

1 RUNNING HEAD: Youth Sport

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4 **Evidence-based policies for youth sport programs**

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22 Key Words: Youth, participation, performance, personal development

1 **Abstract**

2 Youth sport involvement can lead to outcomes classified as the 3Ps: performance,
3 participation, and personal development (Côté et al. 2007a). The 3Ps are central to
4 youth sport systems aimed at providing quality experiences to participants. A challenge
5 for countries and national governing bodies is structuring sport to simultaneously
6 facilitate the achievement of excellence and participation (Collins 2010), or the 3Ps. To
7 illustrate this challenge, consider deliberate practice, which is an important activity for
8 performance improvements, but also considered less enjoyable and less motivating
9 compared to other sport activities, such as play (Ericsson et al. 1993). Thus, governing
10 bodies often face the challenge of deciding which activities they intend to emphasize
11 (e.g., early specialization directed at talent development or early diversification aimed at
12 increasing participation), and this can have implications for the success/failure of the
13 3Ps. The purpose of this article is to describe an inclusive sport structure for children
14 (under age 13) targeting the development of the 3Ps, which would be an asset to sport
15 scientists, policy makers, and practitioners. Common goals for the 3Ps include: avoid
16 burnout/dropout, cultivate intrinsic motivation, and maximize involvement in various
17 sport activities. Our contention is the 3Ps can co-exist under one system when that
18 system is structured according to the age and competitive level of participants. The
19 Developmental Model of Sport Participation (Côté and Abernethy 2012) and its 7
20 postulates (Côté et al. 2009) will be used as the basis of this paper to provide evidence-
21 based policies for children in sport.

1 Youth sport has the potential to promote a number of important outcomes in
2 young people's development. From a policy perspective, authors (e.g., Skille 2011,
3 Comeau 2013) have discussed two views of youth sport that are often perceived as being
4 contradictory: excellence and participation. Despite the promotion of these two
5 objectives, it appears that the elite youth sport agenda typically comes ahead of the
6 participation objectives and that few countries are able to balance policies and resources
7 that maximize the developmental benefits of youth sport (Collins 2010). Nevertheless,
8 Skille (2011) highlighted the limitation of policy analysis of national sport systems and
9 suggested a bottom up approach for research that focuses on particular sport clubs and
10 athletes to better understand how individuals achieved various outcomes in sport. The
11 questions surrounding "What constitutes the outcomes of youth sport?" and "How are
12 these outcomes achieved?" are issues that coaches, parents, and policy makers struggle
13 to define and agree upon (Coalter 2007). These fundamental questions have created
14 several debates among researchers and policy makers in terms of how youth sport
15 programs should be structured.

16 Siedentop (2002a), for example, suggested three primary goals for junior youth
17 sport programs: the elite-development goal, the public health goal, and the educative
18 goal. Similarly, Côté et al. (2007a) refer to the outcomes of youth sport as the 3 Ps:
19 Performance, Participation, and Personal Development. Accordingly, there is evidence
20 from research and practice that different youth sport programs are structured to meet
21 these outcomes independently. For instance, a number of researchers view youth sport
22 as the initial step in talent development programs that are aimed at developing the
23 *performance* of elite level athletes (e.g., Ford et al. 2009). Such programs are

1 characterized by the long-term goal of achieving elite performance; unfortunately, this is
2 often at the cost of short-term gratification and enjoyment (Côté and Abernethy 2012).
3 Other researchers advocate that youth sport programs should maximize time spent in
4 physical activity as a way to diminish issues related to lack of exercise among youth
5 (e.g., Janssen and LeBlanc 2010). Accordingly, several youth sport programs have been
6 developed with the goal of increasing physical activity *participation* through sport
7 (Siedentop 2002b). Finally, numerous researchers propose that sport is an ideal activity
8 to teach and transmit positive life values to young people (e.g., Danish et al. 1993).
9 Several sport programs, such as Sports United to Promote Education and Recreation
10 (SUPER; Danish et al. 2002), Play it Smart (Petitpas et al. 2004), and the First Tee
11 (Weiss et al. 2013) are specifically designed to achieve this objective of facilitating
12 *personal development* through sport. These examples of programs are in line with
13 different views of youth sport as having the power to enhance physical activity
14 participation, elite performance, and development; however, the focus of programs on
15 one outcome over another creates difficulty for policy makers (Coalter 2010).

16 The challenging task of policy makers and administrators of youth sport
17 programs is to develop a structure that meets the multiple needs of young participants
18 and serves the different outcomes of youth sport. Siedentop (2002a) has suggested that
19 the contrasting natures of the different outcomes of youth sport are not achievable within
20 single program and should be promoted by different programs:

21 Goals for sport programs, of course, don't have to be mutually exclusive,
22 and one is tempted to argue that all goals can be met equally through one
23 system; but that smacks of theology rather than theory, and the evidence

1 doesn't support that particular theology (p. 394)
2 Evidence has accumulated since this statement and one can make a defensible argument
3 that the outcomes of performance, participation, and personal development are not
4 necessarily incompatible. In this article, we present a global picture of sport policy in
5 youth sport – one which focuses on developing all of the 3Ps – that is clearly supported
6 by scientific evidence and can be implemented by regional and national sport governing
7 bodies. We will first discuss the three general outcomes of youth sport and present
8 research that supports the design of sport programs during childhood that positively
9 impact the participation rate, future elite performance, and personal development of
10 youth athletes.

11 **Performance**

12 Early specialization programs where children are identified and selected at a young
13 age to compete and achieve at an elite level of performance are common in several
14 countries around the world and in various sports. For instance, competitive gymnastics
15 programs, tennis academies, or elite soccer clubs identify children at young ages to put
16 them through rigorous training programs with the long-term goal of developing elite
17 athletes. The human and physical resources invested in these programs are important as
18 youth are seen as raw potential that need to be developed. As an example, Pearson et al.
19 (2006) reported that professional sports clubs in England continue to invest substantial
20 resources into attempts to identify talented athletes at young ages.

21 Reviews of the talent detection and identification literature in sport, however,
22 show that long-term prediction of talented athletes is unreliable, especially when
23 detection of talent is attempted during the prepubertal or pubertal growth periods (e.g.,

1 Vaeyens et al. 2009). One study that particularly exemplifies the difficulty of talent
2 detection and prediction was conducted with ice hockey players in Canada. Parcels
3 (2002) described the chances of achieving elite status in ice hockey (i.e., playing in the
4 National Hockey League [NHL]), noting that transition from youth ice hockey to the
5 NHL is extremely rare. 33,000 males born in 1975 registered with the Ontario Minor
6 Hockey Association, a youth developmental league. From this cohort, 48 (0.15%) were
7 eventually drafted by an NHL team, though only 32 (0.09%) played one NHL game.
8 Even more rare were players that played more than one full NHL season (15; 0.04%)
9 and players that played over 400 games, or approximately five seasons (6; 0.01%). With
10 such low odds for success, it is understandable that predicting elite status in youth sport
11 is unreliable.

12 Ericsson et al. (1993) framework of deliberate practice (defined as high quality,
13 high concentration practice that is not inherently enjoyable and done with the primary
14 goal of improving performance) suggests a performance approach to youth sport
15 programming. The deliberate practice framework, which has been popularized in books
16 such as *Outliers* (Gladwell 2008) and the *Talent Code* (Coyle 2009), suggests that to
17 reach the highest level of performance, one must engage in 10,000 hours or 10 years of
18 deliberate practice in their chosen domain (sport). Essentially, the framework proposes
19 that elite athletes must specialize in their main sport and start deliberate practice at a
20 very young age.

21 While there is some sport research that supports a positive relationship between
22 deliberate practice training and elite performance (e.g., Hodges and Starkes 1996,
23 Starkes et al. 1996, Helsen et al. 1998, Hodge and Deakin 1998), several dimensions of

1 the theory of deliberate practice have not been supported (see Abernethy et al. 2003 for
2 a review). For example, few studies have shown that 10,000 hours of deliberate practice
3 is indeed a prerequisite for expert performance in sport. To the contrary, studies show
4 that expert performance in sports where peak performance generally occurs after the age
5 of 20 has been achieved with 3,000 to 4,000 hours of sport-specific training (i.e.,
6 deliberate practice; Côté and Abernethy 2012). Therefore, specialized sport programs at
7 young ages (i.e., ages 6-12) to develop elite level athletes are not necessary in most
8 sports. Instead, providing opportunities for all children to participate in various informal
9 and organized recreational sports should be the focus of sport programmers even if
10 developing elite athletes (e.g., the performance objective) is the ultimate goal of the
11 program. In other words, diversity (instead of specialization) during childhood has a
12 positive effect on future elite performance as well as long-term participation in sport
13 (Côté et al. 2009).

14 **Participation**

15 Recreational sport programs that supposedly focus on involvement of all youth
16 are among the most popular extra-curricular activities for children. Recently, ESPN
17 collated a wealth of information from previous research on recreational sport
18 participation in the United States (Kelley and Carchia 2013). This allowed ESPN to
19 present a comprehensive examination of youth sport participation rates and influences
20 on sport participation. The study affirmed the popularity of youth sport, noting that 25
21 million youth (aged 6-17) participated in some form of recreational sport during the
22 previous year. Examining these numbers further, approximately 60% of male youth and
23 50% of female youth were registered on at least one organized sport team by age 6.

1 Although recreational youth sport programs should lead to lifelong participation in
2 sport, the dropout rate during adolescence is alarming with an estimated one-third of all
3 participants between 10 and 17 years of age withdrawing from sport programs every
4 year (Gould 1987, Kelley and Carchia 2013).

5 While youth sport clearly provides opportunities for long-term participation,
6 there appears to be a void between the potential of youth sport and some of the negative
7 realities of youth sport programs, as evidenced by the dropout rate. One of the key
8 issues for researchers and practitioners must be to close this void and work together to
9 assure that youth have positive rather than negative experiences in sport, thereby
10 reducing the dropout rate and sustaining long-term participation. The potential financial
11 and social rewards that can result from participation in elite sport as adults, have
12 affected youth sport programming over the last 20 years. Youth sport programs around
13 the world are adapting a view of sport that focuses on long-term athlete development,
14 institutionalization, elitism, early selection, and early specialization with the explicit or
15 implicit goal of developing elite level athletes (Collins 2010, Côté et al. 2011) instead of
16 focusing on the short-term and inherent enjoyment that result from sport participation.
17 Today's recreational sport programs supervised by adults are requiring higher levels of
18 investment from earlier ages (Ewing and Seefeldt 1996, Hancock et al. 2013a), and
19 focus on certain aspects of sport participation (e.g., development of skills) that often do
20 not coincide with children's motives to participate in sport in the first place (e.g., have
21 fun and be with friends). In other words, these types of recreational programs often
22 discourage children from participating in a diversity of activities that are instantly
23 rewarding and enjoyable. However, there seems to be clear evidence suggesting that

1 sport programs such as these may not be providing optimal environments for youths’
2 long-term participation in sport and, as importantly, hinder overall physical and
3 psychosocial development (Côté et al. 2011).

4 **Personal Development**

5 Certain sport programs are explicitly designed to teach life skills and personal
6 development such as First Tee (Weiss et al. 2013), Teaching Personal and Social
7 Responsibility in sport program (TPSR; Hellion and Walsh 2002), and Sports United to
8 Promote Education and Recreation program (SUPER; Danish et al. 2002). In such
9 programs, athletes learn about personal development assets, such as goal setting or
10 perseverance, and are explicitly taught to transfer such assets to other life settings (e.g.,
11 goal setting in educational environments). However, if sport is only perceived as a
12 support for personal development in other domains, there is a risk to undermining the
13 value of sport-specific knowledge and skills also beneficial to long-term sport
14 participation (Turnnidge et al. in press). A sole focus of sport programs on personal
15 development is an adult decision that does not necessarily align with children’s
16 motivation to participate in sport.

17 Sport researchers and the wider sports community need to have a clear vision of
18 the inherent value of sport participation and the best way to transmit positive personal
19 values through sport. The advantage of a diversified and playful environment in sport
20 during childhood is that it provides young athletes with a breadth of experiences that
21 emphasize exploration before commitment to a specific sport activity. Empirical
22 evidence (Busseri et al. 2006, Fredericks and Eccles 2006, Rose-Krasnor et al. 2006)
23 shows that a breadth of experiences in early development is an indicator of continued

1 involvement in more intense activities later in life and of successful development of
2 personal assets such as competence and confidence. Furthermore, youth sport programs
3 built around the concepts of diversity and play have a protective effect against negative
4 outcomes such as burnout, dropout, and injuries (Law et al. 2007, Wall and Côté 2007,
5 Fraser-Thomas et al. 2008a, 2008b).

6 The experiences and opportunities that sport provides are not different from
7 other life situations and, therefore, it is reasonable to assume that a positive environment
8 is the best way to promote positive youth development through sport participation.

9 Accordingly, the eight setting features of the National Research Council and Institute of
10 Medicine (NRCIM; 2002) have received increasing support from youth sport research as
11 they offer an additional understanding of the context in which youth sport should be
12 structured to promote personal development (Strachan et al. 2011). The eight setting
13 features of the NRCIM are consistent with models of development in sport that favour
14 play and inclusion (e.g., Siedentop 2002a, Griffin and Butler 2005, MacDonald et al.
15 2009) to promote the outcomes of excellence and participation in sport.

16 **Integration of Performance, Participation and Personal Development**

17 Although it is relatively easy to identify the primary objective of a given youth
18 sport program, a sole focus on one objective (e.g., performance) often reduces the
19 importance of the other two objectives (e.g., participation and personal development) and
20 minimizes the potential that sport involvement can have on youths' lives. There is growing
21 evidence that youth sport programs for children can be designed to focus on all three
22 outcomes and be successful in developing skilled performance, maintaining participation
23 rates, and enhancing personal development. Thus, by focusing on the common building

1 blocks that all young people need, we can enhance the experience of children in sport and
2 reduce the costs associated with the design of different youth sport programs.

3 Understanding athlete development models is the first step in this process.

4 **Athlete Development Models**

5 Over the past three decades, a number of athlete development models have been
6 proposed. Alfermann and Stambulova (2007) highlighted and reviewed five of these
7 research-based models (Bloom 1985, Salmela 1994, Stambulova 1994, Côté 1999,
8 Wylleman and Lavallee 2004). More recently, Bruner et al. (2010) conducted a citation
9 network analysis and revealed two additional models published in peer-reviewed
10 journals (Abbott and Collins 2004, Bailey and Morley 2006). Surprisingly, the Long-
11 Term Athlete Development model (LTAD; Balyi and Hamilton 2004) did not appear in
12 these comprehensive reviews despite its widespread implementation in many countries.
13 The lack of research around the LTAD reinforces its focus as a commercial product that
14 is not supported by any significant line of evidence. In fact the LTAD was originally
15 developed as an elite performance model based on principles of motor development and
16 has been adjusted over the years to fit the agenda of various sport organizations and
17 government policies. The most recent version of the LTAD contains numerous claims
18 about athletes' development that are often conflicting and have never been tested or
19 evaluated in specific sport contexts (Bailey et al. 2010, Ford et al. 2011, Malina 2013).

20 Citation analysis studies of athletes' developmental models (Bruner et al. 2009,
21 Bruner et al. 2010) have found the Developmental Model of Sport Participation
22 (DMSP; Côté 1999, Côté et al. 2007b) to be the most prominent conceptualization of
23 athletes' development in the sport literature. The DMSP has been developed and

1 refined over the last 20 years and presents a set of concepts about athletes' development
2 that are quantifiable and testable. The DMSP was developed in a series of four steps
3 that must be understood before the model is applied to the 3Ps of sport outcomes.

4 The first step involved an initial conceptualization of athletes' development
5 resulting from interviews with parents, coaches, and athletes (Côté 1999). This original
6 model was in line with results from other qualitative studies of athletes' development (e.g.,
7 Bloom 1985, Carlson 1988) while providing explicit and original propositions that could
8 be quantified and tested empirically. Two new concepts regarding sport involvement
9 throughout the lifespan emerged from this first step: 1) diversity and 2) deliberate play.
10 The concept of diversity describes a level of involvement in different sports during
11 childhood. Indeed, retrospective studies of elite athletes in different sports and from
12 different backgrounds support the idea that being involved in different sports during
13 childhood is linked to long-term participation and elite performance in sport (Berry et al.
14 2008, Gulbin et al. 2010, Leite and Sampaio 2012, Bridge and Toms 2013). The concept
15 of deliberate play was described by elite level athletes (Côté 1999) as sport activities they
16 engaged in during childhood that were inherently enjoyable and differed from organized
17 sport and adult-led practices such as deliberate practice. Activities that exemplify
18 deliberate play include street hockey and pick-up basketball. These games use adapted
19 rules of traditional sports (e.g., one-on-one basketball) and are loosely monitored by the
20 children playing the sport and/or adults. Deliberate practice, on the other hand, requires
21 effort, generates no immediate rewards, and is motivated by the goal of improving
22 performance rather than its inherent enjoyment (Ericsson et al. 1993). The concepts of
23 diversity and deliberate play were the main elements of the proposed DMSP, which

1 consisted of three stages of development including the 1) sampling years (ages 6-12), 2)
2 specializing years (ages 13-15), and 3) investment years (ages 16+).

3 In a second step, a quantitative, retrospective methodology was developed over
4 several years (Côté et al. 2005) to test the assumptions of the DMSP. More specifically,
5 the retrospective interview was designed to account for the developmental activities of
6 athletes throughout the three stages of the DMSP, and to test the importance of
7 diversification versus specialization and deliberate play versus deliberate practice
8 throughout the athletes' careers. Using this methodology, a series of studies were
9 conducted with groups of expert and non-expert athletes (e.g., Baker et al. 2003a, Baker et
10 al. 2003b, Soberlak and Côté 2003, Baker et al. 2005, Law et al. 2007, Berry et al. 2008)
11 to refine the DMSP and provide clarity on its different outcomes and trajectories. All in
12 all, these studies showed that diversity and deliberate play during childhood are important
13 developmental activities associated with expertise (performance) and long-term sport
14 retention (participation). Transitioning to the specialization stages in one or two sports,
15 accompanied by higher amounts of deliberate practice, usually occurred after age 13. This
16 was followed two to three years later by high investment and high deliberate practice in
17 one sport. These findings are consistent across sports where peak performance is achieved
18 after maturity such as ice hockey, baseball, rowing, and triathlon, but does not hold for
19 sports in which peak performance is achieved during adolescence, such as gymnastics
20 (Law et al. 2007). Following this knowledge accrument, the DMSP was adapted to
21 reflect the different developmental trajectories. A new "early specialization" pathway was
22 added to the DMSP to parallel the three-stage model of sampling, specializing, and
23 investment. Additionally, a "recreational participation" stage was added to reflect the

1 choice that athletes can make after the sampling years; that is, to move into a recreational
2 or a specialization stage of participation.

3 For the third step in the DMSP refinement, the retrospective method was adapted
4 and used to compare the activities, experiences, and outcomes of athletes that engaged in
5 different pathways of the DMSP (Robertson-Wilson et al. 2003, Wright and Côté 2003,
6 Wall and Côté 2007, Fraser-Thomas et al. 2008a, Strachan et al. 2009). This holistic
7 approach to athletes' development was further substantiated with new qualitative studies
8 of athletes who had achieved long-term participation and exceptional performance in sport
9 (Fraser-Thomas and Côté 2009, Strachan et al. 2011). Côté and Abernethy (2012)
10 reviewed and discussed the results of this third wave of studies in a recent book chapter,
11 and highlighted the benefits of diversification and deliberate play, as well as the costs
12 associated with an early specialization trajectory in sport. The benefits of diversification
13 and deliberate play consist mainly of protecting against sport attrition by reducing burnout,
14 limiting overuse injuries, and increasing enjoyment, while early specialization increases
15 burnout, increases overuse injuries, and reduces enjoyment. Furthermore, diversification
16 and deliberate play can make unique contributions to skill development through implicit
17 learning.

18 Finally, a fourth step involved the refinement of the DMSP by making specific
19 links between the different pathways and the outcomes of performance, participation, and
20 personal development. This stage involved mainly the writing of theoretical papers
21 (Fraser-Thomas et al. 2005, Côté et al. 2007a, 2007b) and the creation of seven postulates
22 related to the concepts of diversity and deliberate play during childhood (Côté 2009, Côté
23 et al. 2009). Below is the updated evidence that supports the postulates of the DMSP.

1 **Postulate 1: Early diversification does not hinder elite sport participation in sports**
2 **where peak performance is reached after maturation**

3 This postulate focuses on the association between early diversification and the
4 performance outcome of youth sport. Evidence from several studies suggests that elite
5 athletes who experience a diversified sport background can still reach an elite level of
6 performance (Bloom 1985, Carlson 1988, Baker et al. 2003b, Abernethy et al. 2005) and,
7 indeed, for some team ball sports, diversity of experience seems to be more prevalent
8 among the more successful athletes (Baker et al. 2003b, Berry and Abernethy 2009).
9 Further, the link between early diversification and performance has been established across
10 contexts including different countries (e.g., Berry et al. 2008, Bridge and Toms 2013) and
11 city sizes (Surya et al. 2012).

12 **Postulate 2: Early diversification is linked to a longer sport career and has positive**
13 **implications for long-term sport involvement**

14 This postulate focuses on the association between diversification and the
15 participation outcome of youth sport. The physical and psychological benefits of varied
16 involvement in sports on long-term participation have been supported through numerous
17 studies. Among these, evidence supports the notion that increased sport diversification
18 increases participation (i.e., avoids dropout) in many sports including tennis (Carlson
19 1988, Gould et al. 1996), swimming (Fraser-Thomas et al. 2008a, 2008b), and ice
20 hockey (Wall and Côté 2007). Additionally, longitudinal data of nine active and nine
21 inactive women over 13 years of sport participation showed that being involved in
22 various sports during childhood led to life-long participation (Robertson-Wilson et al.
23 2003).

1 **Postulate 3: Early diversification allows participation in a range of contexts that**
2 **most favourably affects positive youth development**

3 This postulate focuses on the association between diversification and the
4 personal development outcome of youth sport. The advantage of a diversified
5 foundation in sport during the sampling years provides young athletes with a breadth of
6 experiences without an intense focus on skill acquisition and performance in one sport.
7 Empirical evidence (Busseri et al. 2006, Fredericks and Eccles 2006, Rose-Krasnor et al.
8 2006) shows that a breadth of experiences in early development is an indicator of
9 continued involvement in more intense activities later in life and of successful
10 development. In sport, Wright and Côté (2003) showed that diversified sport
11 experiences in childhood fostered positive peer relationships and leadership skills.

12 Wilkes and Côté (2007) reviewed the youth sport literature and suggested that
13 children who sampled a variety of sports were also exposed to unique socialization
14 experiences that shaped development. The following are five developmental outcomes
15 that sampling can promote: 1) intrapersonal skills, 2) prosocial behaviour, 3) healthy
16 identity, 4) diverse peer groups, and 5) social capital.

17 **Postulate 4: High amounts of deliberate play during the sampling years builds a**
18 **solid foundation of intrinsic motivation through involvement in activities that are**
19 **enjoyable and promote intrinsic regulation**

20 This postulate focuses on the association between deliberate play and the
21 participation outcome of youth sport. Motivation theories such as self-determination
22 theory (Deci and Ryan 1985, Ryan and Deci 2000) and achievement goal theory (Biddle
23 2001, Treasure 2001) suggest that early intrinsically motivating activities such as

1 deliberate play will have a positive effect over time on an individual's overall
2 motivation. This early motivation has important implications for future development
3 and continued participation in sport. Fry (2001) notes that an individual's motivational
4 orientation appears to be set by age 12 or 13. In order to promote lifelong, intrinsically
5 motivated sport participation, it is imperative to build a foundation during childhood.
6 Inclusion of high amounts of deliberate play activities early in development provides
7 that motivational foundation. Support for this postulate has emerged from qualitative
8 studies of athletes' careers (e.g., Bloom 1985, Carlson 1988, Côté 1999) and from
9 quantitative studies of expert and non-expert athletes' training and experiences (e.g.,
10 Baker et al. 2003a, 2003b, Soberlak and Côté 2003, Baker et al. 2005, Berry et al. 2008).
11 Furthermore, studies of dropout athletes provide additional evidence that deliberate play
12 during childhood is an important determinant of continued participation and
13 commitment to sport (Wall and Côté 2007, Fraser-Thomas et al. 2008a, Fraser-Thomas
14 and Côté 2009).

15 **Postulate 5: A high amount of deliberate play during the sampling years establishes**
16 **a range of motor and cognitive experiences that children can ultimately bring to**
17 **their principal sport of interest**

18 This postulate focuses on the association between deliberate play and the
19 performance outcome of youth sport. Qualitative and quantitative studies have
20 demonstrated that high amounts of deliberate play in elite tennis (Carlson 1988, Côté
21 1999), rowing (Côté 1999), ice hockey (Soberlak and Côté 2003) and baseball (Hill
22 1993) were associated with elite performance in adulthood. Furthermore, quantitative
23 comparisons of elite and less elite athletes demonstrated that elite players were involved

1 in more deliberate play hours than deliberate practice hours during childhood (Berry et
2 al. 2008, Memmert et al. 2010, Ford and Williams 2012). The development of
3 adaptability and creativity promoted by free experimentation in a safe, low-risk
4 environment has been posited as the mechanism accounting for the empirically recorded
5 benefits of deliberate play activities on skill acquisition and elite performance (Côté et
6 al. 2007b).

7 **Postulate 6: Around the end of primary school (or early years of secondary school;**
8 **about age 13), children should have the opportunity to either choose to specialize in**
9 **their favourite sport, or to continue in sport at a recreational level**

10 This postulate focuses on the transition between childhood and adolescence as an
11 important period to specialize in one sport or stay involved in sport at a recreational
12 level. Specialization in one sport typically does not occur, nor does it need to occur,
13 before age 13 in sports where peak performance is reached in adulthood. One of the
14 most important reasons that all children should be provided with sampling opportunities
15 during childhood is from a motivational perspective. The quality of early learning
16 experiences through diversification and deliberate play during childhood develop not
17 only physical competencies, but also perceptions of competence, which in turn lead to
18 motivation for continued participation, performance, and personal development (Bruner
19 et al. 2011). Motivation theories suggest that children's perceptions of competence in
20 late childhood (ages 8-12) are largely the result of comparisons with their peers. It is
21 only at about the age of 12 or 13 that children are able to fully understand the differing
22 effects that effort, practice, and ability have on their performances (Horn and Harris
23 2002). Because children do not understand competition and sport performances the

1 same way adults do, coaches should not overemphasize performance through deliberate
2 practice or over-organized competition during childhood. In fact, overemphasizing
3 performance can lead to early stratification of youth sport competitive levels, which
4 might perpetuate relative age effects (participation or performance advantages for
5 athletes born early in the selection year; Musch and Grondin 2001). Hancock et al.
6 (2013b) exemplified this trend discovering that Canadian youth ice hockey players
7 demonstrated relative age effects at the youngest competitive levels (age 7) where early
8 stratification begins. By introducing early stratification, deselected athletes possibly
9 experience decreases in competence, confidence, and motivation. This is despite the
10 fact that deselections might be attributed to relative age and are not indicative of
11 potential sport ability. In essence, a relative younger child's motivation to engage in
12 sport might unnecessarily be tempered by premature stratification.

13 **Postulate 7: Late adolescents (around age 16) have developed the physical,**
14 **cognitive, social, emotional, and motor skills needed to invest their efforts into**
15 **highly specialized training in one sport**

16 This postulate focuses on the transition to an intense period of training with the
17 sole purpose of developing elite performance in one sport. For those few athletes with
18 the talent, dedication, and potential to reach elite status, it is important to enter the
19 investment stage at the developmentally appropriate time. By about age 12, children are
20 cognitively and physically ready to participate in competitive sports; however, investing
21 in one sport requires a few more years of maturity (Patel et al 2002). In fact, sport
22 studies indicate that age 16 is an appropriate time to begin increasing deliberate practice
23 hours in one sport, and limiting involvement in other sports (Helsen et al. 1998, Côté

1 1999, Baker et al. 2003a, Kirk and MacPhail 2003, MacPhail et al. 2003, Baker et al.
2 2005). Moreover, research in sports where specialization and investment occur before
3 age 16 (e.g., female gymnastics and figure skating) has indicated several negative
4 outcomes such as more injuries and less enjoyment (Starkes et al. 1996, Law et al.
5 2007).

6 The DMSP and its postulates integrate the 3Ps of sport – performance,
7 participation, and personal development – by focusing on key proximal processes
8 (deliberate play and diversification) and the environment in which the processes occur
9 (role of coaches, peers, and parents). Furthermore, the overly structured, competitive, and
10 adult-driven aspects of organized sport and deliberate practice during childhood can lead
11 to negative outcomes such as early exclusion of late-maturing athletes and the increased
12 prevalence of overuse injuries and dropout, all of which can potentially limit the talent
13 development pool for certain sports. The evidence is clear that all future expert athletes
14 need to adopt intensive, sport-specific training programs in order to be internationally
15 competitive and successful; however, these programs should only be implemented after
16 reaching adolescence. Despite this evidence, many organizations do not implement this
17 approach, possibly due to lack of awareness of the benefits of a holistic, integrated
18 approach. As such, we suggest 10 recommendations for youth sport governing bodies to
19 consider for implementation in order to integrate the 3Ps.

20 **Recommended Youth Sport Policies to Integrate the 3Ps**

21 The literature on athletes' development in sport clearly indicates that sport
22 programs for children under the age of 13 should be aligned with the specific needs of

1 this age group. Below are 10 recommendations that should be considered in the design
2 of sport programs for children:

- 3 1. Regulate length of season to 3 or 4 months, with a maximum of 6 months.
- 4 2. Limit lengthy travel to organized competitions.
- 5 3. Introduce “grassroots” sport programs that focus on trying different sports.
- 6 4. Do not implement a selection process of more “talented” children until the
7 specialization years.
- 8 5. Provide healthy competitive opportunities, but do not over-emphasize winning
9 and long-term outcomes such as championships.
- 10 6. Discourage early specialization in one sport.
- 11 7. Allow children to play all positions in a given sport.
- 12 8. Promote deliberate play within and beyond organized sport.
- 13 9. Design play and practice activities that focus on fun and short-term rewards.
- 14 10. Understand children’s needs and do not “over coach.”

15 **Conclusion**

16 The 3Ps of sport outcomes include performance, participation, and personal
17 development. Frequently, governing bodies structure sport with the aim of achieving
18 one of the 3Ps at the expense of the others. Yet it is clear from the evidence herein that
19 sport programs can, and should, incorporate the 3Ps without sacrificing any. The keys
20 to this balance are focusing on early diversification, deliberate play, and fun (proximal
21 variables for the athletes) in order to develop intrinsic motivation, competitive spirit, and
22 lifelong participation. In doing so, youth will build a foundation for elite performance
23 (if they so choose), participation, and personal development.

1 Some of the recommendations that were generated in this article are much in line
2 with existing sport models, such as Sport Education (e.g., Siedentop 2002b) or Teaching
3 Games for Understanding (Griffin and Butler 2005). The recommendations, however,
4 address larger issues not included in these pedagogical models of youth sport and
5 suggest a fundamental redesign of sport programs and a rethinking of how coaches can
6 best promote children’s performance, participation, and personal development in sport.
7 The 10 evidence-based recommendations, which emerged from the DMSP and its
8 postulates, advocate policies that focus on program designs and coaching. In terms of
9 program designs, recommendations 1 to 5 propose changes to youth sport programs that
10 focus on season lengths, programing of different sports, and changes in the competition
11 structure of youth sport. Recommendations 6 to 10 are policies that concern the role of
12 coaches. Generally, recommendations related to coaching imply knowledge and
13 behaviours that focus on the relational aspect of coaching and de-emphasize the
14 technical and sport-specific aspect of coaching children.

15 The 10 recommendations, derived from the DMSP and its postulates, are well
16 supported by research and show that youth sport programs that are focused on the
17 involvement of all children in different sport contexts and rooted in play theory can have
18 long-term effects on the participation, future elite performance, and personal
19 development of athletes. The application of these 10 recommendations will require the
20 majority of adults involved in youth sport to change their traditional views and refocus
21 their efforts on engineering a youth sport structure that focuses on the elements of sport
22 that children value – a refocus that ought to be swift considering there is insufficient
23 evidence supporting the position that elite sport structures facilitate mass sport

1 participation (Coalter 2004, Horne 2007). Rather, current evidence clearly demonstrates
2 that children's sport programs targeting play and participation in different contexts tend
3 to facilitate long-term benefits that meet the excellence and participation agenda of
4 governments around the world (Skille 2011, Comeau 2013). Global sport organizations
5 and sport governing bodies ought to immediately consider this integrative approach to
6 offer their constituents more inclusive and beneficial sport opportunities.

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