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Comparison of the Concept of Envy in Generations X, Y and Z

Porównanie pojęcia zawiści w pokoleniach X, Y i Z

ABSTRACT

The aim of the study was to examine the concept of envy in different generations. The study was conducted in a group of 247 Polish subjects (including 157 women, 90 men) representing Generations Z, Y and X. It was hypothesized that the concept of envy differs between the generations. An emotional verbal fluency task was used. The words given by the subjects were examined for semantic clusters, as well as the total number of words related to the concept of envy and valence of envy. A multivariate analysis showed that more words related to other persons were given by the subjects from Generation Z. In Generation X, the cluster "positive manifestations" did not appear. Factor analysis was conducted to obtain the structure of the concept in each generation separately. The results show that both malicious and nonmalicious envy is present in the concept of this emotion in Generation Z and Generation Y. In Generation X, the concept of envy reflects only malicious envy. The results were discussed by reference to the general characteristics of these generations and the specificity of Generation X in Poland.

Keywords: envy; the concept of envy; generational differences; Generation Z; Generation Y; Generation X

INTRODUCTION

Broadly speaking, a generation is an identifiable group of people who share age, location and significant life events at crucial stages of development (Grubb, 2017). Typically, the term "generation" refers to people that were born over a 20-year span. A generation is a cohort of people who were shaped in a similar

way and in a specific period. People within one generation have a similar life experience and their political, economic and technological environment is similar, contributing to a convergent system of values, similar beliefs and behaviors (Woodman, 2016). They also share a specific lifestyle, slang, clothes and body adornments (Prensky, 2001). Values, attitudes and preferences of members of one generation are somewhat unchanged throughout their lives (Schewe, Debevec, Madden, Diamond, Parment, Murphy, 2013). In the literature, there are descriptions of many generations, starting from the 15th century (Strauss, Howe, 1991). The current paper focuses on three contemporary generations investigated in the study.

CHARACTERISTIC OF THE GENERATIONS

Generation X is usually dated from 1965 (Oblinger, Oblinger, 2005). In the literature, members of this age cohort are described as independent and skeptical, self-reliant, and cynical (Grubb, 2017; Oblinger, Oblinger, 2005). They seem to be searching for work-life balance and are very loyal to their profession, but not to their employer. On the other hand, they do not like to change their workplace, they seek a new job only if it is necessary. Another name for this age cohort is "the Latchkey Generation". As children, they often stayed at home alone after classes, because their parents – Baby Boomer Generation – were focused on their career. As they entered adulthood, they experienced corporate downsizing. Finding a satisfying and well-paid job was far more difficult for Xers than for their parents. The arrival of AIDS as well as environmental disasters, like the Chernobyl accident, contributed to this generation's pessimistic and skeptical attitudes. This generational formation was influenced by media development and post-industrialism, in which the labor market was largely saturated, and the most attractive jobs were already occupied. People representing Generation X often feel envy towards their parents because the material well-being of the latter usually results only from the fact they were born at the right time. In Poland, Generation X grew up during Communism and experienced the political transformation. For many representatives of Generation X, finding their way in the new political system turned out to be very difficult (Kozłowski, 2012).

The next in line is Generation Y. Synonymous terms referring to this age cohort include "the Millennials" (Howe, Strauss, 2000) and "the Net Generation" (Oblinger, Oblinger, 2005). Generation Y is usually dated from 1980, although some researchers do not agree with it; for example, Don Tapscott (2009) set a timeframe for this generation from 1977 to 1997. Marc Prensky (2001) points out that the differences between Generation Y and the previous age cohorts are mainly associated with the rapid advancements in digital technologies, personal computers, cell phones, and the Internet, hence he refers to Generation Y with

the term "digital natives". According to Prensky (2001), the first generation that grew up surrounded by the new technologies is completely different from the previous cohorts. Digital natives are used to instant messaging, multi-tasking and parallel processes. Their thinking patterns and information processing are completely different from those observed in their ancestors. They prefer graphics before text, and expect instant or frequent gratification. For the Net Generation, the virtual world is just as important as the real world. This generation is very active, may move from work to classes to recreation in a short time. People of this generation often share their private and intimate information with others on the Internet, without even personally knowing the recipients of such information (Oblinger, Oblinger, 2005). Some authors consider Generation Y to be entitled, selfish, impatient and narcistic (Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, Bushman, 2008; Twenge, Campbell, 2009), however, narcistic traits are characteristic rather for younger members of this cohort (Brailovskaia, Bierhoff, 2018). Others indicate that Generation Y is achievement oriented, and ready to work in teams (Howe, Strauss, 2000; Oblinger, Oblinger, 2005). Most authors agree that this age cohort is positive and hopeful, concerned about community problems and willing to use technology to solve these. People in this age group believe that their work matters and affects many things. In work, the Net Generation members seek flexibility and freedom, they are not as devoted to companies as Generation X (Grubb, 2017).

The first age cohort of the 21st century is Generation Z. It is generally dated from 1996 (Scholz, 2019), however, some authors argue that this generation started in 1993 or 1998 (Tapscott, 2009). Like the previous generation, this age cohort grew up surrounded by new technologies. Unlike Generation Y, they are used to structure and regulation in school, which is the result of the Bologna system. Members of Generation Z value security and prefer lifelong employment, since the labor market is highly unstable and there are problems with funding of the health care system. Parents of Generation Z often have a protective attitude towards their children, even after the latter reach maturity. Parents' attitude leads to their children's desire to feel good in every environment. Members of this age cohort can be committed to work, but do not like working overtime and they are career multitaskers, which means moving from one company to another. They are ready to leave a company as soon as it does not meet their expectations (Scholz, 2019). This generation has great opportunities to change residence, go abroad, often even without the need for a passport. In Poland, this was facilitated by the country's accession to the European Union in 2004. Members of this age cohort use the Internet more often than the previous generations. They usually communicate with their family, friends and schoolmates through social media and instant messaging, often sharing personal information in the social media (Linne, 2014).

ENVY AND THE TERM "ENVY"

According to Gerrod Parrott and Richard Smith (1993, p. 906), "envy arises when a person lacks another's superior quality, achievement, or possession and either desires it or wishes that the other lacked it". Different authors indicate that this emotion arises when the subject perceives a threat to his/her status (Smith, Kim, 2007) or to his/her self-esteem (Salovey, Rodin, 1991).

Envy is a complex emotion. According to researchers, emotions which can be experienced as part of envy, include shame, self-dissatisfaction, uncertainty (Haslam, Bornstein, 1996), longing, resentment, inferiority, guilt as well as positive feelings such as admiration, emulation (Parrott, 1991, 2001) and motivation to improve self (Haslam, Bornstein, 1996). Jonathan Turner (2014) considers envy to be the combination of two primary emotions: aversion-fear and assertion-anger. This diversity of envious experiences is reflected by a more general distinction of malicious envy and nonmalicious envy (Parrott, 2001), recently called "benign envy" (Sterling, van de Ven, Smith, 2016; van de Ven, Zeelenberg, 2020), the latter being morally acceptable. Some authors (e.g. Rawls, 1971) do not consider it to be envy at all, however, other researchers (e.g. Falcon, 2015; Parrott, 2001, van de Ven, Zeelenberg, Pieters, 2009) point out that in everyday usage people mean the term "envy" to encompass both senses of this emotion. In nonmalicious envy people are focused on themselves and their own disadvantages, because they are aware of someone's superiority with respect to something important to them. Benign envy involves the aspect of improvement (van de Ven, Zeelenberg, 2020), feeling inspired by the envied and a more positive attitude toward the envied person (Falcon, 2015). Malicious envy is morally reprehensible. It is a result of defensive reappraisal of circumstances, when a person is motivated by the desire to avoid inferiority and the envied person is treated as a cause of one's disadvantage. This type of envy contains hate and hostility (Parrot, 2001), higher frustration and a perception of a situation to be unfair (Falcon, 2015).

In common usage, envy is thought to carry the same meaning as jealousy and most people do not distinguish these two emotion terms, however, in the theory of emotion there is a clear distinction between envy and jealousy (Clanton, 2006). Both envy and jealousy occur in association with social comparisons (Salovey, Rodin, 1991; Salovey, Rothman, 1991), but an envious person lacks, and feels a desire to have, something that another person owns (Parrot, Smith, 1993) and a jealous person perceives a threat to his/her existence or to the quality of a valuable relationship because a third person is seen as a rival (Buunk, Bringle, 1987; Parrott, 1991; White, Mullen, 1989). In fact, it is not only the relationship, but also one's self-esteem that may be threatened by a situation associated with jealousy caused by the emergence of a rival (White, 1981).

In hierarchical classifications of terms related to emotional states *envy* appears within the general concept of anger (Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, O'Connor,

1987; Storm, Storm, 1987). Shaver and colleagues (1987) conducted a hierarchical cluster analysis of English emotion names. Their research showed *envy* to be part of the general category *anger*. Christine Storm and Tom Storm (1987) analyzed the semantic connotations carried by the definitions of emotional states in English, and presented them in a hierarchical classification. In this classification, the term *envy* relates to the category *hostility*, and *hostility* is a part of the general category of negative terms related to anger, hate and disgust. In other taxonomic classifications of vocabulary related to emotions, the term "envy" is listed in close proximity to "jealousy" (Storm, Storm, 1987; Shaver et al., 1987, Sacharin, Schlegel, Scherer, 2012), which shows a close semantic relation between the two emotion terms. In Slavonic languages, such as Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Slovak and Czech, envy is associated with jealousy, greed and mental disorders expressed by metaphoric predicates of destruction and remorse (Tyshchenko, 2019).

In dimensional models of emotional terms, "envy" is usually situated close to emotions from the spectrum of anger. In the Geneva Emotion Wheel, *envious* is situated close to such terms as "hostile", "angry", "tense", "alarmed", "enraged" and "afraid". In this semantic space of emotions, *envy* occurs as an emotion with negative valence connected with goal obstructiveness and high control over the situation; the *envious* person is aroused and active (Scherer, 2005). In a newer study of Sacharin and colleagues (2012), *envy* is situated close to *irritation*, *contempt*, *worry*, *anger*, *jealousy* and *remorse*. In opposition to Klaus Scherer (2005), Richard Smith (2000) classified envy as an emotion with low perceived control. According to Smith (2000), a comparison to a superior other and perception of difficulties in gaining favorable results lead to inferiority and frustration.

PRESENT STUDY

The present study was aimed to examine how the concept of envy is formed in Generations Z, Y and X. The purpose of the study is not only to describe the concept of envy in each of these generations, but also to analyze the structure of the concept based on linguistic material (method described below). Many previous studies described generational differences (Grubb, 2017, Howe, Strauss, 2000; Oblinger, Oblinger, 2005; Prensky, 2001; Scholz, 2019) but there are very few findings concerning conceptualization of the emotions. Emotional concepts are mental representations of categories, objects, situations, and activities related to a specific emotion (Niedenthal, 2008). Emotional concepts are part of a group of natural concepts, therefore, they depend on experience and are elements of lay representations of the world (Fehr, 2005). In the present study, it is assumed that, to some extent, generational experiences have shaped knowledge about a specific emotion. The knowledge reflects emotional concepts and those concepts are somewhat unchanged throughout the life of a generation. Therefore, differences

in emotional concepts are not only associated with age, but also with the fact that one belongs to a certain generation.

METHOD AND PARTICIPANTS

In order to investigate differences in the concept of envy, a study was conducted using the emotional verbal fluency technique (EVFT). Generally, verbal fluency techniques are psychology tools used in the diagnosis of cognitive functions. Verbal fluency tasks rely on spontaneous production of words matching a specific criterion, within a certain time (Gawda, Szepietowska, 2013, 2016). The EVTF is a novel sematic fluency method. This method is based on an assumption that words generated in fluency tasks reflect one's knowledge of particular emotions. Words given by the subject are semantically connected and form semantic clusters. A semantic network composed of semantic clusters reflects the structure of the emotional concept (Gawda, 2019). Previous research (Gawda, 2019) showed that the EVFT is a reliable and valid technique. Inter-judge reliability of the tool is very good (ranging from 0.87 to 0.99) and test-retest correlation is high (ranging from 0.76 to 0.92). The validity of the technique has been confirmed, for instance, by the significant correlations with other fluency tests. Therefore, the EVFT is a valuable method for investigating the structure of emotional concepts.

In the current study the participants were asked to produce words associated with "envy". The results of the verbal fluency task were analyzed, and semantic clusters were identified among the words given by the subjects. These clusters were determined in accordance with the procedure described in earlier works (Gawda, 2017). In the string of words given in response to the clue "envy", the following clusters were identified: emotions related to the spectrum of anger (e.g. anger, frustration, hate, irritation, jealousy, rage, disgust, contempt); emotions related to the spectrum of fear and sadness (e.g. apathy, resentment, bitterness, disappointment, inferiority, grief, anxiety, guilt); negative activities and behaviors (e.g. aggression, revenge, shouting, argument, fight, manipulation, abusiveness, distrust, unfairness); positive manifestations (eagerness, competition, superiority, success); traits and predisposition to feel and react with envy (hostility, resentment, vindictiveness, meanness, egoism, selfishness, ineptitude, malevolence, lack of self-satisfaction); objects of envy (e.g. money, beauty, wealth, success, car, phone, academic achievements, dress, talent) and references to other people (friend, colleague, family, men, women, neighbor, other person, Poles). The number of words was counted for every participant and for each cluster.

In addition, valence was defined on a scale from 1 to 5. A score of 1 was given in the case of strongly negative valence (terms such as "hatred", "bitterness", "war", "aggression", "vindictiveness", "ugliness"), a score of 2 was assigned when negative terms occurred with some positive (e.g. "beauty", "abundance", "success") or

neutral terms (e.g. "home", "work", "feeling", "money"), a score of 3 meant that valence could not be determined, 4 meant moderately positive valence, while the score of 5 meant definitely positive valence (words such as "love", "happiness", "joy"). The total number of correctly generated words was also analyzed.

Data were collected from 247 individuals (157 women, 90 men). The participants were classified in three age cohorts based on date of birth: people born between 1965 and 1980 were classified as Generation X, those born between 1980 and 1995 as Generation Y, and those born after 1995 were classified as Generation Z. As a result, the group comprised 101 subjects from Generation Z (67 women and 34 men), 100 subjects representing Generation Y (67 women, 33 men) and 46 individuals were from Generation X (23 women, 23 men).

RESULTS

At the first stage, descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) for the total number of words produced in the verbal fluency task, as well as valence of envy and each sematic cluster were counted. To compare the average results, a multivariate analysis was carried out. The results are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for the verbal fluency task in the specific generati

Variable	Generation Z (N = 101)		Generation Y (N = 100)		Generation X (N = 46)		F
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Number of words	5.60	3.96	4.62	3.63	4.04	5.15	2.75
Valence	1.34	0.65	1.55	0.78	1.24	0.55	0.93
Emotions related to the spectrum of anger	1.55	1.23	1.45	1.42	1.20	1.33	1.16
Emotions related to the spectrum of fear/sadness	0.67	1.18	0.44	0.89	0.39	0.83	1.84
Negative activities/behaviors	2.08	1.90	1.89	2.12	1.78	2.37	0.39
Positive manifestations	0.23a	0.55	0.10a,b	0.41	0.00b	0.00	4.77**
Traits/predispositions	1.15	1.51	0.90	1.21	1.04	1.17	0.87
Objects of envy	0.48	1.07	0.34	0.92	0.46	1.56	0.40
Other/persons	0.87a	1.49	0.46a	0.99	0.33b	0.90	4.40*

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$
Mean results marked with the same letter ("a" and "b") do not differ significantly from each other.
Source: Author's own study.

The average score related to valence suggests that envy is perceived as an unpleasant, negative emotion, arising in response to an undesirable event. The average number of words given in response to the term "envy", as well as the valence

of envy, mean number of words related to the spectrum of anger, fear and sadness, negative behaviors, traits/predispositions and objects of envy did not significantly differ between the generations. The average number of words related to positive manifestations was significantly higher in Generation Z than in Generation Y. The average number of words in other/persons semantic cluster was significantly higher in Generations Z and Y than in Generation X.

In the next step, the factor analysis based on principal component method was performed separately for participants from each generation. Varimax rotation was used in the Generation Z and Y samples because the factors turned out to be uncorrelated. In the Generation X sample, Oblimin rotation was used, because the factors were found to be significantly correlated, *rho* = -0.31; *p* = 0.037. The results of factor analysis are shown in Table 2 – for Generation Z; Table 3 – for Generation Y and Table 4 – for Generation X. Bartlett's test of sphericity, the determinant and Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin statistics are given under each table.

Table 2. Rotated component matrix with component loadings in the Generation Z sample ($N = 101$)

Variable	Component	
	1	2
Negative activities/behaviors	0.82	
Traits/predispositions	0.72	
Emotions related to the spectrum of anger	0.72	
Emotions related to the spectrum of fear/sadness	0.54	
Objects of envy		0.76
Positive manifestations		0.69
Other/persons		0.55

KMO = 0.59; determinant = 0.35; Bartlett's test of sphericity = chi^2 (df = 21) = 102.71; $p < 0.001$
Source: Author's own study.

Two factors were obtained in the Generation Z sample. The first one contains emotions related to envy, from the spectrum of both anger and fear/sadness, negative activities and behaviors associated with situations involving envy, as well as personality characteristics and specific predispositions that determine the experience of envy. The second factor contains various objects of envy, references to other persons and positive manifestations resulting from an experience of envy. The factor structure of the concept of envy in this generation closely corresponds to the distinction of malicious envy and nonmalicious/benign envy, discussed by various researchers (Parrott, 2001; Sterling et al., 2016; van de Ven and Zeelenberg, 2020). The first factor can be described as malicious envy. This fac-

tor includes emotions from the spectrum of anger, such as frustration, irritation, hate, range, dissatisfaction and jealousy, which is often confused with envy. Those emotions are highly characteristic for malicious envy and they are linked with a feeling of inferiority, guilt, shame, humiliation, disappointment, regret, grief. This is linked with a negative attitude toward the envied person, therefore, this factor also contains negative behaviors. Predispositions to experience envy, given by the participants (bad character, vengefulness, egoism, vileness, malice, rudeness) are also connected with an immoral form of this emotion (Parrott, 2001) and are consistent with previous research about the usage of the term "envy" in Slavonic languages (Tyshchenko, 2019).

The second factor can be described as nonmalicious envy. Positive manifestations associated with envy and produced by the participants from Generation Z, included competition, rivalry, superiority, desire for what other has, desire to be better. Those activities refer to a motivation towards improvement, characteristic for nonmalicious/benign envy (Parrott, 2001; van de Ven, Zeelenberg, 2020). References to other persons and to specific objects result from a perception that someone is superior with regard to something important to oneself, but this reflection contains an inspiration for one's self-improvement, and the attitude toward the envied person is more positive. The envied persons were friends, and colleagues and the most common objects of envy in this generation included beauty, figure, fame, academic achievements.

Table 3. Rotated component matrix with component loadings in the Generation Y sample ($N = 100$)

Variable	Component	
	1	2
Negative activities/behaviors	0.85	
Emotions related to the spectrum of anger	0.72	
Traits/predispositions	0.57	
Emotions related to the spectrum of fear/sadness	0.50	
Positive manifestations		0.72
Other/persons		0.70
Objects of envy		0.62

KMO = 0.51; determinant = 0.29; Bartlett's test of sphericity = chi^2 (df = 21) = 118.42; $p < 0.001$
Source: Author's own study.

Factorial structure of the concept of envy in Generation Y is comparable to that in Generation Z. Negative emotions are correlated with negative activities and predispositions to respond with envy. Positive manifestations are correlated with other persons and objects of envy. The factor of malicious envy does not

differ from the one observed in Generation Z. However, the nonmalicious envy factor comprises different objects of envy: in this age cohort objects like work, money, wealth, car, social status, and family occur more often than beauty, figure or academic achievements. The differences in the objects of envy result from development-related tasks.

Table 4. Pattern matrix with component loadings in the Generation X sample (N = 46)

Variable	Component	
	1	2
Objects of envy	0.87	
Emotions related to the spectrum of anger	0.77	
Other/persons	0.52	
Traits/predispositions		-0.80
Emotions related to the spectrum of fear/sadness		-0.77
Negative activities/behaviors	0.55	-0.62

KMO = 0.63; determinant = 0.11; Bartlett's test of sphericity = chi^2 (df = 15) = 93.39; $p < 0.001$
Source: Author's own study.

In the present study, the structure of the concept of envy in Generation X does not include positive manifestations. None of the participants from this age cohort produced any words which could be classified into the positive manifestations cluster. The factor analysis performed taking into account six sematic clusters showed that, in Generation X, the concept of envy consists of two factors, both corresponding to malicious envy. The first one involves various objects of envy, references to other persons, emotions related to the spectrum of anger, and negative activities. The second factor contains personality traits and predispositions to respond with envy, emotions related to the spectrum of fear and sadness, and negative activities. It is worth noting that in Generations Z and Y emotions related to the spectrum of anger as well as fear/sadness were classified in the same factor. In Generation X, on the other hand, they are comprised in different factors, which are negatively correlated. The first factor could be described as orientation towards the envied person. The second factor could be described as orientation towards the self, perceived as inferior, and lacking something important (humiliation, loneliness, low self-worth, self-disappointment, bitterness, regret, grievance) and showing specific predispositions to respond with envy. Both orientation towards the self and orientation towards the envied one result in negative behaviors: aggression, revenge, manipulation, destruction, or lies.

DISCUSSION

Generally, valence of envy is negative, and the concept of this emotion comprises various emotions representing the spectrum of anger, and ranging from irritation to hate. The concept of envy also contains jealousy, and this finding is consistent with the synonymous treatment of these emotions proposed in the literature (Clanton, 2006). In addition to negative emotions, envy is associated with negative consequences like aggression, hostility, lies, manipulation, revenge, fight, or distancing; on the other hand, understanding this emotion also leads to positive manifestations such as competition, superiority, success, eagerness, and desire to be better which is consistent with the general distinction of malicious versus nonmalicious/benign envy (Parrott, 2001; Sterling et al., 2016; van de Ven, Zeelenberg, 2020).

The structure of the concept of envy identified in the present study suggests that Generations Z and Y use the term "envy" in both its malicious and benign sense. This distinction did not occur in Generation X. Sematic clusters related to the objects of envy and other/persons in Generations Z and Y were closely connected to positive manifestations but in Generation X they were linked with emotions from the spectrum of anger. In the present study, no participant representing Generation X identified positive manifestation related to envy. It should be pointed out, however, that in the present study the number of participants representing Generation X was rather small, which may have affected the results. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that for Generation X, the concept of envy does not contain any connotations of positive manifestations.

Perhaps, by focusing on other people who have the desired goods, objects, or personality traits, people from Generations Z and Y find motivation to work on themselves, which triggers competition and ambition. On the other hand, for individuals representing Generation X, focusing on other people and their desirable objects or characteristics to a lesser degree provides motivation for self-improvement, and, to a greater extent, results in anger, frustration, annoyance, or hate. These results are consistent with the characteristics of Generation X described in the literature. In general, Xers are described as skeptical, cynical and pessimistic (Grubb, 2017; Oblinger, Oblinger, 2005) In addition, Polish Generation X grew up in an age of consumerist values promoted by the media, resulting in the desire for different goods and lifestyles matching the American models (Kozłowski, 2012). Perhaps the link between emotions from the spectrum of anger and other persons is due to the more frequent experience of envy from other people.

On the other hand, Generation Y is described as positive, hopeful, goal oriented and determined (Oblinger, Oblinger, 2005; Howe, Strauss, 2000), while Generation Z is believed to have a strong desire to feel good (Scholz, 2019). In Poland, Generation Z and most of Generation Y were born and grew up in a democratic

system. They live in a world open to changes of workplace and residence, they have much more opportunities to choose a career path and where to start a family. For these generations, social comparisons may result in a greater motivation for self-improvement, as they see more opportunities for themselves and are more open to quit work or a relationship, if their expectations are not met (Scholz, 2019).

In the present study, more words related to other persons was given by Generation Z than the other age cohorts. Notably, the words related to other in Generation Z were more often quite concrete, e.g. my friend, my colleague, brother, boss, uncle and specific person's names like Kuba (Jacob). This is most likely associated with the usage of the social media (Facebook, Instagram) and online platforms, such as YouTube. Young people from Generation Z are constantly connected to the Internet and share their intimate information with other Internet users (Linne, 2014). They observe, like and comment other users' statuses in the social media and watch videos uploaded by YouTube users. As a result, there are more specific people with whom they can compare themselves. In turn, people representing Generation X are more likely to relate the emotion of envy to the fact they are Polish (e.g. Pole, Polish). This may be associated with the so-called Polish norm of negativity, discussed in the literature, that comprises a perception of the world as something evil, a view of the social order as unfair and harmful, and a perception of the self as a victim of these evil people and social institutions. Also, a culture of complaining is more typical for the Polish Generation X and for Baby Boomers, than for Generations Y and Z (Wojciszke, 2004).

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The presented study shows that the structure of the concept of envy differs across generations. In the concept of envy typical for Generations Z and Y, it is possible to identify both malicious and benign envy. In Generations Z and Y, envy seems to be understood as an emotion that arises in the case of social comparisons that trigger anger, sadness and negative attitudes towards another, but also foster a motivation for achievement. In Generation X, no positive manifestations associated with envy was identified, and nonmaliciuos envy was not found in the concept of this emotion. Objects of envy are associated with development-related tasks, but the references to other persons in the concept of envy seem to be connected with generational experiences. Given the small group of people representing Generation X, the study should be replicated taking into account a larger sample and the results should be compared to Baby Boomer Generation. The aim of the future studies is also to describe the concept of jealousy and its development in different generations, since the terms "envy" and "jealousy" are used synonymously.

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STRESZCZENIE

Celem badania było określenie, jak rozwija się pojęcie zawiści w różnych pokoleniach. Badanie zostało przeprowadzone na polskiej grupie złożonej z 247 uczestników (157 kobiet, 90 mężczyzn) należących do pokoleń X, Y i Z. Założono, że pojęcie zawiści różni się w tych generacjach. Zastosowano zadanie emocjonalnej fluencji werbalnej. Słowa podane przez badanych przeanalizowano pod kątem klastrów semantycznych, ogólnej liczby słów nawiązujących do pojęcia zawiści oraz walencji zawiści. Wieloczynnikowa analiza wariancji pokazała, że więcej słów odnoszących się do innych osób podawali badani z pokolenia Z. W pokoleniu X nie pojawił się klaster „pozytywnej manifestacji”. Przeprowadzono analizę czynnikową w celu określenia struktury pojęcia zawiści w każdym pokoleniu. Wyniki wskazują, że w pokoleniach Z oraz Y pojęcie zawiści zawiera zawiść złośliwą i niezłośliwą. W pokoleniu X pojęcie zawiści odzwierciedla jedynie złośliwą zawiść. Wyniki poddano dyskusji w odniesieniu do ogólnej charakterystyki pokoleń oraz specyfiki pokolenia X w Polsce.

Słowa kluczowe: zawiść; pojęcie zawiści; różnice pokoleniowe; pokolenie Z; pokolenie Y; pokolenie X