveira was 8877 registered inhabitants (Statistics Portugal), a number that has been decreasing slowly since 1960, when the population reached 11,030. In terms of human geography, different communities coexist in the town. Families which have been established here for multiple generations are referred to in this article as historical inhabitants, historical neighbours, or the historical community. By contrast, a community of urban artists also

Table 1
Demographic profile of the participants.

70–80 years old	60–70 years old	40–50 years old	30–40 years old	20–30 years old	13 years old
Housewife (F 80)	Local politician (M 70)	Household assistant (F 50)	Hairdresser (M 33)	University graduate (F 24)	Student (M)
Retired builder (M 73)	Local politician (M 68)	Ph D Historian (F 46)	Local politician (F 38)	Small entrepreneur (M 21)	Student (M)
Housewife (F 83)	Ex-local politician (M 67)	Ph D Architect (F 48)	Designer (F 40)	University graduate (M 24)	Student (M)
Artist (M 88)	Translator (F 63)	Lawyer (M 50)	Small entrepreneur (M 33)	College student (F 20)	Student (M)
Retired unskilled worker (M 73)	Public official (F 59)	Engineer (M 45)	Small entrepreneur (M 41)	College student (F 19)	Student (M)
	Engineer (M 64)	Administrative assistant (F 48)	Safety technician (M 40)		
	Public Accountant Assistant (M 63)	Taxi driver (M 50)	Architect (M 33)		
	Architect (M 58)	Archaeologist (F 45)			
		Physiotherapist (M 50)			
		Public official (F 46)			
		Ph D Architect (M 55)			
		Accountant Assistant (F 51)			
5	8	12	7	5	5



Fig. 1. View of the castle of D. Dinis.



Fig. 2. Stone check-point, a remnant of the second line of defensive walls dismantled in 1875.



Fig. 3. Remains of the dismantled walls integrated into buildings of Vila Nova de Cerveira.

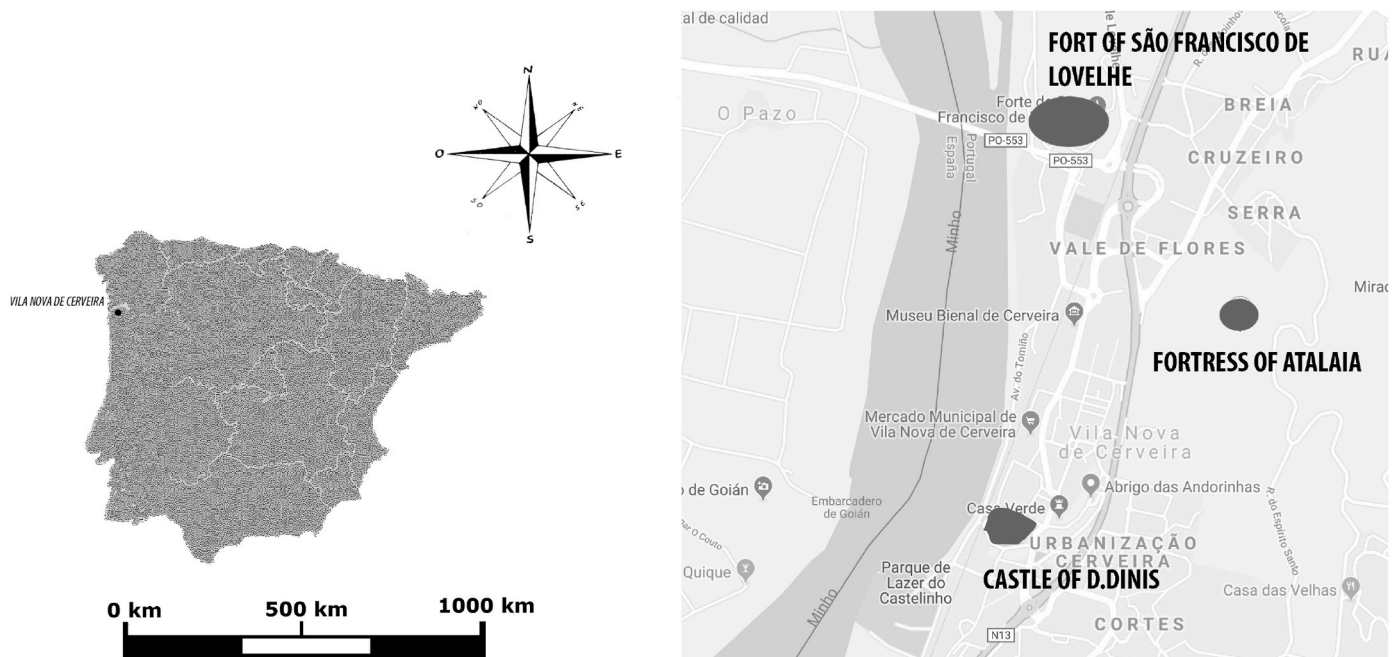


Fig. 4. Location of Vila Nova de Cerveira/Monuments.

exists, incomers who arrived in the late 20th century looking for the rhythms and qualities of rural life, which also allowed them to focus on their artistic activities. They created the Arts Biennial in 1978, which eventually created a new identity for the town, earning it the nickname of the 'Vila das Artes' (Village of the Arts). Originally, this group of new settlers was primarily comprised of childless couples, and represented 30 % of the population (local politician interview 14/12/2020). Therefore, the adolescents of Vila Nova de Cerveira are almost entirely descendants of the historical community, but with the small addition of others from more diverse backgrounds. These include children of Brazilian immigrants, as well as those of a small group of academics from Spain and Portugal who settled in Vila Nova de Cerveira at the beginning of the 21st century (high school teacher interview 22/8/2020). In fact, according to the local school records, 92 % of the students are national, compared to 8 % of foreign origin.

Tourism has also had a significant impact on the life of the town, with a constant presence of visitors during weekends and the holidays. The

number of overnight stays in 2018 (according to *Statistics Portugal*) was 65,975, but this number does not reflect the large number of daytrips, particularly by Galician tourists. Another illuminating fact, from *Statistics Portugal* in 2011, is that 34.42 % of the homes in the municipality are seasonal. (see Figs. 5 and 6).

5. Case study

5.1. Exploring place attachment in adolescents of different generations in the Castelo

An explanation for the development of human emotions towards heritage places requires a reconstruction from both a cultural-historical and an ontogenetic perspective. A good example of this can be found by looking at the case of the castle of *D. Dinis*, popularly known as the *Castelo*, which is a prime example of the social construction of heritage as an ongoing process, and which has involved the lives of a succession



Fig. 5. Largo do Terreiro, the central plaza of Vila Nova de Cerveira, during the holidays.



Fig. 6. The same plaza on an ordinary work day.

of people and generations. Processes of *detrterritorialization* and *reterritorialization* are involved. A dialectical back and forth between the cultural uprooting of *detrterritorialization*, and the new emerging cultural identity characteristic of *reterritorialization*, governs the dynamics taking place among different generations. It must be stressed however, that simple distinctions do not suffice to describe the considerable variations in people-place relationships (Gielsing et al., 2017; Cloke et al., 1997).

5.2. The Castelo as a common place

The defensive function of the castle of D. Dinis came to an end after

the second Napoleonic invasion in 1808, although it continued in use as a military garrison.

By the beginning of the 20th century however, the poor housing conditions prompted the creation of new facilities outside the *Castelo*, and the relocation of the military accommodation. The vacated properties were subsequently occupied by the '*cebolleros*', fieldworkers who comprised one of the most disadvantaged social groups in the area, who relied upon a precarious subsistence economy in an area predominantly based on agriculture until the 1950s. They also coexisted within the walls alongside administrative and religious uses in the town, such as the headquarters of the *Câmara*, the *Igreja da Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, and

the *Capela da Senhora da Ajuda*.

Newspapers of the time (as well as contemporary municipal records), report a lack of clean water and sanitary facilities, which led to the relocation of the *Câmara* (town hall) to a new site outside the *Castelo* in 1937. Other reports from the same period also document conflicts over the appropriation and infilling of the '*Paseo de Ronda*', the outer moat, which was used by some neighbours to extend their properties and private outdoor spaces up to the defensive walls.

These were conditions and events which shaped the daily life of a community with low social status. Although more affluent residents of Vila Nova de Cerveira also expressed their attachment to the *Castelo*, it was mainly as an area where they had also played as children. It was a time in which the four dimensions of place attachment were strongly present.

'Nos iamós brincar lá quando eramos novos, ali era a vila, fora muralhas não era vila.'

'We went there to play when we were young, that was the village, outside the walls it was not a village.'

For the generation which is now 80 years old, the use of the *Castelo* as an area for games and play left an indelible mark. The daily life elicited feelings of 'being at home' and a sense of community, and allowed the creation of both place social bonding and place affect, as their socialization with peers took place in this environment. These two dimensions have a significant pro-environmental influence.

'Nas escadeiras as nossas mães sentavam-se a falar e nós brincávamos ao seu redor.'

'On the stairs our mothers sat talking, and we played around them.'

'Ali éramos como uma família, as portas estavam abertas e nunca fechavam nem durante a noite. As pessoas conviviam muito umas com outras.'

'There we were as a family, the doors were open and they never closed, even during the night. People lived closely.'

This feeling of attachment is also collected and revealed through the books that deal with Vila Nova de Cerveira. Even when alluding to the poverty which was present, they highlight it as a place of humble community life, and to a feeling of belonging.

'Foram os anos mais lindos que eu tive na minha mocidade!'
(Magalhães and Costa, 2002, p.50)

'The most beautiful years were those of my youth!'

On the other hand, although the maintenance of the site was poor, the State was aware of the site's historical value, as demonstrated by the plan to reform Portugal's fortresses launched by the Prime Minister Antonio de Oliveira Salazar in 1940. The *Castelo* benefited from the restoration of its walls, although the interior and its poor living conditions stayed the same. The distinctive identity and character of that era is revealed clearly in pictures collected by inhabitants at that time, taken on the walls of the *Castelo*, which provide an ethnographic vignette of the existence of place identity.

5.3. The *Castelo* as a luxury hotel

During the same period, on 1st May, 1941, law 31.259 came into force in Portugal. With this law, the now defunct General Board of National Buildings and Monuments (DGEMN) fostered the adaptation of historic monuments to become state funded hotels known as '*Pousadas de Portugal*'. The intention was to promote Portuguese culture, and to attract high quality tourism by adopting a policy of profitability through a commercialisation of heritage and landscape resources (Prista, 2015). This ensured the restoration of monuments, as well as guaranteeing their

ongoing conservation, by giving them new uses. In essence, it aimed to endow historic monuments with a second life as heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998).

In 1977, the *Castelo* was identified and selected for adaptation as a '*Pousada de Portugal*', at the same time that the local Arts Biennial was created. The purpose was to promote socioeconomic regeneration through 'cultural tourism' in Vila Nova de Cerveira. This period was also marked by the arrival of a new type of settler, urban artists who settled here, or chose to build a second residence. This group brought a new subculture that dynamized the environment with new perspectives regarding patrimonial objects, and also influenced a change away from earlier narratives and perceptions towards these objects, since heritage is a modern cultural construction (Cameron, 2008).

These factors allowed Vila Nova de Cerveira to reinforce a national model for historic places based strongly on a romanticization of heritage, enhancing local character via heritagization. In the adaptative reuse of the *Castelo* however, memory was not reclaimed, it was produced. More than an embodiment of history, the *Castelo* became an imaginary space into which the tourist entered, and the dynamics of commodification restructured the processes and ways in which people interacted with the *Castelo*.

The adaptation of the *Castelo* following its *Pousada de Portugal* designation meant the expropriation of the interior houses, and the displacement of the inhabitants to a new official neighbourhood built in the vicinity. From this moment on, the daily life inside the *Castelo* of Vila Nova de Cerveira came to an end, and the place in front of the *Castelo*, the *Largo do Terreiro*, took on the exclusive role as the town centre.

This led to a turning point in perceptions towards the *Castelo* following its transformation into a *Pousada de Portugal* (state funded hotel). Refashioned as comfortable accommodation, this historic place began a new life as heritage, but obscured the existing dynamics of space and place, by changing the practices of the cultural construction of the *Castelo*. Once the building had been converted into a hotel, it formally became part of the 'economic capital' asset base of the rural tourism industry. The transition to 'consumptionist heritage' was seen as a process of 'revalorisation'. However, some conflicts appeared at the beginning of this new use, as entrance to the *Pousada* was prohibited to local inhabitants. Although this restriction was soon modified to allow limited access to the balcony and restaurant areas, the walls were no longer accessible, as this compromised the privacy of paying guests.

Even though its use was intended to be compatible with the coexistence of the historical residents, the fact was that the interests of tourists with high purchasing power were prioritized over the daily use of public spaces by the former inhabitants and neighbours. The bucolic image of history, peace and tranquillity that attracted tourists as cultural consumers was not always compatible with some of the more disruptive uses by the adolescents of the historical community at that time. Although it was their naturalized meeting point, they were not allowed access to the *Castelo*, nor even to the square in front where they used to play football, and were instead evicted by the GNR (national security forces).

The accommodation of upper-class, culture-motivated tourists did not allow any hybridization between them and the historical inhabitants, since the socioeconomic differences were very marked. The *Castelo* as actant elicited and shaped a new and varied affective response amongst its historic residents and neighbours, and some of those interviewed expressed a feeling of intimidation when entering their former neighbourhood:

'Era como entrar num mundo que não era nosso. Ao entrar tínhamos respeito.'

'It was like entering a world that was not ours.'

Older generations in particular expressed mainly dissatisfaction with the nature of the works that had been carried out, since the *Castelo*'s refurbishment produced a rupture between past and present times,

created and emphasized by the use of contemporary architecture. It symbolised an appropriation of local culture and history, and simultaneously its erasure.

‘As obras foram um desrespeito ao lugar.’

‘The works were disrespectful to the place.’

This statement offers an insight into the strong connection older generations had with this place, namely, the place affect. The forms and images of heritage places generate a feeling of security, they maintain confidence in the continuity of the past, present and future, and connect that trust with routine social practices.

Over time, this space ceased to be used by the former inhabitants, focusing instead on cultural activities such as art exhibitions, conferences, and the establishment of high-end tourism. This was due to the fact that decisions taken in the interests of elites are the most likely to have a material effect on the environment, and this proved to be the case here.

‘Quando era Pousada havia pessoas de elite e não davam bem com as pessoas da vila.’

‘When it was a Pousada, there were elite people and they didn’t get along with the people of the village.’

‘Criaram muita beleza física mas esqueceram das pessoas.’

‘They created a lot of physical beauty, but they forgot about people.’

Starting in 1996 however, over a decade after the *Castelo*’s change of use, the first stories began to appear in newspapers questioning the use of space, and vindicating the historical community’s emotional relationship with this place, and therefore their right to continue as active agents in its future. This feeling was also picked up through interviews done for this research. The widespread enthusiasm shown with the opening of the *Pousada de Portugal* in 1982 had declined as residents realised that the expected contribution of tourism had been overestimated, and their loss bigger than they thought. The situation known as the ‘neighbour’s dilemma’ (Graham et al., 2000) had happened here with the *Castelo*. These complaints came from residents over the age of 60, namely those who had been closely associated with the place before its change of use, and who were the last generation to directly experience the four dimensions of place attachment to the *Castelo*.

‘O Castelo já não é nosso.’

‘The castle is no longer ours.’

‘Passou a ser uma coisa que não era da nossa pertença.’

‘It became something that was not ours.’

This group strongly felt the dispossession of the space, and openly questioned the new uses. They demanded that the area should remain a distinct and vital part of the town, even while recognizing its potential value to the local economy. At the same time, they felt as if the *Castelo* no longer belonged to them, due to the overdevelopment of tourism, and because the *Castelo* commodification process was characterised by ‘dispossession’, and its conversion into symbolic site. Therefore, a large part of this (and the previous) generation ended up disappointed by outcomes.

This change had both positive and negative impacts on Vila Nova de Cerveira. It accelerated growth, but also created social exclusion, with the rural poor left behind by lack of skills, capital, and access to resources.

‘Alí so havia pessoas que não eram de aquí. Teria de haver-se preservado os origens, é dizer, as casas para as pessoas para continuar a ser vila.’

‘There were only people who were not from here. The origins had to be preserved, that is, the houses for people to continue to be a village.’

‘Cerveira não ganhou muito com aquilo. Aquilo que era um espaço de vida ficou fechado, não se viu grande evolução de aquilo.’

‘Cerveira did not earn much from this. What had been a living space was closed, but there was no great benefit from that.’

However, the next generation felt differently about the place, since they could not experience or develop place attachment in the four dimensions in the same way as previous generations. The adolescents of that time (who are currently between 40 and 50 years old, at the date of this paper) were the first group who did not have a daily interaction with this environment. This affected the way in which three out of the four dimensions of place attachment were established, particularly place dependence, since the routines of daily life in this place had been removed for this generation.

The *Castelo*’s place affect was transformed from a place linked to socialization experiences, to one which generated a feeling of pride in possessing a place with such a high patrimonial value. Even though its free use was denied, this value was emphasized by remarks that this is where they would take visitors to Vila Nova de Cerveira for a coffee.

It must also be recognized however that place social bonding did not disappear in its entirety for younger generations, since the area became a place for prohibited activities - to smoke, or otherwise escape the watchful eye of parents. The *Castelo* was no longer a common place, a topia, but a place without adult supervision where some rules could be broken. It became a heterotopia, a counter space where the rules change. An unsupervised, ‘secret place’ (Lynch and Banerjee, 1977).

‘Nos iamos lá a escondidas de nossos pais para poder fumar. E também para fazer os primeiros namoricos.’

‘We went there to hide from our parents to be able to smoke. And also to do the first flirtations.’

The *Castelo* continued to be an important part of the community’s place identity, operating as a means of storing their memories and shaping their identities.

‘O Castelo é a nossa joia da Corona. Representa a nossa fundação.’

‘The Castelo is our crown jewel. It represents our foundation.’

5.4. The Castelo as an urban void

In 2009, the *Pousada de Portugal* closed due to unmet economic expectations, which had a significant negative effect on the *Castelo*. After the hotel disappeared it became an urban void, with Sunday services at the *Igreja da Santa Casa da Misericórdia* the only remaining active uses. The result was that the interior of the *Castelo* became virtually deserted, visited only by the elderly to attend the religious mass on Sundays, or by occasional tourists.

As a direct consequence, news stories began to increasingly appear in the local newspapers denouncing acts of vandalism inside the *Castelo*, leading inevitably to the establishment of controlled access to the interior. To address this, the local administration has consistently undertaken actions and interventions designed to bring the *Castelo* back to the community.

This is illustrated by the use of the space for end-of-year celebrations, and cultural activities of different types, such as the departure point for the area’s summer camps, or as the setting for art exhibitions when the Arts Biennial is held.

The generation that experienced the *Castelo* as the *Pousada* during their adolescence have expressed feelings of sorrow and nostalgia when they consider its current situation, but feel a diminished sense of agency

regarding these issues, unlike the previous generation that had a direct and active relationship with the *Castelo* as a common place.

The generation that is currently between 20 and 30 years old were able to freely access the open interior of the *Castelo* again when they were adolescents. However, as it was an urban void, neither place dependency nor place social bonding was created, due to the fact that place-attachment dimensions are drawn on the daily practicing of place, and the *Castelo* was not associated with an established daily routine. On the other hand, some parents began to ban them from socializing on the premises, since they feared that their intention was simply to break the rules. Despite this, teenagers still met there regularly, and it once again became a playground for a while. These circumstances effectively enhanced their place attachment, by being self-directed, rather than being taken there by adults.

In fact, nowadays, different perceptions still exist within this group. On the one hand, some of them still maintain a strong place affect attached to the *Castelo* recognizing it as a local landmark, and one of the main places chosen to show friends who visit Vila Nova de Cerveira for the first time. Often the real significance of place attachment is only revealed in its absence, a sentiment illustrated by one young woman commenting on the new closure of the *Castelo's* interior:

‘Quando eu passo pelo Castelo e vejo as portas fechadas tenho vontade de chorar.’

‘When I pass by the *Castelo* and see the closed doors, I want to cry.’

However, it is also possible to find the opposite position openly expressed:

‘Ninguém presta aos fortes.’

‘Nobody cares about fortresses.’

For those in this group who share that view, place identity has been diversified, it is no longer focused on the *Castelo*, but instead:

‘O Castelo tem vindo a perder identidade. Fica mais focado no Castelhinho, ou o Cervo.’

‘The *Castelo* has been losing its identity. The identity of the town is more focused on Castelhinho*, or the Cervo.*’

(*Other important tourist attractions in the wider area.)

Currently, local adolescents have said that their visits to the area are scarce, which has led to a sense of local alienation. They have been there accompanying their parents on a weekend outing, where they stroll around quietly and take pictures of the surroundings. The *Castelo* is no longer connected to their community's cultural practices, and nothing linked to their daily lives happens inside. Even its use as an unsupervised space (as used by the previous generation) has diminished, with a preference for a local park near their classes, an alternative space which is more closely linked with their daily lives and routines. Nowadays, the *Castelo* does not overlap with the life of the local adolescent community.

As socialization moved increasingly to digital spaces, rather than face to face in physical locations, these teens stopped frequenting the *Castelo*. Virtual places have taken more importance in acting as a spatial medium for interpersonal interactions, namely, for place social bonding. The importance of a growing virtual socialization should not be underestimated in understanding these adolescents. It is important to be sensitive to the role of practice in the cultural construction of places, even virtual ones.

‘Jogar online é uma forma de nos comunicar livremente com os amigos enquanto fazemos algo de que gostamos.’

‘Playing online is a way of communicating freely with friends while doing something we like.’

Generally, for teens though, the *Castelo* is seen as:

‘Um lugar para idosos que não dá para fazer nada.’

‘A useless place for older people.’

Without providing the time to invest places with personal meanings, and linking significant life events to place, the meaning that these places have among the youngest is mainly of indifference. They do not know the building's history, their associated memories are few, and mainly related to occasional visits of a cultural character accompanied by their elders or educational institutions. There are no established routines or physical connections associated with these environments, nor is this heritage place anchored in their cognitive map. Instead, only the dimension of place identity is maintained in some cases, but this does not exert a significant influence on pro-environmental behaviours. There is a noticeable weakening, if not the non-existence, of place attachment on the part of teenagers.

In October 2019 the Minister of Finances visited the *Castelo*, and announced that it would be converted into a four-star hotel as a result of the *Plan Revive*, an international architectural competition launched in January 2019, to functionally revitalize the fortress, and to prevent its progressive deterioration due to inactivity. The plan is similar to the previous one, and even though the main goal is no longer focussed on fostering a national identity, this idea is not entirely absent, and abstract themes of progress, modernity and nation feature strongly.

6. Conclusion

The central tenet of this paper has been to recognise that there has been little understanding of crucial linkages between ‘heritage places’, and their ‘heritage communities’. This paper has identified how there has been a lack of awareness and concern in maintaining ties for adolescents of existing and future generations to the *Castelo* of Vila Nova de Cerveira, as well as a lack of consideration for the changing ties of people to the heritage places they inhabit, and this represents a significant gap and oversight in approaching heritage issues. From the outset the question has been, how has the response and relationship of adolescents to their heritage places changed over time?

Those who experienced adolescence in the 1960s, 70s, 80s, 90s, 00s and 10s, have experienced widely different socialization processes regarding the *Castelo* as a (heritage) place, therefore, their positions regarding the *Castelo* also varies. They have appropriated and internalized a wide variety of very different subjective and cognitive experiences, resulting in different adaptive behaviours. There is a consensus amongst older generations that a mistake was made by disconnecting this space from its community in the past. On the other hand, subsequent generations (those that are currently 30–50 years old) that grew up knowing it exclusively as the *Pousada* hotel tend to consider that a correct decision was made, without questioning the intended use as a reinvented economic attractor. This is because, as Guthman (2008) stated, one risk of engaging in neoliberalized strategies is that their ongoing use actually limits thinking about different kinds of solutions. Attracting tourists, satisfying their expectations and, perhaps most importantly, encouraging them to return in the future, continue to be vital elements of successful rural tourism for this generation, while overlooking other dimensions (Garrod et al., 2006). By contrast, today's adolescents show manifest indifference to those same tourist assets and attractions. In a way, the *Castelo* as material heritage has become deterritorialized, and dislocated from everyday life. It has become a liminal place where daily life is suspended (referred to by Foucault as heterotopy, 1984).

The neoliberal context of the last decades of the 20th century, and its concerns with efficiency, has directed the conservation of the *Castelo* in purely economic terms, and ultimately opposed the interests of the community. The result has been an insensitivity to the significance of the *Castelo* as a place for younger generations, and the place attachment of older generations has been replaced with placelessness (Relph, cited in

Seamon and Sowers, 2008) since place attachment is formed through the practicing of place (see e.g. Paulsen, 2004; Raffaetà and Duff, 2013). The declining liveability of the *Castelo* has led to a loss of experiential and affective dimensions of current adolescents.

The *Castelo*'s new role has ultimately displaced its traditional role as a location for the interaction between people and the world, and among people themselves. In other words, as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) states, neoliberalism has stamped out relational and identity features through simplification and recodification, a situation illustrated by the *Castelo*, and its reinvention as a commodity.

By utilising established thinking surrounding place attachment as a framework for understanding the links between communities and heritage, it has been illustrated that a changing contextualisation of heritage places also changes adolescents' place attachment. In fact, this framework enables the organization and hence understanding of subjective and cognitive experience and adaptive behaviour (Marrone, 2018). This could have profound implications for alternative approaches, and for social initiatives related to local heritage in the future, since neoliberal practice ultimately strips heritage places of the very uses which give them associative meanings and relevance to young people.

Adolescence is a crucial time of development, during which specific experiences may actively shape final behaviour patterns, since adolescents may be particularly sensitive to social and affective influences (Crone and Dahl, 2012). For current adolescents however, this period of their lives is now characterised by apathy and a diminished sense of agency in the face of heritage issues.

Place attachment crystallizes in the period of adolescence, and the relationships established at that time serve as a foundation for future place protective actions. A balance between adaptation to change whilst preserving a sense of continuity, is essential to maintaining a sense of a place attachment, in order to avoid the oversimplified approach to heritage which has led to existing negative outcomes.

At the same time, the current situation has also been driven by other new social realities, as virtual environments become a genuine site of human activity, supported by technologies that open possibilities for social and cultural development beyond the physical environment. The implication is that the growing influence of digital environments will increasingly change the ways in which youths connect with each other beyond physical places. However, the adult community does not feel threatened or concerned by this situation of weakened place attachment.

Attachment theory is presented as a paramount theoretical framework with which to address heritage issues between heritage communities, keeping in mind adolescence as the key moment in which affective bonds are crystallized, and which contributes to the formation, maintenance, and preservation of the identity of a group and the future of their heritage places.

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Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2021.07.025>.

Credit author statement

Monica Alcindor: Conceptualization, Methodology, Investigation, Writing – original draft preparation **Delton Jackson:** Writing-Reviewing and Editing. **Patricia Alcindor-Huelva:** Conceptualization.

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