

LEISURE IN THE 21ST CENTURY: PART I

by

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For some time, the scope and rate of change in the world has grown so rapidly that to ignore it consigns us to failure in both our jobs and our lives. Especially interesting is how this dynamic rate of change impacts human leisure, *leisure* being what we do more or less voluntarily and pleasurably within our way of life, including those occupations and organizations that deal with leisure behavior—from tourism to therapeutic recreation to parks. Because leisure is reinvented by succeeding cultures and by the values and preoccupations of each, the ways in which the future unfolds will reshape both leisure and organizations that provide leisure services. Accordingly, modern leisure behavior patterns can provide a window on understanding the larger process of social and economic change.

These change dynamics can't always be seen or understood directly, but instead require that we look to what is changing in our environment, our economy, our society, our use of technology and our values. If, for instance, "classical" music has long meant "old European music" to an American, then learning that much of the growth in the US population is coming from non-European immigration, and that Europe is likely to represent little more than seven percent of the world's population in another 50 years, may suggest that the music many think of as classical will become more diverse.

UNDERSTANDING CHANGE

Change is, by many measures, out of control in the world at present. As a result, leisure is more important than ever, both culturally and psychologically, as individuals feel increasingly more rushed

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and overwhelmed. Survey after survey shows that the public, even if they do not always understand its consequences for society, feels leisure is very important. The link between leisure and health is only now beginning to be realized, so leisure services are still often thought of as "amenities" rather than critical wellness services. As well, the link between quality of leisure resources and economic development is just now being understood, and new technologies continue to transform our work, our leisure, and our very identities.

This transformation of leisure has been long underway as work became more ordered under industrialization. And as time became the ordering device, the rest of life beyond work became "free time"—which could no longer be easily filled with the older forms of play or the holy days which characterized peasant life. New work patterns, the emergence of capitalism, and the unplanned urban environment that accompanied the factory system, made many ways of life and forms of leisure obsolete.

At the heart of much reform of leisure in the early nineteenth century may be seen a fear of the urban working poor. Reformers wanted not only to suppress various leisure behaviors, but also to transform leisure behavior, replacing public, undirected, and improvised play with more highly ordered, planned, and safer play. In doing so, the intent was to make the working class more respectable, more predictable, less dangerous and more amenable to industrial working conditions.

Modern leisure was not only the product of attempts to transform a way of life but was also, to a great degree, the "invention" of entrepreneurs who observed what things people wanted to do during their free time that they were willing to pay for. Beginning in the eighteenth century with magazines, coffeehouses, and music rooms, and continuing throughout the nineteenth century with professional sports and holiday travel, the modern idea of personal leisure emerged hand-in-hand with the "business" of leisure.

Some of this connection may be observed in the social reform movements, which brought about many recreation parks, sports, adult education, outdoor recreation, museums, botanical gardens, and other leisure services in the early twentieth century. They evolved, as did commercial recreation, due to changes in how people did work—which was in itself shaped by advances in technology. This resulted in migration from countryside to city and transforming the peasant

into the working class, often doing great environmental damage in the process. Previously partners in agricultural work, most women were subsequently constricted to more limited work roles, with homemaking and childrearing as their primary tasks. From work being interspersed with leisure elements, industrialism put work at the center of social arrangements, free time becoming what was left over. And in an industrial environment, children had few or no places to play.

Many of the same forces that are driving the way business organizations function are also reshaping leisure services in all sectors: private-nonprofit, government, and businesses. Four drivers, as identified by Preiss, Goldman, and Nagel (1996) are highlighted below.

Driver 1: *The worldwide spread of education and technology, which increases global competition and accelerates the rate of marketplace change.* Almost all customers or clients of leisure services have more options than previously as to what service they will or will not use, and the rate at which additional options become available is accelerating. A tourist who wants to plan a vacation may do so through an Internet company, a travel agent, a credit card company, a tourism promotion bureau, an airline, a guided tour company, a local university, or other providers. The flight arrangements and booking of hotels can be done by the customer via personal computer, e-mail, the web, cell phone, or by a travel agent, the hotel locally or through a national toll-free number. The opportunities when selecting aerobic exercise classes, for example, are now highly diversified and somewhat overwhelming.

Driver 2: *The continuing fragmentation of mass markets into niche markets—and sometimes their realignment into mass markets.* Many leisure products and services will have to appeal to a new kind of "mass" market—a very different one from the mass market that emerged after World War II. The new mass market is characterized by people who are far more affluent, spend their money very carefully and want more options beyond traditional luxury items. In many cases, offerings perceived as lavish luxury goods are being rejected outright. Affluent spending is no longer synonymous with luxury spending, and, while some companies may achieve a measure of immediate success by shifting to a luxury-goods mentality, that success is unlikely to be broad-based or long-lived (Nunes & John-

son, 2004).

Driver 3: *More demanding customers with higher expectations.* Today, clients or customers of almost all leisure services have increasingly high expectations about how clean a park should be the morning after a special event, how quickly they are able to register for an evening class on vegetarian cooking, how many birds they will spot on a guided bird walk, or how few delays there will be in being assigned a campsite for their motor home in a state park. Such increasing demands, combined with more alternatives for participation, mean that successful leisure services must become much more agile.

Driver 4: *The increasing impact of changing societal values, such as environmental considerations, on such matters as job creation or corporate decision making.* These changes, which affect not only what people do during their leisure, but the style in which they participate and the benefits sought, occur increasingly quickly. Thus, many zoos in the modern world are considered obsolete by a significant number of their visitors, who believe animals should be viewed in their natural habitat, not cages. These visitors see the pacing back and forth of animals as neurotic behavior, similar to the pacing of prisoners in a cell.

Many elderly users of conservation areas value convenience more and want indoor restrooms and showers. Gay and lesbian organizations field softball teams in the city league, and teenage vegetarians ask if there is lard in the beans before they will order a burrito at the snack bar. The manager of the golf course may be questioned about use of fertilizers and chemical sprays by members of the club or the state environmental protection agency. And environmental issues can present a dilemma for park managing organizations, which must sometimes choose between admitting more paying customers to cover for financial squeezes or better protecting the habitat of plants and animals which live in the park.

OUR PHYSICAL WORLD

Compared to 50 years ago, people are living longer, are less likely to starve, live in comparatively cleaner environments and, in many ways, have better lives. A few years back, *The Skeptical Environmentalist* reminded us that humans have made tremendous prog-

ress in many areas even as they have created new threats. In 1970, more than one-third of all people in developing nations were starving. This dropped to 18 percent in 1996 and, according to United Nations projections, will drop to 12 percent by 2010. Only 30 percent of such people had access to clean drinking water in 1970, but today about 80 percent have. Illiteracy rates were 75 percent but have dropped to only 16 percent. Food intake, in terms of calories, has increased over 8 percent in the last ten years. In China, life expectancy went from 24 in 1930 to about 70 today (Lomborg, 2001).

We also have longer lives than our ancestors. The main reason is not because we all live *longer*, but because fewer people die early. From 1900 to the present day, the life expectancy of newborn American girls has increased by almost 32 years (from 48 to 80 years) while that of a 60 year old is up by 7.8 additional years (Lomborg, 2001). In terms of food supply, the International Food Policy Research Institute (1999) estimates production of food will increase by 41 percent between 1993 and 2020 but that arable land will increase by only 5.5 percent. In many places in the world, the air is cleaner. Urban air pollution has decreased by 90 percent in urban London since 1930. Global forest cover has actually increased slightly during the last 50 years, and the total forest loss in the Amazon is only 14 percent since the arrival of man. The rate of deaths from infectious disease has been declining dramatically since 1970 (Lomborg, 2001).

The Environment

However, while several authors have recently written very optimistic books about our ability to sustain the environment in spite of population increase, some of their assumptions are open to question. First, there is the notion that the countries of the world that are producing most of the world's population increases are going to stay at this same level of consumption in the future. This is not happening. The rate of consumption of almost all consumer products is growing in developing nations, often at a very rapid pace. In terms of automobiles, for instance, the number in automobiles worldwide is predicted to grow from a world fleet of 754 million in 2000 to 1,116 million in 2020.

In 1960, less-developed nations owned only 13 percent of the

world's automobiles, but they will own 45 percent by 2020. The growth of motor vehicles by about one fourth during the next 15 years means the total fleet must become 25 percent more efficient just to maintain current pollution levels—to say nothing of the effects of millions of more miles of highway, parking garages, petroleum use, and other driving needs. Traffic is already so heavy in many Asian areas that people cannot be certain they can get to where they want to go. In Bangkok, Thailand, for instance, many drivers carry a small portable chemical toilet in their car because their trip may be so slow.

Many experts think "the biggest problem is the increase in total human impact as the result of rising Third World standards, and the Third World individuals moving to the First World and adopting First World living standards" (Diamond, 2005). If all the developing nations lived at the levels of consumption developed nations do, the result could be a catastrophe. Citizens in North America, Western Europe and Japan presently consume 32 times more resources, such as fossil fuels, and produce 32 times more waste than citizens of developing nations.

"Even if people in China alone achieved a First World living standard while everyone else's living standard remained constant, that would double our human impact upon the world" (Diamond, 2005). Even if the population of the Third World did not exist, it would be impossible for the First World alone to maintain its present course. It is not in a steady state, but is depleting its own resources as well as those imported from the Third World. At present, it is untenable politically for First World leaders to propose to their own citizens that they lower their living standards, i.e., lower resource consumption and waste production rates. What will happen when it finally dawns on all those people in the Third World that current First World standards are unreachable for them, and that the First World refuses to abandon those standards (Diamond, 2005)? What may happen is a war, perhaps of all against all.

Global Warming

The earth is presently warming, with large-scale consequences for every aspect of life. Almost all scientists agree such warming is likely related to increased amounts of carbon dioxide and other gases

and particulate matter emitted into the atmosphere as well as natural cycles. This polluting of the atmosphere comes from numerous forms of human activity—with automobiles being a particularly important contributor. While there is disagreement about how much the atmosphere is warming due to trapped gases and other pollution, a rise of only 3°C (or 5.4°F) would change almost all aspects of our life.

Conversely, a drop of 3° would be responsible for starting a new ice age (Weiner, 1990). As the atmosphere warms, low-lying countries such as Holland or Bangladesh are likely to suffer flooding, because water expands when heated. The east coast of the United States, as we know it, would not survive another 50 years. Crops that previously grew in one part of the country may no longer do so (although they might in another part). Trees will "migrate" north (or south below the equator), but may not be able to spread their seed fast enough to compensate.

The continued emission of greenhouse gases could create protracted, crop-destroying droughts in continental interiors, a host of new and recurring diseases, hurricanes of extraordinary malevolence, and rising sea levels that could inundate island nations and low-lying coastal rims world wide (Gelbspan, 1995).

In the United States, there was a massive rise in the use of fossil fuels after World War II. When the smoke and pollution became obvious from such practices, the response, in the 1950s, was to build smoke stacks hundreds of feet tall, to dilute the pollution, allowing sulfurous pollution to travel 1,000 miles or more, where it formed acid rain across the mountains of New York, New England and southern Canada. In Vermont, the rain has an acidity factor (pH) of 3.8 to 4.0. "The pH factor is logarithmic, so a change from normal (5.6) down to 4.6 means the rain has gotten ten times as acidic as normal; at 3.6 the rain is 100 times as acidic as normal" (Montague, 1996). This means that many trees are dying.

Another lesser-known aspect of global warming is the increasing rain and snow it is producing. A warming climate doesn't mean there aren't any winters. Warmer air can hold more moisture and warmer temperatures mean moisture on the ground evaporates more rapidly. In combination, this means more water cycles between the earth and the sky, i.e., surface water evaporating more quickly and coming down as rain or snow in greater volume. "This more vigorous hy-

drological cycle is one of the most certain characteristics of the greenhouse-altered climate" (Mathews, 1996).

Our weather has become more extreme, when compared to century-old records, with an index of extreme weather 40 percent higher than natural fluctuations would produce. Heavy rain and snow has been the greatest single change—the likelihood of two inches of rain or more falling at one time. In 2005, global temperatures were the second highest on record for the boreal summer, which runs from June 1 through August 31. The June–August summer season was the tenth warmest on record for the contiguous United States while precipitation was above average. Twelve named tropical storms formed in the Atlantic by the end of August, including Hurricane Katrina, which was among the strongest hurricanes ever to strike the United States, according to scientists at the NOAA National Climatic Data Center (2005) in Asheville, North Carolina, and more storms followed that year, setting even more records.

Alaska has already warmed substantially over the past few decades, accompanied by unprecedented increases in forest disturbances, including insects, blow-downs, and fire. A sustained infestation of spruce bark beetles, which in the past have been limited by cold, has caused widespread tree deaths over 2.3 million acres on the Kenai Peninsula since 1992, the largest loss to insects ever recorded in North America. At the same time, increases in blow-downs from intense windstorms, and in canopy breakage from the heavy snows typical of warm winters, may have increased vulnerability of forests to insect attack. Significant increases in fire frequency and intensity, both related to summer warming, have also occurred. Other forests, farther north, appear to be sinking or drowning, as melting permafrost forces water up. Sea ice off the Alaskan coast has retreated by 14 percent since 1978, and thinned by 40 percent since the mid-1960s. North of Fairbanks, roads have buckled, telephone poles have started to tilt, and homeowners have learned to live in houses that are more than a few bubbles off plumb (Egan, 2002). In the Antarctic, 3,275-square-kilometers of the Larsen B ice shelf disintegrated. The break-up of the floating ice mass, which had survived thousands of years of climate variations, comes at the end of one of the warmest summers on record around the Antarctic Peninsula. An international group of scientists has been investigating ice-shelf breakup events and all agree regional climate warming is at the heart of the recent

changes (Portland State University, 2002).

Air and Water Pollution

Air pollution is a major threat to health and leisure in many parts of the world. In Asia, rapid urbanization, with the associated growth in industry and transportation systems, has increased regional concerns with regard to emissions of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides. These emissions have now surpassed the emissions of North America and Europe combined.

In 2025, projected emissions in Asia are approximately three times those of 1990 and, for 2050, even worse. Pollution in southern Asia is a regional and a global menace, according to the United Nations. The region's brown haze affects rainfall and farming, puts hundreds of thousands of people in jeopardy, sometimes reaches to the top of the Himalayas. In the primary manmade source of sulfur and nitrogen in the Asia-Pacific region is fossil fuel combustion. In the energy, industry and transportation sectors, nitrogen and sulfur pollutants cause acidification of lakes and soils and negative impacts on human health, crop productivity, forest growth, and biodiversity (Riley, 2004).

In China, both air and water pollution are huge problems. In most of the country, human and industrial waste is dumped untreated into rivers, lakes and the ocean. Water is not safe to drink in 21 of the 27 largest Chinese cities, and the shortage of useable water is getting worse as water tables rapidly decline. More than 20 percent of the rivers cannot even be used for irrigation of crops, and 5 percent of rivers no longer have living fish. Water pollution has been cited as a major factor, contributing to increases in liver and stomach cancers, skin diseases, congenital deformities, and waterborne infectious diseases such as dysentery (Riley, 2004).

Many parts of the world suffer from pollution that is produced elsewhere. In Australia, for example, air pollution from Melbourne and the Latrobe Valley power stations has been blamed for a long-term reduction in rainfall over the Victorian Alps, which in turn is contributing to degradation of rivers and lakes across southeastern Australia (Miller, 2001). In Africa, drought may have been triggered by tiny particles of sulfur dioxide spewed by factories and power plants thousands of miles away in North America, Europe, and Asia.

Scientists studying the world's tropical rainfall determined that a storm over a populated area in Africa may generate only half the rain as the same kind of storm over the ocean, and smoke pollution is a main reason (Lefevre, 2000).

Some British scientists believe that airborne chemicals from the United States are being dumped in the United Kingdom and western Europe and may be to blame for a rise in lung disease. The United States consumes 25 percent of the world's fossil fuels—mostly oil—and it's predominantly the consumption of fossil fuels that creates pollution. Air leaving the US contains a cocktail of nitrogen oxides and hydrocarbons, which are emitted from vehicle exhausts and power stations (BBC News, 2004).

Decreasing Biodiversity

Biodiversity is shaping the well-being of those species that survive on earth. "Biodiversity is commonly analyzed at three levels: the variety of ecosystems within which organisms live and evolve, the variety of species, and the genetic variety within these species themselves" (Ryan, 1992).

Measuring all the ecosystems, species and genes that make up the living world is still an overwhelming task, but it is clear that the diversity is collapsing at alarming rates. Harvard biologist Edward O. Wilson estimates that, in tropic rainforests alone, which are rich in diverse life forms, 50,000 species per year are either condemned to becoming extinct or become extinct. "Entire ecosystems and genetic varieties within species (including both wildlife and domesticated crops) are also disappearing, likely at rates greater than the extinction of species themselves" (Ryan, 1992).

While the disappearance of species is nothing new, as all living species eventually disappear, but the average length of time an individual species survived was previously from one to ten million years, with only one to ten species disappearing each year. This process has been sped up several thousand times due to habitat loss, pollution, overexploitation, and other human activities. The rate at which animals are disappearing must change or we may soon live (or be unable to live) in a world in which we are the only animal, perhaps with the exception of a few species which adapt to a degraded environment—e.g., rats, flies, pigeons.

Biological diversity is not only essential to protect species that evolved over millions of years, but also valuable to humans for a range of other reasons. Time after time in human history, plants and animals thought to be of little value turn out to be crucial to our well-being. And predator animals driven to extinction no longer keep populations of pests in check. Mangroves cut for firewood no longer protect coastlines from erosion by the ocean; earthworms killed by pesticides and mechanized tilling and planting equipment no longer aerate soil. Finally, the huge variety of plants disappearing from tropic forests being converted to cow pastures may mean that future medicines to treat a variety of diseases will not be discovered.

LIFESTYLE CHANGES

Vegetarianism

Vegetarianism will be increasingly promoted for environmental, spiritual and health reasons, even as people in many developing nations add more meat to their diet. Consumption of food is increasingly taking on environmental, political, and lifestyle overtones, as people become more aware that meat-based diets waste millions of tons of grain which could be used to feed other people and that cattle do huge environmental damage. Additionally, increased medical costs associated with high-fat diets, and increased health and longevity associated with many vegetarian diets, will encourage people to eat less meat.

A number of environmental dilemmas are linked to what we eat. Eating cattle, pigs, sheep, horses, dogs, fish, and other animals is linked to numerous environmental and health problems. In the United States, 70 percent of all grain is fed to cattle and other livestock. Animal feed (e.g., corn, oats, barley, sorghum) is grown on one third of US cropland (Waggoner, Ausubel and Wernick, 1996). In the world, one third of the grain supply goes for this purpose even though a billion people suffer from malnutrition or starvation. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the amount of energy it takes to produce one gram of protein from animal sources is from six to eight times as great as what it takes to produce a gram of protein from vegetable sources.

In particular, cattle are a major source of numerous environ-

mental problems, from the desertification of Africa, where cattle have been inappropriately introduced in semiarid and arid climates, to the production of methane, to simply taking up space. Cows take up 24 percent of the landmass of our planet (Rifkin, 1992). The collective weight of cattle exceeds that of the human beings who eat them. There are 100 million cattle in the United States, most of which will be slaughtered. Vegetarianism, which can produce a perfectly healthy diet if one receives a little education about what to eat, can not only help eliminate the environmental problems associated with eating meat, such as global warming, but also it can help reduce both malnutrition and the diseases of affluence—heart attacks, diabetes, and cancer.

There is some indication that a switch from eating animals is underway. In the United States, for instance, not only are Americans eating more poultry and less beef, but also the percentage of consumer spending on meat is declining. These incremental changes may be just the beginning. As those who prepare food become more skilled at preparing vegetarian meals, and as the palates of younger people, who are much more likely to be vegetarian, start to exert their influence in restaurants and supermarkets, the movement toward vegetarianism will likely increase.

Walking

Historically, walking has been the primary way that people moved their bodies from one place to another. The vast majority of walking people have done historically has been necessary for economic functions. It was not until the last few hundred years that walking was generally thought of as something done for enjoyment. Today, necessary walking declines and declines, but walking still occurs as pleasurable activity.

The body has ceased to be a utilitarian entity for many Americans, but it is still a recreational one, and this means that people have largely abandoned some previously common spaces—such as suburban sidewalks—but have created new recreational sites that are most often reached by car: malls, parks, gyms. Parks, from pleasure gardens to wilderness preserves, have long accommodated bodily recreation, but the gyms that have proliferated in the past couple of decades represent something radically new (Solnit, 2000).

Walking still covers the ground between cars and buildings and the short distances within the latter, but walking—as a cultural activity, as a pleasure, as travel, as a way of getting around—is fading and with it goes an ancient and profound relationship between body, world and imagination. Perhaps walking is best understood with an ecologists' term. An *indicator species* signifies the health of an ecosystem, and its endangerment or diminishment can be an early warning sign of systematic trouble. Walking is an indicator for various kinds of freedoms and pleasures: free time, free and alluring space, and unhindered bodies (Solnit, 2000).

Things look very different when you are walking. The level of detail is richer, but walking takes time. Those cultures where life unfolds more slowly use walking as a chief means of transportation. In fast-paced cultures, walking becomes a change of pace from ordinary life. Perhaps that is one reason walking fits so well with tourism; tourism is one of the last major outposts of walking. It has always been an amateur activity, one not requiring special skills or equipment, one eating up free time and feeding visual curiosity. To satisfy curiosity, you must be willing to seem naïve, to engage, to explore, to stare and be stared at, and people nowadays seem more willing or able to enter that state away from home. What is often taken as the pleasure of another place may be simply that of the different sense of time, space, and sensory stimulation available anywhere one goes slowly (Solnit, 2000).

TECHNOLOGY

Reinventing the Automobile and Other Transportation

Automobile travel will be revolutionized in the next decade. Since most travel done by residents of modern nations is done by automobile, the advent of a car that has almost no fuel costs and emits almost no pollution would turn our way of life on its ear—both increasing the desire to travel more extensively and, at the same time, jamming highways and parking lots. Leisure destinations could be profoundly affected in a variety of ways.

One way in which cars are being changed is to make them "smarter"—more self-regulating. Another exciting new technology in development, automated cruise control, will brake your car if you

are too close to the vehicle in front of you; it also will warn you with a beep about nearby cars. This is gaining ground in North America and, if their use were to be promoted by government, would replace cars that pollute more even faster.

The Hypercar, which is powered by small motors above either front wheel—thus avoiding the huge energy loss from engine to drive train to wheels—may be so fuel efficient as to provide disincentives for the development of public transportation.

The Smart Car, a very small fuel-efficient auto, was first built in 1994 as a joint venture of Daimler-Benz and the Swiss watch manufacturer, Swatch. The car was supposed to use innovative features (e.g., hybrid engine) and to be an affordable car for young people. Its purpose was to "transport two people and a case of beer" (later replaced by a case of water). Such cars take up less space on the road and for parking. They also are, themselves, more easily transported.

It is the fuel cell, however, which may most dramatically revolutionize the automobile, especially "the zero-emission fuel cell, where compressed hydrogen gas mixes with oxygen from the air to give off electric current in a low-temperature chemical reaction that also makes water" (Ausubel, Marchetti and Meyer, 1998). Honda has already delivered the first fuel cell cars to the city of Los Angeles for government use. With an output of up to 80 horsepower and 201 foot-pounds of torque, acceleration is similar to a Honda Civic. Water vapor is the only exhaust. The Honda FCX has a range of up to 170 miles and seating for four people, making it practical for a wide range of real-world applications. Honda undertook fuel cell research in 1989 and has been road testing vehicles in the United States since 1999 (Honda Motors, 2002).

Such improvements in automobile fuel efficiency are critical to the world's well-being. China, home of one fifth of the world's population, has recently made policy decisions that favor an automobile and highway system of transportation rather than a bicycle to train system, which has been used in India with success. This decision may mean that, as the Chinese economy grows, the number of automobiles in the world will increase dramatically. If the Chinese model their travel patterns after the United States, the automobile will have to be radically reinvented. In 2004, there were more Buicks sold in China than in the United States! With predictions that China could be the world's largest auto market within the next 15 years,

GM's substantial investment in China is being echoed by other top automakers, including Ford Motor Co., Daimler-Chrysler AG, Volkswagen AG (already a leading player), Toyota, Honda, and Nissan.

The conventional gasoline automobile does not have the potential to serve densely populated urban areas of the world very well. It is likely the urban automobile will be increasingly regulated, even banned, from many parts of downtown areas, in an attempt to maintain public health and quality of life.

The magnetic levitation (or MagLev) train may be used extensively in such areas. These trains, which have already run up to 600 kilometers per hour, have advantages such as less pollution, precision control, rapid acceleration, and absence of noise and vibration. In terms of intercity travel, magnetic levitation trains could provide supersonic speed where supersonic airplanes can't fly. Since transportation consumes about one third of all energy used in the United States, more efficient transportation systems have the potential to make our environment dramatically cleaner. As 80 percent of all travel takes place within 50 kilometers of home, alternative technologies could make cities much cleaner and healthier.

The Growth of High-Speed Trains

While North American air travel and automobiles are subsidized to the exclusion of other forms of transportation, economic growth is making the high-speed train necessary. The world is urbanizing and the traffic jams are getting worse and worse. In the United States, for example, California's population of 34 million people is expected to exceed 50 million by 2030. As demand for air travel doubles at San Francisco and Los Angeles airports by 2020, the increasing number of people and congestion are likely to create havoc.

High-speed trains will give air travelers a competitive option, take cars off roads, cut air pollution, and allow urban commuters an alternative way to get to work. Projected door-to-door travel times in 2020 from Los Angeles to the San Francisco area, the nation's busiest air route: 3 hours, 2 minutes by air; 3 hours, 25 minutes by rail; and 6 hours, 54 minutes by car.

Freeway trains are also options. Freeway trains draw power from overhead lines, are rubber-tired, entirely robotic, and they break

apart into individual cars which are also entirely robotic and spend most of the day and night going up and down one street. It is only at rush hour that they congregate on freeways into a train, either going to or from a suburb. Where freeways cross, the trains will stop and people can transfer to a train going up or down one of the crossing freeways. As a train goes along a freeway, it sheds cars that take exits to streets, where each takes up its duty as a bus, going up and down that street until the next rush hour (*Gridlock*, 2003).

ELECTRICAL

Personal Transporters

While walking is the most frequent form of exercise of adults, a number of technologies may make it less common—even where people could walk. Human transporters, made by Segway and other companies, are self-balancing personal transportation vehicles designed to go anywhere you go—commute, shop, and run errands more quickly while enjoying a ride. The Segway HT requires no special skills—it takes care of the balancing-on-two-wheels part, and virtually anyone can use one. It's compact, yet powerful and easily rechargeable from any wall outlet.

Powered by heavy-duty batteries that draw their energy from a standard wall outlet instead of an expensive gas pump—it costs about 10 cents for a full charge. To put it in perspective, while traveling along at 8 miles per hour on a Segway HT, you're using the same amount of electricity as two 100-watt bulbs left on all day (Segway, 2005).

These devices continue to be tested by both government and private companies in terms of their ability to save time and effort. For example, the U.S. Post Office is testing them for mail carriers. The Segway, if it diffuses through society at a rapid rate, may make walking less and less common.

VIRTUAL TRANSPORT

One of the most complex trends to arise in the world of leisure travel is no travel at all. Travel has been in part driven by a desire to see new places, converse with far away people and learn new things.

While the miracle of 3-D virtual reality has yet to be achieved, the achievements of such Web sites as Google Earth are starting to let you see the look of a place you have never been and talk intimately with strangers (with less personal risk). The Internet is nowhere near matching the touch, smell and taste of travel, but some of the social, business and academic motivations are increasingly being addressed with Web meetings and conferences. It once seemed to some observers that communications technology might drive the meeting and convention business out of existence, but it was discovered that much of the "meet and greet" of interpersonal networking continues to pull people together across significant distances. It is largely the growing discomfort and inefficiency of modern travel that mitigates against in-person connection, as does continuing concern over the safety and confidentiality of business and financial virtual transactions in the age of the modern computer hacker and Internet pirate.

CULTURAL CHANGE

Values

Is there a crisis in values? Many observers think there is. There are references to a coarsening of the culture, the ugliness of American culture, the loss of virtue and character (Himmelfarb, 2001) as well as the loss of social capital (Putnam, 2000). Noted psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner (1999) sees a progressive decline in the competence and character of successive generations as they move into the 21st century. Among the most prominent developmental trends are the following:

- Over the past two decades, studies document increasing cynicism and disillusionment among American adolescents and youth manifested in a loss of faith in others, in the basic institutions of their society, and in themselves. For example, over a twelve-year period beginning in the 1980s, the percentage of US high school seniors agreeing with the statement "Most people can be trusted" fell by more than half from 35 percent to 15 percent
- A complementary theme is increasing self-centeredness and disregard for the needs of others. Consider the change over

time in response to the following item: "A man and a woman who decide to have and raise a child out-of-wedlock are 'doing their own thing, and not affecting anyone else.'"

- Overall, rates of teenage pregnancy and births are continuing to rise, albeit more slowly.
- Ever greater numbers of American youth are becoming perpetrators and victims of crime. The levels for other countries—Canada, Germany, England, and Japan—are minimal or nonexistent. The homicide rates for males ages 15–24 in the United States tripled from 12 in 100,000 in 1965 to 35 in 100,000 in 1990.
- More and more youth are spending their formative years in prison.
- Standardized measures of school achievement have been falling, even for students in the top 10 percent of the distribution.
- Values that most Americans think of as good may be in decline: honesty, a sense of personal responsibility, and a respect for others anchored in a sense of the dignity and worth of every individual. According to Baker (2005), the values crisis may be thought of in three ways—loss, unfavorable comparison, and division.
- *Loss* refers to loss over time of traditional values, and with it the capacity or will to make moral judgments. Preindustrial societies shared common characteristics that can be considered traditional values: the importance of religion and God; absolute standards of good and evil; importance of family life; deference to authority; the dominance of men in social, political, and economic life; and intolerance of abortion, divorce, euthanasia, and suicide. The opposite of such traditional values are secular-rational values, sometimes called *modern* or *postmodern* values. *Secular* means nonreligious, while *rational* refers to the rationalization of society, including the use of reason, logic, science, and means-end calculations rather than religion or long-established customs to govern social, political, and economic life. These values often include the lack of or low levels of religious beliefs, relative standards of good and evil, gender equality, lack of deference to authority, and acceptance of abortion, divorce, euthanasia,

and suicide.

- A second way to think about the crisis of values is to *compare American society with other societies*. Why does the United States have the highest crime rate, the highest percentage of its population in prison, or a growing proportion of illegitimate births and single-mother families?
- There is a fear concerning the Americanization of the world—by importing American values, especially capitalist values of individualism and consumerism. Secular-rational values include freedom from the tyranny of religion, the triumph of reason over superstition, and the right to make personal choices about how to lead a good and virtuous life.
- A third and final way to think of the crisis of values is the *division of society* into opposing groups with moral differences that cannot be reconciled. America is, in effect, engaged in a "culture war" between opposed moral camps holding incompatible views of the American way of life. One camp assumes the source of moral values and moral judgment exists outside the self in God (i.e., religion) or society while the other locates the source of moral values and moral judgment in the self—absolutism and relativism.

Efficiency and the Desire for Tranquility

By the end of the 20th century, efficiency seems to have become the most important value in American culture—doing more with less. The modern world is becoming one in which all acts are means to ends, rendering traditional concepts of leisure almost irrelevant. Efficiency, however, may well be challenged for supremacy during the next decade by "tranquility." Desire for calm, peace, quiet, serenity and simplicity may become more important for a variety of reasons. First and foremost, the population of modern nations is aging rapidly and there seems to be a greater desire for these qualities in later life. Physiologically, for instance, we react differently to loud noise as we age. There is also more desire for tranquility because of the impact of the multiple revolutions going on in our society, which are reordering every aspect of our lives. As mentioned previously, we feel increasingly rushed, and many Americans are willing to sacrifice to slow down this feeling. Tranquility, which

Thomas Jefferson equated with the good life, is also tied to the spiritual life and our desire for spiritual expression seems evident. Feeling rushed, stressed and "time crunched" is identified as a problem by large segments of the public. As desire for tranquility grows, older notions of leisure and living leisurely may reassert themselves. Graceful living may be desired more than the ownership of expensive possessions for those whose material needs are largely met.

Tranquility may come partly from attempts to simplify, but simplifying in today's world will be a difficult task indeed. The hope for tranquility is likely to reshape leisure expression, in particular the desire to experience forms of leisure either to which one can give oneself totally, thus blocking out the complexity of modern life, or ones which require no effort or thought, such as a sauna bath or lying on a couch half-conscious of the ghost images of a television dancing in another world.

The Tribalization of Culture

Even as our economies and communication systems have become increasingly internationalized and interdependent, there has also been a growing tribalization, or Balkanization, of cultures. Although national economies are becoming more tied to the fate of other nations while the Internet and other means of communication pull us toward increased international communication, there is an equally strong human tendency toward tribalism or Balkanization. This is evident not only in dramatic events such as the splitting apart of the Soviet Union (and the possibility of countries such as China, Pakistan, India, Canada and numerous African nations splitting apart the same way) but also within the United States. In the United States, numerous groups, as diverse as militia groups, religious cults, single-issue political groups (from groups that support Cuban-Americans to the Nation of Islam to Gay and Lesbian groups) are growing in importance. Thus, we have the American Association of Retired Persons, perhaps the strongest group in Washington, DC; the National Rifle Association, representing those who manufacture guns; the representatives for those with specific disabilities, and a variety of other special interest groups. There are very few organizations representing "the public."

The notion of commonweal may be dying, as people split apart

into special interest groups based on ethnicity, entitlement status, addiction, religion, gender, occupation, age, political affiliation, leisure interests, victimization, lifestyle, or numerous other statuses. Even within such groups there is a splitting apart. While Islam is the fastest growing religion among African Americans, the fastest growing political movement among them has been the American right wing. Corresponding to this Balkanization is the growing insignificance of the "national" economy in the everyday lives of people. There are numerous economies, White, Black and Grey, standing side by side, but with little relation to each other. Economic depression and economic boom exist within close proximity—a few exits apart on an interstate highway, or a few blocks in a major city.

Social movements are also experiencing this splitting into segments. The women's movement has become a variety of diverse movements with agendas which are as different as simply enforcing laws already on the books against gender discrimination to planning for a society without males.

The Emerging Postmodern Culture

The postmodern era often pits believers against nonbelievers, and the collapse of belief is all around us. The concepts of relative truth and multiple truths mean that many who live in modern nations are very different from their ancestors, who killed each other over absolute beliefs about god(s) and the universe.

The modern world has brought us into an awareness of multiple and conflicting belief systems. It has heightened our concern with what is real. There is a growing suspicion among many that all belief systems are social constructions.

As psychologist Kenneth Gergen (1991) observed, new technologies have made it possible to sustain relationships—either directly or indirectly—with an ever-expanding range of other persons. This has led to a state of "social saturation" in which the very ways in which we perceive and characterize ourselves are changed.

Emerging technologies saturate us with the voices of human kind—both harmonious and alien. As we absorb their varied rhythms and reasons, they become part of us and we of them. Social saturation furnishes us with a multiplicity of sometimes incoherent and unrelated languages of the self. For everything we "know to be true"

about ourselves, other voices within respond with doubt and even derision. The fragmentation of self-conception corresponds to a multiplicity of incoherent and disconnected relationships. These relationships pull us in myriad directions, inviting us to play such a variety of roles that the very concept of an "authentic self" with knowable characteristics recedes from view. The fully saturated self becomes no self at all (Gergen, 1991). In truth the loss of religious and cultural identity is one of the most threatening things that radical Islamics see in Western Society.

The Gay and Lesbian Revolution

One of the more fundamental civil rights struggles going on today concerns the right of men and women who are homosexual. The Gay and Lesbian Rights movement, along with similar movements of women, ethnic minorities, the elderly, people with disabilities, and others who have suffered institutionalized prejudice, is gaining momentum for numerous reasons.

History tells us that sexual desire is complex, changing and subject to ongoing further change. The stimuli that evoke desire also change. At various times, the female ankle has been thought of as sexually arousing, or the breast, or a full figure, or a very slender one. Males may be considered "sexy" if they are slender, or have huge biceps, broad shoulders or long hair (or no hair). Male and female homosexuality have been different, e.g., when based upon differing circumstances of males and females. Lesbian relations and deep friendships between women were historically treated differently from those of men. Since marriage, in some periods, has literally meant "taking a master," close friendships between women, often with open displays of physical affection, were not only tolerated but encouraged (Faderman, 1985).

Homosexuality has experienced a series of four cultural stages. The *first* stage was one in which homosexuality was more or less accepted. It was thought of as a conservative force, strengthening established institutions, and an integral part of pagan religions whose gods enjoyed sex of all forms. It was tolerated even by the Catholic Church. "Homosexuality has been more or less accepted in about two thirds of human societies at some time or another, and it has occasionally concerned large sections of the population" (Zeldin,

1994). In a *second* stage, homosexuality was punished. In Europe in the 12th century, as part of a campaign against heresies of all sorts, which led to the Inquisition, homosexuals were persecuted. In a *third* stage in Western history, it came to be thought of as a disease—a sign of defective upbringing or the result of a genetic disposition. In a *fourth* stage, being gay or lesbian became a matter of civil rights. In addition, it also became clear that homosexuality did not mean one way of living or behaving sexually (any more than being female, African-American, a senior or Jewish means a single way of living).

The increasing power of education will make it more likely that homosexuals will be able to gain power and to protect themselves, politically and economically. And as mass society pulls apart into smaller enclaves, those who sell goods and services will ignore the gay and lesbian "community" at their economic peril. The economic power of such groups will be increasingly critical in a world in which products and services must be sold in different ways to different groups for different reasons. For a company to be antagonistic toward or to ignore the portion of the population which is homosexual is to put one's company at risk. The travel and tourism industry, hospitality industry and others now market directly to gay groups.

Desire for the Spiritual

The desire for the spiritual will be an increasingly important factor shaping everyday life during the next few decades, although the ways in which such desire takes shape are uncertain. The necessity of believing in something, or having faith, seems a critical need of humans which is reasserting itself in a postmodern era. As the poet Marianne Moore observed, it is wise to have faith in faith. The ultimate truths remain unknowable; the big bang theory of the creation of the universe is no less an article of faith than a world created in six days by a God who needed to rest after he had done it.

The prophecy that the twenty-first century will be a religious one is not a prophecy, but an acknowledgment of what has happened quite regularly in the past. It does not mean that politicians are replaced by priests, but that people switch off from the vast mundane pressures which they cannot control. Instead, they turn their energy to their private lives: sometimes that leads them to be selfish, but sometimes they react to the animosities of the big world by seeking

more nurture, more generosity, more mutual respect (Zeldin, 1994).

Many of the movements today, concerned with human rights, the environment, women's rights or the rights of ethnic minorities, "spring from the same sort of yearnings which the great religions tried to satisfy between twenty-five and thirteen centuries ago" (Zeldin, 1994). That is, they provide a basis for belief and for the establishment of personal meaning.

The Lessening Sense of Place and of Privacy

In many modern nations, loss of personal privacy and sense of place are occurring together. Personal privacy has declined for many reasons, including the willingness of both government and corporations to violate constitutionally-based rights to privacy and the increasing technological means to do so. Many fast food restaurants, banks, gambling casinos and other corporate entities, monitor their employees by a number of devices, including television cameras. Electronic mail messages and other communication are routinely monitored. The aftermath of 9/11 in the United States, subway bombings in London, terrorist attacks in Egypt, Spain, and elsewhere have all sped up the use of surveillance equipment in everyday life. People in public—and many private places—are monitored by closed circuit television. Random searches are more common, or the public seems to be grudgingly going along with this trend. Law enforcement agencies and private security forces also use a variety of monitoring devices to observe public streets, apartment lobbies, and parking lots to reduce crime. Increasingly sophisticated technology allows the compressing of numerous data sets about individuals, producing a highly detailed record of the individual's financial situation, personal habits, and interests. Such information is sometimes sold to interested third parties.

Sense of place is related to privacy, and it is being endangered by technology. First, the ability of people to travel from where they live has increased dramatically. While Blaise Pascal thought that all human troubles arise from an unwillingness to stay where they were born, today people routinely travel thousands of miles from their home—many on a regular basis. Higher levels of technology have affected travel, communication, and the conduct of business in numerous ways, producing what Jacques Attali, president of the Euro-

pean Bank of Reconstruction, called a *nomadic elite*, a class of people who conduct their business from anywhere in the world and owe no allegiance to any country or territory (Attali, 1991).

Sense of place is also declining, due to the franchising of restaurants, hotels, housing developments, swimming pools, air conditioning, suppliers, and ATM machines. Towns, particularly suburban areas, begin to look more and more alike in every modern nation. The string of fast food shops, convenience stores and strip malls looks very much the same anywhere. The loss of a sense of place is even creeping into English villages, where "convenience" stores with a standard design and operating procedure are beginning to operate almost all night long.

The Decline of Children's Play

Informal play has been the way in which children both expressed their nature and explored the world. While play is done for its own sake, because it is our nature (Huizinga, 1950), it has been the arena for exercising the body, the imagination, learning and following rules, and understanding the magic in the world. In the last 100 years, children played by themselves in or near their home, creating their own meaning; constructing make-believe worlds that often prepared them for the "real" world. Today, children's free play seems to be in decline. Organizations such as the American Association for the Child's Right to Play (IPA) are deeply concerned by a number of alarming trends and their negative impact on children's development, such as society's indifference to the importance of play, the increasing commercial exploitation of children and deterioration of cultural traditions, and an overemphasis on unhealthy competition and "winning at all costs" in children's sports (American Association for the Child's Right to Play, 2003).

A significant body of research indicates there has been a drastic decline in children's outdoor activity and unsupervised play (Cunningham, 2002). For example, the free play range of children—the radius around the home to which children can roam alone—has, for nine-year-olds in the United Kingdom, shrunk to one ninth of what it was in 1970 (Cunningham, 2002). More and more of children's activities are being organized or supervised by adults.

A study by Gill Valentine and John McKendrick found that it is

not the lack of provision of play facilities that limits children's outdoor or unsupervised play, but parental anxieties about children's safety (Cunningham, 2002). Today, parents feel that children are more at risk than they were as youngsters. Two big fears are abduction by strangers and road traffic, but historically, children have never been safer.

Society has also become almost paranoid about children's safety during play. Most elements of risk are now removed from playgrounds and play areas, sometimes making them unchallenging or unexciting. In a society that has ten times as many lawyers as engineers, fear of being sued causes many play providers to make things very safe—even at the expense of fun.

DEMOGRAPHY

Global Aging

The unprecedented aging of the global population is a hugely important demographic trend. It will present massive challenges for everyone on earth. It will also have advantages. Old people, historically, seem to commit very few crimes. Life expectancy is expanding faster in the developing world and the gap in life expectancy is beginning to close. In most senses, no country is fully prepared for this explosive growth in its aging population:

- The world is seeing a rapid increase in the number of the "oldest old"—people age 80 or older.
- Traditional family support systems for older people are eroding in many countries because of smaller families and highly mobile populations.
- More older people worldwide are living alone than ever before—including more than one third of the older populations of Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Denmark.
- Older women far outnumber older men, globally, with just 46 men for every 100 women age 65 and older in Russia in 2004, and 71 for every 100 women in the United States.

Comparatively, the United States is not aging especially rapidly. In Japan, its population age 65 and over has grown from 7.1 percent in 1970 to a projected 33.2 percent in 2040. Comparable percentages

for Germany are an increase from 13.8 percent to 30.9 percent. Declining birth rates, which European governments seem not to be able to change much through policy (Sleeboos, 2003), will mean a much older labor force. Rapid decline in the percentage of 20-59 year olds in "developed" and "developing" countries, and thus the percentage of younger people able to support older people, is dramatic.

On a macroeconomic level, labor is becoming relatively scarce in the aging countries while capital becomes relatively more abundant. This precipitates changes in the relative price of labor, will lead to higher capital intensity, and might generate large international flows of labor, capital and goods from the faster to the slower aging countries (Börsch-Supan, Ludwig and Winter, 2004).

Thus, an old "resident" population and a much younger and usually less educated "immigrant" population will exist in many countries, even developing nations. Puerto Rico will have more Dominicans, Australia more Indonesians, Sweden more Turks, and Canada more Chinese. Even Iceland, whose policies consciously seek to minimize immigration, is experiencing more immigrants from Thailand and elsewhere. Divergent demographic trends, the globalization of labor markets, and political instability and conflict will fuel a dramatic increase in the global movement of people through 2015. Legal and illegal migrants now account for more than 15 percent of the population in more than 50 countries. These numbers will grow substantially and will increase social and political tension and perhaps alter national identities, even as they contribute to demographic and economic dynamism.

Countries everywhere will face increasing difficulty in managing migration pressures and flows, which will reach several million people annually. Over the next 15 years, migrants will seek to move:

- To North America primarily from Latin America and East and South Asia.
- To Europe primarily from North Africa and the Middle East, South Asia, and the post-Communist states of Eastern Europe and Eurasia.
- From the least to the most developed countries of Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and sub-Saharan Africa (National Intelligence Council, 2000).

Some countries may not be able to import large numbers of

young immigrants to do the work best done by younger people. China, for example, is aging at a dramatic rate. Between 1975 and 2000, China's median age jumped from just over 20 years to about 30; by 2025, it is projected to rise to nearly 40 years of age. This will likely make its median age older than that of America.

About half the world's population lives in sub-population replacement countries or territories. Nearly all the world's developed regions—Australia and New Zealand, North America, Japan, and the highly industrialized east Asian ones—have birth rates below replacement level. Additionally, birth rates below replacement level exist in Thailand, Burma, Kazakhstan, Sri Lanka, many Caribbean societies, most South American countries, Algeria, Tunisia, Lebanon, Turkey, and Iran. "Japan, Europe, and North America are places where people traditionally got rich before they got old. In the decades ahead, many national populations are going to get old before they get rich" (Eberstadt, 2004).

Such demographic change will provide huge pressures to increase immigration levels. For the pre-enlargement European Union, a net inflow of about 2.5 million people a year will be needed to stabilize the population, and about 4.3 million to stabilize the workforce. For Japan, 300,000 net newcomers a year would be needed for population stability, and 600,000 for workforce stability.

While more and more immigration occurs in the world, the characteristics of those who immigrate vary widely. Today, for example, some 19 percent of Canadian earners were foreign-born, and these foreign-born workers tend to be better educated, older, less likely to take full-time education and training, and often fare better in the labor market than those born in Canada.

Additionally, immigrants are almost never randomly distributed throughout a country—for example, 50 percent of all immigration into Canada is to Toronto, with another 10 percent in Vancouver and 10 percent in Montreal. In the United States, southern Texas has a Mexican majority. In England, over 60 percent of the city of Bradford is Asian Indian. Such changes mean the customization of leisure and tourism must occur at different rates in different geographic areas of the country.

As the world's population ages, new theories of aging help us understand why more customization of time use is likely. Life span developmental psychologists have theorized about the process of

aging and agree that development occurs throughout the life span in both continuous and discontinuous ways and in a multidimensional manner. Although aging has been associated largely with decreases in functioning, development is characterized by both gains and losses throughout life, and the potential for change and new learning remains in old age. This concept has been called plasticity—the malleability of people to contexts and interventions (Baltes, 1987). Individuals have some potential to change positively or negatively and their behaviors help determine how they change. For example, playing games such as bridge or doing crossword puzzles may improve some forms of older people's intelligence. Thus, our behavior continues to shape our development.

Later Life

New understandings of aging have resulted in the development of two new theories of aging; Selective Optimization with Compensation (SOC) and socioemotional selectivity theory. These theories hold great promise to increase physically active leisure among older adults since they provide models of successful aging that allow for a better understanding of both the needs and motivations of older adults.

SOC suggests that older adults who age successfully employ selection, optimization, and compensation to sustain themselves and grow. This theory is based on the idea that resources are limited and decisions must be made regarding their judicious use. Through elective selection and loss-based selection (Baltes and Carstensen, 1996, 2003; Freund, Li and Baltes, 1999). *Elective selection* is the proactive pursuit of objectives and includes identifying goals, prioritizing them, establishing criteria and conditions, and determining the degree of commitment (Baltes and Carstensen, 1996, 2003; Freund, Li, and Baltes, 1999). A man who anticipates retirement, and desires to maintain the sense of identity found in his work, may assume a leadership role in his volunteer organization. *Loss-based selection* is the pursuit of objectives in response to losses. It has components similar to elective selection (i.e., ranking goals, reassessing the goal hierarchy, changing goal criteria and conditions, identifying new goals) but the motivation is reactive (Baltes and Carstensen, 1996, 2003; Freund, Li, and Baltes, 1999). A retired woman, for example, who

misses the companionship of her coworkers, may set a goal of becoming involved in a church congregation. In addition to establishing and modifying goals, selection includes eliminating unattainable goals and may even ignore an entire domain of behavior (Baltes and Carstensen, 1996). For example, a highly intellectual and physically uncoordinated man is likely to set goals related to the cognitive domain and largely ignore the physical one due to his skill set. In sum, selection is a deliberate process of establishing and refining goals that may be proactive or reactive.

Socioemotional selectivity theory assumes that, in later life, older adults proactively limit social relationships. Motivations for social interaction appear to fall into two major groups: knowledge acquisition and emotion regulation, and emotional regulation and positive affect become central for the older adult. Early in life, from adolescence to the middle years, relationship formation is generally motivated by goals related to knowledge, including "information-seeking, social comparison, and achievement motivation" (Carstensen, Gross, and Fung, 1998). Later in life, however, it is primarily motivated by goals related to emotion regulation including "feel good, derive emotional meaning from life, establish intimacy, and verify the self" (Carstensen, Gross, and Fung, 1998).

Any effort to increase the physical activity levels of older adults must consider the motivations that an older adult would have for doing so, and that a critical part of such motivation would be to enhance existing social relationships with a relatively small number of people with whom they maintain meaningful relationships—spouses, children, grandchildren, or a few long-time friends. While earlier in life, desired leisure activity may focus more on the activity in question and level of specialization in that activity, later in life leisure activity centers around more specialized social relationships. It is known that young adults are most likely to specialize in a given form of leisure activity, moving from the general to the specific in terms of skill level, equipment, desired sites, and desire to participate with others who are at their skill level. In later life, adults move from the general to the specific in terms of with whom they want to participate—the activity itself may be completely secondary in importance. Thus, the importance of a walking club for older adults, hydro exercise at the local swimming pool, or bicycling in a park may not just be the health outcome, but rather the opportunity to be with a person

one cares about or to positively affect their relationship with one or more other people.

Immigration and Globalization

Globalization of commerce has brought with it increasingly differentiated conditions both among and within countries. It is also an engine that drives immigration at a startling rate. The top fifth of the world's people now have 86 percent of the gross domestic product, and the bottom fifth about one percent (Mitchell, 2002). As Northern nations have increasingly pressured Southern nations to open their economies to foreign trade and investment, about 20 percent of southern residents have increased their wealth, but 80 percent have become poorer (Sassen, 2002). Overall, Southern nations have become poorer more often.

This process also makes it likely that "terrorism" and low-intensity wars will often be conflicts of "have-nots" against the "haves." The line between crime and war is disappearing and, as that happens, low-intensity conflicts of attrition will largely replace wars fought from traditional strategies. According to military expert Martin Van Creveld (1991) "the spread of sporadic small-scale war will cause regular armed forces themselves to change form, shrink in size, and wither away. As they do, much of the day-to-day burden of defending society against the threat of low-intensity conflict will be transferred to the booming private sector security business" (Van Creveld, 1991). Terrorism as a long-term condition of life will make leisure, and especially tourism, behavior more deliberate and more subject to sudden change. It may also mean that assurances of safety, predictability, and isolation from the increasing conflict between haves and have-nots will be more appealing.

While it is often assumed that English has become the international unifying language, the percentage of people who speak English is declining, constituting about 7.6 percent of the world's population. Indeed, all Western languages in combination are spoken by only about one out of five people in the world.

In terms of religion, Christianity accounts for slightly less than 30 percent of the world's people. Islam, which accounts for a bit less than 20 percent of the world's population, will continue to increase in numbers since "Christianity spreads primarily by conversion, Is-

lam by conversion and reproduction" (Huntington, 1996). The ways in which various religions react to globalization will be diverse and unpredictable. Additionally, the share of the world's population under the political control of various civilizations will shift so that the long dominant "West" will account ultimately for only about 10 percent of the world's citizens.

By 2025, 50 percent of all Christians will be in Africa and Latin America, and another 17 percent in Asia. This trend has already become evident in Catholicism, where Euro-Americans are the minority in global terms. Christianity in these areas is strikingly conservative, in direct contrast to the liberalism of the West—both in a theological and moralistic sense. This rapid movement, often referred to as the "third church," is rapidly spreading in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

A strong emphasis on physical healing in the "third church" is a result of the current devastating public health crisis experienced in the Southern regions of the world. Christianity provides a desperately needed sense of unity and loyalty.

Global Urbanization

The world will become increasingly urbanized in almost every region. It is predicted that the percentage of people living in urban areas will increase from 47 percent to 60 percent from 2000 to 2030. The biggest increase will be in urban populations within less developed countries. People stream into cities from rural areas in almost every country in the world, hoping for a better future.

Part of this migration to cities is driven by the fact that agriculture is being mechanized and does not require too many farmers. This situation is true in countries as diverse as Turkey, where 44 percent of the people lived in cities in 1980, 59 percent did in 1990 and almost 70 percent do now, to Canada, where the agricultural province of Manitoba may soon find the majority of residents have migrated from small towns where grain production was the basis of the economy to a single city—Winnipeg (Oliver, 1991).

The quality of urban life will be a critical variable in world peace and prosperity. There are predictions of huge increases in urban areas of 20 million or more emerging in many less developed nations, as people come in from the countryside as part of the transition from

labor intensive farming to industrialized farming. There will also be growth in the size of urban areas in developed nations. The fate of the world may have to do with the conditions of life these people experience. It should be remembered, of course, that in most developing countries, people are often better off in urban areas than in rural ones.

In an increasingly urbanized world, people will live in more highly interdependent configurations. One of the difficulties of migration to these large urban areas is that those who move there are likely to have, on average, almost two children more per couple more than those who already reside there. This is likely to contribute to the newcomers being poor and is likely to drive many of those who resided for a long time in the city into the suburbs. Urban planning will become critical and will require increasingly sophisticated demographic understandings.

To stop the huge migration from rural villages to cities will require that there be as many opportunities in the village as the city. In writing about this process in Iran, Kapuscinski (1982) stated that the key to modernizing was the ability to make village life so attractive that peasants would stop the ceaseless migration to the urban areas. But it is only now that microlending and Internet technologies seem to offer some hope for less centralized work and living arrangements.

Rethinking Families

Changes in the makeup of the American family resulted from two primary factors, according to the US Census Bureau, which collects such figures every ten years (Beam, 2005). Today, more babies (about one third) are born out of wedlock. Second, divorce rates have continued to climb so that nearly half of all marriage contracts are broken. There has been a shift in the attitudes of the American public toward relationships and commitment. Over half of female high school seniors say that having a child outside of marriage is acceptable (Beam, 2005) and 26 percent of all US households are made up of a single person, living alone (as opposed to 13 percent in 1960). Some of these households are young professionals who don't feel the need to rush into marriage or partnerships. When, and if, they do marry, many are much older than previous generations were.

Married couples have household incomes which are more than twice that of female-led households and more than \$15,000 higher than couples living together who are not married (Beam, 2005). There are also more than 1,100 federal taxation and income benefits that married households can take advantage of during a lifetime.

Gay families are also growing. About two-in-five gay or lesbian couples live in a house with children under age 18. As of 2006, however, no state can grant federal marriage benefits to these couples, and only one state—Massachusetts—guarantees state rights.

In parts of the world where there is a preference for male children, the ratio of males being born to females being born is seriously out of balance, due to past practices in some countries of aborting or exposing female infants. In China, the one-child policy has increased the traditional preference for male children, but produced a lack of sufficient wives or sexual partners, causing more reliance on prostitution. Most of the violent crime in the world is committed by young males, so a disproportionate percentage of adolescent males in society may increase crime rates.

[Editor's Note: Part II of this article will appear in the Summer 2006 *FRQ*, and will address Global Economics, Health, Leisure Dynamics, Work and Social Implications.]

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