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ABSTRACT
This study investigates nostalgia-proneness, the tendency for individuals to experience nostalgic sentiment, in Russia. The Index of Nostalgia Proneness, based upon a four-way classification of nostalgia experiences, was originally developed using U.S. respondents. A Russian version of the scale is tested for using U.S. responses. A Russian version of the scale is tested for reliability and validity. Factor analysis supports the hypothesized dimensions and identifies key scale items. The four factors are reconciled with open-ended nostalgia experiences authored by Russian respondents.

INTRODUCTION
Nostalgia, the bittersweet sentiment which is believed to serve as a coping mechanism as individuals face major life transitions, has been a research focus in consumer behavior and other social science disciplines for the past decade or more. Measurement of nostalgia-proneness, the tendency of an individual to experience nostalgic sentiment, would allow researchers to better identify emotionally based consumer market segments. This study examines a scale developed for U.S. respondents, the Index of Nostalgia Proneness (INP), using data from Russians.

BACKGROUND
Nostalgia—"a painful yearning to return home"—was first discussed in Johannes Hofer’s medical dissertation (1688) as the cause of medical conditions. “La Maladie du Pays” as the condition was known, was associated with illness among troops fighting in foreign lands. More recently, nostalgia has come to be known as a “bittersweet” feeling that helps individuals maintain their identities in the face of major life transitions (Davis 1979). Within the last several years, nostalgia has gained increasing attention from marketing and consumer behavior researchers, as the emotion became prevalent in advertising themes, leisure activities, and product development (e.g., Chrysler’s PT Cruiser).

Heterogeneity in Nostalgia Response
Despite the prevalence of nostalgic themes in advertising and product development (Havlena and Holak 1991; Rothenberg 1989), the study of the meaning of nostalgia by consumer researchers (Baker and Kennedy 1994, Holak and Havlena 1992, Stern 1992), nostalgia and age-related preferences (Schindler and Holbrook 2003), and analysis of the complex emotions associated with nostalgia (Holak and Havlena 1998), there have been few attempts to develop measures of nostalgia-proneness as an individual trait (Havlena and Holak 2000, Holbrook 1993). Valid measures of nostalgia-proneness are necessary both for the identification of nostalgic consumers for market segmentation and for the testing of hypotheses regarding the nature and determinants of the trait. Nostalgia-proneness scales may be useful to diverse fields of social science as well as to business.

In addition to individual differences, it is also reasonable that differences exist cross-culturally in terms of nostalgic response due to varied cultural forces and different life experiences. Holbrook (1994) suggested that future research attention at the cross-cultural level be devoted to the exploration of how nostalgia-related phenomen-

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limited to communication from parents or grandparents. Rather, it is distinguished by its foundation in interpersonal communication grounded in the direct experience of others. This may produce elaborate memory traces incorporating accounts of others’ experiences as well as the individual’s direct experience with the source of nostalgic material. That is, a child’s interpersonal nostalgia may include the parent’s recollections as well as the child’s own memories of the parent and the retelling of the story. It is nostalgia once removed. Therefore, interpersonal nostalgia may evoke less intense feelings and may produce a less complex emotional profile with regard to the original stimulus than personal nostalgia.

Cultural nostalgia involves direct experience, but the memories encompass experiences that exhibit considerable commonality across members of the group. For example, Holak and Havlena (1992) discuss the presence of reminiscences of Woodstock in descriptions of nostalgic experience. The similarities across families in celebrations of Thanksgiving and Christmas in American culture (Wallendorf and Arnould 1991) may cause one person’s nostalgia to resemble that of others within his or her subcultural group.

Finally, the fourth class is the nostalgic equivalent of “virtual reality,” with nostalgia creating its own “virtual unreality” based upon fantasy and indirect experience. For example the members of re-enactment societies may display a sentiment similar to other classes of nostalgia for eras or locales with which they have no direct experience or connection. Instead, virtual nostalgia may be based on books, video materials, or conversations with experts and scholars (who themselves have no direct experience with the object of the nostalgia).

Due to differences in their origins, the four classes of nostalgia may involve substantially different responses. Personal and cultural nostalgia are likely to be much richer, complex experiences than interpersonal or virtual nostalgia. On the other hand, cultural and virtual nostalgia, because of their collective emphasis, will probably be much more consistent across individuals than personal or interpersonal nostalgia. As a result, most business uses of nostalgia in advertising and product design emphasize subjects likely to evoke cultural or virtual nostalgia (Havlena and Holak 1991, Stern 1992). The consistency and predictability of collective classes of nostalgia may allow the marketer to anticipate consumer responses to products and messages with greater accuracy. In particular, the highly romanticized nature of virtual nostalgia, which is not rooted in any lived reality for the individual, may result in a more “sanitized” experience, free of the negative memories of the individual’s lived past. The past represented by Disney’s Main Street USA contains only positive images of the American small-town heritage, with none of the problems or drawbacks of the real past to get in the way of our nostalgia for a lost idyllic time and place in our nation’s history.

**Russia, Transition, and Nostalgia Proneness**

Since the end of tsarist rule in 1917, Russia has experienced Communism under the regimes of Lenin and Stalin followed by a succession of senior party leaders including Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Andropov. Beginning in 1983, Mikhail Gorbachev withstood a coup attempt and promoted his Glasnost and Perestroika revisions with a view to the West. These came as welcome programs to some and painful discontinuities to many, especially older Russians. Boris Yeltsin presided over a time when a handful of meteoric capitalists, “the oligarchs”, seized the opportunity to amass great fortunes during the mid-1990s. Many “everyday” Russians began to see economic changes including increased product availability. Yeltsin’s successor, current president Vladimir Putin, has tightened reforms.

Given the many recent changes in the fabric of Russian society, the country is potentially a fascinating venue for nostalgia research. In addition to the personal nostalgia that anyone may feel, especially during times of life transition, the discontinuities in the Russian political and economic arena have resulted in cultural nostalgia for the Soviet era, particularly among certain age groups (Kagarlitsky 2000, Nagorski 1996, Zuckerman 1994). The structure of Russian family life with three generations often residing in comparatively close apartment quarters precipitates mealtime discussions, group decision-making, and opportunities for interpersonal nostalgia across generations. Russians may experience virtual nostalgia for “svetloye budushchee” or “bright future” promised by the Communists in the 1970s. Economic changes have made retirement, one of the major life transitions discussed by Davis and others, even more profound as a discontinuity, possibly resulting in heightened nostalgic sentiments.

The cultural nostalgia noted previously in the form of expressions of longing for the Soviet era and even the Stalin regime has been the subject of popular press articles in Russia and published by Russian observers in the West. The fiftieth anniversary of Stalin’s death in March 2003, for example, inspired a groundswell of nostalgia research. Since the end of tsarist rule in 1917, Russia has experienced

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**TABLE 1**

**Categories of Nostalgia**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Experience</th>
<th>Social Experience</th>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Collective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Personal nostalgia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Interpersonal nostalgia</td>
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**THE INDEX OF NOSTALGIA PRONENESS**

As noted previously, there have been few attempts in the consumer behavior literature to develop measures of nostalgia-proneness. The Holbrook (1993) Nostalgia Index contains items that reflect trends in commerce and society. It has been used to predict preferences for several product categories, both symbolic and utilitarian (Holbrook 1994, Schindler and Holbrook 1999).

The Index of Nostalgia Proneness was proposed as an alternative or complementary measure of individual nostalgia proneness with its more personal or feeling-based items. The INP, whose development is discussed fully in Havlena and Holak (2000), contains 31 Likert-type questions derived from the four classes of nostalgia noted in Table 1. The items in the scale were developed...
to measure the four classes of nostalgia discussed earlier. The scale statements reflect both the personal-collective and the direct-indirect dimensions of nostalgia. Each item is rated on a 9-point scale. Convergent validity for the Index of Nostalgia Proneness was examined with respect to Holbrook’s Nostalgia Index and other time-orientation scales (Havlena and Holak 2000) using responses from a U.S. sample.

**METHOD**

This research stream on nostalgia began several years ago when written descriptions of nostalgic experiences were collected from a judgment sample of respondents in the United States. Each individual was asked to provide descriptions of three experiences, related to objects, events, and persons. The respondents were instructed to include information about the subject matter of the experience and the emotions it elicited. This procedure provided a set of 164 descriptions that were content analyzed for recurring themes and emotions (Holak and Havlena 1992).

As noted previously, similar open-ended responses to nostalgia elicitations were collected from a judgment sample of Japanese subjects in two areas of the country. These resulted in a qualitative analysis of nostalgic experiences related to rituals—something quite distinct from the U.S. content.

The current study uses the same data collection procedure followed in the U.S. and Japan to gather data in Russia. Specifically, a judgment convenience sample of respondents was asked to provide written descriptions of nostalgic experiences related to objects, events, and persons. In addition, respondents were asked to complete two nostalgia-proneness scales: Holbrook’s (1993) Nostalgia Index and the Index of Nostalgia Proneness (Havlena and Holak 2000). Finally, demographic questions pertaining to gender, age, ethnicity, and religion were included in the survey. Back-translation method was used to develop a survey for data collection in Russia.

Data were collected from 80 respondents in five locations in Russia: the capital city of Moscow, the city of Tyumen, the city of Vladivostok, the Smolensk region in the west bordering Belarus, and the northern port city of Archangelsk. Just over 50% (41) respondents came from Moscow with the remainder from other areas. The respondents were recruited through university contacts in several locations. This variation should provide for the possibility of investigating differences in nostalgic experiences and levels of nostalgia-proneness between Muscovites who are usually better off socio-economically and those in outer regions. Seventy-three percent of the respondents were female, 27% were male. Ninety-one percent identified themselves as Russian with regard to ethnicity, with 6% classifying themselves as Ukrainian and 3% as other. Russian Orthodox was the primary religious affiliation, with 84% of the sample classifying themselves into this group: 14% claimed no religious affiliation and 2% other. In terms of age, respondent birthdates spanned from the 1930s to the 1980s with one male being born during the 1910s. The average age was 47 years.

**ANALYSIS AND RESULTS**

Reliability of the overall scale of 31 items was good with $\alpha = .87$. Principal axis factor analysis using Promax rotation was run on the Russian responses to the Index of Nostalgia Proneness. In a Scree plot, a distinct secondary elbow is notable between the fourth and higher factors. The four-factor solution was used for all subsequent analysis. Variance explained was over 47%. The first factor explained a large percentage of variance (over 25%) with the next three explaining over 8.45%, 7.16%, and 6.57%, respectively.

In order to explore convergent validity of the Index of Nostalgia Proneness, scale ratings for the Russian respondents were correlated with Holbrook’s Nostalgia Index. The resulting correlation was .54, suggesting that the two measures are somewhat related, but certainly not duplicative.

Factor loadings along with the 31 scale items for the INP appear in Table 2. As noted, the Index of Nostalgia Proneness items are identified as to which of the four nostalgia classes they were designed to represent. Several items are reverse-scaled. Blank table entries indicate results lower than .400. There are eight scale items that did not relate to any of the four factors. The majority of reverse-scaled items were not highly correlated with any of the four factors, perhaps indicating that these items were poorly understood or difficult to rate. A majority of the items loaded on factors in a manner consistent with a priori hypothesized relationships. One unexpected result was the positive association of “Children’s toys are much better now” with the third factor together with other statements favoring the past.

The first and predominant factor in our analysis represents *Personal Nostalgia* from the four-way classification. It is intuitively appealing that this factor would account for a high percentage of variance explained given that direct personal experiences and the resulting vivid memories provide fertile experiences for nostalgia.

To further explore the Index of Nostalgia Proneness, an effort was made to reconcile the open-ended nostalgic experiences in response to elicitations about “objects,” “persons,” and “events” with the four-way nostalgia classification. Experiences authored by individuals who had high ratings on particular scale items were identified.

Many scale items are related to *personal nostalgia*. Specifically, we identified individuals who had high ratings on four items in particular that are strongly representative of personal nostalgia: “I often think back to scenes from my childhood”, “People and places from the past are especially meaningful to me”, “I often think about the past to cheer myself up when I am feeling sad,” and “I feel satisfied when I reminisce about the past.”

In response to an elicitation about objects, a woman from Tyumen born in the 1930s is moved to remember a special relative:

*In our house in the village there was an ancient mirror. Probably, it came to us from my great-grandmother. I loved this mirror very much. It was very beautiful — in a frame with woodcarving. For as long as I can remember myself, it always was with us. And now it reminds me of my youth.*

A woman from Smolensk born during the 1950s responds to an elicitation about a person by writing about an important mentor associated with the Communist period in Russia in this illustration of personal nostalgia:

*I always with great pleasure meet the former Director of the House of Pioneers, a woman with tireless energy, “eternally young,” indefinitely sincere and cheerful. I worked for 10 years under her supervision. When a schoolgirl, I went to study in the House of Pioneers where I met this woman for the first time. She helped me in life, in work, she truly became my “godmother”. She was my mentor, my guiding star.*

With items like “The society in which I live used to be better than it is now” and “I feel connected to others from my generation when I hear music or watch TV shows from the past” the second factor resembles *Cultural Nostalgia*. There seems to be a clear presence of media in the second factor with items like “Movies were better when I was younger” and “I enjoy the old television and radio shows more than the new ones.”
Individuals who selected an 8 or 9 on the scale items related to this factor were identified. Some particularly illustrative experiences authored by these “high” cultural nostalgia respondents are interesting to note. Two pertain to “collective” workgroups or reunions. A married woman from Moscow born during the 1930s wrote about events to which she looked forward:

> Upon completion of university, all of my fellow students moved apart and began working in various organizations. But time has passed and we have begun meeting again with those people with whom we shared interests in school. I have been preparing for these meetings. I look forward to them and always remember the best student times—the time of study and friendships.

Another much younger woman from Moscow born during the 1970s writes about the loss of a similar type of collective reunion in the following passage:

> My schoolmate recently celebrated his thirtieth birthday. Four people from our class came. We all had a drink and relaxed. The four of us embraced in a circle and danced for a long time, remembering the school days, our adventures, the fun things we did for entertainment, and pranks. I had a very warm feeling of love for my schoolmates. We made fun of ourselves as children, as when we were in school. We even called each other by nicknames and maiden last names.

Cultural nostalgia is illustrated through the sentiment of a man from Moscow born prior to 1920 who shared the following about World War II. This individual is old enough to have experienced the war first hand. The films, however, are not his personal experiences; rather, they are shared depictions of the times.

> My strongest and yet saddest memoirs are connected to the Great Domestic War (World War II). Therefore, I cannot easily watch movies about this event in the life of my motherland.

The third factor in our results is more difficult to interpret. The most distinct item, “I like to read books or watch movies about other times and places,” is representative of Virtual Nostalgia. A woman...
from Vladimir, born during the 1950s, who had a high rating on this item wrote about once-forbidden books of an earlier time in Russia.

I am not sure it is possible to call the reading of a book an event? For me an event occurred when I read the novels, which were forbidden in our country, stories by Shmelyov Ivan Sergeevich, the writer of both the pre-revolutionary and emigrant time. All breathes with autobiographical writings. It is our Russia with churches, monasteries. All breathes with cleanliness of open spaces, riches of the Russian nature, its gifts. And soul that of the person and angriness that the October revolution has brought. I quote from correspondence between Shmelyov and Bunin: “A gang of malicious and dissolute creatures had come and, under the cover of ‘expressing the will of people,’ has managed with deceit, fear, and connivance to the lowest level possible in human nature, to put on the people without leaders a shameful sin.” His story “Sun of the Dead” is impressive. I have looked at all events of history as though having lived through all this myself, having lost something from the “PRESENT”.

Although she had no direct experience of the episodes presented in these books, she was able to experience an emotional connection with the events and to experience the sense of loss consistent with nostalgic response.

Finally, the fourth factor with reverse-scaled items like “I would rather celebrate holidays with new friends than with family or friends from my past” and “I don’t like to hear stories about my parents’ and grandparents’ experiences” might be interpreted as Interpersonal Nostalgia. Individuals who scored low on these items include a man from Smolensk born during the 1950s who writes the following about lost opportunities to learn more about the past:

I experience nostalgia most often when I hold an album with old photos in my hands. The pictures, which have become yellow with time, vividly transfer me to the time of my childhood. A feeling of grief and loss of something very valuable comes up. My great-grandfather has lived a very bright and hard life during the war of 1941-45, and there are only two old photos in his album. When looking at them (photos), it is as if bright episodes from a movie flash in front of my eyes: old things, a chest with the war bonds, overworked hands of the aunt, a huge picture of Stalin with Voroshilov walking on the coast of the Moscow River, and I terribly regret that I missed a chance to question my great-grandfather about events of his life.

A woman from Vladimir born during the 1940s writes the following about her childhood and intergenerational experiences with her grandparents:

People in a Russian village heated their log houses with “pyech” [a large burner stove]. Meals for the entire family were prepared in these stoves, and the meal stayed hot and tasty for an entire day. My “babushka” [grandmother] baked bread and “pirogies c tvorogom” [cheese-filled dumplings]. The top of the stove had a plank bed which was finished with ceramic tiles. The ceramic tiles heated up from the burning wood. One can warm up lying on the plank bed when it was cold, and to heal oneself from an illness. And so, during our childhood, we climbed the stove to join our grandfather there and listened to him tell stories about the old times, about “kulachnýh boyah” [boxing matches] in which he liked to take part, about riding trotters, having wrapped ourselves in fox for coats. Scary stories with witches and sorcerers. And when I visit a village where a Russian stove is, I am tempted to climb it, to listen to the howling and crying wind in a stovepipe, to listen to the silence of a village, and to be a child again.

The smells and tastes of the woman’s childhood and memories of her grandfather form the basis for very intense personal nostalgia. At the same time, she remembers the content of her grandfather’s stories and his own nostalgia for his past, which creates an interpersonal nostalgic response and spans three generations. These complex responses are typical of many nostalgic experiences, which may reflect both a personal component and an interpersonal and/or cultural connection.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Our factor analysis results demonstrate that the four-way classification of nostalgia is applicable to the Russian experience. While personal nostalgia is, not surprisingly, the most predominant component of nostalgic experience, the other three forms can be identified in the factor analysis as well. In addition, the open-ended qualitative nostalgia experiences elicited in response to “object,” “person”, and “event” prompts can be reconciled with the quantitative scale results.

Russia is a particularly fascinating venue for research on nostalgia for many reasons. First, it, along with much of Eastern Europe, has to date received less research attention than Asian or Western European countries. As an emerging market, there are significant social and economic transitions occurring in this part of the world at a rapid rate.

Future research effort might be directed toward further refining the Index of Nostalgia Proneness in Russia and testing it in other countries. In contrast to the results obtained from a U.S. sample, the reverse-scored items correlated poorly with the positive scale items. Further investigation of the appropriateness of negatively worded scale items may be useful.

With respect to the Russian marketplace, it would be interesting given the current changes to revisit the nostalgia issue in a longitudinal framework as more citizens come of age in a post-Communist system. Although the sample was not selected to be representative of the population, it is interesting that the highest average nostalgia-proneness scores were seen among respondents under the age of 25 and over 55. As the Russian marketplace changes, application of the Index of Nostalgia Proneness in addition to studying nostalgia, in general, would be timely and fruitful.

In terms of very specific marketing implications, results from this study could potentially shed light on some interesting responses Russian consumers are having to Soviet-era brands still in existence and “reto” products with imagery associated with the Communist or even imperial times. A case in point is Zhigulyovskoye beer that, despite its erratic and somewhat questionable taste, is still very popular and the subject of brand registry court fights (Bershidsky 1999). Other brands like 48 Kopeek ice cream, Yubileynoye biscuits, and Provansal mayonnaise have existed since Soviet times. Some would say their advertising is based on nostalgia. As brands proliferate and brand management continues to evolve over time, nostalgia will likely become more of a positioning strategy in Russia.

REFERENCES


