

Original Article:

**REPRESENTATIONS OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL
NOSTALGIC MEMORIES: GENERATIONAL EFFECT,
GENDER, NOSTALGIA PRONENESS AND
COMMUNICATION OF NOSTALGIC EXPERIENCES**

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the content of autobiographical nostalgic memories, the reasons for their recollection and the elicited emotions. Furthermore, this study aimed to show how specific groups generate different representations of nostalgic memories. A total of 244 men and women (young, adults and older people) participated in the study by answering open-ended and closed-ended questions about autobiographical nostalgia. Findings showed that nostalgic experiences related to significant “others”, life periods, leisure, places, and the loss of loved persons. The reasons of nostalgia were associated with good memories and pleasant times, with the desire for revival of the past, carefreeness, but also with the need to cope with loss, death and missed situations. Nostalgia also appeared to be related to both positive and negative emotions. Variations were found across generations. Older people seemed to be more prone to nostalgia and communicated their nostalgic experiences more often than younger individuals. Older people anchored their nostalgia in significant “others” who have passed away, while younger people turned to important personal life periods and leisure activities. Gender differences were detected within older generations. Adult and older aged females were more prone to nostalgia. They were sensitive in absence and in death of family members (parents, grandparents, spouses) experiencing bitter sweet emotions.

Keywords: nostalgia, representational autobiographical memories,
generational effect, proneness

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INTRODUCTION

In our research, nostalgic experiences are considered as representational autobiographical memories, reconstructed in a socio-historical and cultural frame (Halbwachs, 1925/1994; Haas & Jodelet, 1999; Jaisson, 1999; Laurens & Roussiau, 2002). Recent studies on nostalgia examine different variables such as gender, age, and personality traits (e.g., Abeyta, Routledge, Roylance, Wildschut, & Sedikides, 2015; Batcho, 1995, 2007; Cheung, Wildschut, Sedikides, Hepper, Arndt, & Vingerhoets, 2013; Cheung, Sedikides & Wildschut, 2016; Holbrook, 1993; Wildschut, Sedikides, & Routledge, 2008), without focusing on the processes that construct the nostalgic past. The purpose of this present study is to investigate the objectification processes of autobiographical nostalgic memories, namely the reasons associated with it, and the emotions elicited. Additionally, this study aims to feature the anchoring processes, which are reflected on differences among identity dimensions such as gender, generation, levels of proneness to nostalgia, and levels of communication of nostalgic experiences to others.

About nostalgia

The scientific term of “nostalgia” was first approached in the 17th century by Johannes Hoffer (1688/1934), a Swiss doctor, who conceptualized it as a disorder; a psychic and bodily languish leading to emotional outbursts, melancholy, depression and suicide attempts. Until the 20th century, nostalgia was either seen as a kind of depression with elements similar to those found in mourning (Routledge, Arndt, Sedikides & Wildschut, 2008) or as a psychological disorder with symptoms of anxiety, insomnia and a strong desire to return to the homeland (Sedikides, Wildschut, Arndt & Routledge, 2008). Later approaches distinguished nostalgia from “homesickness” (Davis, 1979) and around the end of the 20th century nostalgia was related to past events, situations and persons, stressing an emotional desire for the past (Sedikides, Wildschut & Baden, 2004).

The origin of the term “nostalgia” derives from the combination of two ancient Greek words, notably *nostos* (return home) and *algos* (pain). Perhaps the best-known example from literature is that of Odysseus feeling pain and longing for his return to his homeland, Ithaca. From this viewpoint, nostalgia refers to a psychic pain induced by an implacable desire for the return home. However, nostalgia is not limited to homeland feelings, but is also concerned with a lost past; i.e., the parting of close persons and past situations which were associated with positive traits, desired images, pleasant emotions, and an irreversible sense of pain (Sedikides et al., 2004). Divard and Demontrond (1997) conceived nostalgia as an emotional bittersweet reaction, connected with socio-cognitive activities of memory, which can be triggered when an external or internal stimulus reminds an individual or a group of individuals of a past period or an idealized past event. According to Castelnovo-Tedesco (1980), nostalgic recollection induces a sweet emotion, because the object or the event of nostalgia gives pleasure to those who recollect it. Simultaneously,

it constitutes a source of bitterness since time is irreversible and the initial events may contain conflict and frustration. Sedikides et al. (2008) argue that nostalgic experiences maintain the coexistence of sorrow and joy much more than ordinary everyday events, even if there is an overall positive emotional tendency for nostalgic experiences.

Research has shown that individuals become more nostalgic when they feel sad, alone, are experiencing difficulties in the present (Wildschut et al., 2008), or when social bonds are insufficient (Zhou, Wildschut, Sedikides, Chen, & Vingerhoets, 2012). Nostalgia relieves pain, enhances individual identity, invigorates the feeling of “belonging”, increases psychological well-being, reduces isolation and boosts communication, since the positive image of the past and the selection of its content gives life meaning and works as a positive shield for the present and future (Wildschut, Sedikides, Arndt, & Routled, 2006; Routledge et al., 2008). Nostalgia offers a sense of continuity for an individual and provides a smooth transition from the past to the present and future, while facilitating positive perceptions about the past (Sedikides et al., 2008) and fostering creativity and inspiration for the present and the future (Stephan, Wildschut, Sedikides, Routledge & Arndt, 2008). According to Batcho (1988, 1995), it is not clear what the specific triggers of nostalgia are. That is, whether nostalgia is triggered by emotions of admiration for one’s past, feelings of frustration for a present situation, or fear for the future. Wildschut et al. (2006) indicate that nostalgia fulfills four functions: provides a source of positive energy, empowers social bonds, increases self-esteem, and makes people feel less vulnerable to existential threats.

Various contradictory results regarding to nostalgic experiences across gender and generations have been found. Some of the first studies on nostalgia found that men were more nostalgic than women, due to the fact that they travelled more, and their lives entailed more changes (Davis, 1979). Therefore, nostalgia operated for men as a securing mechanism for their identities. An opposite view is presented by Holbrook (1993), who concluded that women are more prone to nostalgia. Other studies point out that there are no gender differences regarding anchoring processes in nostalgia (Sherman & Newman, 1978; Wildschut et al., 2006). On the other hand, Baker and Kennedy (1994) and Havlena and Holak (1991) indicated that men and women feel nostalgic about different things and each gender experiences nostalgia in a different way.

Regarding the relationship between age/generation and nostalgia, the theory of socio-emotional selectivity developed by Carstensen, Isaacowitz & Charles (1999) acknowledges that older individuals perceive the remaining part of their lives as limited. For this reason, they shift their interests and their goals from the future towards the past. As a result, they feel nostalgic about those beautiful moments that have passed and, thus, their life acquires meaning. Thinking about the past partly offers an explanation for the inclination of older people to think about the “good old times”, and given the short future ahead of them, it accentuates their relief by finding refuge in the past.

Davis (1979) reasoned that the older individuals are, the more nostalgic they become. On the contrary, Batcho (1995) demonstrated that younger people can also display

high levels of nostalgia, which seems to be the result of multiple changes in their lives, concluding that the object of nostalgia varies across generations and between genders. The content of nostalgia is modified across time becoming more compatible with each age. For instance, young people feel nostalgic about their student years, while older generations think about their grandchildren. Sherman and Newman (1978) recognize that older people recall loved objects that remind them of their past and these recollections differ between genders. Regarding such gender differences, women seemed to be more sentimental towards certain objects, like photographs that elicit emotional memories, while men displayed more materialistic preferences, like cars for example.

Nostalgia, Social Memory, and Social Representations

Nostalgia refers to a strong feeling, relating individuals or societies to a representation of their past (Laurens, 2002). It is the outcome of social memory processes (Negura & Lungu, 2011), amassing all its discerning features (Halbwachs, 1950/1968, 1925/1994; Middleton & Edwards, 1990/1997; Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997; Haas & Jodelet, 1999, 2000; Madoglou, 2010a). Social memory is a selective rebuilding of the past in the present (Jaisson, 1999), carried out in a specific spatiotemporal frame. It forms a “distortive” reconstruction of the past (Halbwachs, 1925/1994), often entailing remorse, in as much as social individuals don’t narrate actual events, but instead what they wanted to have happened. As Halbwachs notes, “...our minds reconstruct memories under the pressure of society. Isn’t it strange that society redirects and transforms our past in such an extent, so as to feel nostalgic about it?” (1925/1994, p. 111).

Social memory, including nostalgia, reflects social representations of the past (Laurens & Roussiau, 2002; Viaud, 2003). The past is represented in the present depending on individuals’ and objects’ features that are grounded in the values, norms, dominant ideas, educational models, institutions, and group affiliations (family, education, peers, political or athletic associations, etc.). Social representations constitute a mechanism of constructing “realities”, a way of structuring social thought, a “world view” formulated under the influence of objectification and anchoring processes (Moscovici, 1961/1976). Objectification points to the selective process of those elements that comprise the construction of a representational object (a person, an event, or an idea), giving priority to some dimensions over others, by adjusting, simplifying, distorting, introducing, or omitting features, so that the final result serves the purposes of social individuals.

Through anchoring processes, the representational object is transformed into something useful for the individuals, as they incorporate it in their pre-existing and already familiar set of beliefs, meanings, categories, rules and interests of their own groups. The content of social memory, such as social representations, is linked with the individual’s significant group affiliation (Jodelet, 1984; Halbwachs, 1925/1994, Laurens & Roussiau, 2002; Lorenzi-Cioldi & Clémence, 2001; Viaud, 2003). Variations between individuals as

group members in the meaning given to the nostalgic past depend on the normative principles adopted by specific groups. An interplay between social memory and social identity is thus created in a way that social identity defines the content of social memory, and vice-versa (Candau, 1998). Objectification is assumed to define the content of representational memory; however, representational content is assumed to be anchored in terms of individuals' social identity. Memories and representations involve mutual agreement and they are characterized by intergroup differences (Doise, 1992).

An important variable that affects the selective content of memory is the individual's generational group (Mannheim, 1928/1990; Schuman & Scott, 1989; Madoglou, 2010b). A generational group is defined by a common socio-historical and cultural space, shared experiences and educational system. Institutionalized or informal culture have an impact on socially constructed generational consciousness or identities (Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997). Public events of a period become part of generation's common cultural experiences, common experiences towards a specific event, reactions to various stimuli, existential problems, or common knowledge (Conway, 1997). A generation, according to Mannheim (1928/1990), is defined in concrete spatiotemporal frames as a common perception of experience, a participation of individuals in the same events, life contents and common memory structure. Thus, a generation shares a common place of memory ("lieux de mémoire") (Nora, 1986). Generations and memories create one another, due to shared socio-historic experiences of individual memories (Olick, 1999). Individuals belonging to the same generational group report common events that distinguish them from other generational groups. In the realm of socio-economic, political and cultural relations between groups and individuals, experiences of generations are materialized in significant milestone events. So the fact that a generation has been affected by such events, searching for the shelter of a cohesive community becomes prominent (Bauman, 2008). In this nostalgic return back to "cohesive" and "stable" times, writing about the past provides a cultural activity that is associated with various "shelters" and "homes", which create a sense of safety. Given that each generation has been differently exposed to or affected by various significant events, then they will search for various different kinds of "shelters" and 'homes'.

In our present study, representational nostalgia refers mainly to autobiographical memories. According to Auriat (1996), autobiographical memories are connected with experienced positive or negative past events, forming an individual's identity. Halbwachs (1950/1968) argues for a representational memory as delimited in space and time, whose content is constructed from everyday relations maintained by group members. These groups contribute to the shaping of individual and social identity and are composed by social entities such as family, school, peer groups and professionals which all provide a needed existential reference. Although the social self plays a key role, it is the personal self that is placed in the center of autobiographical individual memory. As noted by Piolino, Desgranges, and Eustache (2000), autobiographical memory:

Collects past experiences and forms the core of personal identity. It allows in this way, the conservation of the specific mnemonic traces for each individual: important life events, places, facial features and voices from the ones absent or lost, acquired images, melodies, smells, flavors, even emotions and feelings tried out in the past. (...) in memory, important recollections of past events are being depicted, that conserve such a vivacity giving the impression that we relive them each time they come to mind (p. 15).

A study concerning the events that people want to remember from their past, showed that autobiographical memories are objectified in the following way: family members, childhood and teenage years, student and academic years, friendships, love and sexual relationships, professional life, leisure activities (trips and vacations), distinctive moments, first and unique experiences, material goods and health issues (Madoglou, 2011). Different important memory events are selected by different generations. Madoglou (2011, p. 216) states that *“The goals and interests, the activities, the social and interpersonal relationships, distinctive benchmarks, the social context, social status, obligations, needs and employment issues are common in the same age group and different from those of the other groups.”*

Reviewing the relevant literature, it is concluded that nostalgia is a universal process that goes beyond social classes, generations, gender and nations (Zhou, Sedikides, Wildschut, & Gao, 2008). By focusing on objectification and anchoring processes of representational autobiographical nostalgic memories, our present study aims to shed some light upon the research findings on the concept of nostalgia.

Hypotheses

The articulation of nostalgia with social memory and social representations, forms the hypothesis that the content of nostalgic experiences is objectified in significant “others” and important events, pleasant experiences, places, and life periods setting the self in the prominent position. Nostalgic reasons are linked with the revival of a lost past, that individuals long for. Emotions are anticipated to be both positive and negative.

Anchoring processes raise the following hypotheses. First, we hypothesize that older generations are more prone to experience nostalgia and more keen to communicate their nostalgic experiences than younger generations. Second, we hypothesize that individuals belonging to the same generation report common events, reasons and emotions substantial to their identity, differentiated from other generations. Third, we hypothesize that there are gender differences in the way of experiencing nostalgia.

METHOD

Participants

244 individuals (135 female, 109 male), belonging to three different generations, participated in this research: 83 young people ranging from 18 to 25 years old ($M = 21.89$, $SD = 1.63$), 91 adult people from 40 to 64 years old ($M = 51.59$, $SD = 6.57$) and 70 older people from 65 to 89 years old ($M = 73.93$, $SD = 6.54$). The study took place in the last three months of 2015. The participants were habitants of Athens and they were all Greek citizens. The younger sample was composed by university students from a faculty course while the other two samples, i.e. the adults group and the older group, were composed of people of the general population.

Materials and Procedures

The participants completed a questionnaire with open-ended and closed-ended questions. After providing demographic information (gender, age/generation, place of birth, place of residence), they responded to two open-ended questions. In the first question, they were asked to report an experience (an event, person, place, object, etc.) from their past that makes them feel nostalgic, while in the second one they were asked to mention the reason relevant to this nostalgic experience. Then, the participants responded to a closed-ended question in relation to emotions elicited from a nostalgic past. For this reason, they were asked to reply to a 20 seven-point, bi-polar emotional Likert Scales (e.g., Pessimism=1 - Optimism=7, Miserable=1 - Well=7, Euphoria=1 - Discomfort=7, Pressure=1 - Laxity=7), which resulted from pilot survey interviews¹, carried out for this aim. In order to answer this question, they were informed that the more they choose to answer each of the extremes of the seven-point scale, the more they agreed to the emotion referred. The participants replied to a seven-point Nostalgia Scale (Routledge et al., 2008), consisting of five items: "How often do you experience nostalgia?" (1=Very rarely, to 7=Very frequently), "How prone are you to feeling nostalgic?" (1=Not at all, to 7=Very much), "Generally speaking, how often do you bring to mind nostalgic experiences?" (1=Very rarely, to 7=Very frequently), "Specially, how often do you bring to mind nostalgic experiences?" (1= Once or twice a year, to 7= At least once a day), "How important is it for you to bring to mind nostalgic experiences?" (1=Not at all, to 7=Very much). Finally, they completed a seven-point question (1=never, to 7=absolutely) measuring communication levels of their nostalgic past. The first scale (Cronbach's alpha=.872) classifies participants in more prone ($M > 4.20$) and less prone to nostalgia ($M \leq 4$), while the second one classifies them in more ($M > 4$) and less keen to communicate nostalgic experiences ($M \leq 4$).

Coding of Verbal Analysis

The verbal material, produced by the participants in open-ended and close-ended questions about nostalgic events and its reasons, was subject to content analysis. Each category was based on answer frequency and thematic coherence. Answers with high frequency were preserved as autonomous categories (Abric, 1994; Vergès, 1994), and answers with low frequency were either classified in the previous categories or to new ones with common headings. Moreover, the categories were controlled by three reviewers, who were asked to read carefully their verbal content matching their correspondence. Finalization of the categories and their content (see Table 1 and Table 2) was determined either by reviewers' complete consensus of their answers or by the majority of their answers (e.g., two out of three answers are the same).

Statistical Procedure

In this study, we combined basic Descriptive Statistics with two advanced statistical methodologies namely: Explanatory Factor Analysis (or EFA), and Latent Class Analysis (or LCA) towards a better explanation and understanding of the research purpose. Factor Analysis, and more specifically Principal Components Analysis (or PCA), was selected because it enables the handling of a large number of variables, derived from the questionnaire. Latent Class Analysis, which is the most common model-based clustering method for discrete data, was selected since it gives the possibility to detect underlying subgroups of individuals based on their observed characteristics. The results are reported in the next section.

Table 1. Thematic categories of nostalgic experiences in alphabetical order

<i>Thematic category</i>	Contents
CHILDHOOD	innocent years of childhood, childhood, school age
CHILDREN	children's upbringing, when my children were young, the years when my children were young, children's birth, son, daughter, children, pregnancy-childbirth
DISTINCTIVE MOMENTS	job-related activities, sports designation, a youth summer, an old love, a spring day in the countryside, a job in Thessaloniki, pleasant moments with friends, ducks, first love, moments with loved persons, my boyfriend, a song, the older times
FAMILY	family, family meals, my family members, family moments
FAMILY MEMBERS	loved uncle, brother, grand-daughter, family member
GRAND-PARENTS	grandfather and grandmother, grandfather, grandmother
HOLIDAYS	trips, vacations, summer holidays, holidays in Santorini, holidays in Skiathos
LOSS OF LOVED PERSONS	people who have died, loss of loved persons, parents who have died, persons who have died, my mother who has died, my brother who has died, friends who are not alive, loss of a friend from childhood
NEIGHBOURHOOD	grandmother's neighborhood, neighborhood, playing in the neighborhood, old neighborhood, years in the old neighborhood
OLD FRIENDS	friends from childhood, old friends, old friendships, people with whom we have not met for a long time
PARENTS	parents, experiences with my father, my mother
PLACE	places where I have spent good times, my homeland, Crete, my patrimonial house, my place, the descent place, my birthplace
SCHOOL	school, my first school
SPOUSE	my wife, my ex-husband, my husband
STUDENT YEARS	active student and social presence, student years, Erasmus, the first years in the university, student life
VILLAGE	summer in the village, my house in the village, my village
YOUTH	adolescence, youth, young age

Table 2. Thematic categories of nostalgic reasons in alphabetical order

<i>Thematic category</i>	Reasons
ABSENCE	absence, distance, lack of, I left when I was young, they are not close to me, they are away, immigration, seldom do I see them
CARELESS-NESS	no responsibilities, careless years, carelessness, careless life, without obligations, lack of responsibilities, calm years
COMMUNICATION NEED	need for contact, I was not alone, loneliness, there is no contact anymore
CRAVING FOR REVIVAL	they don't take place anymore, I cannot do these anymore, a different society without anxiety, I want to revive these experiences, I miss them, old moments, a beautiful period, a desire for living with her, I miss it, old moments
DEATH	(s)he has passed away, he has passed away and I will not see him anymore, (s)he has passed away and I miss him/her, due to death, early death, (s)he passed away when I was young, a recent death
INNOCENCE	innocence, years of innocence
LEISURE	entertainment, comfortable life, laughter
LOSS OF SITUATIONS	loss, gap, loss of youth, damage of a house, quality of life, pleasant moments, I am not going there anymore, loss of the past, lost the family warmth, quality of life, while now I cannot plant flowers and trees and look after my garden
LOVE NATURE	unconditional love, I was loving them, tenderness and love nature, I liked the countryside scenery places, beautiful activities in the countryside
PLEASANT EMOTIONS	safety, warmth, attachment, tenderness, I was feeling ample with them, I felt touched, happiness, completeness, pleasure of remembering my youth, calmness, mental balance, freedom, self-esteem, strength, calm, creativity, optimism, stability
PLEASANT RECOLLECTIONS	beautiful recollections, pleasant moments, pleasant images of the past, a large and beautiful part of my life, I was in shape, I had a good time, it reminds me of my childhood and play, persons, moments recorded in my mind, good company, socialization, money, good life, holidays, job, beautiful moments, without anxiety, new places
UNCONCERN	I lost my unconcern, unconcern without obligations, unconcern-happiness-pleasure, unconcern-lack of obligations, unconcern without anxiety, unconcern with a lot of free time

RESULTS

Representational autobiographical nostalgic memories and reasons for their recollection (objectification):

A total number of 232 nostalgic experiences were produced by the 244 participants of this study. The reasons related to the recollection of nostalgic past were 229. Table 3 and Table 4 include the frequency of nostalgic experiences and the reasons of their recollections, respectively.

***Table 3.* Frequency Distribution of Nostalgic Experiences as Percentage of the Total Sample**

Nostalgic Experiences	N	%
Childhood	39	16.0
Parents	25	10.2
Distinctive moment	22	9.0
Student years	16	6.6
Place	15	6.1
Old friends	13	5.3
Family	12	4.9
No answer	12	4.9
Holidays	11	4.5
School	11	4.5
Spouse	10	4.1
Village	10	4.1
Family members	9	3.7
Youth	9	3.7
Children	9	3.7
Loss of loved persons	8	3.3
Grandparents	8	3.3
Neighborhood	5	2.0
Total	244	100.0

As seen in Table 3, nostalgic experiences are mainly related to childhood (n=39), parents (n=25), distinctive moments (n=22), student years (n=16), places (n=15), old friends (n=13) and family (n=12). Moreover, nostalgic experiences seem to be less related to neighborhood (n=5), grandparents and loss of loved persons (n=8 in both cases), as well as family members, youth, and children (n=9 in all cases). The reasons for nostalgic

experiences (see Table 4) are mostly related to carelessness (n=34), pleasant recollections (n=29), unconcern and pleasant emotions (n=22 in both cases), craving for revival (n=17) and they seem to be less related to love, leisure, and nature (n=5 in all cases). However, death is the second reason for nostalgic experience (n=29), along with other reasons that are negatively emotionally charged, such as loss of situations (n=26), absence (n=22) and the need to communicate (n=5).

***Table 4.* Frequency Distribution of Reasons of Nostalgic Experiences Recollection**

<i>Reasons of Nostalgic Experiences</i>	N	%
Carelessness	34	13.9
Death	29	11.9
Pleasant recollections	29	11.9
Loss of situations	26	10.7
Absence	22	9.0
Unconcern	22	9.0
Pleasant emotions	22	9.0
Craving for revival	17	7.0
No answer	15	6.1
Innocence	8	3.3
Love	5	2.0
Leisure	5	2.0
Need to communicate	5	2.0
Nature	5	2.0
Total	244	100.0

Emotions elicited by the nostalgic past (objectification)

To highlight the internal structure of the items, in the emotions question, we performed a Principal Components Analysis of participants' responses via SPSSv21, using an orthogonal rotation technique (Varimax Method). Emotional means, standard deviations and loadings on the four factors are presented in Table 5 below. Four factors with an Eigenvalue of one or greater were revealed, explaining 57.87% of the total variance. Observing the emotional means, it is clear that the recollection of nostalgic experiences mainly elicits positive emotions.

Table 5. Mean, Standard Deviation and Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation of the emotions of nostalgic experiences

<i>Emotions</i>	M	SD	Joy/ Euphoria	Encouraging/ Invigorating.	Aloofness/ Bitter melancholy	Insecurity/ Impasse
Joy - Sorrow	3.45	1.75	-.768	-.223	.058	.034
Pessimism - Optimism	4.55	1.52	.476	.337	.166	-.393
Miserable - Well	4.90	1.47	.709	.163	-.340	-.138
Euphoria - Discomfort	3.38	1.50	-.711	-.040	.325	.117
Pressure - Laxity	4.52	1.47	.524	.194	-.274	-.279
Pleasure - Discontent	2.90	1.53	-.585	-.011	.347	.457
Safety - Insecurity	3.47	1.47	-.279	-.020	.200	.740
Completion - Impasse	3.32	1.33	-.064	-.373	.176	.693
Unrest - Peacefulness	4.92	1.38	.378	.276	-.402	-.305
Inefficiency - Adequacy	4.60	1.43	.238	.554	-.171	-.309
Disappointment - Enthusiasm	4.38	1.42	.452	.512	-.321	-.093
Embarrassment - Pride	5.13	1.34	.146	.495	-.474	-.075
Geniality - Aloofness	2.94	1.49	-.179	-.096	.764	.193
Sadness - Conviviality	4.25	1.61	.582	.373	-.006	-.237
Fear - Boldness	4.59	1.31	.089	.745	-.063	-.218
Sweet melancholy - Bitter melancholy	2.66	1.59	-.110	-.169	.762	.046
Happiness - Unhappiness	3.08	1.39	-.346	-.278	.509	.246
Pain - Alleviation	4.11	1.44	.390	.619	-.023	.113
Courage - Resignation	3.01	1.43	-.029	-.718	.159	.129
Exhaustion - Rejuvenation	4.66	1.32	.241	.631	-.325	-.059
Eigenvalues			3.67	3.37	2.59	1.94
% of Variance explained			18.35%	16.83%	12.98%	9.71%

Note: Factor loadings with greater than **.40** are boldface.

More specifically (see Table 5), the first factor explains 18.35% of the total variance and consists of items concerning positive emotions of the nostalgic past (joy, optimism, well, euphoria, laxity, pleasure, conviviality). The second factor represents 16.83% of the total variance and includes items of encouraging and invigorating emotions (adequacy, enthusiasm, pride, boldness, alleviation, courage, rejuvenation). The third factor, which

explains 12.98% of the total variance, entails items that refer to aloofness and bitter melancholy emotions (unrest, embarrassment, aloofness, bitter melancholy, unhappiness). Finally, the fourth factor, reflecting 9.71% of the total variance, contains items referring to insecurity and impasse emotions (discontent, insecurity, impasse).

Identity differentiations of representational autobiographical nostalgic memories (anchoring)

In this section, we applied a specific Latent Class (LC) Model using poLCA (Linzer, 2011) package of R in order to investigate possible differentiations of representational autobiographical nostalgic memories, the reasons for their recollection and their emotions in relation to respondent's gender, generation, levels of proneness to nostalgia and levels of communication of nostalgic experiences. To the best of our knowledge LCA has not been used before in such an exploratory way regarding studies for nostalgic memories. Because of this we decided to use a typical modeling framework, in the sense that we didn't apply any special selection method for the variables. In order to achieve a better exploration of the differentiations of representational autobiographical nostalgic memories among respondents, we use in our model the main variables, generally proposed in the literature, as being the key determinants of the above.

Moreover, in order to estimate the optimal number of classes we began by fitting a complete "independence" model with 2 latent classes and then, iteratively, we increased the number of latent classes by one, up to the highest plausible number of classes that is a model with 7 classes. Subsequently, the selection of the optimal clustering model was based on the two most widely used measures; the Bayesian Information Criterion that measures model's overall goodness-of-fit and the Akaike Information Criterion that penalizes model complexity. Regarding the analysis, we decided to choose a three-latent class model that proved to be simultaneously the most fitted and the least complex model. Moreover, speaking by means of LC analysis, the model indicates that none of the variables had to be removed. Based on the above, we consider that the theoretical three-latent class model, consisting of 10 observed/manifest variables as graphically presented in Figure 1, can satisfactorily cluster three subgroups of individuals based on their characteristics.

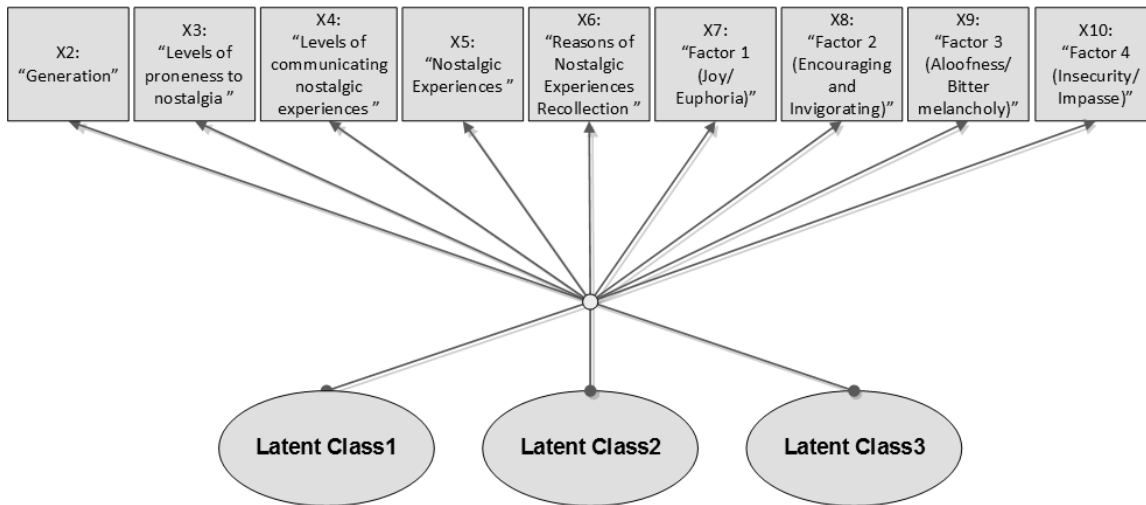


Figure 1. The theoretical three latent class model.

For the sake of brevity, the 10 observed/manifest variables of the theoretical model, along with the coding of their values, are described below in Table 6. Furthermore, in order to test the applicability of the above theoretical LC Model we used the Expectation-Maximization (EM) algorithm. This is a usual approach to estimate parameters in LC models and in our case, it was performed using poLCA (Linzer, 2011) package of **R**, while MS Visio v2013 has been used for the graphic representation of the estimated parameters (see Figures 2, 3, and 4). The application of the LC Model, as well as the results obtained, are presented below. The estimated parameters of the Latent Class model are presented in Table 6. Each parameter corresponds to the Conditional Probability (or CP) that a member of each latent class is related with each manifest variable. In other words, Table 6 reports the differentiations of representational autobiographical nostalgic memories among members of each class. Note that due to simplicity reasons, and in the following pages, we will present the conditional probabilities of Table 6 in percentages.

Table 6. Estimated conditional probabilities (CP) of the theoretical three-Latent-Class Model that are related with different representational autobiographical nostalgic memories among members of the three classes

<i>Observed/Manifest Variables</i>	<i>Coding and Values</i>	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
		CP	CP	CP
X1: Gender	1. Male	.3825	.5055	.4018
	2. Female	.6175	.4945	.5982
X2: Generation	3. Young	.2254	.4861	.2284
	1. Adult	.3835	.3700	.3564
	2. Older	.3911	.1438	.4152
X3: Levels of proneness to nostalgia	1. Low	.5990	.6447	.3448
	2. High	.4010	.3553	.6552
X4: Levels of communicating nostalgic experiences to others	1. Low	.4655	.6027	.2970
	2. High	.5345	.3973	.7030
X5: Nostalgic Experiences	1. Loss of loved persons	.0562	.0000	.0644
	2. Neighborhood	.0000	.0458	.0000
	3. Parents	.2328	.0000	.1539
	4. Holidays	.0000	.0940	.0103
	5. Distinctive moment	.0830	.0802	.0872
	6. Family members	.0711	.0000	.0659
	7. Youth	.0000	.0605	.0331
	8. Family	.0213	.0000	.1487
	9. Children	.0643	.0000	.0716
	10. Childhood	.0000	.3425	.0224
	11. Old friends	.0000	.0734	.0691
	12. Grandparents	.1025	.0173	.0000
	13. Spouse	.1677	.0000	.0000
	14. School	.0000	.1008	.0000
	15. Place	.0000	.0240	.1715
	16. Student years	.0000	.1260	.0173
	17. Village	.0000	.0357	.0846
	18. No answer	.2012	.0000	.0000
X6: Reasons of Nostalgic Experiences	1. Love	.0203	.0000	.0525
	2. Innocence	.0000	.0733	.0000
	3. Carelessness	.0227	.2991	.0000
	4. Absence	.0000	.0000	.3048

<i>Observed/Manifest Variables</i>	<i>Coding and Values</i>	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
		CP	CP	CP
	5. Loss of situations	.0388	.0455	.2593
	6. Leisure	.0000	.0206	.0243
	7. Craving for revival	.0686	.0591	.0894
	8. Need to communicate	.0000	.0340	.0178
	9. Death	.4862	.0000	.0000
	10. Unconcern	.0000	.1924	.0000
	11. Pleasant emotions	.0738	.1033	.0875
	12. Pleasant recollections	.0550	.1635	.1091
	13. Nature	.0000	.0000	.0554
	14. No answer	.2347	.0092	.0000
X7: Factor 1 (Joy/Euphoria) of the emotions of nostalgic experiences	1. No	.6292	.3725	.5238
	2. Yes	.3708	.6275	.4762
X8: Factor 2 (Encouraging and invigorating) of the emotions of nostalgic experiences	1. No	.7713	.6337	.3715
	2. Yes	.2287	.3663	0.6285
X9: Factor 3 (Aloofness/Bitter melancholy) of the emotions of nostalgic experiences	1. No	.4066	.5831	.6523
	2. Yes	.5934	.4169	.3477
X10: Factor 4 (Insecurity/ Impasse) of the emotions of nostalgic experiences	1. No	.4094	.4015	.5367
	2. Yes	.5906	.5985	.4633

Note: Probability values which are referred to hereafter are boldface.

By examining the estimated class-conditional response probabilities presented in Table 6 we found that the LC model identified three classes of respondents, with 24.8 % in Class 1, 45.5% in Class 2 and 29.9% in Class 3. We labeled the smallest latent class, which included almost 25% of the subjects, **Group 1:** “*Adult and older-aged females with low levels of proneness to nostalgia and high levels of communication of nostalgic experiences*”, the largest latent class, including almost half of the subjects, **Group 2:** “*Young people with low levels of proneness to nostalgia and communication of nostalgic experiences*” and finally, the third class, involving about one-third of the sample, **Group 3:** “*Older-aged females with high levels of proneness to nostalgia and high levels of communication of nostalgic experiences*”. Based on these results, one could argue the following:

Group 1. Members of this group are more likely to be *Female* (61.75%), *Adults* or *Older-aged* (38.35% and 39.11% respectively) with *High level of communicating nostalgic experiences to others* and *Low nostalgia proneness* (53.45%). Regarding nostalgic experiences, these are related mostly to significant others, mainly *Parents* (23.28%), *Grandparents* (10.25%) and *Spouse* (16.77%), while a 20.12% of them gave a *No answer*. Concerning the reasons for nostalgic experiences, for the members of Class 1 these were mainly *Death* (48.62%) and *No answer* (23.47%). Turning now to the factors of the emotions of nostalgic experiences, the specific group was characterized by *Aloofness/Bitter melancholy* (59.34%) and *Insecurity/Impasse* (59.06%).

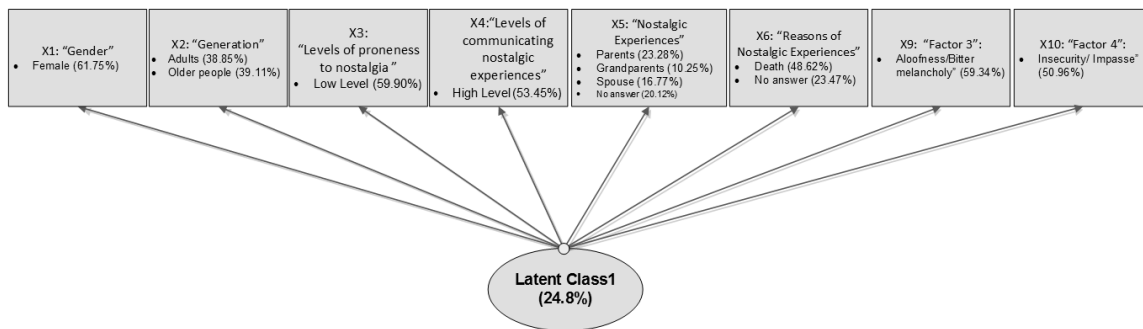


Figure 2. Graphical representation of the autobiographical nostalgic memories among members of Group 1 (according to their gender, generation, levels of proneness to nostalgia and their levels of communication of nostalgic experiences).

Group 2. Members of this group are more likely to be *young* people (48.61%) regardless of their gender. As it has been hypothesized, the specific generation experienced *Low nostalgia proneness* (64.47%) and *Low level of communicating nostalgic experiences to others* (60.27%). Moreover, nostalgic experiences for these younger people seem to be related to specific periods of their life - mostly *Childhood* (34.25%) and *Student years* (12.60%), as well as places - *School* (10.08%) - and leisure activities, mainly *Holidays* (9.40%). For the members of this class, reasons of nostalgic experiences appear to be *Carelessness* (29.31%), *Unconcern* (19.24%), as well as *Pleasant recollections* (16.35%). Finally, younger people seem to be characterized by *Joy/Euphoria* (62.75%) and *Insecurity/Impasse* (59.85%).

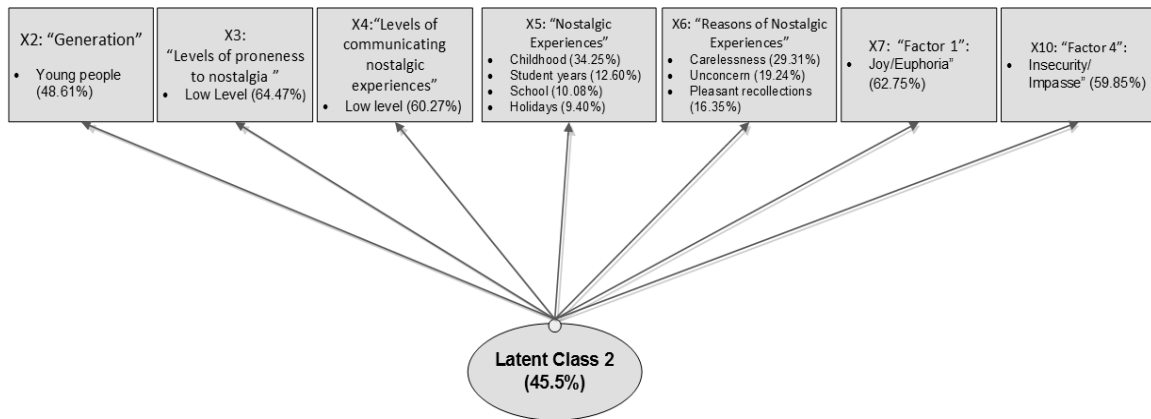


Figure 3. Graphical representation of the autobiographical nostalgic memories among members of Group 2 (according to their generation, levels of proneness to nostalgia and their levels of communication of nostalgic experiences).

Group 3. Older-aged females mainly represent this group (59.82% and 41.52% respectively), who experience *High nostalgia proneness* (65.52%) and indicate *High level of communicating nostalgic experiences to others* (70.30%). In regard to nostalgic experiences, these are mostly related to significant others and more specifically to *Parents* (15.39%) and *Family* (14.87%), as well as places -a specific *Place* (17.15%) and *Village* (8.46%). The reasons of nostalgic experiences for the specific class members are mainly related to *Absence* (30.48%), *Loss of situations* (25.93%) and to a lesser extent with *Pleasant recollections* (10.91%). Finally, it comes out that the only factor of the emotions of nostalgic experiences related to the specific group was *Factor 2: Encouraging and invigorating* (62.85%).

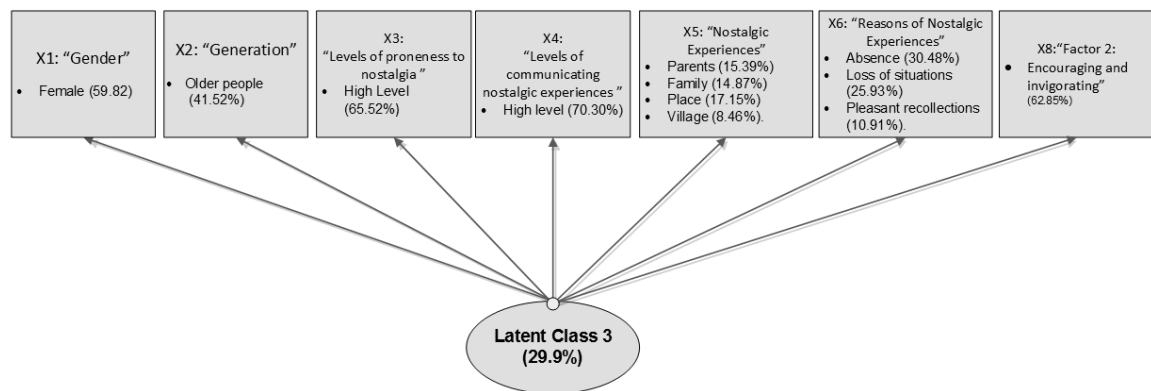


Figure 4. Graphical representation of the autobiographical nostalgic memories among members of Group 3 (according to their gender, generation, levels of proneness to nostalgia and their levels of communication of nostalgic experiences).

DISCUSSION

The present study provides evidence regarding the processes of objectification of the content of autobiographical nostalgia, as well as the reasons associated with such nostalgic reminiscences and the emotions these elicit in people. Furthermore, this study shows differences among participants across several identity dimensions such as generation, gender, levels of proneness to nostalgia and levels of communication of nostalgic experiences to others. In the above framework, the results confirm most of the hypotheses made, offering the following empirical evidence.

The descriptive results show that nostalgic experiences are selective and objectified in significant others, distinctive periods of life events or pleasant experiences, leisure activities, places, and the loss of loved persons. This implies that in nostalgic experiences, the self plays an important role related to the active presence of significant others, across different contexts (Havlena & Holak, 1992; Hicks, Schlegel, & King, 2010; Lambert, Stillma, Baumeister, Fincham, Hicks, & Graham, 2010; Routledge, Arndt, Wildschut, Sedikides, & Hart, 2011). Nostalgia operates as a defensive formation that resists the threatening of the self by providing an idealized self-image. Findings reflect Zizek's (2008) 549 view of the role of a fetish to maintain identities, manage anxiety, and induce a type of 550 love; or as Hook (2012) argues for, "*a license to forget*" (p. 17). Clearly, not all instances of nostalgia can be seen as fetishistic. However, as formations of nostalgia exist within the ego-domain, preserving the ego's idealized self-representation remains possible through recollections of relevant nostalgic experiences. Indeed, Hook (2013) argued for a fetishistic nostalgia that highlights identity preservation through disavowals of the present, thereby facilitating a type of structural forgetting.

The reasons for nostalgic experiences are more likely to relate to the revival of a lost past, positive situations such as pleasant recollections, unconcern and carelessness. However, reasons for nostalgic experiences are also associated with negative situations such as absence, death, loss and need for communication, where nostalgia, according to other researchers, functions as an antidote to catharsis (Wildschut et al., 2006; Sedikides et al., 2008). Indeed, Routledge, Ostafin, Juhl, Sedikides, Cathey, & Liao (2010) have tested nostalgia as a terror-management function that focuses on how people cope with thoughts related to mortality. Reflections over people's lifespan operate as a mechanism of mortality awareness that protects people from anxiety of such thoughts inducing meaning to their present life and lived experiences. Therefore, despite the threatening content of death as a fact, its high recollection may lie on the defensive need of people to become aware of their mortality, reduce the anxiety that it elicits and realize the meaning of their current life.

Nostalgic emotions are mainly positive (in the sense that the scale of relevant means suggests that participants reported more positive than negative emotions, see Table 5). The past does not exist anymore or this past never existed and people revive it through a pleasant recollection. It reveals again the dominance of positive over negative emotions in

recollections of the nostalgic past (Holak & Havlena, 1998; Zhou et al., 2008; Barrett, Grimm, Robins, Wildschut, Sedikides, & Janata, 2010; Hepper, Ritchie, Sedikides, & Wildschut, 2012; Cheung et al., 2013). However, it is worth recalling the relatively high frequency of death as a reason for experiencing nostalgia (n=29). Confirmation of this hypothesis is partly explained in line with findings of the previous one. In particular, given that nostalgia reduces anxiety of threatening events and enables the elaboration and awareness of them or the meaning in other positive events, then recollections of negative events could be anticipated. In this case, it is their implicit positive impact explained in previous hypotheses? and not their content itself that makes negative events highly recollected. In the structure of nostalgic emotions (see factor analysis, Table 5), we observed the complex bittersweet nature of nostalgia: joy/euphoria, encouraging/invigorating, aloofness/bitter melancholy, insecurity/impasse, which has been discussed by other scholars (Holak & Havlena, 1998; Sedikides & Wildschut, 2016; Wildschut et al., 2006). This nuanced emotion is created by the double meaning of sorrow for not having the nostalgic object, but also pleasure and joy for the mnemonic communication.

Taking into account the aforementioned results, members of Group 3 (consisting mostly of older-aged people), are more likely to feel *High nostalgia proneness* and *High level of communicating nostalgic experiences to others*, compared to younger generation members of Group 2 (consisting mostly of young people). Nostalgia becomes more frequent as people get older and they want to communicate their nostalgic past. As Halbwachs (1925/1994) argues, older people, liberating their minds from daily activities or pressures (job, family and other social engagements), and having plenty of free time, shift their attention in memories of the past. Nostalgia comes to replace their limited social role, while nostalgic experiences reduce the sense of loneliness they usually feel. Older people turn their interest from thinking about the future to remembering experiences and live together with these past recollections. Draaisma (2013) has actually argued for the “reminiscence effect” as the return of old memories. Older people write their life story down by recalling early memories that is toy say by looking back to the past. This effect becomes more intense at an age when the memory as a mental process is starting to decline. Draaisma describes this effect as “*the fact that, as we approach the age of 60...our associations tend to turn to our youth*” (p.4), which in turn urges people to value the process of nostalgia that emerges as recollections of past events associated with youth, the period of emergence of identity and mature selves. Therefore, a decline in prospective memory at a late age is replaced by a return to a pleasant past, where investment on self and identity development occurred and was experienced by individuals.

According to the results, members of Group 1 (consisting mostly of adult and older people) and Group 3 (consisting mostly of older people), belong to the same or almost the same generation. They are more likely to report common events, reasons and emotions compared to the members of Group 2 (consisting mostly by young people). These results

reveal the role of generations in the processing of nostalgia. For each generation, nostalgia has a different meaning and significance. Adult and older people feel nostalgic about their parents and their grandparents, their spouses and generally their family due to absence, loss or death, and they feel insecurity/impasse and aloofness/bitter melancholy. Older people also recall places and report as reasons for recollection the pleasant content, which encourage and invigorate them. The results of the present study confirmed findings from other studies, (see Sedikides et al., 2008), according to which older people recall nostalgic events that are more related to significant others. On the other hand, young people focus on nostalgic experiences that refer to life periods (childhood and student years) and leisure activities (holidays). The reasons for recollecting these nostalgic experiences concern pleasant recollections, unconcern and carelessness, while their emotions pivot not only on joy/ euphoria but also on insecurity/impasse. The reasons and emotions include optimism, as the young people of this generation can think of their future and shift their interest in making future plans.

Due to the composition of the three groups that was achieved we can advocate clearly detected gender differences among members of the older generations. More specifically, despite the fact that females are significantly more likely to be members of Group 1 (consisting mostly of adult and older people) and Group 3 (consisting mostly of older people), no such gender differences are estimated in Group 2 (consisting mostly of young people). From these findings, we can conclude that adult and older females are more prone to nostalgic processes. Their nostalgic content concerns family members (parents, grandparents, spouses), and places that don't exist in the present (absence, loss of situations, death), which they relive in their memory, feeling in this way bitter sweet emotions (encouragement and invigoration, aloofness/bitter melancholy, insecurity/impasse). This result seems to empower the gender anchoring hypothesis on the basis of normative principles of their socialization, and strengthens the position of Sherman & Newman (1978) that older people have nostalgia objects that remind them of their past according to their gender.

The present study tries to link nostalgia with social memory. In this perspective, the nostalgic content is selective. As Halbwachs (1925/1994) supports, people don't reproduce their past as it actually was, but they reshape it so as to view reality in a positive light. He emphasizes that:

Even if there are periods in our lives that we would gladly erase, even if we are not certain that we would want to begin our whole life as it was, many of us in a kind of retrospective illusion have convinced ourselves that the world today is more colorless and less interesting than it was before, and especially from the one of our childhood years or youth (p. 106).

Selected events that people feel nostalgic are those that determined their existence and defined their identity, while continuing to do so in the present.

In conclusion, nostalgia is a universal phenomenon that everyone in some period of their life did or will experience (Kaplan, 1987). Autobiographical nostalgic memory is an emotional reaction towards an “*absence*” and it is objectified in others that are close, in experienced events and situations, in certain life periods, in leisure time activities and in places, considered important by an individual. Emotions are complex and they depend on the nostalgic object and its reasons. The anchoring processes follow up on the generational and gender effects which show that different groups adopt different interpretations of the nostalgic autobiographical memories. Young people feel nostalgic about periods of their personal lives and leisure activities, while adult and older females emphasize on traditional values such as family and its members.

Footnote:

1. The specific emotions scale was specially constructed in order to control for objectification and anchoring processes in this study, stemming from the theory of social representations. Regarding the emotions contained in this scale, these were derived from a pilot study that brought out the anchoring process of autobiographical nostalgic emotions. More specifically, the proposed 20 items of the emotion scale emerged from a content analysis of 35 interviews regarding personal nostalgic experiences, where among other questions, participants (men and women, at the age of 20 to 83 years old) were describing a nostalgic experience and the emotions elicited by it. The different emotions (and their counterparts) were recorded and findings of their content analysis developed the proposed 20 items emotion scale. We note that the need of this self-made bipolar scale, that offers the respondents the opportunity to take sides on the one or the other pole of the scale, arose from the literature review of nostalgia. As it is noted, the emotions evoked by nostalgia were often contradictory and mixed (positive and negative, sweet and bitter, optimist and pessimist, etc.) while at the same time, it pointed out a significant gap in the existing scales of emotion in terms of capturing such contradictory emotions.

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