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eTIME or the Networking of Leisure Time
Generational culture consumption in the digital age

Abstract

The aims of my research are to reveal the effect of ICT tools on lifestyle, the typical patterns of cultural interests and cultural consumption in digital and mediated environment, the attributes of free time activities of different generations in the light of the findings of the last two timescale analyses. Additionally, an explanatory model which may assist us in revealing some special features of e-time will also be shown.

Hungarian and international research about this topics shows that internet use is detrimental to social relations – especially at the early stages of the penetration period: it reduces the time spent with friends and family, weakens communication among family members, and also influences the use of different media. Traditional social and cultural activities are „in competition" with the internet, as the amount of free time has practically been constant for decades (an average of 4.5 hours per day for adults). Researchers have compared the activity structures of users and non-users, and their finding is that internet users are significantly more likely to read a book, use media actively also for various artistic content, visit art events, and participate in various leisure activities (sports, cinema etc.), while they watch less television.

Keywords: culture, information society, cultural consumption and participation, internet use, generations

Introduction

Time, which made Saint Augustine frightened and confused, misled Newton, inspired Einstein and made Heidegger obsessed, is the wonderful invention of eternity. Culture is everything that cannot be perpetuated genetically, it even includes Voltaire and vodka advertisements. However, "in Bosnia and Belfast, culture is not only something that we put in a CD-player but it is also something which we need to kill for." [1] Information society[2], which revolutionises everything, establishes a novel social and economical formation, ignores the rules and the millennia-old rigid structures and destroys the frames of time and culture, is the new

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[1] Eagleton, 2001.
[2] Z.Karvalics, 2002.

millennium. As free time became the "product" of industrial society, information society has also produced a specific form of time, namely "e-time" or the time of information society, which has evolved in a period which can be described by information and communications technologies. E-time can speed up the rhythm of everyday life much better than anything before.

It induces essential changes in several segments of economy, work and society. "Multi-time", which means doing diverse activities simultaneously, comes into existence. The rhythm of work and gaming changes, the new time of the novel paradigm overrides historically and socially accepted system of workweeks and weekends.[3] The consequences of the accelerated and reversible time are the blurred boundaries of human life cycles, the appearance of flexible age and the change of public opinion as well. Time becomes a classifying marker in the new social formation. Hence, age and belonging to a generation can have a much more intensive impact on chances of the labour market, social and cultural capital, the position in systems of inequalities. Age also forms the structure of free time activities and preferences for cultural consumption. Technological development affects free time as well, and it also influences the amount of leisure time, the expansion and polarisation of opportunities. Its modifying impact on the nature of spare time activities became significant in a short period of time.

Methods

I use a quantitative method, secondary data analysis to answer the research questions. The empirical part of my paper is based on the voluntary activity data of the time balance sheet surveys from 1999/2000 and 2009/2010[4], and I also use the Generation Z datasets of the Magyar Ifjúság survey 2012. My paper uses the term of leisure time as conceptualised in international time balance sheet research, i.e. *free* time excludes all time spent with work and the satisfaction of physiological needs, and also all activities done in order to deliver home or family chores. In order to map out the patterns of leisure time and culture consumption, I have split this main

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[3] Lee-Whitley, 1999, 2000, Ropolyi, 2006.

[4] The reason why I chose this method is that the most common sociological methodology for time related research is the time balance sheet survey focussing on the individual. Time balance sheet surveys focus on how members of any society use their time, which also reflects on how much economic, cultural and social capital they have. Categorisation in Hungary splits daily activities into three large basic units: the first block contains socially mandatory activities, i.e. types of activities where there is no real free choice between whether one carries them out or not (wage earning work, study, family care, transport). The second block contains the satisfaction of physical needs, which is also mandatory activities that are carried out by the majority of society as part of a daily routine and mainly serve physical regeneration (sleep, eating, bodily hygiene). The third block contains voluntary activities where the individual is relatively free to choose from alternatives of mental, psychological, physical recreational activities. The following indices were used for the analysis: *„A" index:* daily average time use in minutes, which is the average time calculated for the entire population (or groups of population) for all activities examined, with a total of 1440 minutes, i.e. 24 hours a day. *„B" index:* percentage rate of the people carrying out the given activity. *„C" index:* average time spent with the given activity in minutes (Szalai, 1978, KSH, 2012).

block into two parts, based on the classification introduced by Falussy[5]. Activities are grouped as follows, according to their location, method and type:

I.   Leisure time spent away from the screen:

- visiting cultural institutions (theatre, cinema, museum, exhibition, concert, opera);

- social leisure time (friends, family time, social programs);

- cultural leisure time spent at home, within the home (reading, listening to radio or music, pursuing a hobby);

- „open air" activities (motion, sports, excursion, fishing, gardening);

- other leisure activities (voluntary help, working with political and civil sector organisations, religious exercise, mending pets)

II.   Leisure time in front of the screen:

- watching television or videos, watching movies on DVD

- computer use, internet use

Using the narrow interpretation of culture consumption during analysis, I included activities in my analysis that entail the reception of some product of high or mass culture, and I concentrate on active leisure activities that are related to spending social time, i.e. which require active participation, physical and/or mental activity and the leaving of the personal living space.

When talking about generations in my paper, I use an interpretation based on McCrindle[6] a generation is the group of individuals defined by the same age, life stage, identical technologies, events and experiences. The generational categories used on this basis are as follows:

- above 60 years of age: Builders (1925–1946)

- between 45 and 60 years of age: Baby Boomers (1946–1964)

- between 30 and 44 years of age: X generation (1965–1979)

- between 15 and 29 years of age: Y generation (1980–1994)

- 0 to 14 years of age: Z generation (1995–2009)

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[5] Falussy, 2004.
[6] McCrindle, 2009.

Results of the research

I have made the following statements for the main questions raised in the course of my research.

Leisure time spent away from the screen

The forms of spending leisure time with a focus on cost efficiency and cost savings became characteristic by 2010. There was a major drop in programs involving financial spending, leaving the home, or travel as compared to the year of the millennium. Forms of spending leisure time at home became dominant in this period, and the popularity of various social form of leisure time (free time spent with friends or family members, visiting each other) increased, while the amount spent with reading continued to drop, especially with young generations. Cooperation in church, civil or political organisations, volunteer work show the lower participation rates as activity forms: the rate of participants in these is minimal in all generations.

*1st figure: Leisure time spent away from the screen, 1999/2000[7]*
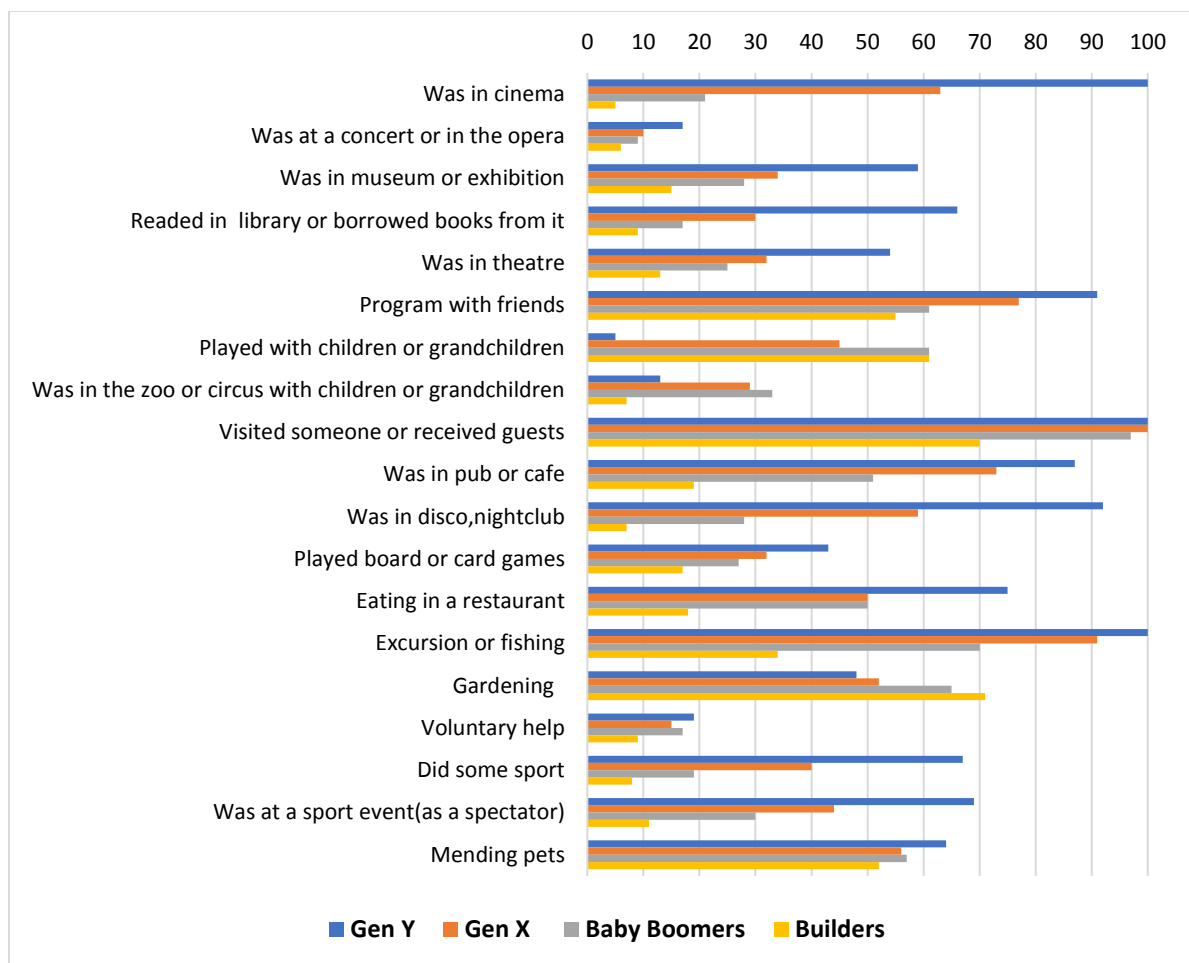
[7] N=10.997

There is a significantly smaller difference among generations in the area of *culture in the narrow sense* in 2010 as compared to ten years before: participation is balanced on a low level. The least popular activity form for the two young generations are attending opera performances and concerts; they choose all other events that fall into the category of culture in the classical sense over classical music. Similarly, members of the two older generations prefer going to the theatre, museum or exhibition or even a movie over classical music programs.

When looking at the leisure time activity patterns of generations, we can see that a *„generational shift"* has become visible in many areas, which is characteristic for younger generations primarily, and it indicates changes that happened over the decade analysed here. Members of younger generations (Y, X) show levels of participation in various leisure venues (e.g. cinema, theatre, museum, entertainment venues) as the next older generation did ten years earlier.

2ⁿᵈ figure: Leisure time spent away from the screen, 2009/2010[8]

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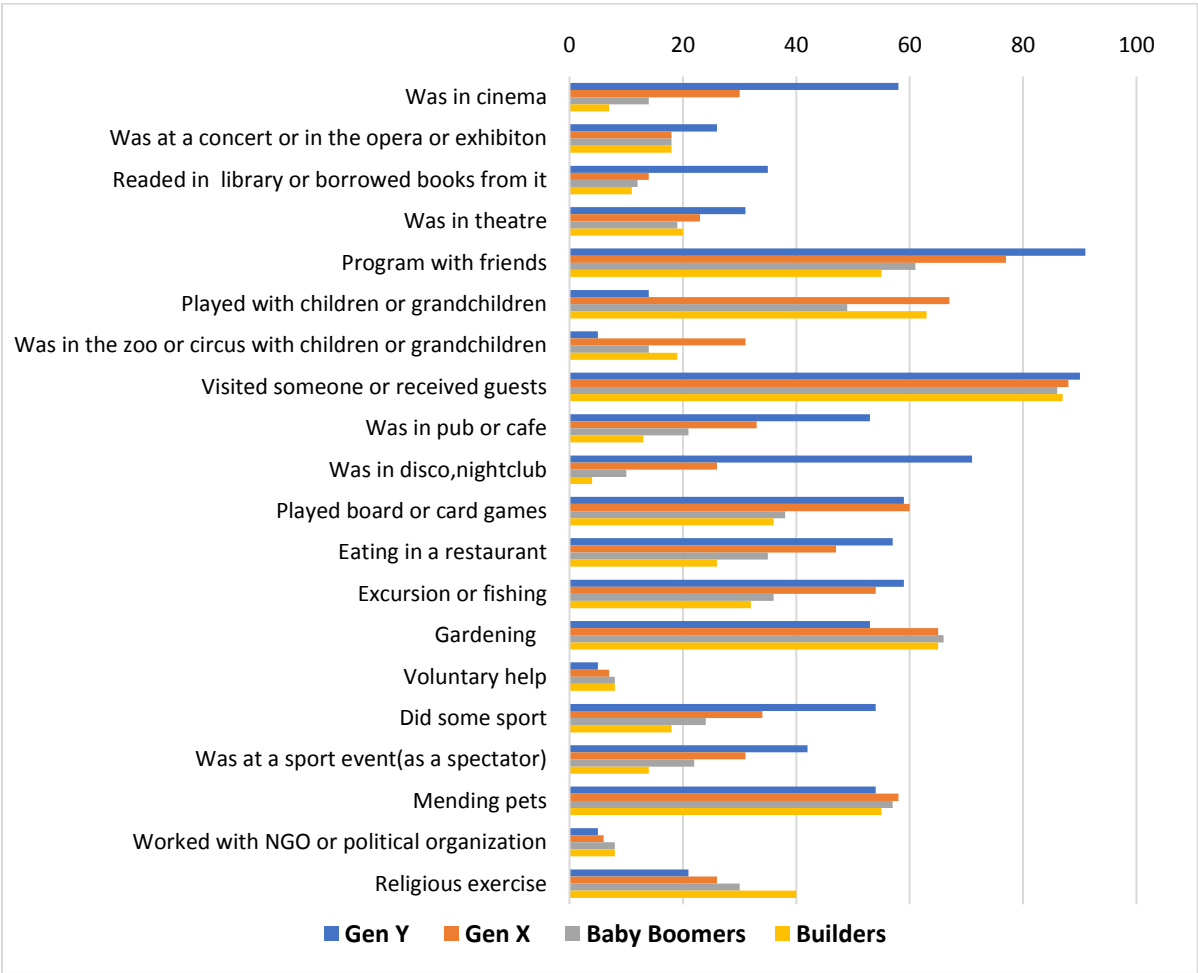
[8] N=8.391

Considering all leisure activties, *generation Y* is seen as *the most active*: They spend their free time actively, diversely and interestingly, they spend a lot of time with other people, they make excursions and do sports, entertain themselves, and a part of them even visits cultural institutions – although this rate is much lower than at the turn of millennium. Their leisure time habits make them similar to generation X of the turn of millennium.

The „out" programs of *generation X* halved over the decade, while there was only a slight drop in similar activities of the *Baby Boomers*, which involve leaving the home. Next to the youngest generation, it is the oldest where the biggest changes happened. In comparison to the turn of millennium, many more members of the *Builders generation* said that they went at least once to the theatre, cinema, visit friends, do sports, to a sports event as spectator, to eat out at a place, played board games, or took their grandchildren to the puppet theatre or the circus.

One typical characteristic of *generation Z*, i.e. *„digital natives"*[9] or the *Internet generation* is that they use the internet continuously. Data from the 2012 survey show that digital natives feel comfortable in digitalized-mediatized homes, or in in the vicinity of the internet, computers, i.e. devices[10], and also in the company of their friends. Online communality, continuous online activity and presence have grown to the extreme and peaked in comparison to earlier generations. The Internet generation no longer organises its free time around the television screen; the computer monitor has become the main rival[11]. For generation Z, the Holy Trinity of free time is the internet, television, and spending time with friends; this generation is characterised by a rather monotonous pattern of free time use concentrating around the home and telecommunication devices.

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[9] Prensky, 2001.

[10] 82% of the generation have a computer at home, 76% also have internet access.

[11] They spend 140 and 195 minutes on average with watching television on weekdays and weekends respectively, and the same amount of time in front of the television.

3rd figure: Free time use averages of Z Generation (minutes) [12]
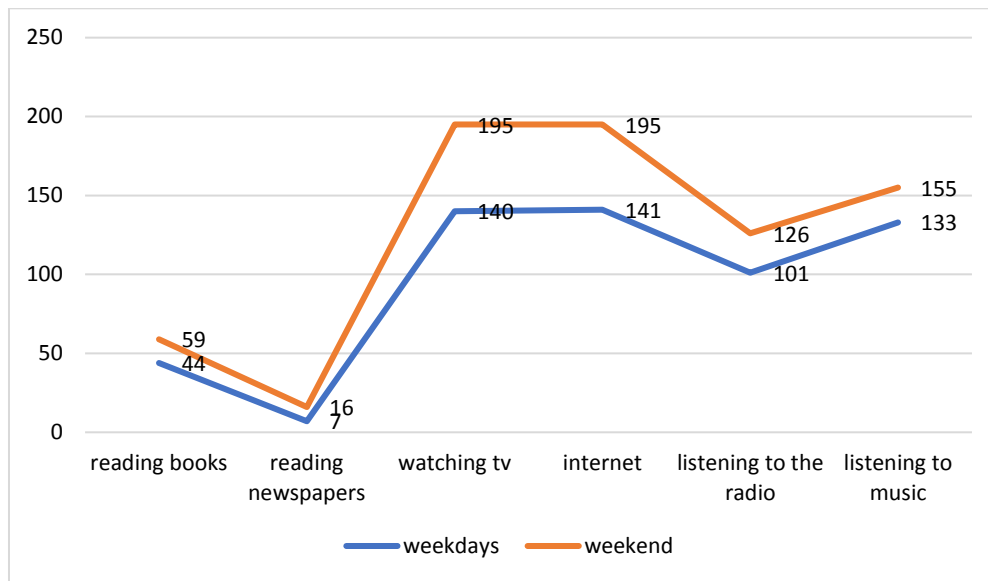
The majority of generation Z members are not striving to use their free time in a quality way, they spend most of their time, which is free from obligations, in front of various screens; any inspirational leisure time activity[13] pursuing or commitment to hobbies, visiting cultural institutions are rare activities that appear with but a few of them. Only one-third of this generation engages in high cultural events, one-fifth does sports in their free time, and one quarter spends time with reading books. This little time spent with reading newspapers and books[14] reflects the content consumption preferences of the Internet generation: the most important medium and main source of news for them is the internet[15], and they consider newspapers[16] the least important source of information, even television[17] ranks higher.

Leisure time in front of the screen

Spending free time at home has become an increasingly attractive option through the development of info-communication tools, entertainment electronics and the media industry. Various audio-visual devices have appeared in homes over the past decade, which have all enabled culture consumption at home to become an „experience", thus reducing further the need to visit cultural institutions.

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[12] Magyar Ifjúság 2012 N=1.319
[13] Vitányi, 1997.
[14] Members of generation Z spend 7 and 44 minutes with reading a newspaper and a book on weekdays, and 16 and 59 minutes with reading the same on weekends.
[15] Average 4.14 points from 5
[16] 2.76 ponints
[17] 3.61 points

The fundamental structural split of leisure time between time in front of the television, and all other activities has been happening since the 1980's[18]. As a result, as much as 58% of free time was spent with watching television by the year 2000, while in 2010, members of society spend more than half of the time free from obligations (57%) in front of some sort of screens. We can observe extensive and intensive reduction between the periods of the two time balance sheet surveys: all generations have reduced the average time they spend with watching television by more than 20 minutes[19], however, television still remained the main leisure time activity with the most time spent with it *(1st table)*. The oldest generation spends the most time in front of the TV set: they spend 58% of their free time with watching television programs in 2010-ben (191 minutes). The younger generation spends the least time with television in 2010, and the rate is identical to the figures of a decade before – although it is 30 minutes less – at an average of 101 minutes, which corresponds to almost one third of their free time.

1st table: Watching television broken down to generations 1999/2000 – 2009/2010

	1999/2000				2009/2010		
	„A" index (min)	„B" index (%)	„C" index (min)		„A" index (min)	„B" index (%)	„C" index (min)
Gen Y	136	81,2	167	**Gen Y**	101	71,8	140
Gen X	142	86,9	164	**Gen X**	115	82,3	139
Baby Boomers	173	90,7	190	**Baby Boomers**	150	88,3	170
Builders	212	93,5	226	**Builders**	191	94	203
Total	*165*	*88,0*	*187*	*Total*	*139*	*84,6*	*163*

I applied a regression model[20] to look at the factors that influence the *amount of time spent with watching television (2nd table)*. This has shown that economic status and age, belonging to a

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[18] Andorka – Falussy - Harcsa, 1990.
[19] The biggest drop can be seen with generation Y: They watch half an hour (35 minutes) less television on daily average than in 2010. Generation X, Baby Boomers, and Builders spend 27 minutes, 23 minutes and 21 minutes less in front of the television than at the turn of millennium,
[20] This model is significant, F=164,348 p=0,000. The explanatory power of this model is low, explained variance is 13.6%. The following variables were included in the model: I have created the index for cultural capital by using the next variables: the rate of school education (*institutional cultural capital*) and time spent with reading books (*incorporated cultural capital*) generates the index. I constructed *economic capital* along three dimensions, by using a main component: household's net monthly income, availability of durable consumer goods in the household, and savings generate the index. Further explanatory variables include the settlement type where the *respondent lives*, and *internet use*.

certain generation exert the most important effect, and the amount of time spent with watching television increases by 16 minutes on average with the increase of age. Improvement in financial status reduces television time by 5 minutes on average, and the same reduction in television time is 7 minutes with improved availability of cultural capital. Internet use reduces the time spent with watching television by almost 30 minutes, on average, pupils spend 43 minutes less in front of the TV than the ones who are graduating from their studies, while active earners have 40 minutes less for this type of entertainment than non-actives.

2nd table: Explanatory model for time spent watching television

	B	Standard error	Beta	t	p
(Constant)	135,747	5,847		23,217	,000
economic capital	-5,172	1,447	-,045	-3,573	,000
cultural capital	-7,660	1,486	-,063	-5,154	,000
generations	16,362	1,569	,142	10,426	,000
internet use (1=yes)	-27,817	3,262	-,119	-8,528	,000
economic activity (1=yes)	-39,950	3,070	-,172	-13,014	,000
student status (1=yes)	-43,229	5,091	-,119	-8,491	,000
settlement	3,699	2,753	,015	1,344	,179

After the turn of millennium, the *emergence of computers and the internet in households* had started adding nuance to the television centred, monotonous leisure time structure. According to the time balance sheet survey of 1999/2000, 11 percent of the respondents reported having a computer, 9 percent said they didn't have any but wanted one. Seventy-six percent of the households in that sample said their household didn't have a computer, and they also didn't want to own one. The attitudes to owning, or purchasing in the future, a computer is significantly determined by the age of the head of the household, i.e. the belonging to a generation[21], education, and economic status. Low level of education, older age, and dropping from the labour market (for whatever reason) result in negative attitudes and dislike against IT and related devices.

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[21] Almost one-fifth of heads of household (18%) are in generation X, 38% of them are Baby Boomers, while 44% are Builders.

Material and cognitive barriers[22] that keep people away from information society had mainly collapsed over the decade concerned, so that more than half of the participants (53%) in the time balance sheet survey of 2009/2010 were using a computer, and 62% of households actually owned one.

3rd table: Computer use broken down to generations 2009/2010[23] (%)

	Do you use a computer?		total
	no	yes	
Generation Y	10	90	*100*
Generation X	25	75	*100*
Baby Boomers	50	50	*100*
Builders	72	28	*100*

Data from the time balance sheet support the hypothesis that age is the primary explanatory factor for digital inequality[24], computer use by older and younger generations indicates the existence of a *generation gap*. Internet use shows the same pattern as computer use: generation Y members are the most active (86% use the internet), followed by generation X where only one-third doesn't use the internet in their free time; while more than half of the Baby Boomer generation (54%) stays away from information society, and the members of the Builders generation are the least „entangled" in the web: 75% are no internet users.

We can observe significant differences in the *internet use of generations (4th table)*. There are generational and socio-cultural differences behind the interest and the satisfaction of needs; however, we must not ignore inequalities in use, or the differences in „useful use". Accessing information and communication rank first in the internet practice of all generations, and then there is a stepwise drop in learning and self-education as we move back in the row of generations. There are pregnant differences in the use of online games, the internet varieties of entertainment electronics, and the downloading of movies, music and different software. As we move towards older generations, the rate of people who play reduces, and there is a clear difference in the net use patterns of generations when it comes to exchanging files: This is the area where there is a deep divide between younger and older generations as this activity needs

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[22] Dessewffy - Rét, 2004

[23] N= 8.245. The Pearson coefficient of generations is 0.389, i.e. there is a positive (linear) relation of medium strength across the variables.

[24] Csepeli - Prazsák, 2010b

more established user knowledge, which is less characteristic for older generations. Online news consumption, reading newspapers, magazines and news portals is the area where the two older generations are stronger than the two younger ones, while primarily members of generation X use the internet for the purposes of e-commerce.

4th figure: Internet use of generations 2009/2010[25]
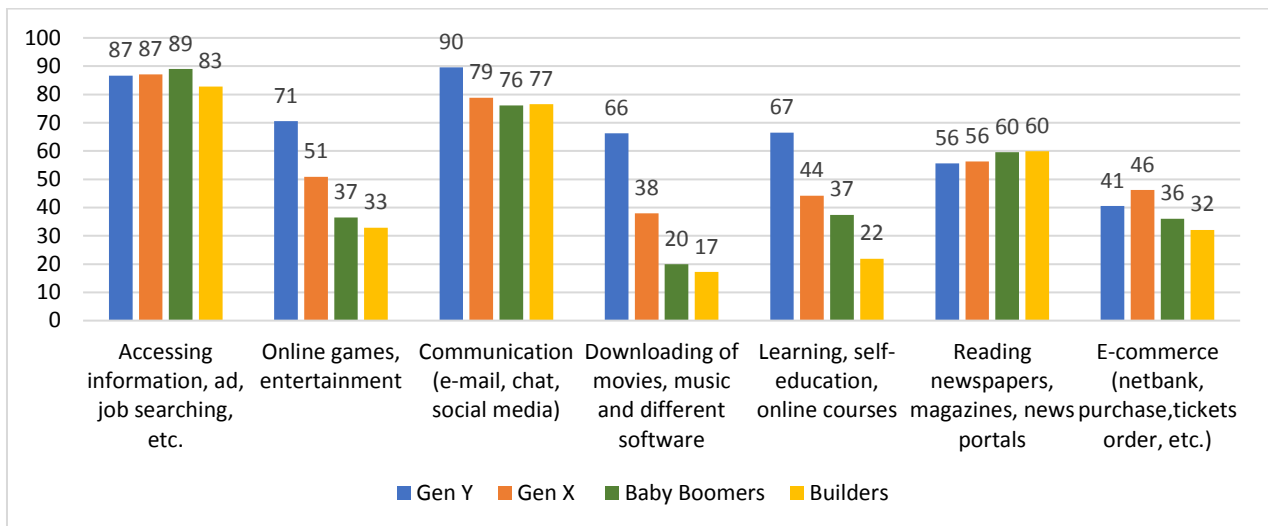
Members of the youngest generation show the most even use of all the listed possibilities offered by the internet: their internet use is diverse and colourful. The net use practice of the two older generations is very similar: it includes mostly practical preferences for the oral and written forms of communication and a reduced focus on entertainment, which do not necessarily require established, diverse user skills.

Internet use, culture consumption and time use

Empirical research into the relationship of *internet use and culture consumption* has shown that behaviour related to culture are mainly prevalent in people who use the internet, however, internet use in itself does not help any person to become a consumer of culture without any precedence. The world wide web can only help by augmenting pre-existing cultural interests[26]. There is a defining difference between net users and non-users as regards visiting high cultural institutions: internet users go to the opera, museum, exhibitions and theatre three to four times more often than non-users do. People keeping a distance from the IT world prefer leisure activities that are less dependent on technological devices and more focussed on the home, and they are much more active in these activity forms (playing with children, grandchildren,

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[25] N=4.201
[26] Csepeli–Prazsák, 2010a

gardening, taking care of pets) and in practicing religion than internet users. They are characterised by the simplest, cheapest and least "tiresome" use of free time. Age plays a significant role in all of this; the decisive majority of non-internet users come from the two oldest generations who basically lead less active lives that are concentrated around the home and determined also by physical conditions; however, it would be a mistake to disregard the rate of generation Y and generation X members (one-third and one-tenth respectively) who also belong to this group. The culture consumption behaviour of the non-internet using group can be described as a "cultural desert", and we can state that the presence or lack of internet use shows significant correlation with the choice or non-choice of various activity types that are related to culture.

When constructing and explanatory model for classical culture consumption,[27] I examined whether visiting the venues of classical culture is defined by the variables included in the model, or whether there are other factors behind the emergence of preferences *(4th table)*. Including, in the model, generations as a categorical variable and using the oldest generation, i.e. the Builders as the reference category, I came to the result that the teenager and twenty-something members of generation Y are not significantly different from the oldest generation when we look at the chances to consume classical culture, and if controlling for all other variables. So, comparing the culture consumption and cultural interest of the young with the oldest, the relationship is non-linear but shows a U-curve: members of generation Y and Builders show similarly intensive interest for classical culture, and they also show equally high frequency of participation, provided that they are internet users.

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[27] Logistical regression, all variables included in the model have autonomous, significant effects, the model's explanatory power can be described as good: Hosmer and Lemeshow Test p=0,000, Chi-square=49,317, Nagelkerke R square=0,24, i.e. the combination of explanatory variables explain 24% of the dependent variable variance. Variables included in the model: generation membership, cultural capital, economic capital, settlement type, and internet use.

4th table: Explanatory model of classical culture consumption

	B	S.E.	Wald	p	Exp(B)
Cultural capital	,504	,033	231,492	,000	1,655
Economic capital	,416	,032	165,315	,000	1,516
Internet use (1=yes, 0=no)	1,421	,080	316,320	,000	4,141
Urban (1=yes, 0=no)	,665	,068	96,572	,000	1,945
Generation			47,792	,000	
Generation (Y)	-,118	,105	1,266	,261	,889
Generation (X)	-,522	,096	29,635	,000	,593
Baby Boomers	-,417	,091	21,123	,000	,659
Constant	-2,153	,091	563,729	,000	,116

Internet use exerts the strongest effect on participation in culture in the narrow sense: there is a more than fourfold chance of finding high culture audiences among computer and internet users than among those who stay away from these for whatever reason. Possessing economic and cultural capital increases interest for and participation in classical culture by 1.5 times, while urban residence doubles it. Results of this analysis show that the technology of the information age has deepened pre-existing cultural differences, and status crystallisation is further strengthened by inequalities in internet access and internet use.

Exclusion from information society drastically reduces the chances to get involved in cultural life. People in older generations, living in rural areas, with low education, in less good economic situation, not using a computer or the internet will choose culture related leisure activities at the lowest proportion. Young people that use ITC technology are in a somewhat better position especially if they live and study in an urban environment. Looking at cultural participation, continued school education has a positive effect, but this typically ends when school education ends. Internet using, oldest Builders and younger generation Y members that live in the capital and possess more than the average of economic and cultural capital typically show the highest rate of classical culture related activity.

Variance analysis *(5th table)* done to examine the time use differences between those who do and who don't use the internet does not support theories, primarily from the early stages of internet spreading, which looked at the social dimension of it and assumed loneliness, isolation, reduced social capital and narrowed social connections for internet users.

On average, internet users spend 9 minutes more with socialising than those who stay away from information society. They spend more time with various forms of social entertainment such as card play, board games, and they also make more excursions, spend more time walking in the open, and also do more sports. In case of visiting each other, there is a minimal difference between the two groups, and this also applies to reading books (8 and 7 minutes respectively). On average, they spend 30 minutes more with learning and self-education, and they watch television more than an hour less than non-users.

5th table: Time use averages of internet users and non-users, 2009/2010 (N = 8.391)

	Internet users (minutes)	Internetet non-users (minutes)	F-stat.
I. Socially bound activities	479	389	42,089
II. Physiologically bound activities	696	757	14,862
III. Free activities	271	299	6,661
Watching television	114	183	194,715
Reading a book	8	7	9,16
Socialising	91	82	50,978
Reading a newspaper or magazine	11	16	106,538
Visiting each other	6	7	13,456
Learning, self-education	46	14	721,024
Sports, walking, hiking	17	13	51,300
Social entertainment (card game, board games etc.)	6	3	88,025
How many books have you read over the last one year?	7,91*	7,4*	

Looking at the three main activity categories, we can observe substantial difference between the two groups in 2009/2010: internet users spend one and a half hours more on socially binding activities, i.e. income earning, learning, taking care of the family, which is primarily associated with their age and their belonging to a certain generation, and their position in the distribution of work across society. Internet users spend one hour less on sleeping, eating, the satisfaction of their hygienic needs, and they can also spend 30 minutes less with leisure activities than their peers who stay away from the internet, however, they use this time much more consciously, more actively and in an experience oriented way.

Conclusion

Computer and internet use in the examined period until 2010 has brought about a change in the free time structure of younger generations (Z, Y, X). The younger the given generation, the deeper and more profound the change. I assume that the time balance sheet survey in 2020 will indicate the impact that also covers older generations, thus the entire society, which bring about substantial change, and also causes defining transformation in leisure time use that will have a long-term cascading effect.

Cultural participation of people using information technology and those untouched by the digital world is significantly different, the audience of classical culture is significantly more likely to appear in the group of internet users. Online leisure activities of younger generations are key, however, a part of them is versed in navigating the world of offline culture, especially members of generation Y.[28] Their activity in the classical scenes of culture has unfortunately dropped in the period examined, while a certain proportion of the Builders' generation has gone the opposite way – they are typically the ones who use the internet. Watching television is the most important leisure activity for the oldest generation, however, it is no longer the dominant activity for younger generations. Internet use reduces the time spent watching television by almost 30 minutes on average, while it has no negative impact on the amount of time spent with social activities, friends, family members.

In summary, we can state that economic, cultural and social capital possessed by the individual has a significant effect on the use of social time; and further the social status of, and the system of activities carried out by the individual in modern information society are stronger than ever defined by the individual's age and the technology "controlled", owned and competently used by the individual. Not unlike the interpretations in antiquity and the Renaissance, free time is the privilege of free individuals in our society. This means that persons who are released from or escaped the boundaries of work have *the largest amount of free time* (economically inactive, pensioners, unemployed). However, the time of antique ideals is over, and the findings of this empirical research show that free time is less and less the space where virtues and ideals unfold, or individuals develop. It is much more weightless entertainment, filling time with something, anything really, that becomes dominant; the simplest, handiest and least costly solutions are preferred, which often means binge television watching.

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[28] It would be a mistake, however, to forget the app. two-thirds of the generation who never participate in any cultural event.

The establishment of information society, technological changes will not leave free time unaffected either – just like in preceding periods. As a result of a flexible concept of time, the status of free time changes and – much like in traditional societies – there is no clear, sharp distinction between working time, and time out of work, i.e. leisure time. As opposed to earlier societies, the individual in information society has an increased freedom in deciding when the want to enter the world of labour, when they start or end a work process, and when to spend time with entertainment, resting, or minding their social relations. In the sphere of netCulture, consumer habits are entangled with production habits, and this is increasingly and emphatically true for generations Z and Y. They, the younger generations are early adopters of info-communication technologies and in the forefront of creating user media contents. Their individual abilities, skills, technical prowess and experience in the online media space, and their generational attitudes make them particularly fit for the innovative use of new production possibilities.[29]

The choice of leisure time activities shows not only characteristics defined by economic and cultural capital but also generational features. The majority of generation Z – similarly to the oldest generation of Builders – are characterised by passive, monotone, often purposeless leisure time activities, which actually corresponds to their generational definition: they are the *quiet generation* who feel alright within the safe walls of their homes. While free time choices of the oldest generation are often determined by coercive factors (health issues, lack of company etc.), and then they are narrowed down to the television, the choice of the screen/monitor for generation Z is always based on free choice, based on an order of preferences.

Free time use of *generation Y* is intensive; this generation is characterised by an experience-focussed leisure pattern that is after visual stimuli. This diversity in leisure activities is also a consequence of their generational character (openness to technology, preference for communality, high levels of energy). The cultural interest of this generation is wide and refined, which is matched by IT and technological prowess. Generation Y members were born at the time of national and ethnical chauvinism, the community, wealth, the possession of assets are important to them, but they are very interested in and open to the world.[30] This digital generation was confronted with an unprecedented array of choices, they learn and like to

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[29] Glózer, 2014.
[30] Howe – Strauss, 1991.

choose, try new things, they gain experience and knowledge that are global and extend to the whole world.

Generation X has the least time for leisure activities, which they try to spend in a meaningful way, mainly with their families and friends. The frequency of "out" programs of this generation halved over the decade examined, they watch almost 30 minutes less television in 2010 than they did at the turn of the century, three quarters of them are computer and internet users. Members of generation X were born at the time of cultural renewal, the invasion of new ideas, the oppose the existing institutional order, honour, freedom and survival are important values to them. Deep commitment to these two values, and the affinity for new ideas are reflected by how this generation refuses to grow middle-aged and old, to fit into the clichés defined by age; they prefer rewriting societal rules and generate an "anti-age" movement of sorts, the waves of which are then happily ridden by cosmetics and fashion corporations, the movie and advertising industries. Generation X is not trapped by its age, their generational character is that of knowledge, high professional demand, which spur them to look for new solutions.

There was only a slight drop in the "outdoor" activities of the *Baby Boomer* generation in the years from one time balance sheet survey to the next, their leisure time activity structure is similar to that of the Builders. Members of this generation were born after the war and the great crisis, a vision for the future, professional knowledge and diversity are important to them. Their attitude of seeking new solutions, which is also their generational feature, is supported by the fact that half of this generation is part of the internet universe.

As an outcome of my research we can state that the *availability of financial assets* remains the defining factor of cultural participation, while *economic capital and the geographical slope* continue to have a strong influence. Next to *cultural capital*[31] that fundamentally affects the quality of life, *IT capital* has an increasing effect, i.e. knowledge about the use of information technology, the possession of devices, and their skilful and diverse use. Individuals who are culturally active will also do other leisure and recreational activities more often than others, they do more sports, hike more, spend more time with social activities, sometimes they also create and pursue various artistic activities. Bad financial status, the low rate of owned institutional and incorporated cultural capital, rural habitat, and exclusion from information society resulted in narrower choices for leisure activities with an absence from the events of

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[31] Bourdieu, 2004.

symbolic culture by 2010, and they also strongly limit the number of preferred leisure activities, and the time expended on them.

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