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*The Narratives about Contentment in Two Generations  
of Digital Natives*

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Narracje na temat zadowolenia dwóch pokoleń *digital natives*

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the article is to compare the narratives about contentment (*zadowolenie*) in individuals from two different generations of digital natives, i.e. digital natives 1.0 and digital natives 2.0. The term “digital native” refers to an individual born and raised in the digital age, with modern technologies constituting an integral part of life. Different environments, in which people of various generations grew up, determine differences, for instance, in their emotional functioning, and in the contents and structure of emotion representations developed by them. The study took into account narratives related to contentment, produced by 148 individuals representing various generations. The specificity of the representation of contentment, identified in the two generations of digital natives, was described based on the qualitative and quantitative analyses. It was shown that the narratives about contentment allows identify in digital natives a lot of information on objects, and few references to family. The narrations about contentment observed in the participants from Generation digital natives 1.0 contains little information on animals. On the other hand, representation of contentment in individuals from Generation digital natives 2.0 contains a lot of information on symptoms and synonyms, tangible values and intangible values.

**Keywords:** contentment; emotion concepts; digital natives; positive emotions

## INTRODUCTION

**Digital natives and digital immigrants**

The term “digital natives” is used with reference to the generation of people born in the age of digital technologies, and immersed in the culture of computers and the Internet (Prensky, 2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b). These are people who live in the Internet on a daily basis and do almost all their business online (Bilgiç, Doğan, Seferoğlu, 2016). The term “digital natives” is to distinguish those born in the digital age from people born earlier, referred to as *digital immigrants* (Prensky, 2001a). The first researchers focusing on this matter pointed out that people growing up in the environment of the digital technologies acquire information, learn and think in a completely different way. Digital natives spend more time performing activities in the virtual world rather than in the real world. It is also important that interpersonal communication in the generation of digital natives takes place mainly by means of the latest technologies (Palfrey, Gasser, 2008; Prensky, 2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b; Tapscott, 1997). The reasons for different functioning of people growing up in the digital age include different development of the brain. Digital natives are characterised by neuroplasticity which is a determinant for the ability to constantly adjust to the changing environment (Prensky, 2001a, 2001b). In the related literature it has also been emphasised that mental functioning varies in people from different generations which may be associated with different methods of communication and information processing (Venter, 2017). Digital natives are attributed with a number of specific characteristics, such as high flexibility, rapid attention shifting, and ability of parallel processing, technological proficiency and fluent use of the latest technologies, high social awareness, as well as caring and prosocial attitudes (Bennett, Maton, Kervin, 2008; Epstein, Howes, 2008; Prensky 2005a, 2005b; Winograd, Hais, 2011).

Digital immigrants are people who were not born in the digital age, but had to adapt to it. They are not as proficient in modern technologies as digital natives. Digital immigrants get information primarily from traditional sources. They prefer traditional face-to-face communication. Therefore, their brains have a different level of neuroplasticity (Prensky, 2001a). Digital immigrants process information in a different way, which is associated with a different way of stimulating the brain and creating other neural pathways (Autry, Berge, 2011). On this basis, it can be assumed that the digital immigrant’s system of concepts is probably formed in a different way. Individuals whose experiences are different think differently (in both form and content) (Prensky, 2001b). It can be assumed that they construct different systems of concepts in terms of form and content, including emotional concepts.

### **Digital natives 1.0 and 2.0**

Researchers agree that the generation of digital natives is not uniform (Joiner, Gavin, Brosnan, Cromby, Gregory, Guiller, Maras, Moon, 2013; Linne, 2014). In fact, two generations are distinguished – digital natives 1.0 (Generation Y), i.e. people who were not born in the digital age but grew up surrounded by new technologies, as well as digital natives 2.0 (Generation Z), born and raised during the digital age (Joiner et al., 2013). Digital natives 1.0, otherwise referred to as Millennials (Howe, Strauss, 2000; Tapscott, 2010), may be dated as the cohort born during 1980–1994 (Bennet, Maton, Kervin, 2008). On the other hand, digital natives 2.0 were born in the age of Web 2.0, i.e. after 1993 (Joiner et al., 2013), 1995 (Bassiouni, Hackley, 2014; Bencsik, Horváth-Csikós, Juhász, 2016; Bennet, Maton, Kervin, 2008; Berkup, 2014; Seemiller, Grace, 2016; Stillman, Stillman, 2017; Twenge, 2017) or 2000 (Dingli, Seychell, 2015).

The generation of digital natives 1.0 grew up during the 1990s, before Web 2.0 emerged. They use the Internet in a different way than digital natives 2.0. They are to a lesser extent involved in creating the contents of the Internet, e.g. via the social media; they are less engaged in the virtual life and present greater anxiety when faced with new technologies. They use the technologies in a more passive way (Joiner et al., 2013). Digital natives 2.0 do not know a world without the Internet or advanced technologies. They are immersed in the virtual world which is an integral part of their daily life. They have used the latest devices since childhood, which enabled them to gain technological fluency. Social media, constituting a very important part of their lives, transform the generation and at the same time may lead to addictions (Berkup, 2014). For this generation the use of the Internet is an inseparable part of their daily functioning. They are connected to the web 7/24 and can perform most activities via the Internet, e.g. look for information, communicate, maintain relations with people worldwide, or get entertainment (Berkup, 2014; Joiner et al., 2013).

#### **Specificity of digital natives' functioning**

Different conditions in which the two generations of digital natives grew up lead to significant differences in the functioning of the two demographic cohorts. Research in digital natives mostly focuses on their functioning in their educational or working environment. In recent years numerous studies have also investigated effects of using the latest technologies on young people's mental health, including their social and emotional functioning.

Research has shown that the use of the modern technologies may affect one's functioning in both positive and negative ways. In terms of cognitive development, adverse effects of using the modern technologies may lead to weakening of the

cognitive processes, manifesting in difficulties with attention (compared to digital immigrants, digital natives have shorter attention span), including focus on writing and reading, or ability to remember and solve problems (Bergquist, Gehl, Mandrekar, Lepore, Hanna, Osten, Beaulieu, 2009; Carr, 2008; Huang, Lee, 2010). At the same time, researchers emphasise the favourable effects observed in cognitive development fostered by the use of the modern technologies; these include the ability to process complex, multi-layered data, and high efficiency in multitasking at work (Ozkan, Solmaz, 2015; Tulgan 2000). The use of the Internet and modern technologies may adversely affect one's health status, and lead to increased level of stress, depression and feeling of isolation (Amstadter, Broman-Fulks, Zinzow, Ruggiero, Cercone, 2009; Casale, Fioravanti, 2011; Selfhout, Branje, Delsing, Bogt, Meeus, 2009). On the other hand, digital natives are creative and innovative (Roblek, Mesko, Dimovski, Peterlin, 2019), which may contribute to their high self-confidence, high degree of independence and individuality, leading, in turn, to lower involvement in interpersonal relations (Titko, Svirina, Skvarciany, Shina, 2020) and greater efforts to maintain privacy (Seemiller, Grace, 2016). Representatives of digital natives set ambitious goals for themselves, highly value their personal growth and professional development, and are concerned about the natural environment (Titko et al., 2020). Digital natives live surrounded by digital technologies and are almost always connected to the Internet. Research has also shown that frequent use of the digital media adversely affects psychological well-being (Bruggeman, 2019). The relationships between the use of the modern technologies (particularly, the social media) and the quality of life are not clear-cut but they depend on other factors, such as social isolation and sense of loneliness (Arampatzi, Burger, Novik, 2018) as well as social connection (Clark, Algoe, Green, 2018). There seem to be two-way, fluid relationships between the use of social media and sense of loneliness (Nowland, Necka, Caccioppo, 2018). The feeling of loneliness may be alleviated by online contacts with close relatives, but it may also be increased as a result of one's distancing from the real world (Berezan, Krishen, Agarwal, Kachroo, 2019). Digital natives and digital immigrants use new technologies in a different way.

Digital immigrants spend much less time using modern technologies. A large part of them do not have a computer or Internet access at all (Anderson, Perrin, 2017; Tsai, Shillair, Cotten, Winstead, Yost, 2015). At the same time, this group is very diverse in terms of the use of ICT (Tsai et al., 2015). The use of modern technologies impacts their socio-emotional functioning in different ways. The use of modern technologies by digital immigrants can positively affect their well-being and reduce their feelings of isolation (Cotten, Anderson, McCullough, 2013; Khosravi, Rezvani, Wiewiora, 2016). Research by Christopher Ball, Jessica Francis, Kuo-Ting Huang, Travis Kadylak, Shelia R. Cotten and R.V. Rikard (2017) showed that ICT can help digital immigrants keep relationships with geographically distant social ties, but, at the same time, they may lead to disconnection with geographically close social ties (*ibid.*).

### Contentment as a concept and emotion from the spectrum of joy

Emotion concepts are mental representations containing information related to emotions (Niedenthal, 2008). They may comprise information on the causes, objects, situations or typical activities associated with a given emotion. Emotion concepts may be described by their location with respect to various dimensions, such as, e.g. pleasure/misery, or arousal/sleepiness (Russel, 1980) or activation, potency and emotion evaluation (Morgan, Heise, 1988). In the circular model of emotion concepts proposed by James Russell (1980), contentment is linked with a state of high-intensity positive affect and low arousal. According to the three-dimensional model of the organisation of emotion concepts developed by Rick Morgan and David Heise (1988), contentment is a very positive emotion, with moderately low level of arousal and moderately high potency. In Klaus Scherer's (2005) model contentment is referred to as a very positive concept, conducive to realisation of goals, with moderate level of arousal, and subject to moderate control. Hierarchical approach to emotion concepts shows that contentment is a concept in the family of joy, similar to the concept of pleasure (Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, O'Connor, 1987). The internal structure of the concept of contentment was presented by Anna Wierzbicka (1992), who described contentment as a concept with positive valence, and referring to the evaluation of a personal, currently experienced event. Such event is in line with the individual's expectations (it is desirable) and it contains an element of gratification. Similar components may be identified in the corresponding Polish term *zadowolenie*, which has been discussed by Agnieszka Mikołajczuk (2009). In Polish, the concept of *zadowolenie* is associated with a situation matching an individual's expectations. It is a positive term, yet it is not linked with high level of arousal. Contentment is associated with satisfaction (*ibid.*). Barbara Gawda (2017) conducted comprehensive research in Poland, which revealed the structure of concepts from the spectrum of joy. Research included concepts such as joy, satisfaction, delight and happiness. The results showed that the structure of these concepts is similar. A key element of the concepts of the spectrum of joy is their core, which contains information about the causes and circumstances of positive events and symptoms (mainly emotional). Joy and happiness are similar concepts, they mean positive emotional states and experiences. In the concept of satisfaction, there are more elements about personal achievements and less about other people. In the concept of delight, there is more information related to the aesthetic and perceptual-mental aspects (*ibid.*).

In its essence contentment involves appreciation of one's current life circumstances, accomplishments, and favourable events as well as incorporation of these into one's overall self-concept (Fredrickson, 1998). In view of the differences observed in people representing digital natives, as described above, related to ambitions, goals, systems of values, self-esteem, and interpersonal re-

lations, and given the completely different methods used by them in the processing of any kind of information, it may be hypothesised that there will be differences in the contents of the concept of contentment in individuals representing various generations.

Howard Berenbaum, Philip Chow, Michelle Schoenleber, and Luis Flores Jr. (2013) demonstrated that the level of contentment is related to age. Younger participants tend to experience lower level of contentment, compared to older people. Furthermore, the study showed that the relationship between contentment and life satisfaction is moderated by age. The association between contentment and life satisfaction is weaker in the younger compared to the older people. It cannot be ruled out that in addition to development related aspects these findings reflect intergenerational differences.

The way of using new technologies significantly affects the processing of information (including emotional information) and interaction with others, which are the basis of various emotional experiences (Autry Berge, 2011; Ball et al., 2017; Prensky, 2001a). Digital immigrants prefer the traditional way of transmitting and receiving information as well as traditional forms of communication. Hence, Ball et al. (2017) suggest describing this generation as *physical native*. In contrast, the functioning of digital natives is mediated in new technologies. The use of ICTs particularly affects communication with other people, social interactions and the getting and processing of information (Autry, Berge, 2011; Berezan et al., 2019; Prensky, 2001a; Venter, 2017).

The current study was designed to check whether the generation differentiates the content of the representation of positive emotions. We based on the assumption that preferences on how information is processed and the way of interacts with other people may be the reason for the diversity of the emotion. Representations of emotions contain knowledge about the emotions, which is constructed on the basis of experience. It contains information on the causes of emotion, its meaning, characteristic behavior or internal states (Nęcka, Orzechowski, Szymura, 2006; Niedenthal, 2008). Differences in experiences and ways of process information in different generations may underlie differences in the content of the representation of emotions, because of their basis representations of emotions are built.

## METHOD

### Research question

The purpose of the study was to reveal the specificity of the narratives about the contentment of the digital natives generation and compare the contents of the representation of contentment in representatives of the two generations of digital

natives. Data reported in the related literature suggest that the different ways of using the modern technologies, and the resulting different ways of communicating, building relations, receiving and processing of information about the surrounding world may be reflected in different methods of constructing representations of emotions and differences in emotional functioning. Furthermore, a study investigating the emotional sphere in various generations (Gawda, Kosacka, Banaszkiwicz, 2020) showed that there are significant differences between individuals from the two generations of digital natives in experiencing emotions and in building their representations, including the representation of joy. The former examination was focused on the content of happiness, however, to our knowledge there is lack of the study related to the “contentment”. Hence, it seems interesting to continue further comprehensive research in the emotional sphere of individuals from the generations of digital natives, which would also take into account internal differences between these. The current study was designed to identify and describe some features of the narratives about “contentment” in individuals representing digital natives. Thus, we aimed to answer the questions:

1. Are there any differences in the narratives about of the contentment between the generations of digital natives and digital immigrants?
2. Are there any differences in the narratives about of the contentment between the two generations of digital natives?

### **Techniques and procedures**

In order to achieve the purpose and find an answer to the questions, the study which applied a narrative method, was carried out in a group of 148 respondents representing different generations. Each participant of the study told a story related to contentment, in response to the following instruction: “Please, recall a situation in which you felt contented, think about it and then tell a story taking a few minutes”. The narratives were recorded, transcribed and then subjected to qualitative and quantitative analyses. Although the narrative methods are usually used to describe the narrative schemas and emotional scripts, we aim to employ them here in searching some structural elements of emotional concepts. We were curious whether the aspects of a concept of contentment can be revealed in the narrations. Based on a procedure described in the previous studies (Gawda, 2017; Gawda, Szepietowska, 2015), the total number of words/phrases corresponding to the following expressions in the narratives were counted in each story:

1. Symptoms, synonyms (smile, happy, joy, I cried),
2. Family (husband, son, children, wife),
3. Love (date, flirtation, kiss, romantic mood),
4. Accomplishments (I managed, I succeeded, I achieved [something]),



5. Animals (chicks, pets, birds, fish, dog, horse),
6. Objects (car, jewellery, clothes, balloons, champagne, chocolates),
7. Pleasure (lying down, beach, scenery, ease, delicious),
8. Tangible values (gifts, shopping, save [money]),
9. Intangible values (help, music, writing [poems] (...) meeting [with various people], support, brotherly love),
10. Other people (friend, girl-friend, acquaintances, [another] person, coach, colleague),
11. Aesthetic quality ([how] lovely [it was], beautiful, [it was] very nice),
12. Perception and mental aspects (I forgot, it seemed to me, she didn't know, she thought, I found out, I heard),
13. Astonishment (I didn't expect, unexpectedly, "eyes out on stalks", surprise).

The acquired data were subjected to statistical analyses – the Kruskal–Wallis test was carried out to compare the number of words in each category used by participants from Generations digital natives 2.0 (Generation Z), digital natives 1.0 (Generation Y) and digital immigrants. This way it was possible to compare narrations about contentment across the various generations.

### Participants

A total of 148 people, including 127 digital natives, took part in the study. Generation digital natives 1.0 was represented by 89 individuals and Generation digital native 2.0 by 38 individuals. The participants also included 21 individuals from generation digital immigrants, who constituted a comparison group (Table 1). The data acquired from these individuals made it possible to identify regularities characteristic exclusively for the respondents from the generations of digital natives.

Table 1. Characteristics of the study participants

Generation	Year of birth	Females ( <i>N</i> )	Males ( <i>N</i> )	Total ( <i>N</i> )
Digital immigrants (DI)	1962–1979	14	7	21
Digital natives 1.0 (DN 1.0)	1980–1995	45	44	89
Digital natives 2.0 (DN 2.0)	1996–1997	21	17	38

Source: Author's own study.

All the participants presented at least average level of verbal intelligence, which was verified using WAIS-R Vocabulary test. Additionally, individuals with mental impairments or speech disorders were excluded from the study. All the participants were native Polish speakers.



## RESULTS

The aim of the study was to verify whether there are intergenerational differences in the content of the narrative about contentment. It was assumed that due to the different way of processing information, communicating and interacting with others, the content of the representation of contentment in people from different generations will contain different elements.

The Kruskal–Wallis test was carried out to compare some aspects of narrations about contentment between the individuals from different generations (Table 2); the dependent variables were the specific aspects of the representation of contentment, while the generations (3: DN 2.0 vs DN 1.0 vs DI) were applied as independent variable.

Table 2. The constituents of the representation of contentment relative to the generation – Kruskal–Wallis test

Aspects of representation of contentment	$H$	$df$	Relevance
Symptoms, synonyms	4.245	2	0.120
Family	14.721**	2	0.001
Love	0.490	2	0.783
Accomplishments	3.632	2	0.163
Animals	6.628*	2	0.036
Objects	7.424*	2	0.024
Pleasure	0.137	2	0.934
Tangible values	5.850	2	0.054
Intangible values	11.093*	2	0.004
Other people	2.481	2	0.289
Aesthetic quality	0.640	2	0.726
Perception and mental aspects	0.997	2	0.608
Astonishment	5.039	2	0.080

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$

Source: Author's own study.

The results of the Kruskal–Wallis test showed that the contents of the narrations about contentment significantly differ in such aspects as: family ( $H_{(2)} = 14.721$ ;  $p < 0.01$ ), animals ( $H_{(2)} = 6.628$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ), objects ( $H_{(2)} = 7.424$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) and intangible values ( $H_{(2)} = 11.093$ ;  $p < 0.01$ ). In order to show the specificity of the differences between the generations, *post hoc* analyses were carried out using Mann–Whitney tests (Table 3).

Table 3. The constituents of the representation of contentment in the participants from different generations – *post hoc* comparison (Mann–Whitney tests)

Aspects of representation of contentment	DI ( <i>N</i> = 21)	DN 1.0 ( <i>N</i> = 89)	DN 2.0 ( <i>N</i> = 38)
Symptoms, synonyms	0.81 <sup>ab</sup>	0.54 <sup>a</sup>	0.84 <sup>b</sup>
Family	1.48 <sup>a</sup>	0.63 <sup>b</sup>	0.47 <sup>b</sup>
Love	0.19	0.22	0.18
Accomplishments	0.76	1.22	1.50
Animals	0.19*	0.00*	0.16*
Objects	0.10 <sup>a</sup>	0.62 <sup>b</sup>	0.89 <sup>b</sup>
Pleasure	0.38	0.31	0.26
Tangible values	0.05 <sup>a</sup>	0.22 <sup>ab</sup>	0.53 <sup>b</sup>
Intangible values	0.38 <sup>ab</sup>	0.20 <sup>a</sup>	0.50 <sup>b</sup>
Other people	2.71	2.57	2.05
Aesthetic quality	0.14	0.07	0.16
Perception and mental aspects	1.10	1.35	1.26
Astonishment	0.05	0.22	0.29

DI – digital immigrants; DN – digital natives

Means marked with the same letter do not differ significantly.

\* the representation of contentment identified in Generation digital natives 1.0 does not contain any information about animals, so comparisons were abandoned

Source: Author's own study.

Pairwise comparison showed differences in the narrations about contentment between the representatives of digital natives (1.0 and 2.0) and digital immigrants, regarding such aspects as family, objects and tangible values. The representations of contentment identified in the respondents from the younger generations contain more information related to objects and tangible values and less information related to family.

*Post hoc* analyses also made it possible to compare the narrations about contentment in the participants from the two generations of digital natives. Significant differences were observed in such aspects as symptoms/synonyms, tangible values and intangible values. The representation of contentment identified in Generation digital natives 2.0 contains more information in the above categories, compared to Generation digital natives 1.0 (Figure 1).

## DISCUSSION

The study which applied a narrative method, was carried out in a group of 148 people representing generations digital immigrants (*N* = 21), as well as

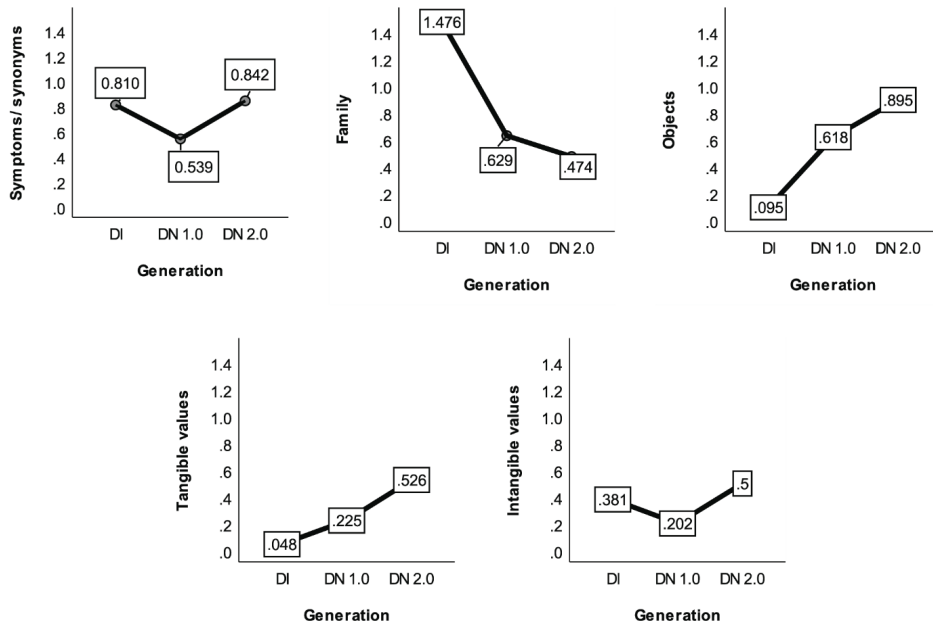


Figure 1. Mean number of the specific aspects in the representation of contentment identified in the participants from the different generations

DI – digital immigrants; DN – digital natives

Source: Author's own study.

digital natives 1.0 ( $N = 89$ ) and digital natives 2.0 ( $N = 38$ ). It allowed us to show the differences between the generations regarding the narrations about contentment.

It was demonstrated that the narratives about contentment contains elements shared by all the generations, as well as elements characteristic exclusively for both generations of digital natives (1.0 and 2.0) and elements specific to either digital natives 2.0 or digital natives 1.0 (Figure 2). The part shared by all the generations contains information related to pleasure, love, other people, accomplishment, astonishment, perception and mental aspects and well as aesthetic quality. The part characteristic for both generations of digital natives contains information related to objects. Small number of references to family is also characteristic for the two generations digital natives. It is potentially associated with low interests of the aspect in young people. The representation of contentment specific to digital natives 1.0 contains little information related to animals. On the other hand, narratives about contentment of digital natives 2.0 contain more information on symptoms/synonyms, tangible values and intangible values.

The components of the concept of contentment shared by the different generations confirm that contentment is a concept associated with a few structural elements such as symptoms (Berenbaum, Huang, Flores, 2019; Morgan, Heise, 1988; Russel, 1980, Scherer, 2005). Barbara Fredrickson (1998) points out that contentment means savouring of one's overall life circumstances and success. It is characteristic for Polish people not only to appreciate their own life circumstances, but also to enjoy the moment and the small pleasures of the daily life, and to notice and appreciate higher values such as beauty, love or close contact with other people. These findings are consistent with the research focusing on the essence of contentment, conducted by Berenbaum (2002) who reported that contentment is positively correlated to basic needs, as well as physical, nurturant, and spiritual activities, and negatively correlated to entertainment. The current findings show that such factors as love, pleasure, other people, astonishment, accomplishment, aesthetic quality as well as perception and mental aspects constitute the core of the concept of contentment which is common to all the generations which is consistent with the findings related to some prototypical elements shared by different concepts from the joy spectrum (Gawda, 2017).

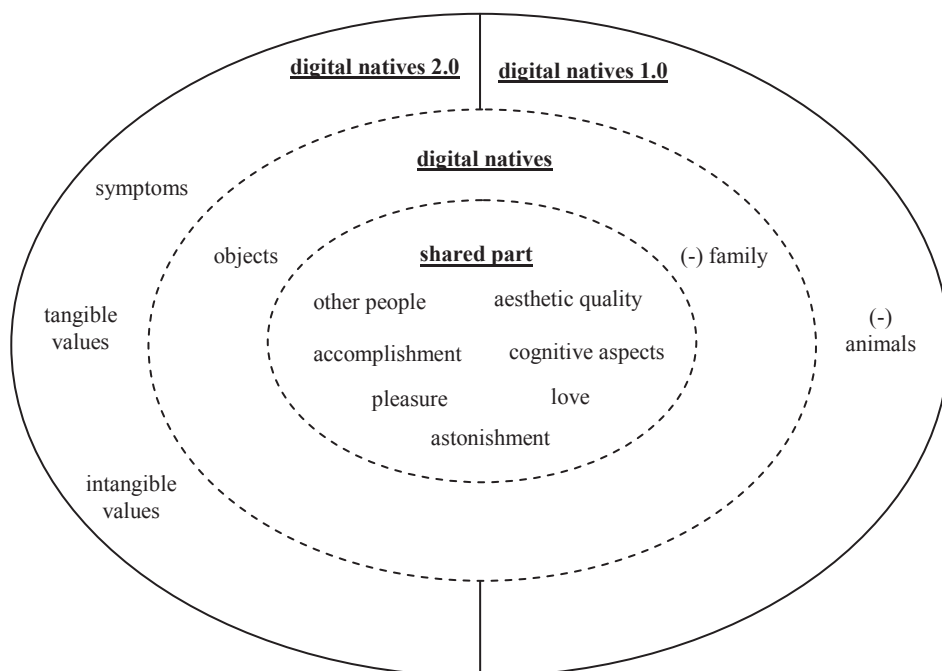


Figure 2. Elements of the representation of contentment specific to the different generations

Source: Author's own study.

It has been found for the concept of contentment identified in digital natives that it comprises a large number of elements related to objects and a small number of references to family. These findings are consistent with the characteristics of this generation, particularly digital natives 2.0. Sandeep Krishnan, Shruthi Bopai-ah, Divya Bajaj, and Ruchi Prasad (2012) point out that for the youngest generations, family does not hold the highest position. Younger persons are not as attached to their family as representatives of the earlier generations (Tari, 2010a, 2010b). Traditional values occupy a less visible position. Generation digital natives 1.0 is mainly motivated to pursue their career, aim for success and money (Bencsik et al., 2016), which may ensure a better position in the consumerist society (Tari, 2010a, 2010b). In this generation work stands in opposition to family. Traditions and traditional values are less important (Bencsik et al., 2016). Causes of such situation may include e.g. changes affecting the contemporary family which is no longer seen as a permanent support system (Giddens, Sutton, 2017), ensuring sense of security and continuity. It is not a source of positive emotions. Hence, digital natives tend to turn towards individualism. Young people to a greater extent rely on their own achievements (which are permanent and unalienable) and on ownership of material goods. It is possible that property, unlike family, provide a sense of security, and success, improve one's status and self-esteem, as a result they give satisfaction.

Furthermore, the current findings show differences in the narratives about contentment between the two generations of digital natives. They suggest that the contents of the concept of contentment are less elaborate in the representatives of digital natives 1.0 compared to the representatives of the other generations. In Generation Y's representation of contentment there are fewer references to symptoms, tangible and intangible values, and animals. Experience of contentment in this generation is not very strong. Information on the symptoms of contentment and the related feelings is not very extensive. Similarly, the aspects indicating the sources of contentment are rarely present in the representation of this emotion in the individuals from digital natives 1.0. The scarcity of information related to intangible values and animals may be linked to the lower intensity of the positive affect experienced, because in addition to pleasure and satisfaction of one's basic needs, the main sources of contentment are related to care giving and higher values (Berenbaum, 2002). Moreover, relations with other people determine a higher level of subjective well-being, particularly in individuals living without a partner (Helliwell, Huang, 2013). A lack of these elements in the structure of the concept of contentment may result in less frequent and weaker experience of the emotion. It is characteristic that the structure of digital natives 2.0's concept of contentment contains a large number of elements related to tangible and intangible values, and symptoms. Hence, contentment in digital natives 2.0 is associated with higher emotional arousal. This is consistent with the specificity of these indi-

viduals' functioning. Representatives of digital natives 2.0 like change, and seek out new challenges and impulses (Tari, 2010a, 2010b). They like extreme experiences, surprises, astonishment, and pleasures. They are more active than digital natives 1.0. Despite the fact that they live their lives mainly via the Internet, they are not only passive recipients of information but they are involved in creating it, and are socially active. On-line relations make up for any shortcomings in real-life relationships, owing to which their well-being can be maintained (Berezan et al., 2019; Helliwell, Huang, 2013). As a result, their representation of contentment is quite elaborate even though it contains different elements than the related concept identified in the other generations. Digital natives 2.0 are satisfied with what they have, and can enjoy the moment, and the present day. They are carefree, and do not feel a need to look for deeper meaning in everything, which means that they can experience positive emotions more easily and more frequently than people from other generations.

The current findings suggest that the representations of the concept of contentment reflect the experience and specificity of the generations' functioning. Conceptual knowledge and experiences affect each other. The representation of contentment contains core elements which are common for all the generations, and areas which are specific to the different generations. In narratives about contentment, similar elements were revealed as in the structure of concepts from the spectrum of joy. Barbara Gawda's (2017) study showed that the core of the concept of joy/happiness contains information about causes, circumstances, symptoms and tangible and intangible values. The current study has shown that some core elements of joy remain unchanged and others differ in different generations. The constituents of the concept of contentment change with the successive generations. These changes mainly relate to the sources of positive emotional experiences and the level of arousal. For digital natives 2.0 contentment is associated with a higher level of activation. For the earlier generations contentment to a greater extent is linked with the feeling of tranquillity. These emotions (contentment and tranquillity) are linked with different types of activities – contentment is mainly achieved through mastery activities and tranquillity results from spiritual activities (Berenbaum, Huang, Flores, 2019). Experiencing of emotions linked with various levels of arousal produces different effects in the overall mental well-being. Experience of low-arousal positive affect positively influences well-being and mental health (McManus, Siegel, Nakamura, 2019).

The current study was the cross-sectional intergenerational research and had some limitations. First of all, there is a difficulty separating the development effect from the generation effect. Belonging to generations (especially in the case of digital natives) partially overlaps with different stages of development. Therefore, the results may partly be a consequence of the current development phase of the respondents, especially in the digital natives 2.0 generation. In this group, due to

the fact that it is a young generation, there was a low intra-group age variation. Participants in the other groups (digital immigrants and digital natives 1.0) were at various stages of development, which reduced the risk of observe the developmental effect rather than the effect of belonging to a generation. Generational groups were created arbitrarily by year of birth, which is in line with the definition of the generation and the tradition of intergenerational research (Schewe, Debevec, Madden, Diamond, Parment, Murphy, 2013). The results of the current study are also consistent with the results of longitudinal studies, which showed that the effect of the generation is stronger than the development effect (Gawda, Kosacka, Banaszkiwicz, 2020). This suggests that the results of the current study are largely the result of belonging to a particular generation.

The current study focused on showing intergenerational differences in content of the narrative about contentment. It seems important to verify the effect of generations on narratives about negative emotions. In addition, it would be worth comparing the structure of the narrative – the number of words, specific parts of speech and other linguistic indicators of expression (cf. Kosacka, 2019) between generations. The results of other studies indicate that these markers provide a lot of information about representation (Gawda, 2007; Kosacka, 2019; Semin, Gorts, Nandram, Semin-Goossens, 2002).

The results of the current study revealed differences in the narratives of contentment, which may be related to the level of arousal. This may suggest not only that emotions are experienced in a different way but also that concept of contentment holds a different position with respect to other emotion concepts, and consequently the related network of affective concepts has a different structure. Given this, a question arises whether there is a need for a new psychology of emotions to provide a novel conceptual apparatus, and to respond to the consecutive generational changes and differences in the common understanding of emotions.

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## STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest porównanie narracji na temat zadowolenia u osób z różnych pokoleń, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dwóch pokoleń *digital natives*, tj. *digital natives* 1.0 oraz *digital natives* 2.0. Pokoleniem *digital natives* określa się osoby urodzone i wychowane w erze cyfrowej, dla których nowoczesne technologie są nieodłącznym elementem życia. Odmienne warunki, w jakich dorastali przedstawiciele różnych pokoleń, warunkują odmiennie ich funkcjonowania (w tym emocjonalnego) oraz różnice w zakresie treści i struktury konstruowanych przez nich reprezentacji emocji. Przeanalizowano wypowiedzi na temat zadowolenia 148 osób z różnych pokoleń. Na podstawie jakościowej i ilościowej analizy opisano specyfikę treści narracji o zadowoleniu dwóch pokoleń *digital natives*. Wykazano, że narracje o zadowoleniu wśród *digital natives* zawierają liczne informacje na temat przedmiotów oraz małą liczbę odniesień do rodziny. Narracje o zadowoleniu przedstawicieli *digital natives* 1.0 są ubogie w informacje na temat zwierząt. Reprezentacja zadowolenia u osób z pokolenia *digital natives* 2.0 jest natomiast bogata w informacje dotyczące symptomów i synonimów oraz wartości materialnych i niematerialnych.

**Słowa kluczowe:** zadowolenie; pojęcia emocjonalne; *digital natives*; pozytywne emocje