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Banal Nostalgia: Shaping Collective Memories In Advertisements

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This study focuses on the social side of everyday nostalgia. Through a close examination of one advertising campaign, better understanding is sought of how everyday nostalgia works and how group-based and individual nostalgia interlock in advertising. In other words, the study demonstrates how advertising can at the same time invoke shared conceptions of nostalgic past and appeal personal nostalgic memories.

The data for the present study consist of printed advertisements and virtual material (advertisement videos) of a Finnish advertising campaign called "Back to the moments" (2014). The material is analysed with Barthes' semiotic approach (denotation, connotation and myth) in combination with Dyer's (1982) classification of social aspects in visual images. The investigation shows that, in order to evoke nostalgia, the campaign made use of three idealised images: childhood, motherhood and home, concepts charged with emotions and value. These are widely shared and part of collective memory.

The study demonstrates that it is possible to approach nostalgia as socially constructed and shared meaning reflecting present values, needs and desires. It also contributes to a better understanding of the social nature of nostalgia. The study further develops Meyers' (2009) suggestion of combining the concepts of collective memory and nostalgia in analysing advertisements.
Keywords: nostalgia, collective memory, advertisements

An interest in nostalgia, the longing for the good old days, has recently been awoken among social psychologist. The topic has been investigated at the individual level (e.g. Wildschut, Sedikides, Arndt, & Routledge, 2006) and recently also at the group-based level (e.g. Smeekes, 2015). This research addresses the convergence of individual and group-based nostalgia. Specifically, it sets out to explore everyday nostalgia, the banal ways of looking at the past through rose-colored glasses. The research focuses on the crossroads of nostalgia and collective memory. The latter has also been an area of scholarly concern in social psychology in recent years, but it has not often been connected with nostalgia in research (however, see Belleli & Amatulli, 1997).

In addition to different institutions, a wide variety of unofficial actors construe and shape our everyday conceptions of the past. Remembering through family traditions (such as family albums) or through films are examples of material objectifications of past, memorabilia (Wagoner, 2015). These are also examples of mediums that communicate using visual images. Visual images can make the past alive for the present (Joffé, 2008), but their role as a medium of collective memory has seldom been addressed in social psychology (Arruda, 2015).

In everyday life, one of the most common forms of visual communication is advertising. Advertisers employ several tools to achieve their purposes and referring to history is one of the most used (Williamson, 1978). The central role of nostalgia in marketing was noticed decades ago (Davis, 1979; Havlena & Holak, 1991; Holbrook & Schindler, 2003). A wide use of

nostalgia in advertisements makes it reasonable to call it banal, an inseparable part of present day life. The present paper follows Meyers (2009) in attempting to broaden the social perspective on nostalgia and to enlarge our understanding about connections between collective memory and nostalgia. From the perspective of social psychology this helps to understand how advertisements reflect and construe shared values, needs and desires, and how advertisements are connected with everyday knowledge.

The present research contributes to the field by addressing the connection of nostalgia and collective memory and the convergence of individual and group-based nostalgia in the everyday context of advertising. Advertisement of consumer good, like coffee in the present study, tries to appeal as wide audience as possible, but to make its message effective advertisement should also invoke positive personal feelings and memories. The data of the present study, Finnish advertisement campaign "Back to the Moments", shows how the visual and verbal tools are used to produce this kind of effect. In social psychology in recent years nostalgia has often been studied with quantitative methods (e.g. Wildschut et al., 2006; Smeekes, 2015). The present study shows the potential of a qualitative perspective, namely visual analysis, in analysing nostalgia.

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF NOSTALGIA

The term 'nostalgia' was originally introduced as a medical concept in the late seventeenth century. It became rooted in everyday thinking, and its meaning gradually changed from homesickness to reminiscing about and longing for an unfocused past. As Davis (1979) observed, since at least the 1950s this former medical term was widely adopted in everyday language and associated with things like warmth, the good old times, childhood and longing. During the past three decades growing interest in nostalgia has been shown in the social sciences, and in the last decade the subject began to be taken into consideration in social psychology (Wildschut et al., 2006). Sedikides, Wildschut, Arndt and Routledge (2008) define nostalgia as sentimental longing for the past and underline that instead of individual medical disorder it is predominantly social emotion which fosters social connectedness and generates positive affect. The comparative study by Hepper et al. (2014) involving 18 countries shows that in the 2010s nostalgia is typically understood as reminiscing about personally or socially significant memories tinged with joy as well as a mournful sense of loss. These characteristics of nostalgia are prototypical in different cultures, which supports the notion that it is a pancultural emotion.

As Smeekes (2015) observes, in social psychology most work on the subject has focused on the individual level and on personal nostalgia. Nostalgia is seen as a (personal) psychological resource, which works even as an existential resource increasing the sense of life's relevance (Routledge, Arndt, Sedikides, & Wildschut, 2008). Nostalgia is a stronger present meaning-making resource than future-orientated dreaming: thinking about nostalgic past experience increased perceived presence of meaning more than thinking about desired future experience, which indicates that nostalgic remembering the past have effects on present-day life (Routledge, Wildschut, Sedikides, Juhl, & Arndt, 2012). Furthermore, nostalgia is seen as a self-relevant emotion, connected with remembering the meaningful events of one's life (Sedikides et al., 2008). Meaningfulness seems to come from the feeling of continuity (Wildschut, et al., 2006) and Iyer and Jetten (2011) has proposed that the positive effects of nostalgia are limited to circumstances in which individuals have maintained identity

continuity between the past and the present. The sense that the present is meaningfully connected to the past increases the strength of nostalgia.

Recently, nostalgia has also been identified at the group level. Wildschut, Bruder, Robertson, Tilburg and Sedikides (2014) demonstrated that group-based nostalgia can be distinguished from personal nostalgia. They showed that group-based nostalgia causes more positive evaluations of in-group and strengthen intentions to support it than personal nostalgia. Smeekes (2015) showed that national nostalgia benefits the in-group, yet at the same time is related to negative out-group orientation. Smeekes and Verkuyten (2015) found that seeking a sense of continuity is an essential element at the group level and that social nostalgia for the nation can work as an identity management strategy in response to threats to continuity.

Although previous studies have dealt with nostalgia in contexts such as nationalism and existential threats, it is also reasonable to describe nostalgia as banal. Up to 79 per cent of the participants in the study by Wildschut et al. (2006) reported feeling nostalgia at least once a week, and the results of Hepper et al. (2014) support this everyday occurrence of nostalgia. The everydayness is at least one point where nostalgia, collective memory and advertising intersect.

COLLECTIVE MEMORY, NOSTALGIA AND ADVERTISING

The term collective memory refers to Halbwachs' (1980) idea that every group shares a wide collection of conceptions about a common past. Collective memory reflects a group's present needs as well as its values and norms (Liu & Hilton, 2005) and its works as a background condition for understanding new phenomena (Wagoner, 2015). Pennebaker and Banasik (1997) emphasise the dynamism and role of collective memory in giving a group its sense of continuity, a characteristic which has also been highlighted in nostalgia studies (Iyer & Jetten, 2011; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2015). Collective remembering often concerns turning points, such as political events important in a nation's history. Belleli and Amatulli (1997) observe that this kind of discussion can have a nostalgic sense which arouses an urge to go back an idealised world or situation for example in the changing times of international migration.

Unlike social science, which has often ignored the intersection of nostalgia and collective memory, these topics have been connected in consumer studies. According to Kandiyoti (2006), nostalgic product identity draws on collective memory, an idealised experience of everyday-life, the sense of social unity, heritage and an environment to which consumers would like to return or would become involved in. According to Hemetsberger and Pirker (2006), tradition and a sense of authenticity especially create positive nostalgia associations. In their study of consumers Cova, Elliott, Kessous and Roux (2008) found four nostalgia-building factors: the everyday past, uniqueness, tradition and life transitions. According to Holbrook and Schindler (2003), searching for nostalgic experiences even characterises consumer behaviour today. To assure nostalgia's positive charge, advertisers try to give the sense that the past was better than it actually was (Havlena & Holak, 1991). In the other words, nostalgia as used by advertisers presents a calculated and rose-tinted image, so-called first-level nostalgia (Davis, 1979), which does not prompt a critical consideration of the past.

Advertisements are unavoidable part of present-day life which makes advertising extremely banal but does not diminish its influence in individual and social level. Quite the contrary. The

extensive and enormous effects of marketing today justify the social psychological interest. According to Meyers (2009), there is a fruitful convergence of advertising studies, nostalgia and collective memory, and the present study adds social psychology to the list. Collective remembering is directed by present-day needs and hopes and advertising is firmly confined to these present desires and tries to offer a remedy for them by drawing on the past For the advertiser for whom a commercial pursuit is at stake, it is usually reasonable to appeal to the most widely shared conceptions in order to reach as large an audience as possible, especially in cases of daily consumer goods like the product of the campaign analysed here. (Meyers, 2009.) For the purpose of evoking sentimental longing, an advertisement can take advantage of the emotive power of visual images, especially photographs. Whereas words involve more rational, logical and linear pathways, visual images are often seen to work through more emotive pathways (Joffé, 2008). Visual images are also one link between advertising and collective memory. Arruda (2015) considers that images can mediate very old traces of collective imaginaries from generation to generation without conscious effort. She uses an example from Italy where medieval paintings have had an influence of how social phenomenon like madness is visualized in the present. Socially shared and deep rooted visuals are good resource for advertisers' purposes.

It is an open question how different personal memories are interconnected to collective memories served by advertisers. The present study aims to demonstrate how the same nostalgic message or commercial narrative can arouse both group-based and individual nostalgia. In general, a better understanding is sought of how everyday nostalgia works.

DATA: A MULTIMODAL CAMPAIGN

The present research concerns the connection of nostalgia and collective memory and the convergence of individual and group-based nostalgia in the everyday context of advertising. The data for the study consist of the material from the advertising campaign "Back to the moments" (*Paluu hetkiin*). The campaign was launched by the Finnish coffee company Paulig in 2014. In Finland coffee as a consumer good has special meaning because in the Second World War, its use was regulated and eventually banned until 1955. After the regulations ended, coffee consumption skyrocketed. Since the 2010s Finland has been the world's leading coffee consumer with an average consumption of 12 kilos per capita per year. The product Juhla Mokka is the most distinguished coffee brand and the Paulig the largest and oldest coffee company in Finland.

The "Back to the moments" campaign was a multimodal effort, including traditional print magazine advertisements and additional material on the internet in the form of advertisement videos. At the start of the campaign the public was asked to send photographs of their "memorable moments". Five of these were staged and re-photographed by a photographer Irina Werning. Pairs of photographs were used in the print magazine advertisements, and advertisement videos demonstrated how the photographs were taken.

Printed, full-page colour ads the core of the campaign and hence, of the analysis. These were published in four numbers of the monthly supplement (*Kuukausiliite*) of *Helsingin Sanomat* (*Kuukausiliite* 1/2014, 3/2014, 7/2014, 8/2014), Finland's largest newspaper (circulation in 2013: 313,062). The monthly supplement is a magazine-type publication with a high quality imprint. The campaign advertisements were published in a highly noticeable and coveted

position – the magazine's back page. Virtual material told the "stories" behind the photographs in five videos (length 1:31-1:53 minutes). The virtual data were collected from the internet after the campaign ended on 1 January 2015, and the video material was transcribed (15 pages) for purposes of analysis. Table 1 summarises the data used.

Data	**Sign**
Kuukausiliite 1/2014	Ad 1
Kuukausiliite 3/2014	Ad 2
Kuukausiliite 7/2014	Ad 3
Kuukausiliite 8/2014	Ad 4
Video 1 (1:46 min)	Video 1
Video 2 (1:33 min)	Video 2
Video 3 (1:31 min)	Video 3
Video 4 (1:53 min)	Video 4
Video 5 (1:36 min)	Video 5

Table 1. Data for the study (printed advertisements in *Kuukausiliite* and videos in length)

A representative example of the campaign's printed advertisements (Ad 3) is presented in Appendix 1 and screenshot images of advertisement videos in Appendix 2.

METHOD

Because the study's interest was on visually construed and mediated meanings and the data consist of relatively few images, it was reasonable to employ a semiotic approach to the analysis (Rose, 2001). Semiotic analysis takes a broad approach to a close reading of visual images. In the present study I used a fixed analysis structure that is a synthesis of two classical texts in the field of advertisement research, Barthes' (1977) essay of use denotation, connotation and myth as classifications to understand advertisements and Dyer's (1982) approach to advertising as social communication.

I started the analysis by identifying the denotations of the visual images used in the "Back to the moments" campaign. Denotation refers to the literal relationship of an image to its referent and requires identification of the basic structures of an advertisement like captions, an image of a product, people or used colours. Dyer's (1982) classification helped to identify visual elements which are relevant for the present social psychological perspective. She emphasizes the social dimension of advertisements and advises to focus on the people shown in the visual images and the way they are presented. Following Dyer's example four categories were observed: the representations of people (age, sex, ethnicity etc.); the representations of manners (poses, eye contact etc.); activity (touch, body movement etc.) and props and settings of the image (background, lighting etc.).

Thereafter, I placed the categories in a larger context as a way of determining context-specific meanings. In this step of the analysis I focused on connotations, i.e. the cultural and emotional meanings connected with signs presented in advertisement; for example people touching each other is connected with social closeness, certain lighting and leafy background refers to summer and holiday, birthdays are connected with joy.

In the first and second step the connection between the visual images and texts was taken into account besides visual analysis. Barthes (1977) particularly emphasised that in the last resort the text establishes the multiple meanings of a visual image and explains what the image concerns. Like in many advertisements today, in the case of present study "text" means not only captions and slogans of the printed advertisement, but also multimodal data, including videos on the internet.

Lastly, I interpreted the denotative and connotative elements identified according to the kinds of mythical meaning system they construed and conveyed together (Barthes, 1973). As Arruda (2015) states, images can display even mythical elements of collective imaginary, which means deep-rooted social knowledge. In the present study mythical level refers to nostalgic characters of the campaign, it explains why certain themes are presented and how they refer and construe rose-tinted image of the past.

In the analysis below I present the results in the order of the perspectives by which I proceeded: 1) denotations, 2) connotations, 3) myth. It is necessary to mention that the differences between three levels of meaning, denotation, connotation and myth are not clear-cut but in practice the levels are intertwined together. However for the analytical purposes distinguishing them is useful as it makes the following of analysis easier.

BACK TO THE MOMENTS

Denotations: The Campaign

The "Back to the moments" campaign started in January 2014 with a full-page advertisement in the magazine *Kuukausiliite* and continued throughout the year. The product being promoted was an everyday consumer good: a brand of coffee called Juhla Mokka ("Celebration Mocha"). Despite its name, Juhla Mokka is a mid-priced product, available in nearly every grocery store in Finland, where it is one of the most often sold coffees.

The first advertisement (here designated Ad 1) shows two packages of coffee. The company and product names play only a minor role in the advertisement, which indicates the well-known position of both. The next advertisement (Ad 2) launches the campaign's core strategy, namely parallel photographs, a pattern also followed in the next two issues (Ad 3, Ad 4) and as well as on the company's web pages (Videos 1–5; screenshots shown in Appendix 2).

The July advertisement (Ad 3; see Appendix 1) is representative of the campaign's other advertisements. Its denotative stage consists of a few distinctive elements. There is a caption "Back to the Moments" (the name of the campaign) and a text that explains that the artist has re-photographed the old image as part of the coffee company's 85th anniversary. Two packages of the coffee in the lower right corner depict the product. In the lower left corner opposite a text directs the reader to more information on the web. However, it is the pair of black-and-white photographs in the middle of the page that draws the eye: one is old and the other new. The older photograph shows two girls in a medium close-up shot, while the newer photograph depicts two women wearing what appear to be the same dresses and posed as in the first image.

Other advertisements for the campaign follow a similar format and include one to three people (Videos 1–5). The people are mostly women with only two men being shown. The

props and settings do not pinpoint any particular geographical location. The old photographs in these pairs are twenty-five to forty years old (1973 –1990), and the subjects are children or young adults. They are at ease in their poses, and their facial expressions are mostly happy. In photographs with a group of people there is a strong sense of togetherness: girls are combing each other's hair and standing or sitting close together (Ad 3, Ad 4, Video 1, Videos 3–5. In pictures with only one person (Ad 2, Video 2), the eye contact makes a connection to the viewer.

The campaign's first advertisement (Ad 1) created the basis for product- associated nostalgia by referring to the product's long history: "With emotion and expertise since the year 1929". This slogan, with its strong suggestions of emotionality and quality, is repeated in subsequent advertisements. In referring to the history and speciality of this brand, the sentence contains two elements of product nostalgia identified by Cova et al. (2008): tradition and uniqueness. In the campaign's other repeated slogan, the central concept of collective memory, namely the connection between past, present and future, is stated clearly: "We celebrate the past by making it the future" (Ad 2). In other words, the continuity connected with the history of the product is already extending into the future.

The form of the campaign advertisements resembles Barthes' (1977) description of prototypical type of advertisement which is made up of parallel elements in a "symbolic" visual image (a pair of photographs), the visual image of a product (packages of coffee) and a text ("Back to the moments"). The role of this combination is to transfer meanings from the symbolic image and text to the promoted product (Williamson, 1978). This function of a shift is strengthened by visual elements in the layout of the advertisement by presenting the photographs side by side, with the older image placed on the left and the newer one on the right. Intended to be read from left to right in western style, this arrangement constructs a short temporal narrative. At the end, in the lower right corner, lies the product, the ultimate target of the meaning shift.

Connotations: Nostalgia

What is the plot of the visual narrative presented in the advertisement? To answer this question I will again make a deeper analysis of a printed advertisement from July 2014 (Ad 3; shown in Appendix 1) and complete it with extracts from other material.

The primary connotation of juxtaposing an old and a new photograph is clear: the passage of time. At the same time clothes and the environment, even the similar poses and expressions create an impression of the constancy of the world. Even though we know that many things are changing unavoidably, the advertisement suggests that there could be a magical moment that we could sustain. The intended association is clear: by using their product, i.e. drinking this coffee, time stops and you live your memorable moment again. It is not enough that the specific moment has been sustained, but also that the reality around the image has been frozen. Barthes (1981) observed that the connotation stirred by the visual image is partly a result of its technical appearance. In the analysed campaign the colour of the film and the camera technique used in the new photographs closely resemble those of the old.

In the caption pairs of photographs are described as emotional and memorable – both words depict the central characteristics of nostalgia, where the sorrow of loss and the joy of a

memorable event are mixed (Davis, 1979; Wildschut et al., 2006; Hepper et al., 2014). This emotional contradiction is concretised in the video material in which two women describe the story of the old image and reflect on the present:

> Woman 2: *… our mother made these clothes. Those skirts and that other blouse. And we may have chosen those clothes because we love them, and our mother is at the moment seriously ill, and she is really waiting maybe most of all for this photograph of us. The idea that she would see this photo again. This would be a glimmer of joy in her life* [wipes the tears] *I shouldn't* [cry].
> Woman 1: *Don't start.*
> Woman 2: *Yes, I' am not going to cry.* [Video 4]

A similar reaction takes places in another video in which women are discussing their shared history. The remembrance of past pleasant moments stirs an emotional reaction:

> Woman 1: *And here we are going out to have fun. We had the habit of trying on each other's clothes, and this is just always coming back to the moments.*
> Woman 2: *Oh, now you are going to cry.* [Video 3]

In both extracts the tears come from both joy and sorrow – or longing (compare Cova et al., 2008.)

Throughout the data the general common theme of the old pictures is childhood and youth that existed visually in photographs with a positively-loaded context of summer, happiness, birthday parties and holidays. Some positive connotations are also explicated in the videos in which people connect the picture with home, for example: "In this picture I am sitting at the kitchen table in my childhood home" (Video 2). More generally, they connect the pictures to characteristics of an ideal childhood: "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). And the determining outcome of a good childhood: "Yes, and how important childhood is all around … yes, all around, so is the basis of life" (Video 4).

The style of photographing is casual; the images are not official portraits or studio photographs by a professional photographer, but rather are merely snapshots. The visual appearance of a snapshot style gives a sense of ordinariness and at the same time has the feeling of a documentary and of authenticity. An aura of authenticity is an important characteristic of nostalgia (Hemetsberger & Pirker, 2006) and in this case it is partly true: the older photograph is an authentic snapshot, which has been imitated in a newer version for advertising purposes.

The older photographs date from the 1970s to the 1990s. The nostalgic message typically refers to the childhood of the target group (Havlena & Holak, 1991). Thus the campaign, roughly speaking, is directed to 30- to 60-year-old customers and tries to appeal to their shared conceptions. Because the age range is so broad, the elements of nostalgia cannot be specific, but merely general. This is created with visual choices: instead of well-known actors or models, the people photographed are ordinary and without any abnormal characteristics. This ordinariness serves the collectively shared nostalgia, which would break down if those photographed embodied for example celebrities. However, unlike a typical representation of

anonymous people in advertisements, in the present campaign the people are named. The names are so common that they are in fact unidentifiable, yet at the same time they strengthen the sense that the people photographed are real. Similarly, the props and settings are only suggestive: a kitchen, a garden, a dining room. Owing to their suggestiveness, the environments seem very familiar because there is nothing strange in them. The function of these visual language choices is to make the identification and stimulation of collectively shared concepts, values and predictions more probable.

Given these premises, the targets of the campaign were laypeople of working age, especially women, who are also reflecting their emotions in the videos. Striking element was that the photographs show daughters and occasionally fathers, but mothers are missing. However, this absence is only apparent, for mothers are present in small visual elements whose meanings are mainly implicit. The hidden role of mothers is explicitly revealed in videos and background stories that bring mothers into focus in the campaign's nostalgic narrative.

"On the plate is a cake baked by mother, and in the cup there is a drop of latte" (Video 2), as one woman describes the background story of her photograph. Similarly, another woman remembers how most of the things which make the photographed moment memorable were actually done by her mother:

> *Our mother loved birthday parties, and those were celebrated every time. She sewed our clothes and party dresses, because a young couple didn't have too much money. I remember this moment … the hair, which mother always set beautifully.* (Video 1)

Women who remember their common past also recall the significance of their mothers in important moments. The first speaker remembered a skirt she wore in those days, and another reminds her that it was made by her mother:

> Woman 2: *So impressive. A silk miniskirt.*
> Woman 1: *No, it was sewn by a mom.* (Video 3)

The most explicit meaning of the pair of photographs was given by a woman who connected the material elements of the old and new photographs (similar dresses) to the intangible idea of maternal love:

> *[M]y seriously ill mother was so happy to hear that our photo was chosen. I felt in my heart how her heart was warmed because this photo is commemorated and dresses of the same kind were sewn…. The photo is associated with to the memory of maternal care.* (Video 4)

The extracts show how nostalgia is created by drawing on a traditional image of mothers in which a warm-hearted mother is nursing, sewing and baking for her children. Themes of childhood and motherhood also give a viewer a way to "read" the environments in the photographs as homes or similar personally important places. As one of the people observed on video:

> *I am sitting at the kitchen table in my childhood home.* (Video 2)

Others extended the observation by referring to characteristics such as tastes, scents and feelings connected with special places evoked by the photographs:

> Woman 1: *Grandmother's place.*
> Woman 2: *I miss it so often. As a place. There you could always calm down.*
> Woman 1: *That place in the photo brings up so many feelings. Tastes, scents. Scents of the summer house.* (Video 4)

Missing mothers makes it possible for each viewer to reflect on their own personal, nostalgic childhood story. An image of the mother of those who were photographed would be much too concrete and would break the discreet construction whereby elements of generally shared conceptions of childhood are adapted to the viewer's personal life and shifted to nostalgia. Group-based and personal nostalgia overlap seamlessly.

Myth: Idealised Childhood, Motherhood and Home

The analysis shows that the "Back to the moments" campaign was completely saturated with nostalgia. The analysis of the both visual and textual elements of this campaign's advertisements shows that the elements of collective memory (children and mothers of the past) referred to and used for purposes of evoking collective nostalgia are representations of an ideal childhood and motherhood and supplement the meaning of home. The intended function of the campaign was to cause a positive shift in meaning from these emotionally-loaded topics to the product being promoted. To follow Barthes' (1973, 1977) classification, it is possible to see idealised images of childhood, motherhood and home as everyday myths that serve an ideological function. According to Barthes, myths make present values and attitudes seem natural and commonsensical. In other words, myths naturalise social constructions so that they appear objective and true, and in the case of the present study nostalgic.

The advertising included all four general nostalgia factors identified by Cova et al. (2008): everydayness, uniqueness, an important episode in life and tradition. The product was a typical consumer good and its advertising referred to the everyday past of laypeople. However, at the same time the central role of photographs promoted the idea that a unique moment was being commemorated. Life transitions were presented in parallel photographs. References to the long history of the product represented tradition.

That also emphasize continuity between the past and the present, a factor which was seen crucial to generate positive nostalgia (Wildschut, et al., 2006; Iyer & Jetten, 2011). The genre of the presented photographs is one point in which individual and collective memories intersect: appearance of the photographs refers at the same time to the "family albums", an idea which is familiar to many people, but may also invoke personal memories of "my own family photos". Recognizing the type of visual image (vernacular vs. studio photograph) gives a cultural frame to read it.

According to Halbwachs' (1980) theorisation of collective memory, represented elements reflect present needs, and an advertiser's promise to fulfil such needs would make it easier to orientate oneself to the future. Questions concerning childhood, motherhood and home are

tightly interwoven. They have been topical in public discussion in the previous years. Already Davis (1979) acknowledged the contradictory nature of the concept of home as an object of nostalgia. Mintz (2004) observes that, in public discourse, home is typically presented as a bastion of stability in a changing world, although this stability has also been an exception in the past. Home is viewed with nostalgia, because there is concern about the meaning of home today. Similarly, the requirements for a good childhood and motherhood are topics of continuous public discussion in which it is often argued that these things were better in the past. Mintz (2004) has found that past childhoods seem golden because of the myth of declining childhood and of children losing their innocence and playfulness too early in today's world. Media analysis has shown that in the public discourse "traditional" motherhood is represented as being challenged and the family, in crisis. As a result the media convey the motherhood myth in promoting traditional motherhood ideology. (e.g. Hadfield, Rudoe, & Sanderson-Mann, 2007; Johnston & Swanson, 2003.)

Among many other researchers, Mintz (2004) strives to deconstruct idealised myths of idyllic and innocent pasts of this kind. He shows that the new norms of regarding children as innocent and fragile did not become common until the mid-twentieth century when nostalgia, according to Davis (1979, 4), was adopted into everyday language. The concept of the ideal childhood also puts great strain on motherhood and homes to be satisfactory. In the context of the marketing purposes of the present campaign nostalgia is thus motivated by a shared concern that life today had lost the positive and ideal elements it once had. Even though this advertising campaign represents only one voice in the public discourse, by relying on shared concepts it reinforces existing myths and anachronistic collective memories of our shared past.

The previous studies had shown that nostalgia serves both individual and group-level needs. For example Hepper et al. (2014) separated personally and socially significant memories as targets of nostalgic reminiscing. The qualitative differences between the memories of these two levels are not investigated. However it is reasonable to assume that there exist differences: in the individual level nostalgic memories are more nuanced, and of course personal and unique, while in the group-level nostalgia draws from more broad ideas of the past. The analysed campaign included elements appealing both social and individual nostalgia. Especially implicitly (not visually) presented mother was an element in which the individual and group-level nostalgia strongly intertwined. In the group level shared nostalgic conception of past motherhood constituted a basement for using this theme in the campaign. In the personal level subtle references to mothers allow viewer to adapt nostalgic perspective to his or her own personal memories. This finding broadens previous discussion concerning connection between collective memory and advertising (Meyers, 2009).

CONCLUSIONS

The present study has explored how childhood and motherhood are used for the purpose of evoking nostalgia. The analysis shows that individual and group-level nostalgia may intertwine when the group targeted for the nostalgic message begins to ponder its personal connections. In the "Back to the moments" campaign the absence of mother images served this function and activated at the same time collective nostalgic memories of motherhood and individual recollections. It is important to note that advertisements and other everyday tools of social communication are not passively referring existing social knowledge but they are

also shaping the way we see the past. It is possible that advertisements actually rose-colour collective memories.

Because the elements identified are examples used only in this particular campaign, it is not reasonable to draw general conclusions concerning the typical subjects of present-day nostalgia. However, the previous literature (Davis, 1979; Mintz, 2004) indicates strongly that motherhood and childhood are widely shared idealised objects of the past. The role of home as a target of nostalgic longing was emphasized for example by the Belleli and Amatulli (1997) in case of migration, the topic which is highly current in the present.

The present study demonstrates that everyday collective memory not only concerns clearly defined and restricted historical events, such as wars or national historical turning points (e.g. Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997), but also applies to abstract phenomena and concepts like childhood or motherhood. The study demonstrates how collective memory form a broad background condition (Wagoner, 2015) for understanding even implicit references on them. This abstractness and implicitness does not diminish the social significance of these topics. Quite the contrary. The nostalgic myths related to these topics may even have ideological aims for naturalising a certain view. In the context of the present study ideologies serve the commercial function of selling everyday products like coffee. Refugee question, influence of economic crisis and reawakening of nationalist discourse are only few factors which can make nostalgic thinking more and more typical not only in Finland but all around Europe.

Even though advertisements are unavoidable and powerful parts of our everyday lives, their messages are not received without criticism. However, the present findings imply that there is a need to pay more attention to the use of nostalgia and to references to history in public discourse. In closely connected to the present findings is Mintz's (2004) observation that construction of nostalgic myths may have harmful effects by creating unrealistic expectations, for example, of mothers. Results can also be serious if the emotional yearning for the past takes on an idealised sense. In situations of this kind, as Meyers (2009) points out, only the characteristics of history that support the positive master narrative are told and unsuitable elements are ignored or marginalised. At worst, this kind of nostalgic thinking can cause in-group favouring at the cost of the rights of the out-group (Smeekes, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014). In the present study the relation of idealised past and collective identity was mainly implicit and oriented mostly towards nearest in-group like parents, siblings or close friends and the out-group was not named. However the connection between nostalgia, collective identity and collective memory would be a worth of exploring in the future studies. It is not far-fetched to think of a situation in which a negative or controversial past is hidden beneath rose-coloured myths to protect solidarity among group members.

In other words, nostalgia may comfort and entertain us, but it may also prevent us from confronting uncomfortable questions about the past. As the present study shows, the last-mentioned is a clear reason for social psychologists to become more interested in nostalgia and its role in our everyday thinking and collective remembering, for example in periods of life and in family roles.

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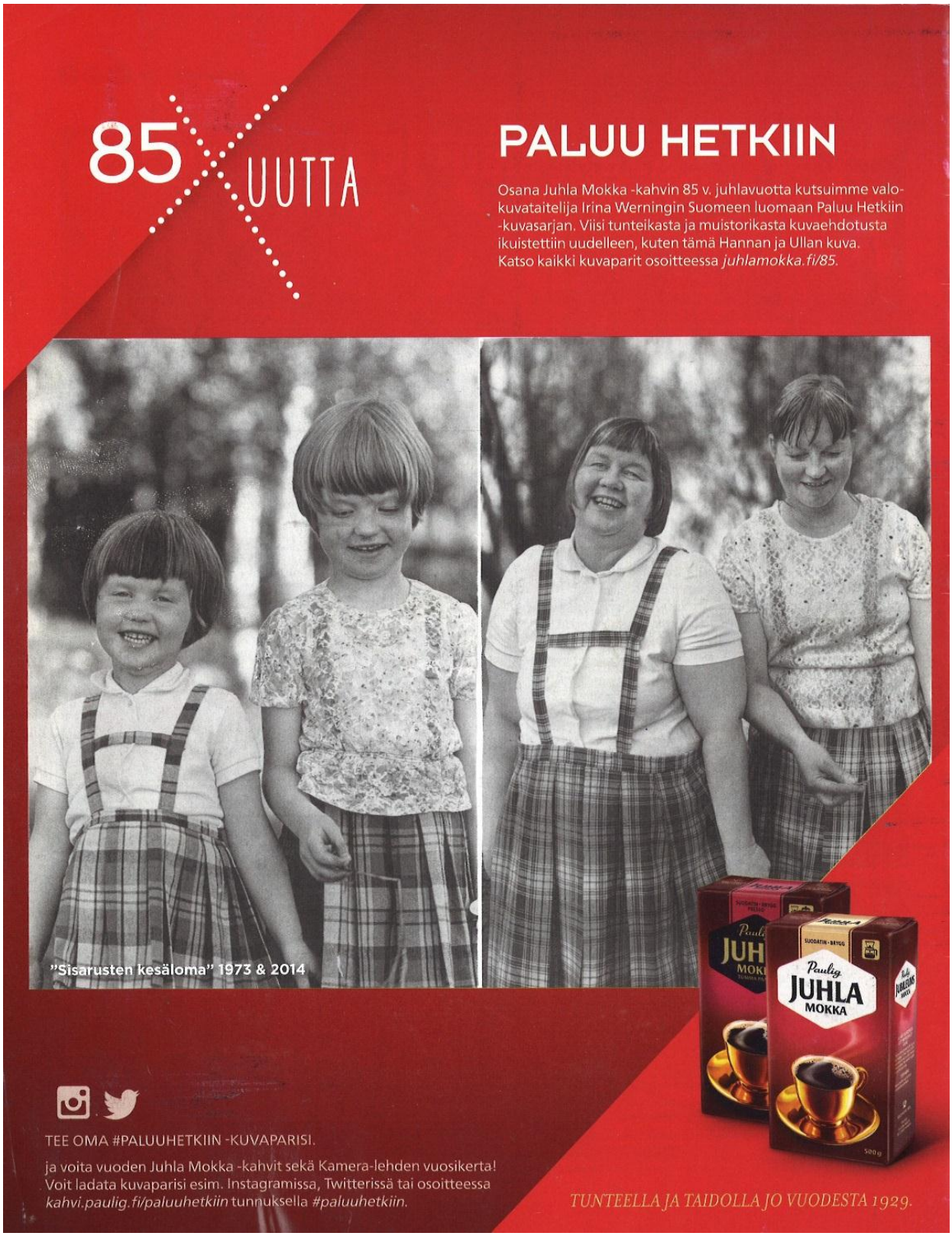
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Appendix 1.



Back to the Moments: July 2014 Advertisement (Ad 3: *Kuukausiliite* 7/2014)

Appendix 2.



Video 1



Video 2



Video 3



Video 4



Video 5