

CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS IN THE SPORT CULTURE: THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY TO THE SELECT FEW

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Introduction

Sport has high social valence and is a primary context for physical activity for the majority of youth. Moreover, the number of youth competing in sports at national and international levels continues to increase. As a consequence of emphasis on sport, many children and adolescents are encouraged to begin specialized, systematic training in a sport at relatively young ages with the goal of attaining elite status. Of course, it is not clear if it is the youngster's goal or that of his/her parents, coaches and/or sports system.

Focus on elite young athletes, or young athletes aspiring for elite status, often detracts from the potential importance of organized sport in the lives of all children and adolescents. The highly talented are a very visible minority whereas the overwhelming majority of youth who participate and never attain elite levels pass under the radar. Unfortunately, attention and often resources, as well as commentaries in the print and electronic media, focus on the exceptional minority!

The purpose of this review is twofold. First, it considers organized youth sport in the lives of children and adolescents who fill the rosters of programs throughout the world, i.e. the majority. It specifically addresses the following question: Do organized sport programs for youth meet their stated objectives? Second, it considers sport programs for elite, the select, highly visible minority, in terms of the rush to early specialization and potential consequences of being labeled talented at a young age.

Background

Organized sport is only one demand of many in the daily lives of children and adolescents, be they ordinary or elite participants. Demands associated with family, friends, school, study, play, non-sport interests, among others, are daily realities in the process of "growing up"—physical growth, biological maturation and behavioral development. The three processes occur simultaneously and interact, and dominate approximately the first two decades of life (Malina et al. 2004). Where does sport fit into the process of "growing up"?

Growth, maturation and development present a challenge for talent selection and development programs. Inter- and intraindividual differences in the demands of normal physical growth, biological maturation and behavioral development present a changing base as youth progress from childhood into and through puberty and adolescence, and eventually into adulthood.

Objectives of Youth Sport Programs

Objectives of youth sport programs are ordinarily stated in general terms and emphasize the enjoyment, wellbeing, fitness, health and social development of participants. Stated objectives are usually subsumed under several broad categories related to the: (1) enjoyment of sport; (2) acquisition of general and sport-specific movement skills; (3) development of physical fitness; (4) enhancement of social interactions and relationships with teammates, opponents and adults; (5) teaching of values associated with sportsmanship, fair play and good citizenship; and (6) promotion of habits of regular participation in physical activity. Youth sports have been more recently invoked as a potentially important means



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to combat the worldwide epidemic of childhood overweight and obesity through the provision of regular physical activity. The identification and development of elite athletes have not been and are not the objectives of most youth programs, but some programs, in some cases commercial enterprises, have as their objectives the identification and development of talented athletes.

The subsequent discussion provides an overview of evidence related to the attainment of stated objectives in organized sport programs for the general population of youth. Generalizations should be interpreted with care, recognizing the uniqueness of youth sport programs, especially at the local level where the majority of children and adolescents participate.

Promote Enjoyment of Sport

Youth in several cultures indicate fun, i.e. enjoyment, as a primary motivation for participation in sport (Coelho e Silva & Malina 2009; Siegel et al. 2009; Ewing & Seefeldt 1988). Meanings attached to the concept of fun vary with age. It can refer to simply running around with teammates at young ages, to being on a team with friends or making new friends, to competing with peers of the same ability, and also to winning. For most youth, participation in sport is an enjoyable and positive experience. There are exceptions. Negative experiences are usually associated with the quality of adult supervision or coaching in the sport. In addition to lack of enjoyment or fun, reasons for cessation of participation are often linked to coaches and the sport system—poor teaching, favoritism, lack of playing time, scheduling, and so on (Siegel et al. 2009; Ewing & Seefeldt 1988).

Teach Skills, Rules and Strategies of a Sport

In addition to being an objective of youth sport programs ranging from the community level to more advanced sports schools and academies, improvement in sport skills is also a major motivation for children and adolescents to be involved in sport (Coelho e Silva & Malina 2009; Siegel et al. 2009; Ewing & Seefeldt 1988). Given the importance placed upon learning and refining sports skills, it is somewhat surprising that the

youth sport literature dealing with issues related to skill development in the context of specific sports is not more extensive. The beneficial influence of instruction and practice on skill acquisition in early childhood and the transition into middle childhood is reasonably well documented. Guided instruction by qualified coaches or trained parents, appropriate motor task sequences, and adequate time for practice are essential components of successful instructional programs at young ages (Malina 2008).

The focus of this literature has largely been on general movement skills in contrast to sport-specific skills. Nevertheless, casual observation during a season of supervised instruction, practice and competition in a given sport clearly shows that this objective is generally met, i.e. improvements in general and sport-specific skills of most participants, although individual differences are considerable. The environment of sport programs is perhaps most important—characteristics of coaches and coaching styles, instructional and practice protocols, quality of feedback, parental involvement, and the overall atmosphere of the setting (child-focused, relaxed). It may be difficult to partition learning effects from those expected with growth and maturation. Data dealing with skill acquisition at older ages are, with few exceptions, set within the framework of cognitive psychology and relate to relatively simple, discrete movement tasks in contrast to the more complex tasks of a sport.

Improve the Physical Fitness of Participants

Youth who are regularly active, including those in sport programs, tend to have higher levels of aerobic fitness compared to less active youth, while experimental aerobic and resistance training programs are associated with significant gains in cardiovascular endurance and muscular strength and endurance, respectively (Malina 2006a; Strong et al. 2005). Although the data are not based on youth involved in specific sport programs, aerobic fitness is especially well developed in many adolescent athletes in sports with a high endurance component, e.g. distance running, swimming, cycling, soccer, and ice hockey (Malina et al. 2004). In addition, both aerobic and resistance training are components of many sport training programs.

Body composition is often included as a component of health-related physical fitness (Bouchard & Shephard 1994). Lower levels of fatness and high bone mineral content are commonly observed in youth who regularly participate in sport. Youth who are relatively high in physical activity tend to have less adiposity measured as skinfolds, percentage body fat and body mass index (Strong et al. 2005). Young athletes in a variety of sports also tend to have less adiposity, and the contrast between athletes and non-athletes in relative fatness is more apparent among females than males. There is, of course, variation among sports and some positions or disciplines within a sport, e.g. throwing events in track and field, and linesmen in American football (Malina 2007, 2006b).

Regular physical activity has a beneficial effect on bone mineral content and bone mineral density. This is apparent in comparisons of athletes and non-athletes and retrospective studies of childhood and adolescent sport activity, relative to adult bone mineral content (Strong et al. 2005). Retrospective studies of athletes in racket sports highlight the beneficial effect of early onset of training on bone mineral content (Kannus et al. 1995).

Promote Social Development, Belonging, Friendship

This objective implies enhanced social development of participants through interactions with peers, coaches and others in the sport context. Being with friends or a member of a team is often indicated as a primary motivation for participation in sport (Coelho e Silva & Malina 2009; Siegel et al. 2009; Ewing & Seefeldt 1988).

Self-concept and its different domains are a developmental outcome that has received most attention. The structure of self-concept changes with age and becomes more clearly differentiated in the transition into puberty and during adolescence. In cross-sectional studies, physical activity is positively correlated with global and physical self-concept, but weakly correlated with social, emotional and academic self-concepts. Quasi-experimental studies indicate strong positive effects of physical activity on global self-concept and specific domains of physical self-concept, appearance and sport competence; on the other hand, effects on the social

and academic domains of self-concept are rather weak (Strong et al. 2005). Sport participation is positively associated with global self-concept and perceived sport competence, but also has the potential for negative influences. Two key factors in this context are outcome, i.e. winning or losing, and quality of adult involvement, specifically coaches per se and coaching styles.

Identifying other psychosocial outcomes associated with participation in youth sports, and of course measuring them, is more challenging. A good deal of the research has focused on potential influences of adults—coaches and parents—in contrast to the potential influence of sport per se on behavioral development. Less research has focused on peers as important agents in psychosocial outcomes associated with sport. Research on parents has focused on expectations and pressures, perceptions of competence, goal orientation, responses to performances of their child, degree of involvement, role modeling, and so on (Brustad 2003; Weiss 2003). Research on coaches has focused on the coach as a source of information about sport competence, the frequency and types of feedback to young athletes and the effects of coach education on the quality of youth sport experiences (Smoll & Smith 2003; Weiss 2003). An additional concern, specifically in North America, is the dual role of the parent-coach.

Coaches who are supportive and who emphasize learning and improvement (a mastery-oriented climate) facilitate beneficial psychosocial outcomes, e.g. perceptions of competence, sport enjoyment, positive friendships, and so on. Similar outcomes are associated with coaches who undergo a coach effectiveness training program (Smoll & Smith 2003). Nevertheless, much needs to be done to better understand the influence of organized sport participation on psychosocial development of youth. Complex interactions among young athlete, teammates, coach and parents in the context of a sport highlight the need for creative methodology to better understand the process and potential outcomes.

Teach Appropriate Values of Fair Play and Sportsmanship

The generic terms fair play, sportsmanship, being a “good sport” and character development, among others,

imply that participation in sport enhances moral or ethical development. The development of morally competent behaviors includes the ability to recognize right from wrong, abiding by the rules of the game during practices and competitions, and respect for teammates and opponents. The potential influence of sport participation on the development of moral reasoning, however, needs to be established (Bredemeier & Shields 2006; Bredemeier 2003). One example should suffice. A survey of 5th to 8th grade sport participants (approximately 10–14 years old) noted the following: 9% acknowledged cheating, 13% reported attempts to injure an opponent, 27% noted behaviors associated with being a “bad sport”, and 31% reported arguing with game officials. Of interest, 7% of youth reported encouragement from their coaches to cheat, while 8% reported encouragement to injure an opponent (Shields et al. 2005). The use of prohibited performance-enhancing substances by young athletes is a related issue (considered later).

Coach behaviors play a central role in meeting this objective of fair play, specifically deliberate attempts to teach ethical/moral values (Bredemeier & Shields 2006). The media and elite sports culture also need careful study since what happens at higher levels often trickles down to lower levels, i.e. youth. What message is sent to youth by “professional fouls” in soccer or the fact that virtually every foul towards the end of a basketball game is deliberate? These accepted practices translate as follows: deliberate violation of game rules is a good strategy! Indeed, the line that separates strategy and cheating to gain an advantage in sport is fine and becoming finer!

Promote Regular Participation in Physical Activity

Organized sports provide opportunities for physical activity on a regular basis and in a safe environment. Allowing for variation in frequency, duration and intensity of physical activity associated with different sports, youth aged 6–14 years who are involved in sport tend to be more physically active and expend more energy in moderate-to-vigorous physical activity on a regular basis compared to youth not involved in sport (Wickel & Eisenmann 2007; Katzmarzyk & Malina

1998). Adolescent athletes aged 16–19 years also expend more energy on a daily basis and more energy in physical activity than non-athletes (Ribeyre et al. 2000). Questionnaire surveys also indicate higher levels of activity in adolescent sport participants compared to non-participants (Pfeiffer et al. 2006; Aarnio et al. 2002; Trost et al. 1997). It is important to note that regular physical activity of moderate-to-vigorous intensity is associated with health and fitness benefits (Strong et al. 2005).

Although not ordinarily indicated as an objective of youth sport programs, transfer of youth activity habits to adult activity is a potentially valuable outcome of organized youth sport programs. Indeed, participation in sports during adolescence tends to track at higher levels than other indicators of physical activity, i.e. sports participation is a relatively stable behavior across adolescence (Malina 2001). Frequency of sports participation at 14 years of age, sport club membership, training and competition, and sport club membership at 16 years of age are also predictive of physical activity in young adulthood (Telama et al. 2006, 1997; Perkins et al. 2004; Tammelin et al. 2003; Barnekow-Bergkvist et al. 2001).

Given the significant association between adolescent participation in sport and adult physical activity, more attention should be given to sport as a primary context of physical activity among adolescents. This issue is especially relevant as surveys indicate a decline in sport participation across adolescence. It is also at these ages that programs become more selective and resources are allocated for the elite so that sport offerings for adolescents with lesser skill or no interest in elite competition are limited. There is a need to modify programs to accommodate interests of youth with a wide range of skills if the potential benefits of regular physical activity are to be realized in a large segment of adolescents.

Youth Sports in the Prevention of Obesity

Organized sport is increasingly invoked as a potentially important context of physical activity to combat the epidemic of obesity among youth as in the announcement of the Youth Olympic Games: “The International

Olympic Committee, *in an effort to fight childhood obesity and other problems associated with inactivity among children*, on Thursday voted to stage Youth Olympic Games modeled after the Olympics” (Michaelis 2007; italics mine). It is not clear how an event modeled after the Olympics, i.e. for talented adolescent athletes, will combat obesity in the general population of youth throughout the world!

Three questions, among others, surface in this context. First, are sports as presently constituted and practiced suitable for the obese? Most youth sports are not user-friendly for the overweight and obese. American football, wrestling and weight events in track and field athletics are exceptions; these sports have a place for coordinated boys (and girls in track and field), who may be overweight or obese. However, given the value placed upon large size and mass per se, it is possible that these sports may place some participants at risk for persistent overweight or obesity.

Second, is the physical activity associated with youth sports sufficient in duration and intensity to prevent unhealthy weight gain (adiposity) and thus overweight or obesity, and to bring about a reduction in adiposity in participants who are overweight or obese? Physical activity interventions with overweight and obese youth result in reduction in overall and abdominal adiposity, but the benefits are lost when the interventions are stopped (Malina, in press). Continued regular activity is essential, although the amount of activity needed to maintain the benefits of interventions with obese youth is not known.

Third, do obese youth have the movement capacity and proficiency required to participate in sport? Obese youth are generally less proficient in motor skills and components of physical fitness which reduces the likelihood of success in sport (Malina et al. 2004). If the objective of the Youth Olympics is to be attained, modification of programs to accommodate the needs of overweight and obese youth is essential.

Identification and Development of Talented Athletes—The Elite

Some programs have as their objectives the identification and development of talent in sport beginning at

young ages. This was historically evident in the highly visible and well publicized protocols in several Eastern European countries, Cuba, and the former Soviet Bloc, with a major focus on international competitions and politics of medal counts: “Priority is given to selection of those children and young people thought most likely to benefit from intensive sports training and to produce top-class results in national and international competition” (Hartley 1988, p 50). The programs were extended and modified to Western countries, including the United States, Canada and Australia, and also to China.

Discussion of models of selection and development of talented young athletes and their effectiveness is beyond the scope of this discussion. Most programs have focused on individual in contrast to team sports; note, however, similar systematic protocols were also in place for team sports in many countries. Perhaps the most visible current example of a highly organized system of talent selection and development is China, historically in gymnastics, diving and table tennis, and more recently in preparation for the 2008 Olympic Games with Project 119: “a systematic push for champions in five medal-rich sports the country had struggled in at previous Games: athletics, canoeing/kayaking, rowing, sailing and swimming” (Slater 2008).

The relatively structured approaches of Eastern Europe often persist in many individual sports such as artistic gymnastics, diving, tennis and figure skating; indeed, many clubs have “advisors” and coaches from former Soviet Bloc countries. In contrast, the majority of youth sport programs emphasize mass participation. Age and willingness are the criteria and probably involve a parent-child decision. Selection of a program is often based on the child’s interest or perhaps interest of the parents. At this level, especially in the United States, the majority of coaches are volunteers with variable backgrounds and experiences in sport and more importantly in coaching and teaching children. With increasing age during childhood, however, many programs become more specialized and competitive, and identification and selection of talented youngsters occur both informally, e.g. observing youth in game situations, noting those who are more skilled and inviting them for a specific team, and formally, e.g. regular tryouts for select or advanced teams or clubs.

Informal and formal approaches to identifying talented youth are more evident in team sports. On a worldwide basis, this is perhaps most apparent for European football or soccer where many professional clubs have developmental and academy programs. Soccer is largely a sport of the lower socioeconomic strata throughout most of the world. Although often defined as “street soccer”, competitions among youth are routinely monitored by those looking for talented players. Once identified, a talented youngster is enrolled in the developmental program of a club at a very young age. In some countries where there are opportunities in other sports, enrolment in a developmental club program is aimed not so much to develop his soccer talent, but more to keep him away from other sports. Similar to soccer, youth baseball in the Caribbean region is also largely a sport of the lower socioeconomic strata. It is characterized by both informal games and local programs, and by more formal programs associated with professional baseball clubs locally and internationally. In both soccer and baseball, the primary interests of professional clubs are the development of talented players for the national and international market.

In the United States, the search for talented young athletes has historically been focused on interscholastic sport, primarily basketball and American football, which are, to a large extent, feeder systems for intercollegiate programs and eventually professional sports. Though less extensive, high school baseball, softball and track and field programs serve a similar function. More recently, special programs for talented young athletes, often labeled select or travel teams, have increased in popularity. Such programs emerge at about 10–12 years of age or so in basketball, baseball (boys), softball (girls) and soccer. Talented youth are generally recruited from a local area or adjacent areas for the purpose of participating at a higher competitive level. These programs operate independently of highly organized interschool sport programs and generally encourage youth to participate in a single sport year round—to the avoidance of other sports. In some sports where qualified coaches in schools are limited (e.g. soccer), select or travel teams are often preferred by parents and sport organizations. Select programs vary in cost, most of which is borne by parents. Funds are usually

made available for youth from families with limited resources, although it is not always clear as to the sources of the funds.

Regardless of how programs operate, adults are involved in a more or less constant search for sport talent among youth. National programs often have political overtones in terms of medal counts (“podium 2008”, “podium 2012”). Some are big businesses—as in gymnastic, figure skating and soccer academies, and in select summer camps for some sports. Universities and professional teams are also in the talent hunt, largely in the context of recruiting athletes for major team sports.

Early Specialization and Sport Talent

Early specialization in sport is commonly viewed as an outcome of talent identification programs at relatively young ages. Specialization by definition involves year-round participation in a single sport, often to the exclusion of other sports and childhood activities. Moreover, some believe that early specialization is the necessary path for success in sport: “A growing number of coaches, parents and children believe that the best way to produce superior young athletes is to have them play only one sport from an early age, and to play it virtually year-round” (Finley 2006). In contrast, limited experiences to a single sport year-round may not be the best path to elite levels. The sport backgrounds of national level Australian athletes (Oldenzien et al. 2004) and American university female athletes (Malina, unpublished) indicate that the majority participated in more than one sport.

Early specialization in sport has social consequences for children and adolescents. Given the time commitment to a single sport, the young athlete often faces potential for social isolation from age and sex peers, especially during adolescence, and altered social relationships with peers, parents and family. Further, an increasing number of talented young athletes in the United States are being home schooled. Parents teach their own children following state-mandated curriculum guidelines. A potential risk of home schooling is missed opportunities for important school-related developmental experiences—peer interactions, social

activities, and so on. There is similar risk for youth who attend special sport schools or academies that focus on a single sport.

Given the highly regulated lives of talented young athletes, there is increased potential for “burnout”. It is not sudden in onset; rather, it develops over time. Burnout is often associated with perceptions by the young athlete that he/she cannot meet the physical and/or psychological demands placed upon him/her. Performance declines in sport and associated rewards are additional factors (Gould & Dieffenbach 2003). Many factors are involved in burnout. Three are especially important: (1) negative performance evaluations; (2) inconsistent feedback from coaches and officials; and (3) overtraining.

Increased prevalence of overuse injury is also associated with specialization in a single sport (American Academy of Pediatrics 2007). Overuse injury is a consequence of repeated microtrauma in a tendon, muscle or bone associated with chronic repetition of specific sport activities—tennis serving, baseball pitching, gymnastic routines, running, shoulder motions in swimming, and so on. On the other hand, some evidence suggests that youth who participate in multiple sports have a lower prevalence of injury than those who specialize in a single sport before puberty.

The media often highlight accomplishments of adolescent athletes. We have just come off an Olympic year and young athletes for better or worse were the darlings of the media. What the media and Olympic Games highlight, however, are the extremely small number of athletes who make it through developmental programs. Those who do not make it through these rigors are rarely, if ever, mentioned. Is it legitimate, therefore, to inquire if being labeled as “talented” in a sport at a relatively young age is a risk?

Elite young athletes face potential risks in the social, nutritional, chemical and commercial domains associated with the sport environment. Vigilance and systematic monitoring of coaching/training environments in select/elite youth sport programs is essential for the wellbeing of young athletes. Stresses associated with year-round training and competitions are byproducts of these environments. A study of young female athletes noted that 3 of 27 highly trained gymnasts and 4 of 16 moderately trained swimmers were

considered at risk for “a manifest mental disorder over time” (Theintz et al. 1994). Although the majority of athletes did not present problems, the need to monitor the coaching/training environment is obvious.

Social manipulation is perhaps most evident in the preferential treatment of talented athletes by the respective sport systems, the media and schools. It is also evident in differential access to resources that favor the elite—as in travel, tutors for school work, and access to scholarships. The preferential treatment, however, may lead to over-dependence on and/or control by coaches and sport organizations, and altered social relationships with peers, parents and family. A possible byproduct of excessive dependence of young athletes on coaches and sport officials (and often blind faith and trust of parents) is potential for emotional abuse—verbal or non-verbal, physical abuse and sexual abuse and molestation.

Age modification is a form of social manipulation. Age group competition is a feature of virtually all youth sports. The integrity of such competitions is based on the assumption that reported ages are accurate and records of chronological age (birth certificates, passports) are valid. Nevertheless, problems with accurate age reporting appear on a regular basis in youth sports in general (Malina 2005) and also with elite young athletes (Hogg 2009; Macur 2008). What is the source of inaccurate reporting or age falsification? It probably lies in the culture of sport with its emphasis on winning at all costs. Who regulates sport, specifically youth in sport? Clearly, administrators, trainers, coaches and other adults associated with sport, including parents, need scrutiny.

Direct and indirect dietary manipulation is a concern in some sports. Some adolescents may institute self-imposed dietary restriction, especially in aesthetic sports such as artistic gymnastics, figure skating and ballet. Pressures, at times subtle, to maintain or lose weight by young athletes, when the natural course of growth is to gain weight, can lead to disordered eating and clinical eating disorders. At times, direct and indirect comments on body weight from trainers, coaches and judges may serve as a trigger to disordered eating. On the other hand, dietary restrictions on elite young athletes come directly from sport governing bodies. In the former German Democratic Republic,

for example, gymnasts were on a dietary regime "...intended to maintain the optimal body weight, i.e. a slightly negative energy balance, and thus a limited energy depot over a long period" (Jahreis et al. 1991, p 98). Such intentional energy deficit is an abuse.

Chemical manipulation is seemingly rampant in sport at many levels. It can take several forms, including dietary supplements (e.g. creatine, "fat burners" with caffeine as a major ingredient), diuretics to lose weight, stimulants, and of course performance-enhancing drugs. The use of performance-enhancing substances by young athletes is an issue. Though apparently not widespread, a small percentage of youth, athletes and non-athletes, has tried or has been enticed to try these substances (Laure & Binsinger 2005; Faigenbaum et al. 1998). Surprisingly, parents, friends and even family physicians were indicated by the adolescents as the source of performance enhancers (Laure & Binsinger 2005).

Sport merchandising is commonplace today. What is overlooked is the fact that young athletes are often the merchandise! Talented young athletes in many sports are regularly sought and often exploited. Corporate money permeates developmental programs for young tennis players, e.g. the International Management Group tennis academy. Soccer, baseball, basketball and American football players are widely scouted and actively pursued at young ages. Many athletes are from lower socioeconomic backgrounds so that there is potential for exploitation of both the youngster and family. Sport, on one hand, is often placed ahead of education and, on the other hand, is the lure of the promise of education (scholarships). Many clubs develop young players for the international market (soccer in Africa and South America, baseball in the Caribbean), and jobs may be offered to families of talented youth to bypass official regulations. There is even discussion of international legislation to regulate sport agents and clubs, especially those pursuing under-age players (BBC News 2007). Youth basketball coaches for select adolescent teams are often labeled as brokers since they control access to college coaches. American high schools are, to some extent, a publicly subsidized (i.e. local school taxes) farm system for collegiate and professional basketball and American football and, to a lesser extent, baseball.

Summary

Involvement in organized sport is a feature of the daily lives of children and adolescents the world over. For the majority of youth, sports are an enjoyable experience with many associated health, fitness and social benefits. The line between potential benefits and risks may be quite fine. The charge for those who work with youth sports—coaches, trainers, teachers, administrators, parents and also the media—is to provide an environment that is conducive to maximizing potential benefits and minimizing potential risks for youth. Sport is only one part, albeit an important one, of the experience of "growing up", which places many demands on youth.

Although the minority, the media and sport organizations often dote on talented young athletes, especially those in national and international competitions. Parents may also be complicit, especially in the context of potential financial benefits. At this level, elite sport has the potential to place the youngster at risk. It is essential that elite young athletes be permitted to be young. They have the need to be a child or adolescent; they are neither miniature adults nor commodities!

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