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VISUAL COLLECTIVE MEMORY
A SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS APPROACH

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Collective memory refers to a practice in which social conceptions about a common past are used to build and maintain togetherness and group identity in the present and for the future. Social representations of history describe the contents of collective memory. The present dissertation focuses on social representations of history and collective memory from the perspective of their visual forms. Visual images are important modes for communicating and creating conceptions of the past. Previous research has suggested that visual images have a strong mnemonic capacity due to their specific characteristics, including persuasion through realistic semblance, evoking emotions, creating a sense of identification, and their ability to tell narratives in a compact form.

The dissertation consists of four original studies that examine visual collective memory. The material, Finnish history textbooks and advertisements, illustrates two different contexts of collective memory construction: institutional (textbooks) and informal (advertisements). Visual semiotics, as a methodological approach, is used to explain how the visual meaning system is constructed and maintained in social interactions. In this dissertation visual images are seen as giving social representations of history concrete and visible form and as activating culturally- and socially-bound meanings. The dissertation argues for the importance of analysing naturalized representations – social knowledge that has become taken for granted.

The analysis of visual images of Finnish national history in textbooks shows that politics, war, and historic figures important to Finns – President Urho Kekkonen, Carl Gustaf Mannerheim and the mythical sorcerer Väinämöinen – are characteristic themes of Finnish visual collective memory. The images create a homogeneous picture of Finnishness as ethnic and religious minority groups are almost completely missing. Also, the country outside the urban areas is marginalized. The color blue, which objectifies the Finnish flag and anchors it to the idea of Finnishness, is the most widely shared element in the visualizations. Frequent yet subtle use of the color demonstrates the process of naturalization by which social knowledge acquires a firm position in the minds of group members.

The analysis of Finnish advertisements shows how individual and group-level nostalgia intertwine whenever references to common conceptions invite an audience to reflect on their personal memories. The study suggests that it is possible to approach nostalgia as socially constructed and shared meaning that reflects present values, needs and desires. Advertisements construct everyday myths that serve the ideological function of representing the past as an object of desire. In the context of marketing, nostalgia is motivated by a shared concern that life today has lost some of the positive elements it once had. A combination of visual rhetoric and social representations theory help to demonstrate how commercials are used to affect not only consumer

behaviour, but also broader everyday conceptions, such as the value of domestic production. In the campaigns analysed here, social representation anchored to the idea of tradition and emphasis on connections between generations serve to project a sense of continuity between the past, present and future.

The results show how processes of anchoring, objectification and naturalization serve as tools of visual collective memory. The studies develop the use of visual semiotic analysis in social representations research for different types of visual material. Finally, the present dissertation suggests that analysing visual images complements our understanding of the characteristics of collective memory, and more generally, of the nature and processes of socially-constructed everyday knowledge.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Kollektiivisella muistilla viitataan toimintaan, jossa menneisyyttä koskevia sosiaalisesti jaettuja käsityksiä käytetään luomaan ja ylläpitämään yhteenkuuluvuuden tunnetta ja ryhmä-identiteettiä. Kollektiivinen muistaminen palvelee sekä nykyhetkeä että tulevaisuuden tarpeita. Historian sosiaaliset representaatiot, ryhmän jakamat arkikäsitteet historiasta, ovat kollektiivisen muistin rakennusainetta. Tässä väitöskirjassa tarkastellaan historian sosiaalisia representaatioita ja kollektiivista muistia erityisesti niiden kuvallisen ulottuvuuden näkökulmasta. Kuvat ovat keskeinen väline, joilla historiasta kerrotaan ja joiden kautta muodostetaan käsityksiä menneestä. Aikaisemman tutkimuksen perusteella kuva on tehokas muistamisen väline; kuvan ominaisuuksiin kuuluu kyky välittää realistisen tuntuisia vaikutelmia, herättää tunteita ja samaistumisen kokemuksia. Kuva pystyy myös kertomaan kokonaisen tapahtumasarjan, narratiivin, tiiviissä muodossa.

Väitöskirja käsittää neljä visuaalista kollektiivista muistia kartoittavaa tutkimusta. Aineistot, Suomen historiaa käsittelevien tietokirjojen kuvitukset sekä menneisyyttä hyödyntävät mainoskampanjat, havainnollistavat kahta erilaista ympäristöä, joissa kollektiivista muistia rakennetaan ja toistetaan: muodollista (tietokirjat) ja arkista (mainokset). Tutkimusten metodologisena viitekehys on visuaalinen semiotiikka, jonka avulla analysoidaan kuvitusten muodostamaa merkitysjärjestelmää. Väitöskirjassa kuvien katsotaan antavan historian sosiaalisille representaatioille konkreettisen ja näkyvän muodon. Lisäksi kuvien avulla vedotaan syvään juurtuneisiin ja itsestäänselvyyksiksi muuttuneisiin kulttuurisiin merkityksiin. Väitöskirja argumentoi, että näiden naturalisoituneiden sosiaalisten representaatioiden rooli tulisi huomioida paremmin kollektiivisen muistin tutkimuksessa.

Suomen historian kuvitusten analyysi osoittaa että politiikka, sota ja yksittäiset henkilöt, etenkin Kekkonen, Mannerheim ja Väinämöinen, ovat keskeisiä kollektiivisen muistin sisältöjä. Tietokirjojen kuvitukset rakentavat homogeenisen kuvan suomalaisuudesta; esimerkiksi etniset ja uskonnolliset vähemmistöt puuttuvat kuvituksista. Samoin suuri osa maasta eteläisimmän Suomen kaupunkialueen ulkopuolella jää vaille kuvitusta. Sininen väri on laajimmin jaettu visuaalinen elementti Suomen historian tietokirjoissa. Suomen lippuun viittaava väri ankkuroituu suomalaisuuden ideaan. Väriin laaja, mutta samalla huomaamaton käyttö havainnollistaa naturalisointia, jossa ryhmän jakama käsitys on saavuttanut vakiintuneen aseman.

Mainosten analyysi osoittaa, kuinka yksilön ja ryhmätason nostalgia kietoutuvat toisiinsa, silloin kun kuvat, jotka perustuvat sosiaalisesti jaettuihin merkityksiin, kuten kotiin, lapsuuteen ja äitiyteen, kutsuvat katsojia pohtimaan henkilökohtaisia muistojaan. Tutkimus osoittaa, että nostalgiaa voidaan tarkastella sosiaalisesti rakennettuna käsityksensä, joka heijastaa

nykypäivän arvoja, tarpeita ja haluja. Mainosten yhteydessä nostalgiaa motivoi jaettu ajatus siitä, että nykypäivä on tavalla tai toisella huonompi kuin menneisyys. Mainokset rakentavat arkipäivän myyttejä, joissa menneisyyden esittäminen yhteisen kaipuun kohteena palvelee mainostajan ideologisia pyrkimyksiä. Visuaalisen retoriikan yhdistäminen sosiaalisten representaatioiden tutkimukseen auttaa havaitsemaan, kuinka mainoksilla pyritään muokkaamaan, paitsi ostokäyttäytymistä, myös laajempia arkikäsitteitä esimerkiksi kotimaisen tuotannon arvosta. Analysoiduissa mainoksissa traditioon ja sukupolvien ketjuun ankkuroitua sosiaalisen representaatio palvelee pyrkimystä rakentaa jatkuvuuden kokemus menneen, nykypäivän ja tulevaisuuden välille.

Väitöskirja osoittaa kuinka ankkurointi, objektivointi ja naturalisointi toimivat kollektiivisen muistin välineinä kuvallisessa kontekstissa. Tutkimus havainnollistaa miten visuaalista semiotiikkaa voidaan hyödyntää sosiaalisten representaatioiden tutkimuksessa analysoitaessa erilaisia kuvallisia aineistoja. Tutkimus ehdottaa, että erilaisten kuvallisten viestien laajempi huomioiminen tutkimuksessa laajentaa käsitystämme kollektiivisesta muistista ja yleisemmin sosiaalisesti rakentuvasta arkitiedosta.

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This dissertation is, of course, a result of individual pursuit and interest. At the same time it is a result of social and historical factors that can be traced back through generations. The beginning, for example, could well be placed in the 1840s when my first literate ancestor decided to leave home for further study. He bequeathed his descendants a respect for education, which was not very typical of rural families in northern Finland in those days.

Identifying all of the roots of the present work is neither possible nor necessary. Yet being aware of certain historical factors helps us to appreciate how the past always affects the present, regardless of whether we realize it or not. This is also a serious reminder to consider how the present will affect the future and how one day our decisions will count.

My sincerest appreciation goes to my supervisors, Docent Inari Sakki and Professor Anna-Maija Pirttilä-Backman. They gave me total freedom to wander between this dissertation and other projects which often did not seem to link directly to the main goals of my work, but which have helped me to chart a personal course of research in the fields of social psychology and history. In critical situations, their advice ensured that this dissertation would be finished. I also want to thank the reviewers of this document, Professor Brady Wagoner from Aalborg University and Professor Hannu Rätty from University of Eastern Finland, as well as those editors and anonymous reviewers whose comments have helped to improve and finalize the four original publications that constitute this work.

Writing this dissertation was not only a way to deal with collective memory and nostalgia, but was also a way to learn the rules and practices of the academic world. I would even go so far as to say that these were the main personal achievements of the project. One important lesson was my growing appreciation of open science. Two of the papers in this collection were published in traditional licensed journals, while the other two appeared in an open access format. Fortunately, in Finland and many other countries, open research has been taken up as a goal of academic practice, and in the future there will be more open publication forums.

The theoretical ideas and preliminary results of this dissertation have been presented in the meetings and conference of COST Action IS1205, “Social psychological dynamics of historical representations in the enlarged European Union.” The dissertation was funded by the Research Foundation of the University of Helsinki (Helsingin yliopiston tiedesäätiö) and was carried out in the department of Social Psychology at the University of Helsinki. An ASLA Fulbright scholarship made it possible to finish this work in the inspiring atmosphere of the Pratt Institute in New York.

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following publications:

- I Hakoköngäs, E. & Sakki, I. (2016). Visualized Collective Memories: Social Representations of History in Images Found in Finnish History Textbooks. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 26(6), 496–517.
- II Hakoköngäs, E. & Sakki, I. (2016). The Naturalized Nation: Anchoring, Objectification and Naturalized Social Representations of History. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 4(2), 646–669.
- III Hakoköngäs, E. (2016). Banal Nostalgia: Shaping Collective Memories in Advertisements. *Psychology & Society*, 8(1), 39–56.
- IV Hakoköngäs, E. & Sakki, I. (Under review). The Past as a Means of Persuasion: Visual Rhetoric in Finnish Dairy Product Advertisements.

The publications are referred to in the text by their roman numerals.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The very first pictures to be printed in Finland appeared in Simon Kexlerus' study *Arithmetica geodetica denaria* in the year 1649. These are woodcuts of simple geometrical figures, but their very simplicity demonstrates an important aspect of visual images: the power to make abstract phenomena like mathematics concrete and visible to an audience. The first representational picture – depicting a physical object – in a Finnish book appeared the following year in Michael Wexionus' *Epitome descriptionis Gothiae, Sueciae, Fennigiae et subjectarum provinciarum* (1650). This woodcut introduced an ancient Swedish runic stone and showed how visual images could be used to bring the distant past into the present, or in other words, how visual images can represent history. (Perälä, 2003, pp. 23–25.)

After Kexlerus' and Wexionus' examples, the use of visual images became more common and spread to other fields of academia and other publication genres. Improved printing techniques and diversified media created new uses for printed images in the late nineteenth century. Not surprisingly, manufacturers and advertisers soon realized the benefits of visual persuasion. It has not been possible to trace the very first advertisement in Finland, but in the 1870s, cigarette and liquor manufactures were among the first to utilize visual means. (Heinonen & Konttinen, 2001, pp.21–23.) The advertisers were not as interested in the pictures' ability to portray their products as in their ability to appeal to the emotions and create mental images through visual forms. While the first illustrated books targeted a small academic readership, the commercials exploiting visual power were from the very beginning targeting a wide audience. Later, visual communication became an inseparable part of everyday life of all groups in society.

Despite their ubiquity in the twenty-first century, the role of visual images in social communication and interaction has often been neglected in social sciences and the humanities (e.g., Connerton, 1989; Riessman, 2008; Kansteiner, 2002). Visual images have also been marginalized in research on collective memories and social representations that refer to everyday conceptions concerning the common past (however, see Wagoner, 2015; Arruda, 2015). This dissertation explores the visual side of collective memory. Two different contexts were chosen for closer investigation: visual images in history textbooks and printed and video advertisements that use time as a frame of reference. These contexts are rooted in the earliest uses of printed images in Finland, but they also represent two different sides of historical narration: on the one hand, textbooks can be considered as an institutional way of presenting conceptions of the past, while on the other hand, commercials represent informal actors serving different purposes. (The dichotomy of institutional–informal is used for example by Páez, Bobowik, de Guissmé, Liu and Licata (2015).)

The dissertation is comprised of four separate studies together with the present summary. Two studies (I, II) consider visual images in textbooks and their cover images and explore the “official” contents and crystallizations of national history. Two other studies (III, IV) consider advertising and focus on nostalgia as a characteristic of collective memory and how time is used as a frame of reference in visual rhetoric. The analysis utilizes a semiotic approach in conjunction with content analysis, social representations theory, and a classic rhetorical approach.

In general, the common context of the four studies is Finland and the social representations of Finnish history. However, describing this context for readers is not easy; any description will always be incomplete and moreover, produce only one version of history. According to previous studies (Torsti, 2012; Ahonen, 1998), the Finns themselves see Finnish history as a positive success story that encompasses Finland as a part of Sweden (prior to 1808/09), then becoming an Autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire (1808/09–1917) and finally declaring itself an independent nation (at the end of 1917). Over time, several signal events in Finnish history have tended to be emphasized: parliamentary reform in 1906, which established a unicameral parliament and gave women, for the first time in Europe, the right to vote in parliamentary elections; civil war in 1918, not long after the parliament approved a declaration of independence, a conflict that divided the people into reds and whites; the Winter War (1939), when Finns fought the Soviet Union in solidarity. This conflict (part of the larger hostilities of World War II) has acquired a special role in the grand narrative of Finnish history (e.g., Rantala, 2011). After World War II, Finland remained independent, but lost a significant part of its territory to the Soviet Union and was forced to pay enormous amounts in war reparations. As for personalities, two leaders stand out in the grand narrative as the most prominent in Finnish history: Carl Gustaf Mannerheim, an accomplished military leader who ultimately served as the country’s president, and Urho Kekkonen, Finland’s longest-serving president (1956–82) (Torsti, 2012). In 1961, Finland joined the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) (as an associate member); in 1973, it joined the European Economic Community (EEC), and in 1995, it became a member of the European Union (EU).

The dissertation is structured as follows: chapters 1–4 present theoretical background on collective memory research and social representations theory, contextualizes the data to be used and present the aims of the study. Chapter 5 describes the methodological tools. Chapters 6–7 summarize the main findings of the individual studies I–IV, discuss the findings and the methodological observations, and consider prospects for future research. Finally, chapter 8 pull together the findings. The dissertation is intended to contribute to the research on collective memory and social representations of history by focusing on the visual nature of socially shared knowledge. The roles of elementary concepts of social representations theory, anchoring, objectification, and naturalization as tools of making sense of these

Introduction

conceptions are emphasized. Methodologically, the dissertation initiates a discussion on the connection between semiotics and social representations theory in visual analysis.

2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter presents the theoretical background of the dissertation by describing previous research on collective memory in the field of social psychology and introducing the elementary concepts of social representations theory. At the end of the chapter, these two approaches are combined to demonstrate the dynamic formation process of collective memories. Also the central function of collective memory is discussed.

2.1 MEDIA AND FORMS OF SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE

Social psychological processes change as forms of media communication change. To understand how conceptions of the past are transmitted, it is essential to consider historical developments of social communication. (Olick & Robbins, 1998; Wagoner, 2015.)

The early illustrated academic publications and pictures in devotional books and Bibles in the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries represent a traditional form of visualized social knowledge. Emilé Durkheim (1912/1995) has conceptualized this knowledge as a collective representation that refers to the static nature of knowledge and is transferred from generation to generation without significant changes or questioning. The books were passed down through time, and publishers could use the same pictures over a period of decades (Perälä, 2003).

In the first half of the twentieth century, the modes of social communication were rapidly diversifying while new printing techniques made the publication of newspapers and books cheaper and easier. Soon other media, first radio and then television, introduced a diversity of opinions and perspectives that previously had been served mainly by text, words, and visual images. In his seminal study, *Psychoanalysis* (1961), Serge Moscovici revised Durkheim's concept of social knowledge as a form of social representation. In contrast to the static knowledge described by Durkheim, Moscovici's social representation refers to a new kind of social knowledge characterized by diversity, constant change, and debate. (For more on the relation of concepts, see Moscovici, 1981; Moscovici & Marková, 1998.)

Since the second half of the twentieth century, the role of visual images in social communication has grown substantially. The first global effect was seen in the 1960s when new visual media, a television, brought images of the geographically distant events of the Vietnam War into living rooms throughout the western world. Visual media played a significant role in shaping public opinion about the war. (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003; Helmers & Hill, 2004.) Now, in the Internet era, different forms of visual images in communication

have become an inseparable part of everyday life, and we see attempts to use them to appeal, persuade, and move us on a daily basis.

Visual images have been important carriers of social knowledge, both in times of collective representations as well as in social representations. The iconographical messages of the *Biblia Pauperum* and ceiling paintings in medieval churches are deeply rooted in memories that are passed down from generation to generation (Arruda, 2015). Similarly, visual icons of modern time, like those from the Vietnam War, have become an inseparable part of the cross-generational repertoire of shared images (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003). Maurice Halbwachs (1950/1980), a successor of Durkheim and a predecessor of Moscovici, conceptualized this deeply-rooted social knowledge of the shared past as collective memory.

Collective memory refers to a type of social knowledge that can be passed from generation to generation, the nature of which is relatively static. At the same time, collective memory has a dynamic side, because it reflects the present needs and future desires of the group that shares it. (Halbwachs, 1980.) In its twofold nature, Halbwachs' theory is positioned between Durkheim's static collective representations and Moscovici's dynamic social representations. All of these concepts are rooted in the common tradition of French social theory (László, 2008).

2.2 COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Maurice Halbwachs, a philosopher and sociologist, introduced the concept of collective memory in his book *La mémoire collective* (1950/1980), and the research on collective or social memory is usually traced back to his writing. However, Halbwachs' contemporaries, like Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Marc Bloch, and Frederic Bartlett, also used a similar term (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Wagoner (2015) points to the studies of Frederic Bartlett and Lev Vygotsky as compereers of Halbwachs' theorization of memory as a social process.

According to Halbwachs, group memory exists apart from individual memory. Memories concerning the past are strongly linked to group membership. Every group, whether it be a family or a nation, has its own shared memories. In general, Halbwachs (1925/1992) emphasized the role of society as a context in which memories are created, recognized, and localized. These memories are not dependent on the individual group members: a member can leave the group, but the narrative of the common past still remains in the minds of the other members.

The conceptions of a shared past are conveyed by different forms of collective remembering and commemoration (Connerton, 1989). In families, there are stories of childhood and about the life of past generations. Family photographs and other memorabilia invite us to remember this past. Nations have their own narratives of their country's origin. The most notable are

myths; in the case of Finland, the national epic, the *Kalevala*, traces the Finns' common roots and traditions back to time immemorial. However, the more recent past can also serve as content in collective memory. In school, children are taught about their nation's past, while in public celebrations such as Independence Day, the nation gathers together to remember its shared historical roots. (Connerton, 1989) Even though the past, as presented in historical documents, is unchangeable, the memories of it and its interpretations are changing. The kernel of Halbwachs' (1980; 1992) theorization lies in the realization that collective memories are dependent on the context of remembering.

Life in the present is always subject to change, as are expectations for the future. To cope with this situation, a group can seek reassurance for their decisions or healing for difficult situations from the past; thus, collective remembering always brings a selection of narratives that can respond both to present and to future needs (Halbwachs, 1980, 1992). In other words, the conceptions of the past – the contents of memories – and their significance for the present are continuously discussed at different levels of the social environment (Pennebaker, Páez, & Deschamps, 2006). How a group remembers its past reflects its present situation, and is a valuable means for identifying, for instance, the group's current values and norms (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Collective memory, which is characterized by selective remembering and selective forgetting, is used to tell a group what it wants to hear and see. Given that group members tend to agree that their individual narratives are tied together in the past, collective memory likely serves an important function of strengthening the sense of group cohesion in the present. In social psychology, that search for cohesion has been conceptualized as social identity by Tajfel and Turner (1979). According to these researchers, social identity is a dynamic phenomenon that includes a constant pursuit to confirm group membership and a positive sense of togetherness. Togetherness, in turn, requires group members to understand each other by sharing a sufficient amount of consistent everyday knowledge, in other words, social representations (Howarth, 2007). This is the reason that in social psychology, collective memory is conceptually located at the crossroads of social identity and social representations (Licata & Klein, 2010).

Páez et al. (2015) summarize that to be collectively commemorated the issue of history must meet certain criteria: the issue should be relevant for social identity, it is connected to social change or involved a threat, the issue is emotion-laden and the commemoration of it serves group's current needs. In other words, collective memory refers to the practice in which social conceptions about a common past are used to build and maintain togetherness and group identity in the present and for the future. Furthermore, the important character of collective memory is that it creates the sense of the group's continuity over time, in other words, a historical group identity (Ahonen, 1998). The continuity can be seen as a justification for the existence

of the group and is not limited to the past, but is also oriented to the future (Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997). This is the second essential feature of Halbwachs' (1980) theorization: collective memory paves a group's way to the future.

2.3 SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF HISTORY

Maurice Halbwachs' died at the end of World War II, and in the decades that followed, there was less academic attention given to the social foundation of memory. But in the 1980s, interest began to grow, leading to a so-called "memory boom" (Olick, 2009) involving many disciplines, such as sociology, history, political science, anthropology, and literary criticism. Memory studies in these fields forms a transdisciplinary and non-paradigmatic enterprise, which, owing to its diversity, is relatively disorganized. (Olick & Robbins, 1998.) Social psychological aspects of the topic were identified in the mid-1990s, when James W. Pennebaker, Dario Páez, and Bernard Rimé (1997) published their *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*.

Among social psychologists, interest in the topic has grown more in the past fifteen years (e.g., Liu & Hilton, 2005; Liu & Sibley, 2015), and a variety of approaches has been exploited to address collective memory. Surveys focusing either on a particular society (e.g., Devine-Wright's, 2001; Hakim, Liu, Isler, and Woodward, 2015) or on multiple societies (e.g., Liu et al., 2005; Pennebaker et al., 2006; Liu, Páez, Hanke et al., 2012) have been used to observe the central contents of social representations of history. A survey-based approach has also been utilized in the research into past-related collective emotions, such as guilt, regret, and shame (e.g., Licata & Klein, 2010; Imhoff, Bilewicz, & Erb, 2012), which form a strong sub-field in social psychological memory studies.

Qualitative methods have likewise been used. The negotiation of past events has been studied with discursive methodology (Tileagă, 2009, 2010) and a narrative approach is used to observe the relation between history and identity (e.g., Liu & László, 2007; Jovchelovitch, 2012). Also a combination of statistical ALCESTE analysis with qualitative discourse analysis has been used in the cross-cultural context (Sakki, 2016).

Social representations theory has been used as a theoretical background in the most of the above-mentioned examples. However, the terminology of collective memory studies in social psychology has remained unsettled. For example, Liu et al. (2012) use the following terms for the same phenomenon: "social representations of history," "historical representations," "representations of history," and "history representations." In the broader field of memory studies, the diversity of terminology is even more varied, as Olick and Robbins (1998) have noted: collective, social, and cultural memory

all refer to rather similar objects. Even though different terminologies place different emphases on different fields, multiplicity may have a negative effect, because the theoretical background of the research has remained obscure. Also the relation between central concepts of the field is not well defined. For example in social psychology: are social representations of history and collective memory synonyms or different elements of the same process? How the elementary processes of social representations, such as anchoring, objectification and naturalization, apply to collective memory?

Some attempts to conceptualize the connection of collective memory and social representations have been made. László (1997) notes that social representations are organized in a narrative form. Liu and László (2007) as well as Wertsch (2008) suggest that collective memory is made up of these narratives. The reason for the centrality of narrative form in social knowledge is explained by Tileagă (2009), who argues that in social communication, narrative form has a significant position, and in the context of social representations of history, narrativity is a tool to convey a message effectively and gain public attention. Wertsch (2008) states that there are two kinds of narratives concerning the past: specific and schematic. Specific narratives convey detailed information, such as dates, locations, and persons. Schematic narratives relate broader and more abstract conceptions. For example, in a Finnish context, the “Winter War” could form a schematic narrative including more specific narratives having to do with detailed events of battles or the achievements of war heroes.

László (2008) has argued that concepts of collective memory and social representations can be translated into each other; in essence, the aim of both Halbwachs and Moscovici was to conceptualize the inseparability of the individual and society. Wagoner (2015) has further explored the theoretical relationship between these two concepts. He states that even though social representations and collective memory are linked, their relationship is complex, owing to their different focal points; in collective memory studies the interest has often been on the reconstruction and transmission of conceptions of the past, while in the social representations theory approach, these conceptions are broadened to accommodate perspectives of constructing, maintaining, and communicating everyday social knowledge. Social representations theory is focused not only on explaining social knowledge about history, but also – and more often – on knowledge of novelties.

Maybe more than theorization, previous research has described the central content of collective memory and social representations of history. These findings provide an important background for evaluating and reflecting on the findings of the present dissertation. According to Liu et al. (2005, 2012), there are shared conceptions of the central characteristics and events of history across various societies and cultures. Politics and war are the main contents associated with history, and the history of twentieth-century Europe is emphasized in memories all over the world. World War II is seen as the most important single event and Adolf Hitler, as the most important single person

in history. Even though historical conceptions are mainly Eurocentric, even outside of the Europe, the individuals singled out as important, Hitler aside, are often connected with the respondents' national history. Pennebaker, Páez, and Deschamps (2006) confirm the findings of Liu et al. (2005), and add to them by showing that different countries inevitably do have different viewpoints on the same events. In other words, the same contents of collective memory may acquire different meanings depending on the national context.

Studies focusing on the Finns' conceptions of history follow the results of previous studies. The research by Ahonen (1998) and Torsti (2012) shows that, in Finland, the history of the twentieth century is seen as the most important and interesting, while the wars between Finland and the Soviet Union, especially the Winter War (1939–40) have a special role in common conceptions of the national past. The role of leaders in the grand narrative is also considered important. Two persons, Carl Gustaf Mannerheim and Urho Kekkonen, have played special, even iconic roles in the history memories of Finns. (See also Rantala, 2011.)

Even though the collective memories, both at the national and the international levels, are characterized by wars, the national past itself is not seen as mainly negative, but as a positive development-and-progress narrative (e.g., Torsti, 2012). This goes along with Routledge, Arndt, Sedikides, and Wildschut's (2011) finding that more positive than negative things are remembered, and negative things are evaluated as being less significant. Belleli and Amatulli (1997) argue that especially the history of one's own group, such as a nation, is seen in a positive light. Nostalgia, a sentimental longing for the past, is one important characteristic of collective memory and social representations of history. Nostalgia fosters social connectedness and generates positive affect (Routledge et al., 2008). With regard to a nation, it benefits the in-group and is connected to the negative out-group orientation (Smeekes, 2015). Also Páez et al. (2015) have noted, that presenting the in-group in positive light is characteristics for collective memory, for example in the context of past conflict. The consequence of positive in-group presentations seems to be presenting outgroup in delegitimizing ways. Social nostalgia can also foster a sense of continuity, an essential element for a group's identity (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2015). In short, the nostalgia seems to support the attempt of collective memory to strengthen the cohesion of the group and its historical identity.

Based on previous research and discussion (e.g., László, 1997; Liu & László, 2007; Wagoner, 2015), the present dissertation argues that collective memory and social representations are connected. To go deeper and discuss the structure and formation of collective memory, it is necessary to review the original principles of social representations theory.

2.4 ELEMENTARY PROCESSES OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

The discussion of the construction of social representation and debates over different concepts have produced an extensive body of literature in the past nearly sixty years (for a comprehensive review of this discussion, see, e.g., Sakki, 2010). This chapter summarizes the key concepts of the theory. In the following chapters, these concepts are discussed in the light of collective memory.

In his dissertation, Moscovici (1961) showed how psychoanalysis was adopted into everyday thinking in France in the 1950s. He found that, rather than sharing one conception, members of a society had multiple conceptions of the same phenomenon. Just as communication processes and newspapers representing different social groups differed, so too characteristics of the conceptions that were formed differed. Representations of left-wing newspapers were characterized as *propaganda*; these publications attacked psychoanalysis, which was considered bourgeois. The French Catholics practiced *propagation* by setting limits on which arguments were accepted and which ones were neglected. The liberal middle-class responded to new ideas with *diffusion* and the intention to inform the public on the topic instead of resisting it.

Wagoner (2015) has placed this multiplicity of social frameworks parallel to Moscovici's (1961) concept of cognitive polyphasia, which refers to the coexistence of multiple frameworks of thought in a society. Moscovici (1988) divided forms of knowing into three different modes, depending on their status in a society (or in a group in general). *Hegemonic* representations are generally shared among group members, and disagreements on their meaning are minor. However, many issues divide opinions, and different subgroups may have their own *emancipated* conceptions. There are also *polemical* topics, which are opposite one another and can lead to conflict when there is little or no shared understanding of them.

To Moscovici, social representations were not only socially shared mental images and the results of group discussion, but also involved more comprehensive conceptualizations. These included values, ideas, and practices whose functions were to provide tools for naming and categorizing everyday matters of group concern, thereby facilitating an orientation to the material and the social world as well as communication among group members (Moscovici, 1973, xvii).

Having common names for everyday things is necessary for successful social interaction. Even though in many cases this understanding may be acquired almost imperceptibly as a result of socialization, groups regularly face new questions that need to be managed. Wagner et al. (1999) describes this as a symbolic coping process, which can be divided into specific phases: encountering new issues, the pursuit of making sense of the issue in social communication, and establishing a social conception. Making sense of new

issues requires communication among group members. The communication includes *anchoring*, which is categorizing the issue using existing social representations. In traditional views of anchoring, the new is compared to the old situation, made paralleled with it and related to the old, and finally named. (However, the present dissertation argues that, in the context of social representations of history, the definition of anchoring needs revisiting, as the issue (history) is merely well-known than novel.) Once an issue has acquired a name, it is easier to discuss it further. In the course of *objectification*, the social conception of the issue is sharpened, as it obtains form as an image, a symbol, or a metaphor. Objectification summarizes the essential characteristics of the new social representation and forms a so-called figurative nucleus.

Bauer and Gaskell (1999) emphasize that the formation process of social representations should be placed in a temporal context. The new social representations are anchored to older ones, and once those old conceptions were anchored to even older ones. Thus, social representations always have a history, and as present conceptions are used in turn to anchor new events, these representations also have a future. Just as the social context and the significance of the object of social representation change over time, so too the social representations themselves are objects of change. The change, either obvious or implicit, is a crucial feature distinguishing modern social knowledge from collective representations of earlier times (Liu & László, 2007).

As new social representations are constructed, older ones may lose their social significance and sink into oblivion. Páez et al. (2015) notes in the context of social representations of history that when collective memories have fulfilled their function in particular social context they can turn irrelevant and disappear from discussion. However, some concepts may become so deeply-rooted in the minds of a group that they become almost inseparable parts of thinking.

Naturalization can be seen as a third formation process, one that ensures that the social representation has found a permanent role in social reality and in a group's thinking (Philogène, 1999). Naturalized social representations refer to the most widely shared part of social knowledge. As with objectification, social issues may acquire symbolic form; in naturalization this characteristic is especially strong. As symbols naturalized social representation can be used to make references outside the original object of knowledge. Moscovici's (1961) study provides an example of how psychoanalytic terms, such as complexes and neurosis, were finally separated from their original psychoanalytic background and began to be used in everyday language irrespective of the context. However, despite their well-established position, naturalized representations are still subjects of change as are other social representations, only the negotiation of meanings may not be as visible (Sakki & Menard, 2014).

2.5 DYNAMIC FORMATION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORIES

In social psychology, the interest in collective memory began to grow later than in many other disciplines (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Even though a wide body of social psychological literature has been published on the topic, it is still possible to identify some shared background conceptions in different studies and create a model that clarify the relation of different concepts. This kind of conceptual work may help to avoid “re-inventing of the conceptual wheel” (Olick, 2009, p.251), i.e. overlapping work caused by the diversity and disorganization of memory studies.

By drawing on the theories reviewed in the previous sections as well as on original works by Halbwachs (1980) and Moscovici (1961), it is possible to describe the relation between social representations of history and collective memory. The model shown in Figure 1, along with suggesting a simple order of some central concepts, also tries to amend the complexity caused by inconsistent terminology and different uses of the same concepts (Olick & Robbins, 1998). In the model, three elements constitute a continuous circle: communication (representing history) constructs social representations of history, which in turn constitutes collective memory. Collective memory grounds the communication about the past, and the circle keeps moving.

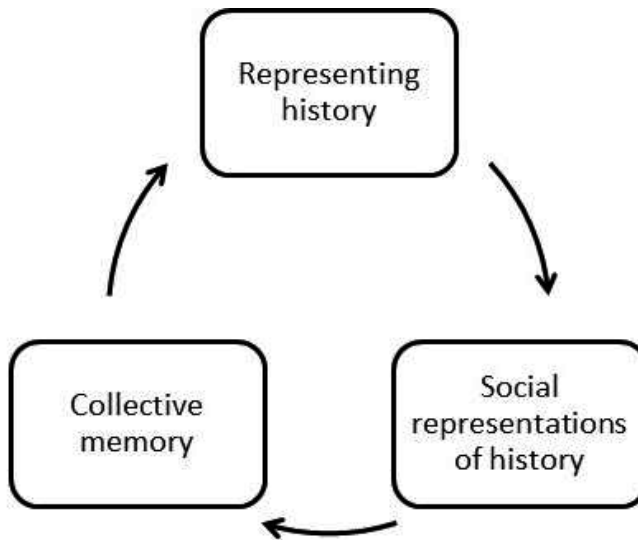


Figure 1 Model of the cyclical process between social representations of history and collective memory (adapted from Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2016).

Because the circular movement presented in Figure 1. is continuous, it is not possible to indicate an exact starting point or an end to the formation of collective memories. A group, like a society already shares background knowledge about their common past. To maintain these collective memories and group's sense of historical continuity, concrete acts are required to shift the contents of memories to new members of the group (e.g., new generations) (Connerton, 1989). *Representing history* describes this transference of memories, which can take place in different ways, for example, through commemorations. According to Pennebaker et al. (2006), there are two modes of these actions: direct and indirect. The direct form includes different verbal means of conveying memories of the past by discussion among group members. Oral narration can be considered as a basic way of transferring knowledge, because it does not require any additional medium. Remembering through artifacts like monuments or common celebrations (e.g., Independence Day) are examples of indirect ways of communicating conceptions about the past. Often these two forms are combined; for example, in museums material artifacts are presented along with textual or verbal narration.

Representing history does not mean a single direction of communication from narrator to audience, such as from museums to the public, but rather includes communication and negotiation of the meanings and signification of the represented objects among group members. In fact, Halbwachs (1980, 1992) distinguished collective memory from history and historical memory. According to him, historical memory refers to knowledge stored in historical records, while history refers to memories that are not significant for present-day life. However, as social situation and group's needs in the present change, both historical knowledge and history may provide useful material for *representing history* and shaping conceptions of the past.

Social communication is an essential part of the formation process of all kinds of social representations (Wagner et al., 1999). In the context of discussing the past, the direct and indirect modes of commemoration, drawing on collective memory as well as on history and historical memory, construct everyday conceptions, i.e., *social representations of history*. This formation process includes the same elementary processes found in other social representations: historical events and turning points are anchored to previous events. As an example, the recession in the 2000s could be made understandable by comparing it with previous recessions in the 1990s and 1930s. Finally, the conception is objectified in the form of a trope, a metaphor, or a symbol. For example, the recession in the 1990s could be symbolized in images of breadlines with people standing in line for food.

Social representations are not only conceptions, but also "a system of values, ideas and practices," as Moscovici (1973, xvii) describes them. Their function is to bring order to the social world, and they are used to name and classify, i.e., to understand future events and issues. Social representations of history are not exceptions, but are actively used for present-day purposes.

Conceptions of shared roots can be used to draw a border between an in-group and an out-group. In the Finnish context, for example, the memory of the Winter War is a central concept (Torsti, 2012); it could be said that “if you do not recognize the narrative of the Winter War, give it adequate value, or join us in commemorations of it, you are not a true member of our group.” Thus, the social representations of history tell us which figures, events, or themes of the past have the greatest importance. As previous studies (e.g., Liu et al., 2012; Torsti, 2012) that considered history conceptions show, similarities both between countries and within a nation can be distinguished. These shared conceptions demonstrate hegemonic social representations of history, even though the same content may have different meanings in different contexts. Emancipated and polemical social representations are found among different sub-groups and minorities in society (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Emancipated and polemical social representations of history are also commemorated and transferred among the groups that share them. However, at times such representations may emerge in the public discussion of the past. For example, in the year 2017, Finland celebrates its 100th anniversary as an independent nation. The year is a potential context for many kinds of commemorations and for both direct and indirect collective remembering and retelling the past. The context in which the different sides of history are represented also has the potential for reminding us of alternative social representations. In the beginning of the year, a headline in the main Finnish newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, reminded readers of the suppressed histories of one minority of the nation’s groups: “Official Finland has repressed the Sami people for one hundred years – it is a shame in the anniversary of independence” (Rantala, 2017). Over time, these polemical openings of a debate may shape or change the hegemonic social representations in such a way that all social representations are altered (Wagner et al., 1999; Bauer & Gaskell, 1999).

Following László’s (1997) argument, social representations of history acquire a narrative form, and, as Liu and László (2007) suggest, these narratives are organized as collective memories. In other words, *collective memory* can be considered as a collection of social representations of history in narrative form. Collective memory is used as a kind of background condition of understanding in everyday life (Wagoner, 2015). In this form, it also makes reference to what is socially considered necessary and adequate to represent a group’s common history and what is to be commemorated. As social representations in general guide how we anchor and objectify, i.e., adopt new issues to social knowledge (Wagner et al., 1999), social representations of history, stored in collective memory, guide how we can discuss the past in the future.

Moscovici’s (1961) original formulation of the concept of social representation was developed to explain a modern kind of fluctuating knowledge. Halbwachs’ (1980, 1992) concept of collective memory in turn refers to a more stable form of shared conceptions. Social representations of

history are subject to change, but substantial turns in the way the past in general is seen are rather rare. It should also be remembered that as a topic, a group's history is not usually new issue to its members, but often is already well-known. Thus, the anchoring process of hegemonic social representation cannot be based on the novelty of the topic, but rather must be grounded on its familiarity (Sakki & Menard, 2014). The repeated anchoring of a familiar thing, such as national history, prevents it falling into social oblivion, or in Halbwachs' terms, becoming history that is no longer socially significant for the group's identity. This demonstrates the dynamic nature of social representations: they are never finished, but always in progress.

During the ongoing processing, at least some of the collective memories may acquire a position so deeply rooted that they begin to be taken for granted among group members. The process of naturalization creates a bridge between alterable social representations and more sedate collective memories. In naturalization, socially meaningful constructions of "values, ideas, and practices" find a permanent role in social reality (Philogène, 1999). According to Marková (2007), certain socially shared conceptions can be transferred from generation to generation, even implicitly, while the meanings of these memories may remain latent. As long as these conceptions are unspoken, they have a strong conformative power: if something is hardly conscious, it is difficult to challenge it. From this perspective, naturalized social representations as a form of collective memories offer a restrictive background for present understanding: for example, if the role of a certain minority group in a national narrative has been excluded for generations, as the headline concerning the Sami people suggests, to include it as part of a shared conception would require reorganizing, reinterpreting, and retelling the whole grand narrative of national history.

2.6 FUNCTION OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

The processes of anchoring and objectification make past occurrences understandable and manageable. Naturalization makes them a deeply shared resource and viewed as fundamental characteristics of social reality. The successful formation process of social knowledge means that group members already share conceptions, that is, other social representations, which in turn implies that the group members have something in common. Combining newly created social representations with the repertoire of everyday knowledge strengthens group members' sense of socially shared reality (Wagner et al., 1999) and having a common project (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). Repeatedly anchoring familiar social representations, such as representations of a common past, serves the same function.

Socially shared knowledge and a group's sense of membership, its group identity, are closely connected. According to Howarth (2007), social

representations and social identity should be seen as two sides of the same phenomenon interacting with each other: identity is drawn from group membership and through shared representations by which we know the group to which we belong and what kind of group it is. Elcheroth, Doise and Reicher (2011) state that social knowledge and identity are so tightly connected that one is always present whenever the other is observed. Licata and Klein (2010) place collective memory at the confluence of social representations and social identity theories.

Social identity theory belongs among the classics of European social psychology similar to social representation theory. In short, according to Tajfel and Turner (1979), people define themselves through their different group memberships. Because most people would like to maintain a positive self-identity, the in-group is often seen in a positive light. To maintain a positive identity, group members must continuously re-evaluate their group identity. According to Howarth (2007), this means that group members share common knowledge in order to feel cohesive as a group. For example, Moscovici's (1961) finding that different subgroups in society adopted the idea of psychoanalysis in different ways could be interpreted as the group's way of strengthening the bond between people who think alike and differentiate themselves from other groups.

Liu and Hilton (2005) state that social representations of history are important in creating, maintaining, and changing people's identity. Earlier, Olick and Robbins (1998) had concluded their review with the notion that memory is a central medium through which identities are constructed. Similar to the way in which social identity is derived from different group memberships, collective memories are constructed and remembered in the contexts of different groups, such as a family or a nation (Halbwachs, 1980, 1992). To work as an engine of identity, social representations of history need to be perceived as socially significant.

Bauer and Gaskell (1999) present a temporal model of social representations and highlight how a common project supports the importance of social representation in different times. In the context of a nation, the common project could be creating and maintaining the idea of the nation. As Anderson (1991) argues, the idea of nation was mainly created in the nineteenth century. According to him, nations are "imagined communities," abstract constructions, in which all group members never actually meet each other, but still strongly identify with the historically constructed idea of having common roots in the nation. Along with having a conception of a common history, maintaining this cohesion requires having a common project, a reason to keep the group alive in the future. According to Anderson (1991), significant factors in creating and maintaining this sense of historical togetherness were the development of communication and media as well as government-organized education, which made it possible to reach geographically distant people and disseminate uniform narratives.

Collective memories draw on the past, but also include an orientation to the future (Halbwachs, 1980). Ahonen (1998) speaks of groups' historical identity, which works as its reference to the future; Pennebaker and Banasik (1997) emphasize how the future orientation of collective remembering creates an important sense of group continuity. The sense of continuity seems to be especially strong in the context of nostalgic remembering.

Nostalgia, meaning reminiscing about and longing for an unfocused past, fosters social connectedness (Sedikides, Wildschut, Arndt, & Routledge, 2008) and increases the sense of the meaningfulness of life (Wildschut, Sedikides, Arndt, & Routledge, 2006). It appears that nostalgic remembering can provide a way to maintain positive social identity (Wildschut, Bruder, Robertson, Tilburg, & Sedikides, 2014). Smeekes and Verkuyten (2015) found that seeking a sense of continuity is an essential element at the group level, while social nostalgia for a nation can work as an identity management strategy in response to threats to continuity. Furthermore, Smeekes (2015) showed that national nostalgia benefits the in-group, yet at the same time is related to negative out-group orientation.

Páez et al. (2015) summarize that collective memory defines the group and its values and norms and through that influences the psychological state of the group. Collective memory is also used to legitimize group's behavior and mobilize the group. Furthermore, a sense of continuity can be seen as an essential outcome of collective remembering. The continuity supports the historical identity of the group which in turn strengthens cohesion among group members in the present. Historical social identity includes the idea that if the group has survived into the present, then its existence will likely continue in the future. It also includes the idea that group members should work together to ensure that their traditions continue. To provide a basis for future challenges by creating identification, strengthening the sense of fellowship, and cohesion, a degree of continuity as well as orientation to the future can be seen as the main functions of collective memory (Ahonen, 1998; Wagoner, 2015).

3 THE CONTEXTS OF THE DISSERTATION

Collective remembering and commemoration take place in multiple forms and through numerous kinds of media (e.g., Connerton, 1989; Wagoner, 2015). For example Pierre Nora (1989) emphasize the role of monuments and museums as a concrete platforms of remembering in modern societies. Anderson (1991) highlights the role of government-organized education as well as the birth of mass media as tools for creating and maintaining imagined communities.

The present dissertation focuses on two different forms in which history is represented: textbooks and commercial advertisements. These two forms cannot cover all dimensions of representing history; however, from the perspective of social representations theory they provide a possibility to observe the process of collective memory from two different perspectives: textbooks demonstrate a kind of official medium through which historians share narratives of past events with the public. Advertisements are put out by unofficial actors, exploiting the past for commercial purposes. In addition, both use rarely studies visual media as a means of communication.

The following two chapters describe the special features of textbooks and commercials necessary to take into account in research on collective memory. Thereafter, the focus turns to the visual aspects of these forms and how visual collective memory may complement our understanding of the social knowledge of the past.

3.1 SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN TEXTBOOKS

As Olick and Robbins (1998) state, the relation between collective memory and historiography has been a contested question for researchers. These authors conclude that memory inevitably draws on history to serve different present purposes such as identity or nationalism. Already Halbwachs (1992, p.51) argued that society or any system of power attempts to direct the creation of common memories. History is always written for particular purposes and interests in the present; many theorists in the social sciences have argued that, through educational institutions, governments construct collective memories and national identity (Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012; Smith, 1998).

According to Liu and László (2007), in modern societies the task of creating memories is often externally relegated to different institutions and professionals. As Wagoner (2015) states, there is no neutral way of representing the past. Historians and teachers have the power to disseminate

certain histories, and they have an influence on which topics are taken up in public discussion. In this sense, schools can be seen as institutionalized creators of memories, as they mediate its institutionalized interpretations. According to Sakki (2010), textbooks not only transmit scientific knowledge, but also reflect everyday knowledge conceptions and are thus a fruitful source for understanding current trends.

However, Connerton (1989) reminds that historians are not unavoidably dependent on collective memory. Widely-shared principles of good scientific practice, such as the pursuit of objectivity and neutrality, guide scholars to avoid use of history for example to nationalistic purposes. However, as members of the group, a society, historians often share the same everyday conceptions and may use them as background conditions while making choices as to what and how to represent the past. As Connerton (1989) notes, historians have more often supported prevalent conceptions than questioned them. Also Ahonen (1998) sees that influential historians have often taken the role of establishing national identity and collective memory, while Liu and László (2007) state that history is often characterized by an intention to promote national cohesion. Ahonen (1998) states that constructing collective memories is connected to a nation-state project whereby traditions and conceptions of the past are produced from the top down. In general, history textbooks can be seen as representing institutionalized worldviews (Wagner, Mecha, & Carvalho, 2008).

On the other hand, even though in many countries textbooks serve not only historical scholarship, but also national identity needs and political interests by presenting history from the viewpoint of one's own nation and emphasizing national superiority (Crawford & Foster, 2007), there are also examples of more reflective approaches to national history (Wils, 2009). It should be also remembered that there have always been historians who actively question the received version of hegemonic history narrative. Páez et al. (2015) also remind that the conflict between "official" and informal memory is common. In other words, the effect of institutional construction of history narratives might be limited. However, on the other hand, they state that different historiographical traditions (institutional academic historiography) have had a significant role in the construction of informal, lay conceptions of the past. They state that the analysis of processes of anchoring and objectification of history in education is important as, after all, lay historical narratives tend to reflect institutional history narratives.

The use of hegemonic history narratives is often guided by a national curriculum or at least a peer review among fellow historians. In ideal circumstances, this control prevents the most flagrant intentional misuses of history, yet this does not eliminate the fact that writing history always requires choices of what to include and what to exclude (e.g., Connerton, 1989). In embodying these choices, textbooks, even though they may not be directly influenced by politics, at the least do reflect and shape collective memories by presenting certain viewpoints, emphasizing certain personalities and events,

and marginalizing others. As Sakki (2016) as well as Crawford and Foster (2007) argue, institutionalized histories have always played a role in the field of collective memory and memory politics.

Different authors may give the same historical event completely different meanings through a different framing or by choice of words. Ahonen (1998) found that, if past wars are approached within the frame of a “national project,” they are seen as a source of future confidence. If these same wars are framed in terms of individual security, they are seen as a threat. Information selection, for example, in the form of word choices, may have concrete outcomes in everyday life as the social representations are put into action. For example, Anttila (2007) shows that reflexive national identity leads to openness toward other groups, while more inflexible identification was connected with exclusion of others. In other words, a reflexive national identity could include awareness that the idea of nation is construed as a result of certain political and philosophical interests in the past, while an inflexible identity may include conceptions of the homogeneity of the group. Páez, Espinosa, and Bobowik (2013) point out that the different meanings connected with history lead to different collective emotions. Thus, the choices or the framing used to produce history narratives may adjust the emotional atmosphere of the group.

While textbooks produced by academic historians and published by respectable publishing houses represent institutional actors who shape collective memories, there are also a number of unofficial agents who have the power to affect our conceptions of the past. For example, historical television series or advertisements can make use of historical events without the need to follow academic practices of accuracy, neutrality, or objectivity.

3.2 SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN COMMERCIALS

Advertising is an inevitable part of our daily lives. Advertisers use a wide variety of tools to make persuasive arguments to induce people to pay for their products. Williamson (1978) found that referring to the past, or more generally, using time as a frame of reference, was one of the most often used ways to appeal to audiences in commercials. Other studies have shown how time is used in advertisements, for example, to produce a sense of togetherness or continuity (e.g., Pickering & Keightley, 2014). By comparison with textbooks, which tend to embody an “official” history, advertisements might reasonably be described as unofficial agents that may subtly shape our conceptions of the past.

According to Meyers (2009), collective memory is a useful resource for advertisers because by nature it is widely shared, and the aim of commercials is usually to reach a wide audience. Collective memory reflects a group’s

present-day needs, and advertisers promote products which they claim will fulfill these needs. Furthermore, advertisers not only exploit existing conceptions, but also may shape them by depicting their view of the past to fit the new products being offered. One frequent characteristic of these manufactured memories is nostalgia, an idealized view of the past (e.g., Havlena & Holak, 1991; Holbrook & Schindler, 2003). While national narratives may employ a nostalgic tone to create a positive group identity (Belleli & Amatulli, 1997), the creation of positive associations with the past is even more pervasive in advertisements. According to Kandiyoti (2006), the entire identity of a product may rely on collective memory accompanied by a nostalgic image of an environment in which consumers would like to find themselves. According to Davis (1979), there are different modes of nostalgia. The persuasive mode, so often used by advertisers, represents the so-called first level type, which does not encourage critical reflection on the past.

In their study of a British bread advertisement, Pickering and Keightley (2014) show how a direct reference to post-war times was associated with nostalgic allusions to family, community, and nation. Even though advertisements appeal to individual consumers, their appeal may be made by creating a sense of group identity (Meyers, 2009). In a Finnish context, Huttunen and Autio (2010) found that consumers view their habits in wider social contexts, which include not only their generation and even nation, but also past generations. In other words, consumption itself can be related to a common past. Along with historicizing consumption habits, advertisers may exploit the past by reflecting on such things as the use of domestic versus imported products, for instance, which carry national weight (Autio, Collins, Wahlen, & Anttila 2013). Motley, Henderson, and Baker (2003) argue that concrete memorabilia, such as packages or commercials, form an important context for remembering the past.

Billig (1995) has famously described nationally colored everyday practices as a form of “banal nationalism.” In his definition, banal nationalism is different from extreme and explicit forms of nationalism, but is not necessarily any less political. Advertisers are motivated to use the most eye-catching media to reach their audience, and their economic opportunities are usually stronger than those for historians. While textbooks are the results of multiple interests of policymakers, historians, and publishers, advertisements, according to Howell (1991), reflect the interests of politics, money, and consumption.

The forms of persuasive communication used by advertisers are also different from institutionalized sources of history knowledge. Helmers and Hill (2004) argue that advertisements exploiting visual communication are effective ways to gather together the imagined community of a nation because the visuality and the mass media in the form of television or the Internet make it possible to reach a wide group of people simultaneously. For example, Pickering and Keightley’s (2014) study of a British context shows that

advertisers intentionally appeal to national collective memories by creating associations with the British people's collaboration and solidarity in war time.

Advertisements and textbooks have at least one characteristic in common: the use of visual images as a means of making abstract time visible. The present dissertation focuses on the little studied role of visual images in the processes of collective memory and social representations of history.

4 VISUAL COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Oral narration is a traditional way of transmitting collective memories. Various rituals and celebrations also keep traditions alive. (Halbwachs, 1992.) In social psychology, Wagoner (2015) has called attention to the different modalities through which collective remembering occurs. He emphasizes the expression and communication of collective remembering in material forms, such as specific places or memorabilia. He also notes the way these monuments, photographs, and keepsakes depict important moments of a collective history and how they are used flexibly in the present to anchor new meanings.

Collective remembering is constituted by all of these acts and media. Visuality is a common characteristic of many forms of indirect commemoration. For example, Ahonen's (1998) and Torsti's (2012) studies of Finnish culture show that visual media have a distinguished role in transmitting knowledge of the past and creating a consciousness of history among the Finns. Rantala (2011) found that (family) photographs were the main tool for building children's perceptions of the past. This chapter reviews discussions of visual images as a topic in the social sciences and special characteristics of visual images as components of social representations and collective memory.

4.1 VISUAL IMAGES AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Even though visual images are traditionally seen as a matter for art history or cultural studies, they may also prove an informative source of data for social psychologists. Loizos (2000) argues that the increasing role of visually mediated communication in modern societies has made visual images, in Durkheim's terms, "social facts," which should be taken into account in theories and perspectives in the social sciences.

In sociology and social anthropology, different visual media have been used, both in documenting social phenomena and as subjects of research (Loizos, 2000; Banks, 2007). In recent years, the interest in visual data has been growing in other fields as well. In their review of new developments of visual studies Knoblauch, Baer, Laurier, Petsche, and Schnettler (2008) mentioned disciplines such as media studies, political sciences, and social psychology. According to Loizos (2000), the visual studies pioneer in social psychology was Siegfried Kracauer, who in his *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (1947) observed how the popular media, such as films in Nazi Germany, both reflected and shaped the social psychological situation of the nation.

Thus far, however, visual analysis has remained on the margins of social psychology. De Rosa and Farr (2001) stated that words seem to have supremacy in describing, creating, and objectifying social reality. Bohnsack (2008) argued that, with regard to visual data, the so-called “linguistic turn,” which turned researchers’ interest towards language as a tool of constructing social reality, has remained unfinished, because visual images are not considered a language. De Rosa and Farr (2001) remind that, besides words, other elements such as sounds and pictures create social knowledge and should be considered along with more traditional materials of research.

4.2 VISUAL IMAGES AND SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE

Despite the lack of research social representations theory is one of the few social psychological theories to have taken note of the visual nature of everyday knowledge. Moscovici (1984, p.38) formulated the figurative nucleus of social representation as “a complex of images that visibly reproduces a complex of ideas.” According to him, the very first step in the formation process of representation is to concretize an abstract phenomenon in a comprehensible and communicable form.

In their pioneering study on social representations of Paris, Milgram and Jodelet (1976) used different kinds of visual materials, maps, drawings, and photographs to reveal the shared meaning and mental image of places. Later, for example Howarth (2007) and Rätty, Komulainen, Skorokhodova, Kolesnikow and Hämäläinen (2011) have used young people’s drawings to analyze their shared conceptions of issues such as race (Howarth, 2007) and intelligence (Rätty et al. 2011).

De Rosa and Farr (2001) further developed Moscovici’s idea of the visual side of social representations by focusing on concrete visual images and their connection with socially shared knowledge and abstract images. According to them, visual images have three functions in the process of social representations. First, they can initiate the construction process of social representation: for example, photographic evidence of the cruelties of war may serve to open discussion on this topic and shape general conceptions of it. Second, visual images are relatively easy to circulate widely; thus, they can work effectively as a medium of the construction process as well as disseminate social representations to new group members. Third, the visual image itself can be a product of the formation process: in an iconic visual image, an abstract phenomenon is given visible form and could be called a visual crystallization of social representation.

Documentary photographs of the Vietnam War are often used as an example of the social power of visual images (e.g., Helmers & Hill, 2004). Hariman and Lucaites’ (2003) analysis of social identity and collective memory concerns visualization of Vietnam War. According to them, Nick Ut’s

Pulitzer Prize-winning photograph (1973) depicting children fleeing a napalm attack has an iconic position symbolizing the war. The photograph has been republished in numerous contexts since it was taken and it occupies a widely shared position in the memory of living generations. Those who were not themselves living during the time of the war can share the social meanings communicated through the photograph. In the 1970s, this photographic document played a significant role in shaping public conceptions of the war and according to Hariman and Lucaites, memory of the war is still vivid in the United States. Thus, Ut's photograph can be seen as the origin of a social representation, because it aroused debate in its own time. Later on, its publication in numerous forms has served to disseminate the image to new generations and it has become a visual crystallization of social representation of the war.

From the perspective of visual collective memory, this photograph is also illustrative. It documents only one scene and viewpoint from the past, yet is used to refer to a long period of events, the whole war. By its very nature, collective memory is always selective; it brings certain aspects of the past to the present, while excluding others, depending on the needs of a group (Halbwachs, 1980).

4.3 VISUAL IMAGES IN COMMUNICATION

Visual images have multiple characteristics that can make them socially more powerful than texts (Helmers & Hill, 2004). Joffé's (2008) review of power of visual material, which draws on visual theorization in many fields, categorizes visual communication having three dimensions: persuasion, emotion, and identification. These characteristics are explored below.

Representational images, especially photographs and videos, create the impression that a given image represents reality. Hill (2004) argues that, from the perspective of persuasion, this reality-evoking effect is crucial because it produces a sense of *presence*. An attempt to evoke a sense of presence was already a goal of ancient rhetoricians. While the verbal message may remain distant, the visual image invites the viewer to empathize in the present. Even though photographs can be manipulated in many ways, they invite the viewer to believe that the photographed moment really happened. The photograph itself is seen as proof (Barthes, 1980), which results that the visual message is not contested as simply as textual or verbal.

The emotive quality of visual images works in connection with their other features. Words are seen as a medium of rational processing, while visual messages tend to be processed more directly (Joffé, 2008). Automatic processing is utilized intentionally in commercials, which strive to create a positive, yet sometimes groundless meaning shift; i.e., a causal association between the imagery shown (a way of life, happiness, etc.) and the product

being promoted. In other words, visual messages in advertisements indirectly claim that the consumption of a product, for example, perfume, contributes to the beauty of the model shown (Williamson, 1978). Hariman and Lucaite's (2003) analysis of war photographs is an example of the ability of documentary images to evoke emotions like compassion, grief, and anger. In such images, the emotional capacity is closely connected to the reality-evoking effect or, in Hill's terms (2004), the vividness of the visual narrative. While verbal or textual storytelling requires time and space to tell an impassioned story, a visual narrative can be internalized at a glance. According to Kansteiner (2002), visual images may even obscure the difference between a first-hand experience and the secondary viewing experience. In other words, visual images may create a sense that a certain event is lived again. Hariman and Lucaites (2003) see that, partly due to the emotional capacity of images, visual images have the power to take root as social knowledge.

The persuasive and emotional appeals of visual images are closely linked with the third characteristic mentioned by Joffé (2008): identification. Every group has its own canon of visual images; for example, in Finland, the portraits of former presidents, which decorate the walls of all elementary schools. Flags and coats of arms bring a group together under a single visual sign. The continuous repetition of certain images and themes creates shared imageries, which become part of a group's identity. According to Hariman and Lucaites (2003), these shared visual memories support a group's self-consciousness and its sense of historical agency. At the level of identification, the processing is so automatic that visual references can be rather abstract – a color, for instance. Kress and van Leeuwen (2002) call these deep-rooted associations connected with visual elements a visual grammar. Certain visual signs are recognized immediately as being familiar, such as a country's symbolic colors. The group's strong identification with certain visual images and ways of using them also helps to distinguish in-group members from out-group members: those who can follow the rules of using visual signs may not attract any attention, but breaking the grammar rules certainly will. As Blair (2004) puts it, a visual message can be more powerful than either verbal or textual modes, but the failure to use images in a manner that resonates with the intended audience leads to a failure of communication.

Beside persuasion, emotion, and identification, a fourth aspect of visual images worth taking into account is their narrative dimension. Hariman and Lucaites (2004) employ the narrative approach to analyze the meanings and uses of the iconic image of napalm bombing in Vietnam. According to them, even though a still image, like a photograph, shows only a split second of an actual moment, it has the potential to tell the stories before and after the recorded moment. According to Zelizer (2004), visual images help us to remember, since they freeze a moment somewhere in the middle of a narrative; the viewer almost automatically completes the story implied in the image. If a visual communication creates a response in the minds of audience

members (Blair, 2004), viewers relying on their shared everyday knowledge in fact know more than is shown in the image.

Furthermore, it should be remembered that the meanings of visual images are highly bound up with the social and historical contexts in which they are produced and viewed. In semiotic terms, visual images themselves are floating signs, which is why the desirable meaning is often strengthened with a verbal or textual explanation (Barthes, 1977). This explanation could be a caption in a book or newspaper or a statement by a narrator in a video advertisement or documentary. To strengthen the intended message, both visual and verbal elements may take the form of an argument. In the context of images, this refers to the selection of information: a certain way of visual presentation is selected to support the claim. Shelley (1996) calls this combination a rhetorical mode of visual communication, contrary to a purely demonstrative mode, in which only the reality-evoking effect of the image is exploited.

To sum up, the social power of visual images lies in their impression of reality, which can be used to persuade, their ability to evoke emotions by referring to familiar things, their appeal to memories, their ability to show both sympathetic and horrific scenes, and their creation of identification, which actually makes the images meaningful to the group by referring to shared imagery. Together these features give visual images their ability to tell impressive narratives in compact form. The fact that images are easy to disseminate and to replicate time and again, gives them the potential for anchoring and objectifying social representations of history and crystallizing shared narratives into collective memories.

4.4 AIMS OF THE STUDY

Visual images are part of our daily lives. In social psychology, attempts to understand the social nature of images have been rare (de Rosa & Farr, 2001). Moreover, there are few studies addressed to the visual side of collective memory (e.g., Kansteiner, 2002). However, earlier research has suggested that specific characteristics of visual images, including persuasion through realistic semblance, evoking emotions, creating a sense of identification, and an ability to tell narratives in compact form, make visual images an essential part of social knowledge (e.g., Joffé, 2008; Hariman & Lucaites, 2003). Drawing on these premises, the present dissertation has three aims. The first is to present a social psychological analysis of visual collective memory. The second is to address further the theoretical question on the connection between collective memory and social representations theory, a question that so far has remained unanswered. The third is to fill the lacuna in social psychological studies by focusing on visual methodology.

The dissertation consists of four original studies published as individual papers in international peer-reviewed journals. Studies I and II address

Finnish textbooks, while studies III and IV deal with commercial advertisements in Finland. The studies serve the general aims of the dissertation by answering the following specific questions:

Studies I–II: What are the main contents of visual images in textbooks on Finnish national history? How are social representations of Finnish history objectified, anchored, and naturalized in textbook cover images? How do the visual images include and exclude certain historical content?

Studies III–IV: How is time used as a principal frame of reference in the Finnish advertisements selected for study? What is the role of nostalgia as a characteristic of visual collective memory? How are these visual images used to create myths intended to persuade an audience?

The dissertation endeavors to contribute to a better understanding of the visual nature of collective memory and the connection to social representations of history. A methodological contribution includes the presentation of a semiotic approach along with content analysis and rhetorical visual analysis for research on social representations. Finally, since the individual studies focus on a Finnish context, the dissertation is intended to contribute to a better understanding of the content and meanings of the Finns' visual collective memory.

5 VISUAL ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I present the methodological framework for my dissertation. The first section describes visual semiotics as an approach for analyzing visual images. The second section offers a comparison between elementary concepts of semiotics and social representations theory. The following chapters describe the data and methodological procedures of the four studies.

5.1 VISUAL SEMIOTICS

The use of visual data in social psychology is relatively rare. Moloney, Holtz, and Wagner (2013) have pointed out this lacuna as a methodological deficiency. The present dissertation attempts to contribute to this lacuna by applying a qualitative visual approach to research on collective memory and social representations of history. Researchers in this field have referred to semiotic theory as a promising tool for interpreting visual material (de Rosa & Farr, 2001; Moloney et al., 2013; Christmann, 2008). In this study, semiotics is used to analyze different visual material, from printed images to videos. The theoretical relation between semiotics and social representations theory is also elaborated on.

The term semiotics refers to a broad field of research interested in meaning-making and communication. The roots of semiotics can be found in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the works of the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and the philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce. Their theories on the construction of significance in language (usually spoken or written) were later developed in the area of significance in visual communication, for example, by Roland Barthes and Umberto Eco. (Rose, 2001; van Leeuwen, 2001.) In short, in semiotics the visual image is seen as constituted by signs (visual elements) and meanings (definitions of signs, associations), which together construct a meaning system (Williamson, 1978). According to Barthes, visual meaning-making can be conceptualized in three steps or phases: denotation, connotation, and myth (Barthes, 1977, 1984). Barthes' broad conceptualization of the elements of visual signification makes it possible to approach many kinds of visual data.

“Denotation” refers to the literal meaning related to a visual image. To use the same example as in the previous sections, the famous photograph depicting a napalm attack in Vietnam may be described at the denotative level as presenting children running toward the viewer. In the picture there are also adults dressed in uniform. Behind them are dark clouds or smoke. Basically, the denotative level does not include any meanings, but only the description of the visual elements in the picture. For that reason, content at the denotative

level would be more or less similar, regardless of a viewer's context. However, this definition is idealized, since viewing always includes some interpretation. For example, the description of the characters in the photograph as children running or that other characters are soldiers clearly requires some prior information. Because the present study is not concerned with the nature of visual perception, it may not be useful to seek a denotation without any interpretation. Rather I will stay at a more pragmatic level and define denotation as a relatively stable description of an observed visual image.

The definition of denotation becomes clearer in comparison with the second step, connotation. Connotation refers to the social and historical meanings given a visual image. In other words, it includes an evaluation of an observed image from the viewer's personal and cultural position and activates associations connected with this position. All viewers have their own, individual interpretations of images, based on their personal experiences. However, in social psychology, the cultural position of the audience and socially shared associations are the point of interest for an analysis of connotations. As Moloney et al. (2013) argue, the interpretation of image always include a social dimension in a form of shared background knowledge.

The constructed nature of social knowledge is present at the connotative level because the meaning of the same visual image may vary over time or with social context. For example, the general connotations of an image depicting napalm bombings may be the cruelty of war, human suffering, or a certain time –“a day in the Vietnam War.” Furthermore, depending on the social context, the image may acquire the meanings of “U.S. imperialism” or “a struggle against communism.” Even among members of the same group, the connotations evoked may vary, depending on the context of the image's presentation. The associations are different if the image is used to illustrate a chapter in a textbook on post-World War II conflicts or in a chapter addressing a peace movement in the 1960s. Even though some visual images, like logos or widely shared symbols (a cross, a heart, etc.), might be used without textual description, the connotative visual meanings are often fixed by a verbal or textual description. The text gives the viewer a guide to how the visual message is meant to be interpreted in the context (Barthes, 1977). Methodologically, this means that researchers should also consider the wider surroundings of visual elements in order to understand the intended meaning in a particular context.

The third concept, myth, refers to a combination of concrete (denotation) and associative (connotation) levels of a visual image. The result is a meaning system, a unit that is larger than its individual parts. The myth combines ideological meanings and deep-rooted social knowledge represented by the visual image. At the mythical level, the image depicting the napalm attack in the village of Trảng Bàng in Vietnam is disconnected from its original historical context and seen, for example, as a symbol of the injustice of war in all times (as used by a peace movement). (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003; Helmers & Hill, 2004.) Similarly, the image of a historical figure, considered a national

hero, may work as a resource for social memory, which activates multiple narratives about a common past.

5.2 SEMIOTICS AND SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

Moloney et al. (2013) draw on semiotic analysis and social representations theory to explain how editorial cartoons are used in daily media communications to produce certain conceptions. In their analysis, they refer to denotative and connotative levels of meaning and argue that visual images reproduce social representations by referring to socially shared concepts. Furthermore, the images contribute to these representations by providing a selected point of view on the visual topic and thus demonstrate information selection. As de Rosa and Farr (2001) state, visual images can be seen as source, medium, and outcome of the social representation process. To apply social representations theory to semiotics helps to explain how the visual meaning system is constructed and maintained in social interactions. In the context of collective memory, a semiotic approach integrates the methodological part of the study seamlessly with the theoretical background in social representations theory. The integration provides a more comprehensive understanding of the meaning-making process of conceptions about the past.

Veltri (2015) has discussed the theoretical connection between semiotics and social representations theory further by comparing the semiotic concepts of denotation and connotation with the social representations concepts of objectification and anchoring. According to Veltri, “[t]he signification processes that involve denotative and connotative meanings lead to anchoring and objectification” (2015, p.244). As in the construction process of social representations, objectification gives the phenomenon a concrete mental form in a visual communication, while denotation describes the characteristics and appearance of the image. According to Veltri (2015), the process of giving concrete form is often initiated by the group that holds power over the “field of meanings.” For example, authors and book publishers have the power to select which images of history are shown. Similarly, advertisers choose the images that are used in commercials and thereby the kinds of visual narratives that are created. Connotation refers to associations which are relevant for reading the image in a certain context. These associations are often guided by textual or verbal messages (Veltri, 2015). In giving the image its social meaning, connotation closely resembles the process of anchoring in social representations. Anchoring has been operationalized, for example, as categorization within existing beliefs (Devine-Wright & Devine-Wright, 2009), citing thematization and metaphors (Höijer, 2010), and also in terms of linking to existing knowledge and personal experiences (Selge & Fischer, 2011). In the context of history textbooks, visual images are associated with

national history, whereas in advertisements, the intended association could be, for example, satisfaction or pleasure, and most often consumption.

In the field of social representation, there has been discussion on the order of anchoring and objectification. Some studies present objectification first, while others see anchoring as preceding it (see a review of this discussion in Sakki, 2010). However, Marková (2000) reminds that in practice, it is not possible to separate the processes of objectification and anchoring, because they are two sides of the same coin. Similarly, in the visual meaning-making process, it is not possible to separate the concrete and associative sides of an image completely, since they are dependent on one another. The reason for making a separation at the conceptual level is that it structures the analysis and interpretation process in dealing with visual data.

Following Veltri's (2015) and de Rosa and Farr's (2001) theorization, visual images are seen in this study as giving social representations of history concrete and visible form (objectification, denotation) and as activating its culturally and socially bound meanings (anchoring, connotation). As mentioned, the order of anchoring and objectification has varied in earlier studies. In visual analysis, it is practical to begin with objectification by identifying the visual characteristics of an image (denotation) and then focusing on its anchoring, i.e., interpret the social meanings (connotation).

Finally, this study argues that the third step of a semiotic meaning system, myth and the social representation process of naturalization are comparable. Myth refers to a culturally-bound and deeply-rooted narrative, which makes socially constructed knowledge look almost natural. Naturalization refers to situation in which social representation has found a permanent role in social reality and in a group's thinking (Philogène, 1999). Barthes (1984) himself state that "the very principle of myth: it transforms history into nature" (Barthes, 1984, p.129). In other words, the myth or naturalization diminishes the socially constructed nature of knowledge and makes it look undeniable. According to Barthes (1977), myths have an ideological dimension, given that they are used to prove that certain concepts should be taken for granted. In terms of social representations theory, we can say that existing knowledge will be used to categorize and classify new phenomena in future discussions. If this knowledge is naturalized, it is not easily challenged, and thus it definitely becomes a powerful tool to serve ideological purposes.

The following two sections describe the data used in the present dissertation and how visual semiotics and social representations theory are used in an analytic approach in the different studies.

5.3 MATERIALS FOR THE INDIVIDUAL STUDIES

The data for this dissertation consisted of two types of material: visual images in history textbooks and advertisements (both printed and video). The

materials illustrate two different contexts of collective memory construction. Different material was used in each study, and the data were collected based on the study-specific research questions outlined in chapter 4.4. The data for each study are described in detail below:

Study I The material for Study I was drawn from textbooks¹ on Finnish history. Textbooks that concentrated on a specific period were excluded; only those claiming to cover the “whole” of Finnish history were taken into account. The data consisted of 541 images from three recent textbooks and were digitized for analytic purposes. The textbooks were the following: Jouko Vahtola (2003): *Suomen historia: jääkaudesta Euroopan unioniin* (History of Finland: from the ice age to the European Union), Pentti Virrankoski (2009): *Suomen historia 1 & 2* (History of Finland 1 & 2) and Seppo Zetterberg (ed.) (2003): *Suomen historian pikkujättiläinen* (The “Little Giant” of Finnish History). The image captions were also collected for analysis. All three textbooks had a wide circulation also beyond schools and universities. The books were published by well-established Finnish publishing houses, and the authors are professors of history in Finnish universities.

Study II The data for Study II consisted of the covers of textbooks on Finnish history and published between the years 1965 and 2014. The data are representative because they include all monographs that give an overview of Finnish history and were printed by major publishing houses in the period 1965–2014. Encyclopedias, books focused on specialized historical topics, as well as reprints with the same cover as the original were excluded. The final data consisted of twenty history book covers. Along with the books targeting Finnish audiences, their English translations were included in the data. Cover images were digitized for analytic purposes.

Study III The data for Study III consisted of material from a multimodal advertising campaign “Back to the Moments” (*Paluu hetkiin*) launched by the Finnish coffee company Paulig in 2014. The data included both printed and video material. Four printed advertisements were collected from the monthly supplement (*Kuukausiliite*) to Finland’s most widely circulated newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*. Also five videos (length 1:31–1:53 minutes) were collected from the campaign’s website. The video material was transcribed and the printed advertisements digitized for analytic purposes.

Study IV The data for Study IV were taken from recent dairy advertisements produced by the Finnish dairy company Valio. The data were collected from the company’s open YouTube channel on the Internet and included videos released between 2010 and 2016. In all, 15 advertisement videos exploiting time as their main frame of reference were selected for detailed analysis.

¹ In the studies I and II analyzed material could be defined as textbooks or alternatively just as history books. Many of them have been adopted as textbooks in universities. At the same time these books are also targeting of wide audience as they are sold in ordinary book stores and available in public libraries. For consistency I use the term textbooks.

5.4 ANALYTIC PROCEDURE

Semiotic analysis is a broad approach without strict traditions or rules, yet with an interest in the construction of meanings. Semiotics can be modified for different purposes, depending on the current research question. In the present dissertation, a visual semiotic approach was applied to research on four different sets of data. The analytic procedures were as follows:

Study I Semiotic analysis is often used to examine a limited number of images (e.g., van Leeuwen, 2001; Barthes, 1977), but in this study, it was used to analyze a large image corpus. Content analysis makes it possible to classify individual images systematically and group them into larger units (Bell, 2001). Content analysis was used here to bring understanding to general topics and identify characteristics of the large data set. After a restructure of the data through content analysis, it was possible to use a semiotic approach to interpret wider units instead of analyzing each individual image. In practice, the analysis proceeded from identification of concrete elements to more interpretive analysis – from the identification of denotative characteristics to the identification of connotative associations and finally to interpretation of the ideological and mythical narratives of the visual images.

Study II In Study II, a semiotic approach was combined with social representations theory to focus on the construction process of social knowledge, objectification, anchoring, and naturalization. The analysis followed the procedure outlined in Study I, with the general contents of the textbook cover images identified first followed by interpretation of their cultural meanings. The difference from Study I was that now the analysis focused on the elementary processes of social representations: objectification, anchoring, and naturalization. The smaller number of images made it possible to identify objectifications and anchorings of each cover image systematically. Even if in practice a clear separation of objectification and anchoring as denotation and connotation might not be possible, in the present study, these concepts were addressed: visual images were seen as a way of making concrete a social representation of history (objectification, denotation), a meaning that depends on the cultural position of the viewer (anchoring, connotation). Once the visual objectifications of history and their anchorings were identified, the data were again examined as one unit. Comparing the semiotic concept of myth with social representations process naturalization, it was interpreted what kind of history narrative the covers construct.

Study III In Study III, a semiotic approach was combined with Dyer's (1982) classification, which focuses on advertising as social communication. In practice, in identifying the denotations and connotations, attention was given to the way people and their social relations were shown in the visual images. Following Dyer's (1982) example, four dimensions in particular were

observed: representations of people (age, gender, ethnicity, etc.); representations of manners (poses, eye contact, etc.); activity (touch, body movement, etc.); props and settings in the image (background, lighting, etc.). Along with the printed advertisements, the material included moving images and verbal narration. The spoken lines in the videos were transcribed and analyzed as were the visual images by using Barthes' (1977, 1984) concepts, identifying the advertisements' central denotations and connotations.

Study IV In Study IV, a semiotic approach was used as a broad methodological background, and attention was given to processes of social representations and concepts of classical rhetoric (Aristotle, 1991; *Silva Rhetoricae*). As a result of rough content analysis, 15 videos with time as their main frame of system were selected for analysis. The videos were transcribed into five parallel columns based on different aspects of their advertisements: time, moving image, narration, text, and sound. Similar to Study II, the visual objectifications and anchorings of the data were identified first, and thereafter their rhetorical function was interpreted by using well-established concepts such as Aristotle's three appeals, *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*, and common figures of speech such as *metaphor*, *synecdoche*, and *enthymeme* (Aristotle, 1991; *Silva Rhetoricae*, 2017). Finally, the advertisements were discussed as a single unit in order to elaborate on the mythical narrative and the main argument they presented.

6 RESULTS

This chapter presents the main results of the four studies (studies I–IV). The first section summarizes the results of Studies I and II, which focused on visual images of Finnish national history as depicted in textbooks and cover images of textbooks. The next sections summarize the results of Studies III and IV, which focused on the use of time in advertisements as a main frame of reference.

6.1 VISUAL IMAGES OF NATIONAL HISTORY IN TEXTBOOKS

The analysis of visual images of Finnish national history in textbooks revealed the main content and underlying structures of the representations. In the Study I, the images were first analyzed from the perspective of their placement on a timeline; second, the geographical locations of the images were identified; and third, the central themes in the images were analyzed. In Study II, the cover images of selected history books published between 1965 and 2014 were examined from the perspective of forming social representations of history.

6.1.1 CONTENTS OF NATIONAL HISTORY

In an effort to analyze the temporal dimension of social representations of history, I was able to identify a specific year and locate it on a timeline in 373 visual images (out of 541). The investigation of the temporal locations of images representing the past 200 years of Finnish history showed that the images do not present history evenly, but rather cluster around specific years. Two particular years stand out for the number of their images – 1918 (with 20 images) and 1939 (with 16 images) – suggesting that these years play a special role in Finland’s history narrative. The year 1918 was a time of Civil War in Finland, and 1939 marked the outbreak of the Winter War. Smaller clusters of images are situated around the years 1940 (9 images), 1930 (8 images), and 1944, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1952, and 1956 (7 images each). The investigation of temporal location also showed that the period between 1926 and 1956 is the most extensively illustrated in the history textbooks. (Figure 2.)

Results

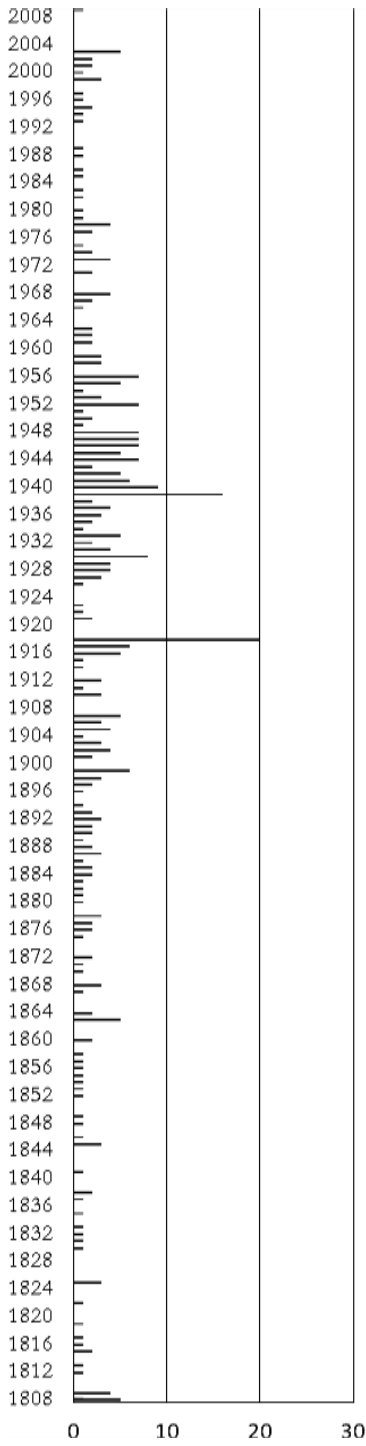


Figure 2 Temporal clustering of visual images in textbooks of Finnish history, 1808–2009 (N=373) (adapted from Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2016).

Similarly, the identification of geographical locations of the images reveals another aspect of the visual data and indicates the places that have the most significance in the textbook history narrative. It was possible to identify a specific geographical location in 153 of the images. Mapping them (Figure 3) shows that the images are crowded in southern Finland, especially around the capital, Helsinki. A total of 66 images explicitly depict the capital, yet the city is also present implicitly in many other images, for instance, in depictions of political events which took place there. The single place most often represented is Helsinki's Senate Square (15 images).

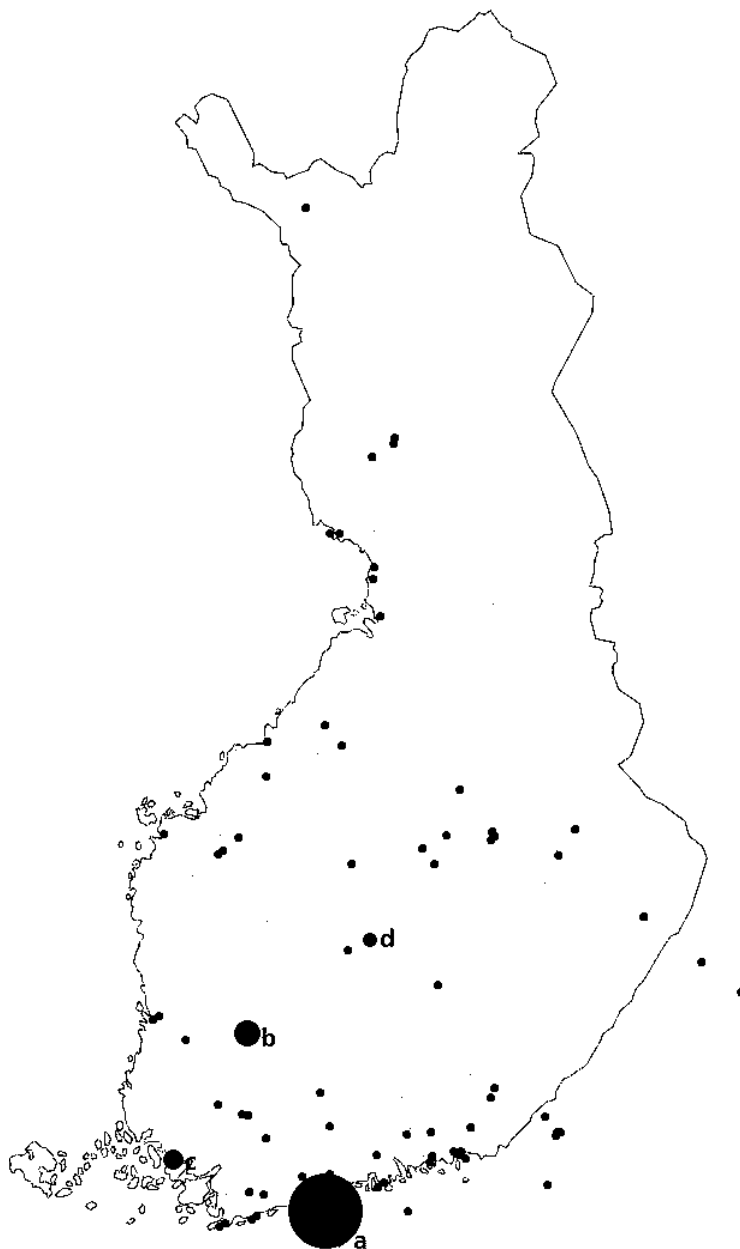


Figure 3. Geographical location of the images (N=153) from Finnish history textbooks on a map of Finland. Each black point corresponds to a single image. Four locations have more than one picture: a. Helsinki (n=66), b. Tampere (n=10), c. Turku (n=5), and d. Jyväskylä (n=2). (Adapted from Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2016.)

While the temporal and geographical clusterings show some of the central characteristics of the history narrative, they also reveal the years and places that have been marginalized. The period from 1926 to 1956 is the most extensively illustrated, and historical events before and after that time either have no visual representations or only a few. From the perspective of geographical location, the major part of the country lacks any visual portrayal in social representations of history.

The visual images were also examined for their themes. As a result of content analysis, eight main themes were identified. From the most frequent to the least frequent these were politics (N=202), the arts, science and sports (N=127), landscapes (N=100), war (N=95), internationality (N=54), society (N=41), religion (N=22), and other themes (N=46).

Politics, used here in a narrow sense to refer to parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activity, was the content most often depicted. Typically, the depictions were scenes of political goings-on in the parliament or pictures of demonstrations or images of politicians. Altogether, a total of 133 images showed and identified one or more actors. The most often portrayed individual in the entire data set was President Urho Kekkonen (18 images). Two other presidents, Carl Gustaf Mannerheim (11 images) and his successor President J. K. Paasikivi (11 images), appear more than once in each textbook. In general, politics is the most comprehensive theme across the 200-year span, ranging from the 1800s to the 2000s, while other themes tend to focus more on the years from the 1920s to the 1950s, as mentioned above.

There are numerous images on the themes of the arts, science and sports², with varied presentations of works of art, views of sports contests, and portraits of artists, composers, athletes, and scientists. No single artwork or person was emphasized.

City views and agriculture fill out the theme of landscapes. Only one image depicts nature alone. The most prominent views depict Senate Square in Helsinki.

The theme of war was represented by soldiers dressed in uniform, as well as other military subjects, but actual war scenes are lacking.

Internationality appears in photographs that depict foreign policy and official visits, peace negotiations, and sports competitions. The data include two maps showing Finland as part of Europe.

Also, given the total number of images, visual representations of society, or referring to social policy, societal phenomena, and different Finnish subgroups, are as rare as those showing internationality. The multifaceted

² These topics were combined under common theme as the fields of arts, science and sports were often overlapping each other in the early 20th century. In the visual images published in textbooks, for example Tapio Rautavaara was well-known actor, singer and Olympic champion athlete. Many academics pursued also an artistic career for example in the fields of poetry or literature. The statue of Olympic champion runner Paavo Nurmi, represents as much history of sports as history of fine arts in Finland.

theme of society depicts matters such as health (hospitals) and education (schools).

Religion is shown in the form of church architecture and human representatives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, which is the country's dominant religion.

Themes of the "other" include images that do not correspond to any of the previous ones. Owing to its heterogeneity, this theme was omitted from further analysis.

Similar to temporal and geographical investigations, an analysis of the central themes of the visual images informs us not only about contents of the images, but also about themes that are marginalized. When images focus specifically on politics, themes that have had an important place in the daily lives of the Finnish people are missing. Religion is one of these, as are sources of livelihood, education, and so on. When the theme of religion focuses solely on the Evangelical Lutheran Church, all other religious minorities, like the Eastern Orthodox Church and Judaism, are marginalized, yet they too have a long history in Finland.³ The data overall exclude nearly all of Finland's ethnic minorities. Of the 541 images, only three show minority groups: Sami people (who live in Lapland), Somalis, and Asian migrant workers. International connections in history are rare in visual images: most of the images analyzed are clearly national, depicting Finns in familiar homeland scenes. Furthermore, images that depict controversial events or suggest a critical evaluation of the accepted narrative are rare (images of the Finnish Civil War being an exception). In fact, the general tone of the visual narrative can be described as either positive or neutral.

6.1.2 NATURALIZATION OF NATIONAL HISTORY

The purpose of the cover is to summarize the content of a book in a visual form. Thus, the cover images of history books can be seen to present the core of representations. The main topic, "the history of Finland," is explicitly stated in titles of the covers studied here and thus serves as the principal framework for interpreting the cover images. In another context, the same images might tell quite a different story.

The analysis of cover images confirms the results of content analysis, since the same main themes are also visible on the covers. The politicians Urho Kekkonen, Carl Gustaf Mannerheim, Tarja Halonen (a more recent president of Finland) and the mythical sorcerer of the *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen, are depicted as the leaders of the country. On the covers, these figures can be seen as personifications that tell not only the story of individuals, but also represent

³ It is worth noting that the history of religion (church history) is taught as a separate subject in high school and academic level in Finland which may have led to separation of it from "general history".

a more general narrative of history. The anchorings of these personifications suggest that Finnish history is narrated as a story of strong leaders. The images also highlight the significant role of certain persons in that narrative.

The landscapes depicting both urban scenes and nature are also typical features of these covers. Nature itself is part of Finnish self-representation (Finell, 2005). The urban milieus are usual in histories intended for an international audience. The urban views connote cultivation and technological development, while the rural landscapes are anchored to the Finns' more distant history. The continuity of Finnish history from a remote past is emphasized in a title like "A Finnish History: From the Ice Age to the European Union," which anchors a shared history to prehistoric times or the mythical times depicted in the national epic, the *Kalevala*. In other words, the image of the country is built, on the one hand, on progress (in the cities) and, on the other hand, on tradition (in rural life).

In the older history books, objectifications of history are simple: a map showing the geographical location of the country or its national emblem, a coat of arms with a crowned lion. For an international audience, a map has the important task of anchoring Finland to Scandinavia and a Western past instead of to the history of the East. The coat of arms demonstrates authority, especially since the use of the emblem for commercial purposes is limited by law; the coat of arms is used for official documents such as passports and authorized for use by the Finnish police force and the Finnish army. The design refers to the geopolitical position of Finland as situated between East and West.

In the book covers examined from the early 2000s, the coat of arms and the maps had disappeared. The temporal investigation shows that the modes of illustrations had also changed, from minimalistic typographical design and symbolic images to a multiplicity of visual images. However, this change is more visible on the books targeting Finnish audiences. International editions have had only a single visual image on their cover since the 1960s. In recent Finnish history, book cover collages construct visual metaphors by juxtaposing images from different historical contexts under the heading "a history of Finland." Juxtaposition used as anchoring draws an imaginary connection between images and suggests that they have something in common, i.e., they are phases of the same narrative. When a picture of a prehistoric sculpture is placed alongside images of Winter War soldiers and President Kekkonen, the visually concretized meaning tells of a long continuity, which, from the perspective of collective memory and social identity, is a central function of history representations. Constructing a continuum is also the most explicit way to connect the past to the future, as it implies that the narrative will continue.

The analysis of cover images confirms the findings of the content analysis of the history books, namely, that the polemical issues of the past are not only apparent visually. The only striking detail is the appearance of Hitler on the one of the most recent covers (Image 1). The photograph shows Hitler walking

next to the Finnish leader Carl Gustaf Mannerheim, and their uniforms suggest that the event took place during World War II. On the one hand, it is possible to anchor Hitler as an opponent of the national hero Mannerheim shown in the same picture. On the other hand, the image anchors Finnish history to one of the most prominent events in world history, the World War II.



Image 1. Detail from a cover image. The depiction of Mannerheim and Hitler is in the middle. Meinander, H. (2014), *Suomen historia: Linjat, rakenteet, käännekohtat* [A History of Finland: Lines, structures and turning points] (Helsinki: Schildts & Söderströms).

Because the analysis of the cover images shows that the social representations of Finnish history are limited to a few persons and landscapes, it is not reasonable to list all possible figures and dimensions that have been omitted. However, the omission of one central national symbol is worth mentioning: the Finnish flag. In all of the material, a visual image of the flag appears only one time, as a part of collage. However, deeper analysis of the covers shows that visual references to the flag do in fact appear in most of the books in the color blue and its different shadings. This is the most widely shared visual element across the material.

For example Páez et al. (2015) argue that shared symbols, such as flags and emblems, objectify ideologies, reflect most important socially shared meanings and evoke collective emotions. The Finnish flag, a blue cross against a white background, is anchored to the country's independence and also connected with Christian religion and Nordic history. The colors themselves have associations with other symbols of the country, such as pure snow, blue sky, and thousands of lakes. The flag can be thus seen as an umbrella symbol that gathers different meanings of Finland and Finnishness beneath it (Finell, 2005). In the visual communications, color can be seen as a unifying tool that combines different visual elements into one unit or narrative, identified in the titles of the books as "the history of Finland." Following Barthes' (1977) terms, separate elements begin to represent a myth of Finnishness.

Because there are always more images available for presenting history than a single cover can include, the covers clearly demonstrate information selection in the objectification process (Jodelet, 2008). Selected visual images are schematized by means of a title to tell Finnish history, and thus, are integrated, in Moscovici's (1984) terms, into a complex of images that construct a figurative nucleus of social representation. The cover images tell a story of Finnishness that began in pre-historic time and has remained unbroken down to the present day. At the level of myth, such a time line indicates that Finland has endured thousands of years and is likely to continue (or must continue) into the future. In this myth, Finnish history is a story of wars and advanced culture. There have been wars both in prehistory (as shown in 19th century paintings that depict stories in the *Kalevala*) and in the twentieth century (for example, the Winter War). The battles have been led by strong leaders, the heroes of the narrative. All of these elements are packaged together in the color blue. (Image 2.)

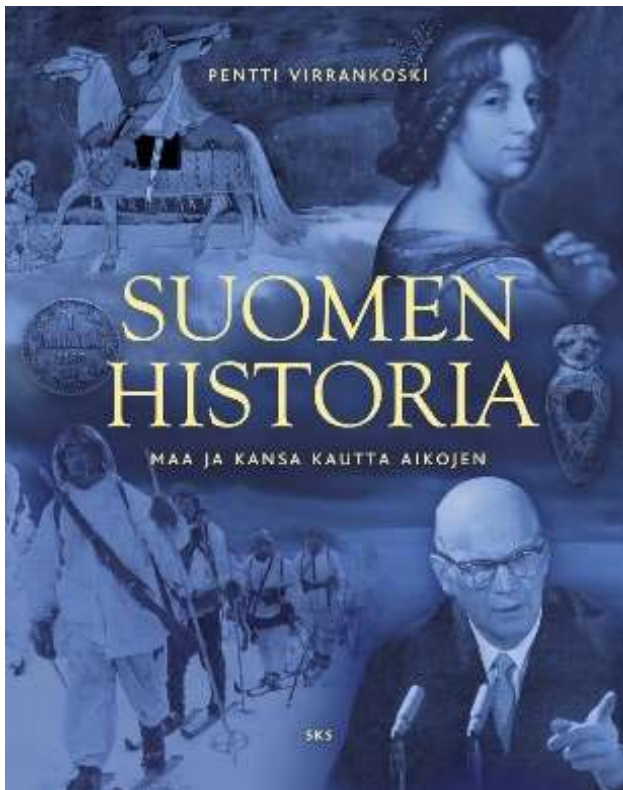


Image 2. Virrankoski, P. (2012). *Suomen historia: Maa ja kansa kautta aikojen* [A History of Finland: country and people throughout the ages]. Helsinki: SKS.

However, the shared blue tone also reveals that the naturalized story of long continuity is a relatively new invention: the Finnish blue and white flag originated in the year 1918. Earlier, the unofficial colors of the country were rather different, for example: red and yellow or red, yellow, and either blue or red (e.g. Klinge, 1981). Today these other colors are no longer used as symbols of Finland, because they could be associated with the flags of neighboring countries, especially the former Soviet Union. The absence of these other colors thus reveals the naturalized use of a national visual grammar.

6.2 TEMPORALITY IN THE ADVERTISEMENTS

Visual rhetoric is present in our daily lives in multiple forms. The focus of the second part of this dissertation was on visual persuasion and the use of time as the main frame of reference in selected Finnish advertisements. In Study III, the advertisement campaign “Back to the Moments” was investigated from the perspective of nostalgia, while in Study IV, video advertisements for Finnish dairy products were analyzed from the perspective of visual rhetoric.

6.2.1 PERSUASION THROUGH NOSTALGIA

The campaign “Back to the Moments” was launched in January 2014. It promoted one of the most frequently sold Finnish coffee brands called *Juhla Mokka* (“Celebration Mocha”). The overall campaign included both printed and video commercials. The main idea was to stage and use moments depicted in old photographs. Videos show the staging and duplication processes, and the advertisements placed old and new photographs alongside one another. For example, the campaign’s advertisement for July 2014 (*Kuukausiliite* 7/2014) includes an old photograph showing two girls in a medium close-up shot, while a newer photograph depicts two women posed as in the first image and wearing what appear to be the same dresses. The product being promoted appears in the corner of the advertisement (Image 3).

85 **X** UUTTA

PALUU HETKIIN

Olmme Juhla Mokka kahvin 80 v. juhlavuotta kunniakirjo, valit-
 kuvakirjelmä ja muu 80-vuotisjuhla-aiheinen materiaali. Paluu muistoi-
 kuksi. Uusi karkkilaatikko ja muistokirja kassan mukana.
 Kuvakirja sisältää: Kuten silloin, Kuten tänään ja Uusi kuva-
 kirja kaikki kuvakirjan sisältöineen juhlakalenteriin.

"Siis siinä on kaikki" 1973 & 2014

TEE OMA PALUUHETKIIN-KUVAVALOISI.
 ja voit suomen kielen Mokka-kahvi sekä kahvini-lehden suomenkiel-
 tsiit ja lukea kuvakirja om. Instagramissa, Twitterissä tai Facebookissa.
 Kahvi-pöytä: Pöytäkahvit ja kahvikoneita.

TUNTEILLA JA MAUULLA JO VUODESTA 1929

Image 3. Back to the Moments. *Kuukausiliite* 7/2014.

Other advertisements followed a similar format and included one to three people. The heading “Back to the Moments” refers to the name of the campaign and provides a frame of reference for reading the pair of photographs: the campaign purported to show how using the product might bring to mind memorable moments of the past. Product-associated nostalgia was created by mentioning the brand’s long history: “With emotion and expertise since the year 1929.” The short slogan emphasizes tradition and the uniqueness of the product, two characteristics of nostalgia that have been highlighted in previous research (Cova, Kessous, & Roux, 2008), along with appealing to the emotions. The basis for drawing on collective memory is given in the advertisement: “We celebrate the past by making it the future.” In the slogan the past and the future are connected. The purpose of the campaign, following Barthes’ (1977) description of prototypical types of advertisement, was to shift the positive meanings of a symbolic image (here the pair of photographs) to the product (packages of coffee) (see also Williamson, 1978). The campaign’s slogan gave the audience clues to interpret the visual material.

The primary connotation of the parallel photographs is that, even though time passes, there is constancy in the world and even the possibility, as the slogan suggests, to go back to special moments. The old photographs show these important moments: siblings on a summer holiday, children eating home-made pastry, a father and his daughters in front of their home or celebrating a birthday (*Kuukausiliite* 1/2014, 3/2014, 7/2014, 8/2014). The intended shift of meaning is that by using the product, i.e., drinking Celebration Mocha coffee, time stops and you can live your memorable moment again.

Nostalgic emotionality was created not only by printed advertisements, but also through videos that reflected the stories behind the original images. Together these elements objectify childhood, youth, and home. A descriptions such as “*This picture will always remind us of how our mother took care of six children.... In the picture, there is the safety of childhood*” (Video 5) or “*our mother made these clothes... we love them. At the moment, our mother is seriously ill, and what she really wants perhaps most of all is this photograph of us. The idea that she would see this photo again – this would be a glimmer of joy in her life [wipes away tears]. I shouldn’t [cry],*” (Video 4) anchors the “memorable moments” to the issues which correspond to the previous definitions of nostalgia as feelings of sorrow over loss mixed with the happiness of memorable events (Davis, 1979; Wildschut et al., 2006; Hepper et al., 2014).

Since the advertisement videos are done in a documentary style – for instance, including the names of the people in the photographs – there is no need to doubt the truthfulness of their stories and the emotions they show. The appearance of real emotions in the context of a commercial obscures the fact that the aim of the videos is to promote a product. Through that these advertisements produce a sense of authenticity, which is one characteristic of product nostalgia (Hemetsberger & Pirker, 2006). Visually, an aura of authenticity is created by a casual snapshot style (instead of studio photographs), as well as by the documentary style of the interviews in the videos.

Since the age range of the target customers for a product like coffee is broad, the elements of nostalgia are largely general. Generality is also created by showing ordinary people instead of well-known actors or models. Similarly, the props and settings used as visual objectifications are only suggestive: a kitchen, a garden, a dining room, yet at the same time, they are familiar because there is nothing strange in them. The kitchen, the green lawn, or a wooden house could be from almost any Finnish family album. The function of these visual choices is to make the identification and stimulation of collectively shared concepts, values, and predictions more probable.

The analysis of the textbooks (Study I) shows how the selected images create a border vis-à-vis the themes that are excluded. Similarly, the advertisement campaign shows daughters and fathers in the photographs, but not mothers. However, the background stories, such as “*Our mother loved*

birthday parties, and those were always celebrated,” (Video 1) or *“The photo is associated with the memory of maternal care,”* (Video 4) bring mothers into the campaign’s nostalgic narrative. Ultimately, nostalgia was created by anchoring past scenes to a traditional image of motherhood in which a warm-hearted mother is nursing, sewing, and baking for her children. By alluding to mothers only by association rather than showing them visually made it possible to anchor the nostalgic collective narrative to a viewer’s personal childhood. Generally shared conceptions and ideals of childhood, such as happiness, ease, and safety, are thereby adapted to the viewer’s personal life and shifted to nostalgia. Group-based and personal nostalgia overlap seamlessly.

Following Barthes’ (1977, 1984) terms, the denotations and connotations of childhood, home, and motherhood construct an everyday myth that serves the ideological function of presenting the past as an object of desire; desire of “maternal care” and “safety of childhood”. The myth makes the values and attitudes toward the object appear natural and authentic. The coffee campaign’s central themes resonated with the always topical public discussion and societal concerns about the requirements of a good childhood, home, and motherhood. In the public discourse, it is often argued that these things were somehow better in the past (e.g., Davis, 1979; Mintz, 2004). According to Mintz (2004), one’s past home is seen as a bastion of stability; moreover, there is a conception that the innocence of childhood is declining compared with the past. Similarly, motherhood has been said to be challenged and the very idea of family to be in crisis (e.g., Hadfield, Rudoe, & Sanderson-Mann, 2007; Johnston & Swanson, 2003). In the context of the campaign’s marketing purposes, nostalgia was thus motivated by a shared concern that life today has lost some of the positive elements it once had, but consumption can ease this loss. Even though the campaign represents only one voice in the public discourse, it reinforces existing myths and anachronistic collective memories of a shared past.

6.2.2 PERSUASION THROUGH NATIONAL TRADITION

The coffee advertisement campaign analyzed in Study III demonstrated subtle means of visual persuasion through nostalgia. In the last part of the dissertation (Study IV), the focus is explicitly on the tools of visual persuasion, that is, visual rhetoric. The analysis of recent Finnish dairy product video advertisements explores how the visual argument was constructed in a multimedia format.

The present study focuses on the dairy advertisements launched by the Finnish company Valio, which is the biggest dairy company in Finland. Valio is owned by co-operative dairies, which in turned are owned by the dairy farmers. Since the 1980s, Valio has been one of the top advertisers in Finland

based on the money spent on advertising as well on its visibility in the media (Latostenmaa 1997).

The videos analyzed here had two distinctively different ways of using temporality as a frame of reference. Half of the advertisements used ordinary people as characters and told a story of traditionalism and unbroken continuity between generations of farmers, for example:

Excerpt 1. We owners – Juntti’s brothers (2016)

| Time | Moving image | Narration | Text | Music/ Sound |
|-------|--|---|-------------|--------------------------|
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 03:06 | Farmers stand in the door of a cowshed and look towards the camera | We have done this kind of work since we were children. And it’s a point of honor. It is a point of honour to continue the work of past generations. | “We owners” | Speaker’s voice trembles |
| 03:18 | | | | |

The other half showed a celebrated Finnish ice hockey player, thereby creating an association between individual success in sports and the success of the nation in the context of dairy production or hard work in general:

Excerpt 2. “Blue and white expertise from generation to generation” (2012)

| Time | Moving image | Narration | Text | Sound |
|-------|---|--|----------------|-----------------------|
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 00:23 | Selänne raises a thumb to a junior player who makes a goal. | A narrator: Valio academy. Blue and white expertise from generation to generation. | Company’s name | Sounds of ice-skating |
| 00:26 | | | | |
| 00:30 | A product. A glass of milk. Blue and white colors. | | | |

All of the advertisements share common elements, especially the emphasis on the continuity of the past into the present and future. The advertisements imply that the consumption of Valio’s products is tantamount to participating in this tradition: *“That we can produce high-quality Valio milk for Finns is a value in itself.”* This message is strengthened, for example, by showing the ice hockey player drinking milk and remembering the past or an ordinary Finnish family enjoying their food traditions and remembering how already

“Grandma” had trusted these domestic ingredients. Rhetorically, the setting uses *synecdoche*, a figure of speech in which a part is made to represent the whole: the family and the sports hero represent a nation (see, e.g., Pickering & Keightley, 2014). In other words, the advertisements are about Finnishness, not a celebrity athlete or a single family. This reading of the visual message is established by verbal references to Finnishness: “*Finnish grit [sisu] combined with skill is quite a good combination*” or “*She [Grandma] accepted only pure Finnish ingredients. She always said that others can eat what they eat, but our people eat from our own soil.*”

In the advertisements using ordinary people, *ethos*, confirming the credibility of the company and its products, is created by referring to a distant past. The company was established in 1905, but the farms shown in the films date back to a more distant time (e.g., “Established 1765”), implying that the tradition was begun centuries ago. Metaphors such as “*as long as water flows in the river*” suggest that practically nothing can obstruct this continuity. The credibility of the message and the authenticity of the product are strengthened visually by a documentary video style and by the everyday manner of the people’s speech. A feeling of continuity into the future is created both verbally and visually by references to the new generations of farmers and their children. (Image 4.)



Image 4. Consumer and product (left). Farmers in three generations (right). Screenshot from Valio Ltd.’s YouTube video advertisement “The Story of Oivariini” [Oivariinin tarina] (2016).

Just as emphasizing the long history of Finnish dairy production relies on *ethos*, the credibility of the message, that is, the lines referring to the past and the future, also make a strong to appeal *pathos*, that is, to the viewers’ emotions. Similar to the “Back to the Moments” campaign (Study III), here too emotions are based on childhood memories that almost evoke tears, as in “*We’ve done this work since we were children. And it’s a point of honor*” (the speaker’s voice trembles). To present real emotions in documentary style videos is also a way of increasing the sense of credibility. By including statistics showing how many Finns earn their income from dairy production (“*We employ more than 30,000 Finns in the country and in cities.*”), the advertisements appeal to *logos*, persuading by reason, which in this context is

geared to convince the audience that dairy production is not a marginal topic, but a significant source of livelihood. All in all, both consumption and production are presented as forms of tradition and framed verbally as “Finnish”): *“My brother and I are now the ninth owners [of the dairy farm]. And the tenth has already been born.... And it’s a point of honor... to continue the work of past generations”* or *“Blue-and-white expertise from generation to generation,”* while visually the colors blue and white are shown (Image 5).



Image 5. Former ice hockey star remembers the past (left). Product and slogan “Blue and white milk” (right). Screenshot from Valio Ltd.’s YouTube video advertisement “Teemu and a glass of expertise” [*Teemu ja tuoppi taitoa*] (2014).

In some advertisements, Finnishness is referred to by mentioning “Finnish farmers,” “Finnish work,” and “a Finnish company,” as well as more indirect expressions such as “our people” or “from our own soil.” In the series of advertisements starring the Finnish former ice hockey star Teemu Selänne, nationalism is associated with success in sports and is again strengthened visually by the colors blue and white. Similar to the analysis of the textbook covers (Study II), the dairy advertisements show that the colors of the Finnish flag constitute the basis for anchoring intended meanings to deeply-rooted conceptions of Finnishness. Latostenmaa (1997) notes, that company has used subtle blue and white coloring in its advertisements decisively also in the past decades.

Selänne himself has a history in the dairy commercials: he was recruited by the company for their advertisements as early as 1992. In the 2010s, one of the advertisements shows him remembering the past by watching a younger generation playing ice hockey. Selänne’s words anchor Finnishness to proficiency and the term “true grit” (in Finnish, *sisu*), which has strong national associations for the Finns:

Excerpt 3. “Teemu and a glass of expertise” (2014)

| Time | Moving image | Narration | Text | Music/Sound |
|-------|---|--|------|---|
| 00:03 | Selänne sits in a darkened ice rink, holding a milk carton and looking into the distance. | The voice of Selänne: There is no shortcut to happiness. It’s the result of hard work. And the fact that you want to learn. | | Sound of ice-skating growing louder. |
| 00:14 | | | | |
| 01:24 | The lights come on. Young players ice-skate around the rink. | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 01:42 | Selänne and junior players raise their glasses of milk at the bar where other customers are watching the ice hockey game. | Finnish grit [<i>sisu</i>] combined with skill is quite a good combination. There are two elements like... it is unbeatable. | | Voice of a sports commentator [in English]. |
| 01:44 | | | | |

Overall, the series of advertisement argues that in Finland, dairy production is a source of pride just as is success in sports, and furthermore, milk production helps to create work and foster the expertise required for the nation’s future success. The idea of a whole series of videos with a celebrity star relies on a visual *metaphor* in which an older ice hockey player is shown with young players, the implication being that milk somehow mediates the transition of qualities behind the player’s success to the new generations. This message and its nationalistic anchoring is emphasized verbally by the slogan “*blue and white proficiency from generation to generation,*” which also combines the past, the present, and the future in a continuum. Dairy production is presented as the Finns’ common heritage.

In one way, different dairy advertisements respond to current concerns about food production by showing visual evidence (demonstrative mode [Shelley, 1996]) of the conditions on Finnish farms as well as the strong commitment of the farmers to produce high-quality food for Finns. The videos also make a schematized association between the dairy company and the Finnish nation (rhetorical mode [Shelley, 1996]). The one theme common to all of the advertisements analyzed here is the emphasis on hard work. The concept of “Finnish work” is highlighted and presented as a value in itself: “*Skill requires work. And Finnish milk produces more Finnish work*”; “*It is a point of honor to continue the work of past generations.*” The primary implication of the message is that the company or our consumption of its products will secure that value.

To sum up, the advertisements using temporality as their main frame of reference exploit the rhetorical tool of *enthymeme*, omitting one premise in an argument to be completed by the audience. The given premises are that a) hard work is a value and b) Finnish dairy production is securing that value. The

missing premise is that Finnish work is somehow threatened and requires securing. The threat is not mentioned or shown explicitly, but in the advertisements in the 2010s, it could be alluded to by mentioning cheap foreign production of food.

As mentioned, Valio is owned by owned by co-operative dairies, which are owned by the dairy farmers. The analysis shows that, in addition to promoting certain products, the advertisements advocate political aims that favor Finnish agriculture (i.e., farm subsidies) and more generally favor regional policies intended to preserve services and the infrastructure in the Finnish countryside. Through visual rhetoric, the commercials are doing their part in the continuous struggle to form social representations of farming and food in society. From the perspective of visual persuasion, social representation anchoring to tradition and the connection between generations serves to project a sense of continuity between the past, present, and future and, following Meyers' (2009) argument, constructs collective memory of "Finnish food production" and "Finnish work". Anchoring an advertisement to Finnishness creates the idea that the company and its products are actually a common project and an important part of national identity.

7 DISCUSSION

In this dissertation, I have examined the connection between social representations of history and collective memory in two contexts: textbooks on Finnish history and Finnish commercial advertisements. The focus of the dissertation has been on the social psychology of visual images. The main purpose has been to contribute to the field of visual collective memory by developing its theory and methods. Theoretically, the dissertation has attempted to expand the basic concepts of social representations theory – anchoring, objectification, and naturalization – to equip them to explain better the dynamics of deep rooted social representations, such as collective memory. The discussion of the relationship between semiotics and social representations theory has both methodological and theoretical dimensions. The suggestion made here has been to integrate elementary concepts of social representations theory into the semiotic concepts of denotation, connotation, and myth.

In this chapter, I will first discuss the empirical findings and theoretical suggestions and their contribution to future research into collective memory and social representations of history. Thereafter, I will discuss the methodological questions pertaining to visual analysis in social psychology. The limitations of the present study are discussed at the end of the chapter, while prospects for future research are dealt with throughout the section.

7.1 VISUAL CRYSTALLIZATIONS OF HISTORY IN TEXTBOOKS OF FINNISH HISTORY

The studies of Finnish history textbook covers addressed the contents of social representations of Finnish history vis-à-vis the visual collective memory of the Finns. The studies also addressed the construction process of this common knowledge and focused on naturalization, i.e., the phase in which knowledge turns taken for granted. In this section the main findings are contextualized with regard to previous research and their relevance to research on collective memory. Social representations of history in general are also discussed.

7.1.1 CONTENTS OF VISUAL COLLECTIVE MEMORY

In the results of this dissertation, the visual content of the social representations of history coincided with previous studies conducted in other countries (e.g., Liu et al., 2005, 2012; Pennebaker et al., 2006), which have shown that politics, war, and certain important individuals are characteristic

themes of collective memory (see also Páez et al, 2015). The present findings also have similarities with previous surveys of Finns (Ahonen, 1998; Torsti, 2012), which emphasize, for example, the iconic role of the presidency of Urho Kekkonen and the role of Carl Gustaf Mannerheim in the country. However, in the surveys, politics played a less important role in people's conceptions (Torsti, 2012) than it does in the present study. Study I showed that, in the visual images in textbooks, politics was in fact the main content, and thus a central theme in the Finns' visual narrative of history. There may be various reasons for this incongruity: either the visual images represent a hegemonic version of history and peoples' conceptions of that differ or the theme of politics is so abstract and broad that it is difficult to describe in answers to a survey. A similar incongruity exists between the role of the arts, science, and sports found in this study and earlier research, where "culture" was shown to play a minor role in conceptions of history (Liu et al., 2005; Pennebaker et al., 2006; Torsti, 2012). Generally, following de Rosa and Farr's (2001) suggestion, because the nature of visual images is to make abstract phenomena concrete and visible, there might be differences between verbal and visual objectifications of history. However, it should be noted that the images analyzed here constitute only one vehicle of memory in the textbooks. In the future, it would be fruitful to investigate how the different media – visual images and text – are used to complement each other or whether they are even telling the same historical narratives.

The chronology of the images (Study I) shows how the visual depictions were clustered around the war years 1918 and 1939. The important role of wars (especially World War II) in social representations of history has been emphasized in previous studies (Liu et al., 2005; Pennebaker et al., 2006). But in previous Finnish studies, only the later year, 1939, which marked the outbreak of the Winter War, has been highlighted (Ahonen, 1998; Torsti, 2012). The incongruity with the present study is significant, since the analysis showed that the Civil War in 1918 was the event most often shown in the history textbook images. From the perspective of the historical narrative, there are significant differences in the nature and social meanings of these two wars. The Winter War can be seen as a unified fight by the Finns against an external threat (the Soviet Union), while the Civil War represents the internal rupture of the newly declared nation. A deeper understanding of the role of these two major events in the narrative would require further research, but a tentative answer could be that the Civil War is still, after almost a century, a main point of contention in the Finns' common past. It cannot be silenced or bypassed, yet requires public discussion. Thus, on the one hand, a large number of images represent the difficulty of the topic, while on the other hand, the visual images try to make it accessible. It is also possible that the dilemmatic nature of the event is adopted as an elementary feature of its collective memory. In other words, the dilemmatic position itself can be the source of familiarity of civil war. The coming centennial in 2018 will provide an opportunity to

observe how this challenging event, unparalleled in Finnish history, will be represented in public discussion.

A central characteristic of collective memory that emerged from the chronological analysis as well as from previous studies (Liu et al., 2005) is that the last century is considered to have been more eventful than previous centuries. The clustering of images on the timeline shows that the textbooks' focus was on the first part of the twentieth century, but in the most recent of these, visual representations are absent. One reason may be that the most recent decades are still alive in the memories of living generations, and history research has not settled on the consensual interpretation of central events, turning points, and dominating figures of these years. Furthermore, a social psychological analysis of historiography could show how the institutional narratives have been construed and explore the question, if their settling require – as implied by the chronological analysis of the present study – that the generations who have lived these histories are stepping aside? However, it should be noted that there might be also more prosaic reason for lack of recent images: reproducing images is costly, not only from the production standpoint, but also because copyrights may have to be paid.

Together, the analysis of the textbook illustrations (Study I) and the cover images (Study II) shows that powerful individual actors have played an important role in the social representation of Finnish history. President Urho Kekkonen was the person most often depicted, and it is thus reasonable to argue that he was used as a personification of Finnish history, at least on the covers of the history textbooks examined here. Previous studies (Ahonen, 1998; Torsti, 2012) have shown Kekkonen's prominent role in the Finns' conceptions of the past. Other persons shown on the textbook covers, especially the mythical sorcerer of the *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen, and Carl Gustaf Mannerheim, have a similar iconic stature. Ahonen (1998) has suggested that people want to identify with figures who have had an influence on the course of history, and certain individuals are believed to have played such a role. In the Finnish context, it is notable that these three figures not only have favorable reputations, but also evoke associations that are rather multifaceted. Perhaps this makes them even more readily identifiable and interesting as central figures in the Finns' historical narrative.

The analysis of the textbook cover images (Study II) shows that female characters were also included. The first woman to be elected president of Finland, Tarja Halonen, was shown on three recent covers along with her male predecessors. Halonen, who served her term as president in the years 2000–2012, is one of the few living persons to appear on these textbooks. In the cover images she may anchor the Finnish idea of equality, which was shown to be important in surveys (Torsti, 2012), but which was not represented in visual images in the history textbooks (Study I). Exactly how actors, or in the terms of narrative analysis, the protagonists, can represent an entire history or epoch requires further research. Longitudinal research focusing on iconic individuals would show how a real person in history is turned into a social symbol and

becomes a personification and naturalized part of common knowledge and collective memory.

In the literature, Moretti (2005) has argued that a graphic presentation such as mapping is a useful tool for showing the “emerging qualities” of the data. In other words, a graphic representation may offer a way to show hidden dimensions of wide research material. A chronological investigation enables a temporal structure of a history narrative to emerge. Locating the photographs on the map helps to show where the narrative takes place. The mapping also makes it possible to identify the main sites of collective memory, in Nora’s (1989) terms, *lieux de mémoire*. In Finnish history, Helsinki’s Senate Square is definitely a central place of memory. Wagoner (2015) has stated that places can implicitly link new events to old ones and thereby work as a collective resource for anchoring new ideas. In this sense, the mnemonic capacity of Senate Square is strong, since it has been the forum for many significant events throughout the nation’s history. Furthermore, around the square are situated the main building of the university, the Great (Lutheran) Church, and the Palace of the Council of State – structures that represent the academic, religious, and societal pillars of Finland. Not least, the square resonates with *agora* – the meeting point of free people in the ancient Greek city-states.

Visual images of places as well as the places themselves can work as vehicles of memory, when they are used to remind us of past events and to symbolize common values (e.g., the use of Senate Square to refer to a civil society) (Nora, 1989). These places are often venues of social rituals and commemorations (Connerton, 1989) and could thus provide opportunities for social psychologists to observe how visual and material representations of the past are connected to other modes of commemoration (i.e., practices such as the celebration of Independence Day in Senate Square) and again, longitudinally, how these places have acquired their status as places of memory.

The analysis of the visual images’ content also reveals absences in the narrative. The chronological gap is discussed above, while mapping shows that most of the country does not have a role in the narrative. Especially the poorer countryside in eastern and northern Finland is left almost completely in the shadow in the visual images in textbooks. The same applies to the people who live and have lived in these areas. More broadly, the analysis shows that national history is emphatically national and can be described as isolationist and inward-looking. Internationality, for example, in the form of the European Union had only a marginal role in the images. The images also create a homogeneous picture of Finnishness, because ethnic and religious minority groups are almost completely missing. Based on the visual images, history is a narrative of the past of Evangelical Lutheran Finnish-speaking people living in the cities of southern part of the land called Finland. The finding goes along with previous research which has shown that hegemonic conceptions of history reflect the representations of dominant culture or majority group (Páez et al., 2015).

This finding corresponds with the practice of underlining the homogeneous and positive characteristics of history while marginalizing dissimilarities and conflicts (Ahonen, 1998; Torsti, 2012). In recent years, the role of social nostalgia in collective remembering has been noted: according to Torsti (2012), Finns are describing their history as a success story. Belleli and Amatulli (1997) noted that a national past is often seen through the rose-colored lens of nostalgia. A subtle nostalgia is functional from the perspective of collective memory: because shared memories are a way of supporting a group's cohesion, it is more comfortable to see the common past more positive than negative. In this sense, the role of Finland's Civil War discussed above as well as other disruptions in the cohesive narrative should be observed more deeply to determine how memories of troubling pasts are negotiated in situations when it is not possible to keep silent. Are the challenging features turned to strengths in bolstering the in-group's historical identity? Or does the discussion of troublesome histories create a more reflective and self-critical attitude to the past and the present, with the future remaining an open question?

7.1.2 PROCESSES OF VISUAL COLLECTIVE MEMORY

The analysis of the Finnish history textbook covers revealed how the color blue, a reference to the Finnish flag, was used to bring together different elements of the narrative (Study II). The finding reminds us that not all meaningful visual elements represent physical objects (like a person or a landscape), but can be also subtle and therefore almost unnoticeable. The color blue, which objectifies the Finnish flag and anchors it to the idea of Finnishness, was the clearest example of naturalized social representations. Its pervasive presence was confirmed in the advertisement analysis (Study IV), which was a completely different context from that of the history textbooks. The color blue can be used to tie different elements of the past from different eras as a coherent narrative as for example Image 2. (p.55) shows.

Naturalized social representations are so widely shared among the members of a group that they may be difficult to detect, especially by an in-group member. Kress and van Leeuwen (2002) talk about a grammar of color, which refers to culturally-constructed rules of using different visual elements. Following their argument, the colors in a national flag can be interpreted as a powerful vehicle of collective memory, one which also draws a border between "us" and "them." Those who know how to use certain colors accurately are more likely to be members of an in-group than those who do not speak the same visual language, i.e. do not know the rules of visual grammar. In the context of Finnish history, hues of red or yellow would be jarring, since they would be anchored to the neighboring countries, Russia and Sweden, which were former rulers of Finland.

The naturalized nature of blue as a symbol makes it difficult to analyze all the meanings to which it is anchored. At the very least, it is a direct reference to the independence of the country, since the blue and white colors displaced previous, unofficial flags soon after the country became independent in 1917. However, it is likely that the flag colors are also associated with other meanings than those which are most obvious. A multi-method approach, such as an association analysis, along with visual analysis would deepen our understanding of blue as the color of Finnishness and in general of how the grammar of colors is used to communicate naturalized social representations.

The colors of the Finnish flag demonstrate the process of naturalization in which social knowledge acquires a firm position in the minds of group members. Naturalized social representations are taken for granted, and their historical nature, such as a specific color having been selected as a symbol of the country only relatively recently, is obscured. Even though history narratives that include naturalized characteristics may seem to be more stable than other forms of social representations, they are not inescapably rigid. As Jovchelovitch (2012) has noted, there is a constant dialogue between normative and diverse narratives, which provides opportunities for alternative and contradictory representations. Over time, these alternative representations, for example, a new interpretation of historical events, may find their place in the grand narrative and displace other characteristics. Marková (2003) too has emphasized the role of negotiation and dispute in the process of constructing common conceptions. However, substantial changes in the interpretations of national history are not usual unless the whole social order of the nation is shaken and the common identity requires a re-evaluation (examples may be found in the histories of post-Soviet countries and countries moving away from authoritarian rule; see, e.g., Shevel, 2011).

Most changes are small and gradual. As Bauer and Gaskell (1999) suggested, social representations have a temporal dimension, and as the social context changes, the social representations also change. The observation of these changes in the visual images of the history would require a thorough longitudinal approach. It would also show how the visual symbols of a nation are socially constructed over time. In the present dissertation, the analysis of history textbook covers made it possible to demonstrate some aspects of a longitudinal approach on a small scale and show that there are changes in the ways history has been portrayed at different times. However, where the visual images are concerned, the technical restrictions of printing in the earlier decades presented challenges to the analysis. Older history books often have more text than images, and analyzing the changes of visual representations of history would thus require more varied data, such as films, plays, paintings and other visual manifestations of the past.

Despite the above-mentioned limitation, the visual analysis of the textbook covers revealed significant details. The limited space on book covers forced publishers to show only the essential aspects of Finnish history, the core of the social representation. The purpose of a cover is to communicate a book's

content, authority, and genre. Thus, the narratives of history suggested by the covers were even more homogeneous than in the visual images contained in their pages. However, there was one exception: one cover showed Adolf Hitler, a man who has been considered the most evil person in history (Liu et al., 2005) along with a Finnish hero, Carl Gustaf Mannerheim (Study IV). Following the theorization on the nature of history narratives advanced by Wertsch (2008), a single photograph, like the one showing Hitler and Mannerheim, represents, on the one hand, a specific narrative of a meeting of the leaders of Finland and Nazi Germany. On the other hand, in the context of the broader discussion of Finland's role in World War II, the photograph can be considered to represent a schematic narrative and interpreted to reflect ongoing changes in social representations of history.

The discussion takes up the question of whether Finland was allied with Nazi Germany during World War II or whether the country was waging a "separate" war. There has not been any consensus among academics, and after the end of the war, the whole issue was highly sensitive. In the 1960s, the historian Arvi Korhonen (1961) stated that Finland was just a pawn in the hands of the great powers. He objectified the challenging period of history with the term "driftwood" (*ajopuu*), which is anchored to the idea of a passive (and innocent) actor in the throes of history. In the time of a strong Soviet Union, this interpretation was functional and safe. However, as the political situation changed, the social representation was also re-shaped. In the late 1980s during a the time of weakening eastern power, the historian Mauno Jokipii (1987) stated that Finland was a *koskivene* – a boat meant for shooting rapids – an active agent that played its role with skill while under pressure from stronger powers.

With the change in the political context in the 1990s, including the collapse of the Soviet Union and Finnish membership in the European Union, it was possible to re-evaluate this aspect of the past more deeply. In 2008, the main Finnish newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* reported, "Historians leave behind old dispute: according to interviews, Finland was a collaborator with Nazi Germany" (Mäkinen, 2008). According to the survey, sixteen Finnish history professors agreed that Finland and Nazi Germany had collaborated during World War II. However, six professors still argued that Finland had a separate war. Four professors did not want to comment at all, indicating that the question was still not an easy one.

In Wertsch's terms (2002), the example demonstrates mainly a dialogic mode of collective memory whereby alternative perspectives are still explicitly presented. The opposite would be a monologic form in which one hegemonic perspective is dominant and others are presented only implicitly. Monologic memory of Finnish war collaboration possibly existed from the end of the war to the 1980s.

Moscovici's (1988) concepts of polemic, emancipated, and hegemonic social representations are also useful in defining social representations of history. While the grand narrative of Finnish history (e.g., Rantala, 2011) as

presented in textbooks and defined in the national curriculum represents hegemonic social representations, polemic representations of history are still actively discussed. Minorities who were excluded in the images analyzed may have their own representations, which can be defined as emancipated. To understand these representations, researchers should consider alternatives to hegemonic ways of representing history. The wider use of Moscovici's concepts would help us to understand how different histories live side by side in society and how the interaction between them works.

As Figure 1 (in chapter 2.5) suggests, the discussion of the past can lead to changes in the social representations of history and in collective memory. In the future, this re-worded collective memory will be used as a basis for interpreting other phenomena and for communicating the common past. This process has concrete implications for how we understand certain issues in our social reality. For example, Rantala (2011) has raised the question of how the Finnish history narrative will respond to increasing globalization and multiculturalism. The visual analysis conducted here implies that themes dealing with minorities or international connections do not yet have objectifications in the history narrative and thus are hardly included as part of the commonly shared story. The chronological analysis shows that only events in the first part of the twentieth century have been given visual objectification, while the example of Nazi Germany shows that the conception of the 1940s is settling down only now when those who participated in these events are passing away. If this rough estimate is correct, consensual collective memory and naturalization of social representations of history may take two or three generations. However, more research is needed to explain why some troubled memories, such as Finland's Civil War, may remain current, or at least latently current, even over three or four generations.

7.2 ADVERTISEMENTS REFLECT AND CREATE COLLECTIVE MEMORIES

The study of the coffee advertisement campaign "Back to the Moments" focused on nostalgia, which is a feature of representing and remembering the past. The analysis showed how individual and group-level nostalgia may intertwine when people and scenes in the ads, in referring to the common conceptions, invite the audience to reflect on their personal memories. While the other material for analysis, the Valio company's dairy advertisements, was explicitly framed with Finnishness and national symbols (the blue and white colors of the flag), the campaign "Back to the Moments" referred to more generally shared conceptions and was not focused only on an imagined common past of the Finns.

The present advertising analysis contributes to the research on collective memory by concentrating on two less often investigated areas: first, nostalgia

as a characteristic of remembering the past, and second, exploiting the past in persuasive communication. In the next sections, these two topics are discussed in the context of previous research.

7.2.1 NOSTALGIC USES OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Whereas the analysis of the Finnish history textbooks and institutional social representations of national history (Studies I and II) present coherent narratives and discuss precisely dated events and specific persons, the analysis of the commercial advertisements presents the other side of collective memory. As Wagoner (2015) notes, collective memory does not always refer explicitly to the past or to exact historical content; rather past ideas are resurrected and tradition is used flexibly to meet current demands in a way that may not even be recognized as “the past.” In the case of analyzed advertisements, the collective memories alluded to are not tightly connected with a certain historical time period or event, but merely use the past, and time in general, as a frame of reference for shared conceptions (Williamson, 1978).

The analysis of the campaign “Back to the Moments” (Study III) revealed how some features, which are subjects of present-day nostalgia in many western countries, like motherhood, childhood and home (Davis, 1979; Mintz, 2004), were used for commercial purposes in a Finnish context. On the basis of this one campaign, it is not possible to draw conclusions on how central or authoritative these concepts are as objects of collective and personal nostalgia. Nor is the analysis of one campaign enough to draw strong conclusions about whether the objects of nostalgia are actually naturalized social representations. At least, however, the results imply that the objects are widely shared, since they are taken up as features of advertising (Meyers, 2009). Since collective memory is thought to reflect a group’s current needs and desires, it could be assumed that the subjects of nostalgia are continuously changing in the wake of current concerns. However, topics such as home seem to be continuously relevant as in western societies they have been topical and a matter of nostalgic longing at least since the mid-twentieth century (Davis, 1979; Mintz, 2004). In addition, for example in the case of Jewish culture the longing for home goes back centuries (e.g. Gross, 2014). Thus it is possible to assume that in some cases nostalgia is not only a temporary feature of social representation of history but for example “a nostalgic longing for the lost home” can be a deep-rooted social representation of history itself if it continuously serves group’s need of self-definition.

The use of time as a reference framework in “Back to the Moments” was rather general; the viewer was invited to reflect on his or her past memories by the visual prompts. In the dairy advertisements (Study IV), the use of time as a frame of reference was also general; the advertisements analyzed rarely referred to exact events in the past, but merely suggested a sense of continuity and the long history of dairy production in Finland as a source of livelihood.

That kind of general conception of the past demonstrates Wagoner's (2015) definition of collective memory as a broad background of understanding everyday life occurrences. In the advertisements analyzed here, the most visible topic of understanding was particularly prosaic, namely, everyday consumer goods. However, in Studies III and IV, this everydayness was raised to a specific position, above daily life.

To refer to temporality only on a general level works when the aim is to promote everyday consumer goods such as coffee or milk, because these may not have a specific target group, like a particular generation or a smaller segment of the population. In such cases, advertisers want to find the most widely shared conceptions in order to reach as wide an audience as possible. This leads to the conclusion that advertisements may reflect some of the most widely shared conceptions about the past and therefore can be especially useful as material for analyzing collective memories (Meyers, 2009). Moreover, not all advertisements referring to the past are as general as those analyzed here. There are examples in which everyday consumer goods are promoted with references to an exact historical period (Pickering & Keightley, 2014), in which case the connection with collective memory and its intention of representing the in-group is more apparent.

Meyers (2009) argues that advertisements not only refer to existing social conceptions, but also shape and create them by suggesting what kind of life and practices would be valuable and desirable. In using social representations of history, advertisements may create rose-colored scenes to ensure positive associations with a certain product (Study III). As the aim of school and textbooks is, for example, to produce a common past which strengthens the nation-state project (Ahonen, 1998) or creates cohesive bounds to an imagined community (Anderson, 1991), commercial agents have more banal aspirations. Advertisers may utilize common conceptions to convince an audience that their company's product is somehow better than others and in that way boost sales. The aims of this kind of advertising can also be political by advocating on behalf of a certain livelihood and the need to ensure its survival (Study IV). To achieve these goals, advertisers can, for example, promote the national superiority of their goods and highlight the obligation to consume domestic products. In this sense, collective memory in commercials can be seen in Billig's (1995) terms as a subtle, banal form of nationalism.

The present study focuses on only one campaign and cannot therefore tell how often or in which contexts time is used as a main framework of reference. Rather the analysis demonstrates some features of social nostalgia. It should be also remembered that the audience for advertisements does not passively receive the message that is delivered, but may also actively process, interpret, and even challenge it (Pirttilä-Backman & Kassea, 2013). Thus, instead of successfully conveying a persuasive message and re-shaping collective memories, advertisements may induce the opposite result and create a critical response. Moreover, the effect of one campaign is naturally limited. However, when the volume of advertising is large and the message is consistent over

time, it might be difficult to avoid its impact. Latostenmaa (1997), for instance, has argued that the dairy company Valio, by its extensive marketing organization and visibility on the Finnish media scene, has played a significant role in the construction of central conceptions and symbols of Finnishness. Commercials should thus be seen as sources of social discourse equal to, for example, news and other more often studied forums of creating social knowledge.

Nostalgia can create a feeling of security and ease fears (Routledge, Arndt, Sedikides, & Wildschut, 2008), but it can also lead to forgetting uncomfortable details of the past. Mintz (2004) writes that a nostalgic myth may create unrealistic expectations of the future as well as unwarranted dissatisfaction with the present. Meyers (2009) observes that nostalgia can lead to a black-and-white selection of history's characteristics, which means that when something positive is selected to support the master narrative, other aspects also worth remembering may be excluded and marginalized. Previous research has already shown that nostalgia can cause in-group favoring at the expense of the rights of the out-group (Smeeke, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014).

In the analysis on social representations of the past, Barthes' (1984) conceptualization on myth complements Veltri's (2015) placement of semiotic concepts parallel with processes of social representations to focus on the naturalized form of everyday conceptions. According to Barthes (1984), myth serves an ideological purpose, because it naturalizes certain conceptions by dissolving their socially and historically constructed nature. The analysis of the campaign "Back to the Moments" (Study III) shows that the ideological purpose of the series of videos and printed advertisements, whether intentional or not, was to strengthen the nostalgic narrative of a past childhood, motherhood, and home, arouse dissatisfaction with the present, and introduce measures to correct the situation in the future (by consuming the product). In the dairy advertisements (Study IV), the ideological level is more pervasive: the rhetoric in the commercials attempted to create a story of an unbroken chain of generations and the special value of Finnish hard work in a context in which agriculture endeavored to secure its position in society. It is probable that the ideological level of naturalized social representations is utilized in many other contexts as well, including those in which rising nationalism is not at all the least common.

Further research on the relation between nostalgia and collective memory is needed to understand the biases of remembering the past. Research can demonstrate where the past is viewed as rose-colored for the rhetorical purposes of strengthening an exclusive in-group cohesion and show how nostalgia can be used as a form of collective coping with the difficulties of the past. Next, the intentional use of temporality is discussed in the context of the dairy advertisements.

7.2.2 PERSUASIVE USES OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Referring to and repeating naturalized collective memories may be used effectively in rhetoric to refer to shared ideas and values, to remind audiences of their common past, and to call for solidarity with one another. This rhetoric can have positive effects by creating a sense of solidarity and cohesion in unstable times, but by the same token it may well lead to separation, exclusion, and self-containment. The use of the past as a means of persuasion has rarely been the focus of collective memory studies. However, from the social psychological perspective, persuasion as a form of social communication constitutes a relevant area of study. The research on verbal persuasion has deep roots in the social sciences, but visual rhetoric would benefit from further research, especially as the ways of using visual images in communication are continuously developing and changing.

The analysis of dairy advertisement (Study IV) drew on well-established concepts of classical rhetoric. Concepts such *metaphora*, *synecdoche*, *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos* as well as *enthymeme*, which was identified as a main rhetorical structure in the advertisements, dates back to ancient oratory and especially to Aristotle (Aristotle, 1991; Silva Rhetoricae, 2017). In the present dissertation, rhetoric was used as a tool to structure the qualitative analysis and to focus on the persuasive aims of the advertisements.

The analysis showed that Valio's advertisements exploit multiple rhetorical tools in an effort to appeal both to the emotions and the reason of the audience. Because the data combined moving images, sound, and text, the persuasive message was constructed through multisensory references. The advertised product was shown in visual images and described verbally. In Shelley's (1996) terms, these references can be seen as the demonstrative mode of visual communication. The rhetorical mode, presenting an argument, was constructed as a result of all dimensions of the advertisements: moving image, text, narration and sound.

Shelley (1996) argued that a strong persuasive result is expected when the demonstrative and rhetorical modes of communication are combined to support a main argument. The study did not investigate the response of the targeted audience, but the rhetorical structure of the data can be evaluated to be subtle and elaborated. In the dairy advertisements, demonstrative and rhetorical modes were closely intertwined, with moving images illustrating and adding to what was stated verbally or textually.

From the perspective of social representations of food, the advertisements served several purposes by responding to current concerns of food quality and responsibility in food production. However, the main argument common to the advertisements referring to temporality, was *enthymeme*: the long tradition of "Finnish hard work" is in danger and the company is striving to secure it. The advertisements attempted to persuade the audience that its members can do their part by consuming domestic products, and also by favoring certain agricultural policies intended to support Finnish food production and the viability of the Finnish countryside. Even though the visual

form of the advertising was modern and the way the messages were conveyed was not aggressive, the inner content served the same national purpose (e.g. Simonen, 1955) that has been at the heart of the co-operative company's goals over the past century.

Just as a longitudinal analysis of the history textbooks' illustrations would show the construction process of official national symbols, a longitudinal analysis of advertisements from different decades would show how their rhetoric has been adapted to respond to different social and political situations, yet serve the same goal. Similar to the analysis of older visual depictions of national history (Study II), in a longitudinal advertisement analysis there is a danger of anachronistic interpretations of past visual meanings unless the past trends of graphic design and visual communication are also considered. Visual rhetoric requires a deep contextualization of the data and is an area in which the goals of social psychologists and historians may coincide. In this way, history can benefit a great deal from social psychological research on collective memory and social representations of history.

Because the presents study lacks an essential part of rhetoric, i.e., an evaluation of the audience's response, other research methods should be used to complement the visual rhetoric analysis. For example, association tests on the audience would provide information about the reception of the visual images (for social reception of advertising see e.g., Pirttilä-Backman & Kassea, 2013; Takaya, 2016). On the other hand, in analyzing advertisements of leading manufacturers and big companies such as Valio, the researcher may assume that the response has already been tested by the company's own research unit. However, not unreasonably, these results are not usually accessible for research purposes. It should be also remembered that the analyzed advertisements using time as a main framework of reference represent only one type of advertising. The initial content analysis of Valio's advertisement videos (Study IV) showed that themes such as healthiness, sports and everyday cooking are also distinguishable characteristics of food advertising. The question, if these other themes exploit similar rhetorical devices and advocate similar issues (e.g. the value of Finnish work) than advertisements referring to the past would require further research.

In addition to promoting products and serving ideological aims by constructing a myth of "Finnish hard work," the advertisements are also carrying out broader ideological work by inviting people to consume in certain way. In the Finnish context, Huttunen and Autio (2010) have identified three types of culturally dominant and historically construed consumer ethos, namely, agrarian, economy, and green consumerism. Over time these three overlap, as the old ideals are still in effect when the new ones begin to take root. Co-operative companies, such as Valio, have had an important role in consumer education in the past and likely will continue to have. This work of breeding new generations of consumers and conveying consumer traditions is notable, as it places the analyzed advertisements on a continuum of broader

consumer culture. Based on the narrow selection of advertisements, it is not reasonable to draw too far-fetched conclusions about the next consumer ethos. However, the characteristics that emerged from the present data (Study IV) could be described as representing a national consumerism.

Advertisements illustrate values and ideas which are components of social representations. Consumer culture includes relating consuming to the consumption of others, a generation and even past generations (Huttunen & Autio, 2010). According to Moscovici (1973, xvii) social representations include ideas, values and practices. In the context of advertising, the act of consuming represents practice, an essential component of putting social representation in action, and should thus be considered in future research.

7.3 REFLECTIONS ON SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF HISTORY

The analysis of textbooks' visual images and advertisements reveals both institutional and informal forums of processing social representations of history as well as some of their central features. The observation has also led to some general characterization of the nature of social representations of history.

In discussing social representations of history, it should be kept in mind that they may differ compared with other kinds of social representation. Generally, social representations are believed to embody new and threatening phenomena (Wagner et al., 1999). However, at least the main lines of national histories or grand narratives of countries cannot be considered new or threatening, but simply well-known and consensual. For example, none of the textbooks analyzed here claimed to present groundbreaking interpretations or challenging existing beliefs. Their aim was to educate the audience and convey commonly accepted knowledge. At the same time, however, a large number of the books indicate that, for example, books about Finnish history are popular. Other researchers (Ahonen, 1998; Torsti, 2012) have confirmed that Finns are interested in history. Despite of its familiarity history is a subject which is considered highly relevant. Thus, well-known and familiar issues and events can also be socially meaningful and continuously communicated, even though they may not be actively debated.

Figure 1 (in chapter 2.5), drawing on previous theorization in the field, concretizes the central starting point of the present dissertation, namely, that collective memory is used to communicate (anchor and objectify) familiar topics of national history and at the same time shape social representations of history and how these representations are managed in the future. The present dissertation highlighted the role of naturalization as a concept to understand the characters of history conceptions.

Naturalization takes place when social representations are widely shared and acquire a deep-rooted position in the minds of group members (Philogène, 1999). It would be too much to say that all social representations of history are naturalized, even though they are familiar to group. At least, naturalization deals with the most widely shared part of collective memory, such as historical figures, scenes, and events shown on textbook covers (Study II) as well as visual elements that have acquired symbolic form, such as national colors. These naturalized social representations form a relatively stable core of history narratives. This core is easy to refer to, for example, in textbooks, advertisements and rhetoric, as the communicator can assume that the group members share the same sign and its connotation.

In collective remembering conceptions of history are repeated and communicated among group members. Discussion of the contents and meanings of social representations over time inevitably introduces new elements into the socially shared conceptions, although these elements cannot yet be considered widely shared or collective memories. Thus, the Figure 1. presented at the beginning of the dissertation (chapter 2.5) may require modification. As new objectifications of history (such as President Halonen in the textbook covers) as well as new anchorings (such as Finland as an ally of Nazi Germany) are introduced into the discussion, the relation between “Representing history” and “Social representations of history” should go both ways. Figure 4. demonstrates a re-modelled process between social representations of history and collective memory.

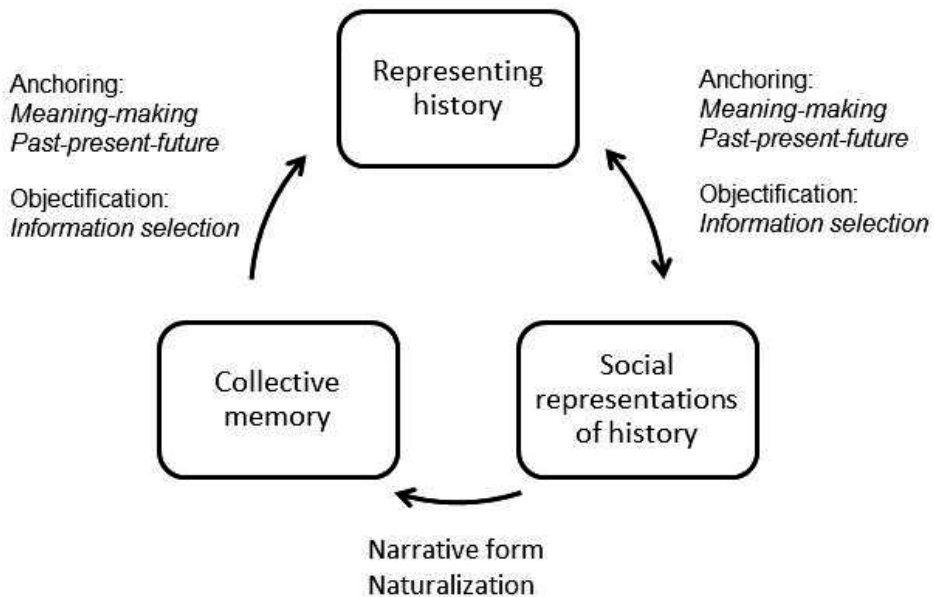


Figure 4. The cyclical process between social representations of history and collective memory.

New characteristics are adopted to social representations of history and these are used in the discussion to represent history by anchoring and objectifying. Naturalization happens as a result of the continuous repetition and is finalized as the social representations are stored in narrative form to become collective memory. Collective memory responds to present day needs and through information selection suitable elements depicting the past are used as a background knowledge to explain current situations and orienting to the future.

The model in Figure 4. also requires some revisiting of elementary concepts of social representations. Because conceptions concerning the past, especially the naturalized ones, are deeply rooted and widely shared, the traditional conceptualization of the process of anchoring appears to be too narrow. When we analyze naturalized social representations, an important consequence for the process of anchoring is that we are not only integrating the new into the old, but also are creatively integrating the past into the present, and both the past and present into the future (Sakki & Menard, 2014). In the case of naturalized representations, anchors are themselves part of the phenomenon and therefore familiar. Thus, the anchoring of social representations of history cannot be based on the novelty of an event or issue, but rather on its familiarity. These familiar issues, such as strong leaders, are perceived highly important and therefore anchored again and again. As Sakki and Menard (2014) have suggested, a subject is kept alive through continuous repetition by continuously processing, categorizing, and re-negotiating. Keeping tradition alive through commemoration strengthens the sense of continuity of a group and its historical social identity.

It should be noted that the repetition of familiar characteristics of social representation does not mean that the representation would remain unchanged. As the analysis of book covers (Study II) suggests new features of the past are offered as a part of history narrative. New interpretations of history as well as topical societal issues, such as the increasing role of multiculturalism, challenge the existing narrative and force it to change gradually (Jovchelovitch, 2012). On the other hand, existing social representations guide the interpretation and integration of new phenomena as a part of social knowledge. Even though, for example, multiculturalism challenges the existing homogeneous national narratives, the results of the present study (Studies I and II) suggest that the topic remains marginal. According to Halbwachs (1980) collective memory is constructed to answer the needs of the present and the future. Thus, from a perspective of social psychology, the interest to study collective memory lies in its capacity to explain group's psychological situation today and tomorrow.

The analysis of social representations of history drew attention to the concept of naturalization, discussed above. More research is needed to understand better how naturalized everyday conceptions are used, both unconsciously and intentionally. Their taken-for-granted nature makes them difficult to recognize or contest. Research is needed to denaturalize these

everyday conceptions if by doing so would promote, for example, social justice by making prejudicial (symbolic) social practices, such as marginalizing ethnic minorities in history, visible.

The focus on the naturalization and myth raises also the question if naturalized social representations in the form of myth represent more stable features of collective memory than other social representations of history. According to Barthes (1977) myths are used to prove that certain concepts are changeless. In terms of social representation naturalization makes social representation look undeniable. More research is needed to answer the question if myths share the similar mutable nature than other social representations or if they represent a type of social knowledge which lies somewhere between Durkheim's stabile collective representations and Moscovici's dynamic social representations.

Social representations theory is a well-established approach to analyzing different modes of modern, alterable forms of social everyday knowledge. The discussion that has taken place in the last nearly six decades provides a firm basis for understanding processes of this knowledge. However, the theory is never complete. In the future, social representations theory as a whole would potentially benefit from a discussion of how to combine it with other theoretical and methodological approaches in social psychology and the social sciences. The present dissertation has made an initial contribution by combining the theory with visual semiotics as well as with classical rhetoric.

Even though visibility can be considered as an essential part of nature of social representations (Moscovici, 1984; de Rosa & Farr, 2001), theorization along with concrete efforts to apply visual analysis to research on social representations has been rare. This dissertation has also contributed to this aspect of research by presenting some central characteristics of visual images that should be taken into consideration in social psychological analysis. The dissertation has also contributed four empirical studies, which illustrate how visual methodologies can be applied to social psychological research. The benefits and limitations of these applications are discussed in the following sections.

7.4 METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTION

Moloney et al. (2013) state that there is a lack of social psychological analysis in visual methodologies. That is probably one reason why visual analysis has remained relatively rare in the field, despite the obvious importance of understanding visual communication and the visual construction of social knowledge. The present study focused partly on the most traditional forms of visual images, i.e., printed images. The studies of advertisements also dealt with more modern forms of visibility, namely, Internet-based video advertisements and campaigns which combined printed and video

commercials. As Torsti (2012) and Rantala (2011) have noted, even though books are still an important source of knowledge about history, alternative formats such as television, films, and Internet-based presentations have already played a significant role in constructing conceptions of history. On television and the Internet, the role of visual communication often exceeds the roles of verbal and textual narration.

7.4.1 SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF VISUAL IMAGES

In art history and visual culture studies, there are many approaches which could be adapted for purposes of social science, as Christmann (2008) has noted in her study comparing different visual methods (e.g. encoding-decoding, iconographic-iconological image analysis and iconic interpretation). A semiotic approach has been highlighted in studies by de Rosa and Farr (2001), Christmann (2008), and Moloney et al. (2013). While the social representations theory is well established it does not provide concrete tools for close reading of visual material. Theoretical concepts of semiotics and social representations theory seem to be compatible and thus semiotics was tested as a methodological approach in the present study. In his recent review of social semiotics and social representations, Veltri (2015) has drawn parallels between the concepts objectification and anchoring, and semiotic concepts, namely, denotation and connotation. The present study added a third pair of concepts to this parallel: naturalization and myth. From a methodological perspective, the analysis showed the utility of a semiotic approach in studying everyday social knowledge, but also exposed the shortcomings of this approach, which requires reflection.

A semiotic approach makes a close reading of visual images possible and still produces the richest results in the limited data (Rose, 2001; van Leeuwen, 2001). The analysis of one advertisement campaign (Study III) and several dozen cover images (Study II) demonstrated a more traditional use of semiotics. Although it was focused on a few images, the analysis nevertheless plumbed deeply in de-constructing their elements and probing the literal meanings, associations, and ideological level. The analysis of a large quantity of textbook images (Study I) showed that semiotics can be applied to content analysis to explain the social meanings of themes. In the larger data, the importance of single images decreases, which justifies concentration on larger units of images with similarities. Use of content analysis allowed observation not only of the central themes of a history narrative, but also of its geographical and chronological aspects.

Multimedia, such as video, poses practical challenges of how to consider different media of communication. Study IV showed that researchers can still make use of old-fashioned practices like transcription to make the different dimension of material approachable. A verbal description of visual images (as well as sound) always reduces the original content of the material, but this

could also be turned into a positive aspect of the research. The transcription of multiple elements of video advertisements in parallel columns was found to be a useful means of illustrating their simultaneous occurring. It also worked as an important tool of rhetorical analysis, since, throughout the transcription process, the researcher had to consider which elements were worth recording verbally.

The combination of visual rhetoric, social representations, and semiotics made it possible to answer research questions about the communicative, persuasive, and ideological aims of visual images (Study IV). In this sense, the observation of rhetorical tools made it possible to go deeper into analyzing visual persuasion than would have been possible by using only the concepts of anchoring and objectification or traditional semiotic analysis.

The present dissertation did not even attempt to cover the broad field of visual semiotics; presumably, there are still many theoretical and methodological ideas to exploit in social psychological research and the parallel between semiotic concepts and the processes of social representations theory still requires further discussion. One pervasive question is if the parallel between the concepts of social semiotics and social representations add value to the analysis or just make it more complicated. From the practical perspective semiotics seems to provide more tools to interpret visual meanings compared to social representation theory. Especially the concept of denotation describes the elements of visual image better than the more vague concept of objectification (e.g. Barthes, 1977; Dyer 1982). Moreover, the long tradition of visual semiotics allows for focusing on the relation between visual elements and meanings which, from the perspective of social representations, clarifies the relation between objectification and anchoring. Also, the concept of myth discussed in the literature of visual semiotics may provide an important point of reference to understand better the nature of naturalized social representations (1973). Veltri (2015) argues, semiotics and social representations theory may complement each other to better explain the meaning-making processes of everyday knowledge and Raudsepp (2005) suggests that semiotic approach could be useful for analyzing how individual social representations relate to each other and form a whole, a semiosphere. However, in the future more theoretical as well as methodological discussion is needed to clarify the relation of these two traditions. For this reason, the present study should be considered as an opening of such a discussion, not as a final conclusion.

Furthermore, in the research of social representations it is not reasonable to be limited only to semiotics in visual analysis. Christmann (2008) compared nine approaches of visual analysis and discussed their pros and cons. To use the possibilities offered by different approaches better would require further familiarization with visual methods and theories. As in the longitudinal analysis, cooperation with social psychologists and historians would be useful; in visual analysis, social scientists would benefit from collaboration with art historians. Because visual data consist not only of photographs or videos, but

can also cover a broad field of different expressive practices, some innovative approaches, such as drawing or photographing as a tools of research (Milgram & Jodelet, 1976), are needed to adapt and develop to be able to answer to social psychological research questions.

7.4.2 METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

Even though semiotics seems to be a promising approach, to understand the visual side of everyday knowledge it should be remembered that semiotic concepts as well as concepts of social representations theory are only theoretical tools with which to make the analysis of data more systematic and the interpretation more structured. Marková (2000) reminds that, in practice, it is not possible to completely separate objectification and anchoring, as these take place at the same time in the social communication process. A similar observation can be applied to denotation and connotation as well: in practice, it is not possible to separate the phases of recognizing visual elements (denotations) and their culture-specific meanings (connotations); both processes are ongoing when an audience receives the visual message.

One of the main limitations of the present dissertation is that it did not uncover the reception of visual messages or the practices used to make the visual images. Textbooks are read and studied for exams, and advertisements are watched indifferently in commercial breaks, yet their contents may be actively discussed and argued about, for example, in lectures or on social media. To focusing on the issue of reception in addition to the present research questions would have required a significant extension of theoretical and methodological dimensions of the dissertation. However, the above mentioned lack of the study can be investigated in the future research. The reception of textbook visualizations as well as commercials has been studied in other contexts and these findings provide viewpoints to evaluate the present findings. For example Pirttilä-Backman and Kassea (2013) showed that audience can interpret visual elements of advertisements more critically than advertiser probably expect. Topics that are actively discussed in society, such as family roles or food production, may invoke these critical interpretations and careful evaluations. On the other hand Phillips (1997) has shown how consumers' interpretations of even complex advertising images matched the intentions of advertisement producers. This tells on the one hand of audience's good visual literacy skills and on the other hand that advertisers and audience are speaking the "same" visual language.

Even though the need to improve visual literacy has been widely recognized recently, the studies, such as Vermeersch and Vandenbroucke (2015) show that in curriculum standards the role of visuals can be still marginal. Also Hilander (2017) argues that high school students have problems of interpreting images; interpretation and the reasoning for different perspectives to read images would require more training. In the school context

teacher's role is naturally essential to integrate visual skills more closely to reading. For example more research is needed to evaluate how students evaluate the documentary value of historical photographs: do they consider images in the textbooks representing the evidence of history or do they take into consideration processes of selection and excluding when history is narrated. Finally, Takaya (2016) whose research combines the contexts of education and advertising, argues that if students have time to carefully interpret commercial messages the result can develop their global understanding and cultivate their overall visual literacy skills. The advertisements can thus work as a vehicle of learning – however, in the everyday situations the time to focus on interpretation might be limited.

In social representations research, there is a variety of well-established methods, such as association tests and focus groups, which can be used to deepen understanding of the responses to visual images as well as to understand social uses of visuals. The future research in the field can thus provide valuable insights on research of processes of visual interpretation. A multi-method approach could be beneficial especially in the analysis of naturalized social representations. Since the use of naturalized social representations can be subtle, like the color of the flag or the missing visual image of a mother in the present studies, the meanings of anchorings are difficult to verbalize in semiotic analysis relying only on researcher's subjective interpretation.

Different programs are currently being developed to make it possible to exploit the unprecedented amount of visual data in digital form (e.g., Manovich, 2012). The larger visual datasets may make it possible to draw generalizable conclusions from the results. Even though the part of the material used in the present dissertation can be seen as representative (visual images in textbooks and on covers), they still represent only a small part of the social discussion concerning the past. Thus, the present results cannot be considered generalizable; rather than proving the existence of collective memory, these results can, however, direct our focus to the possible contents of collective memory

While the variety of visual communication continues to increase in the digital environment, traditional printed visual images still retain at least some of their significance. One methodological challenge for future textbook analysis is to solve how to investigate the entirety of a text and its images. In the present study, visual images were interpreted in the context of textbook titles and captions. Even though many people simply browse through non-fiction books and focus more on their visual images, in school settings both elements of textbooks have an important role. Textual narrative analysis has already maintained its position in the research on social representations of history (László, 2008), but analysis of visual narratives and its combination with narrative analysis of texts requires more experimentation.

Liu and Hilton (2005) state that, because collective memory reflects a group's present situation, researching collective memory provides a useful

means of understanding current values and norms. However, interpreting the findings in this sense is not an easy task. The findings on textbooks could be interpreted to show that strong leadership is valued in Finland, and further, that the idea of a homogeneous Finnish nation of white Evangelical Lutherans is still maintained at the cost of everyday work and the country's various minorities. In the context of advertisements, the concern for traditional family values and employment can be considered to reflect present worries, and on the other hand, the collective desires a more secure life. These desires are not socially insignificant, as they guide human choices and practices in daily life. However, the data used here, both textbook visual images as well advertisement campaigns, cover only a small part of the many ways to represent history and could not provide an overall review of Finnish collective memories.

8 CONCLUSIONS

The present study focused on social representations of history and collective memory from the perspective of their visual form. The contents and meanings of visual images of Finland's national history were examined. Also nostalgic representations of a generalized past and rhetorical aims of advertisements videos were taken into consideration. The dissertation, based on previous research, has developed both theoretical and methodological guidelines for the further analysis of visual images in the areas of social representation and collective memory studies.

Even though the research on collective memory and social representations share a common historical background in the social sciences, their theoretical connection has remained unclear. Drawing on earlier literature, the present dissertation presented a simple model of three central concepts: representing history, social representations of history, and collective memory (see Figure 4). In short, the model suggests that these concepts form a continuous circle in which collective remembering (representing history) shapes social representations of history; widely shared social representations of history in turn are then stored in narrative form as collective memory, which ultimately forms the basis for future collective remembering. As social representations are often theorized in the context of new and threatening events, the historical context requires revisiting the theory: the conception of history is not new thing but barely well-established. However, even widely-shared concepts are repeated and negotiated in groups; moreover, the changing interpretations of histories, based on changing present day needs, may gradually change the social representation.

This dissertation highlights the importance of the concept of naturalized social representations as explaining forms of deeply-rooted social knowledge. The definition of anchoring also needs revisiting, since knowledge of history is not a novel topic, but a familiar one and is still objectified and anchored again. Thus, the anchoring cannot be based only on the novelty of an issue, but also can be placed, in the context of social representations of history, their familiarity. The elementary concepts of social representations theory proved to be useful in the analysis of collective memories as well as in the visual analysis.

Visual analysis in social representation research is not without practical applications. For textbook authors and editors, a visual approach may provide ways to create more diverse history narratives and illustrate and communicate ideas and happenings that are not easily described verbally. In fact, as this dissertation was being written, the National Board of Antiquities (Museovirasto) published 700 images on an image hosting website Flickr. These images, intended to serve educational purposes, depict the history of twentieth-century Finland and serve as a counterweight to those usually

shown of Finnish history. The collection illustrate themes that were identified as marginal in the present study, such as everyday life, immigration, multiculturalism, and the variety of work (National Board of Antiquities, 2015).

With regard to advertising, visual rhetoric could be used not only to reveal ideological purposes behind commercials, but also to plan more effective visual communication, which is needed for everything from education to the visual instructions we encounter daily. More generally, by focusing on naturalized social knowledge, the research on social representations may able to reveal adverse discriminatory social practices that are taken for granted, due to their deep-rooted position in social understanding.

The first pictures to be printed in Finland were published almost three centuries ago and history was one of the first topics which was visualized. Authors and publishers found visual images valuable to concretize and make alive text. Later on new uses for printed images were found and since the late nineteenth century they were disseminated to wide audience for example in the form of advertisements. Partially, due to historical development of social communication social psychological processes concerning construction of knowledge changed from static collective representations to more diverse social representations. The present dissertation argues that the constant growth of visually-mediated communication requires creative approaches to understand visually mediated values and ideas as well as the role of visibility in different social practices. Along with more traditional analyses of written and spoken communication, this research will inform us about the rich diversity of socially constructed reality and everyday knowledge.

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