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Implications of localism in educational policy on the aspirations of young people in Cornwall

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Abstract
The physical location of Cornwall, England impacts upon its social and economic development and is evident in the aspirations ascribed to and held by young people within the region. Schools have been set the task of raising aspirations, as low expectations are perceived to be a barrier to high attainment in schooling. We draw upon research in two Cornish secondary schools that attempted to raise aspirations through school change and by entering into the Academy schools programme. What we found was that their location was generally perceived as a disadvantage to aspiration. We suggest that within the current climate of localisation in educational policy it will be difficult for individual schools to scrutinise themselves and their practices. It will be difficult to ensure that they do not perpetuate poor social outcomes through entrenched beliefs about a link between physical isolation and social disadvantage.

Key words
Education Policy, Localism, Rural Education, Autonomy, Young People, Academy Schools

Introduction

Cornwall, in the farthest reaches of the South West of England, is an isolated region in comparison with other parts of England. Like the many other outlying regions of the world, the physical location of Cornwall is regarded as a barrier to the development of its economic and social infrastructure. This is reflected in government statistics that identify Cornwall as a region of considerable social deprivation (Government Office for the South West, 2006). Our research within two Cornish

secondary schools revealed a predominant discourse of physical isolation and consequent social disadvantage in the perspectives of our informants, who suggested that there are few opportunities within the region for young people who aspire to higher education, economic success or rewarding careers. It was even suggested that within this location many young people's aspirations are curtailed because their experiences and perceptions are restricted by what occurs within their families and communities. In light of the prevalence of such views within their communities, it is unsurprising to find that schools like Worthfield and Dale are interested in the agency of "schooling" for positively intervening in the outcomes of their pupils and contributing to economic and social prosperity within the region. This may be aided by current educational policy reforms, which claim to offer regional communities greater autonomy and freedom and more localised responses to schooling (e.g. Department for Education, 2010).

Up until 2009, Worthfield, Dale and a third school, Wickbury, were in discussion with Cornwall Local Authority, the University of Plymouth, and Cornwall College. In September 2008 this resulted in an expression of interest to the Department of Children Families and Schools to join as a consortium the Academies programme, the Labour government's prominent school improvement initiative that originally set out to overturn entrenched cycles of deprivation within particular communities and "…'turn around' underachieving schools…" in the secondary sector (Curtis et al., 2008, p.75). An assumption that schools can improve young people's life chances underpins this and other policy. For example, this assumption is evident in various government 'Neighbourhood Renewal' strategies, where education is considered essential in helping to break the cycle of deprivation in poor communities (Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, 2005). While we recognise that schools can make a difference to educational outcomes (e.g. Lingard & Mills 2002), we think some caution is necessary (see also Thrupp et al, 2003). The assumption that schools can overturn entrenched social inequalities is questionable (for example, Bernstein, 1970; Blanden and Gregg 2005) and it is contended that schools are inefficient mechanisms for compensating deficiencies in deprived communities (Mortimore, 1997).

The Cornish case study schools aimed to "…transform the prospects for young people…by raising to new peaks their levels of achievement and of other outcomes, including crucially, participation in Higher Education" (Strategy document, N.D., ¶1). However, the programme of change did not run smoothly, and under the Labour government the Academies proposal was turned down. The Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition government elected in May 2010 have now extended the Academies programme, enabling any primary, secondary or special school to apply for academy status. The reforms of the Academies Act 2010 are intended to "…help schools to innovate, raise standards and help students achieve more" (Department for Education, 2011). Of the three schools, Dale and Wickbury have applied for academy status, although separately, and Wickbury has been granted an Academies order, enabling the school to make the transition to an academy, albeit within different terms from those expressed by the Labour government. These schools' efforts towards change and the conditions which compel them to do so highlight important challenges in addressing local needs through national policies, particularly for communities who are on the periphery either through geographical or other forms of social marginalisation. While it is the government's stated intention to put control into local hands, we suggest that this cannot be accomplished naively and requires considerable sensitivity to its potential problems as much as to the problems of overt centralised control.

Our analysis of different constituency views about student aspirations within the two schools shows some general differences in how aspirations can be supported based upon attention to either the internal relationships within the school or wider external relationships with national agencies, policies or the local community (Boyask et al. 2009a). Our intention in this paper is to show how these different views were revealing about the circumstances of these schools, their capacity to act as agents of change and to consider the implications of our findings for schools negotiating the new policy regime where the national has been replaced by the local. The findings show the extent to which the locality of the schools works to isolate them from taking advantage from national initiatives even as they are held accountable to national measures of pupil achievement and school failure. Hopkins & Reynolds (2001) suggest that as school improvement models don't work, schools begin to seek out and/or develop other models, ways of working and insights that can help them as they work to support children and young people, and what begins to emerge is a 'blend of approaches' that are more pragmatically orientated (Hopkins & Reynolds, 2001: 473). We found examples of such approaches within our case study schools. However, localised and pragmatic solutions that do not take account of a wider sense of purpose and align their direction to an overall social good may develop practices that contradict their aims and good intentions to overturn disadvantage, as we explain in greater detail later in this paper.

In the following section we set the scene for the research, outlining some of the challenges faced by schools in outlying communities in the previous government's policy context and then briefly describe our research and methodology. We then move on to discuss three specific themes to emerge from our data. Firstly, we unpick conceptions of 'aspiration' and aim to show the ways in which our data seems to reveal confusion about the role of schooling in supporting the development of aspirations. A report released by the Cabinet Office in 2009, 'Unleashing Aspiration' was brimming with strong, assertive statements about the role of schools supporting children and young people and emphasised the central role of those in schools to support the development of early aspirations and goals, and the translation of these aspirations into specific career pathways. The report revealed further challenges for those children and young people who live in isolated rural communities, as many of these 'desirable' career pathways (in this report they are all 'professions') tend to be geographically located in London and the South East, leaving them 'stranded economically and divorced from the mainstream socially' (Cabinet Office, 2009: 6). Some further problems for those in sparsely populated rural localities were identified in earlier research, such as a reduction in average earnings compared with the national average, lack of employment opportunities encouraging outward migration, thus leaving behind those who cannot afford to move, and ineffective 'welfare to work' programmes due to the nature of the rural economy, high per capita service costs due to smaller scale delivery, extra transport costs, generally weak service provision (access to health, social services, education etc) and housing problems (Furuseth, 1998; Commission for Rural Communities, 2005; Woods, 2005). Even though these challenges are well known, the actual pedagogies intended to 'develop aspirations' and overturn inequalities within such communities are not identified in the Cabinet Office report, which is not surprising as the effects of systems or practices in schools on student aspiration is complex and little understood (Davidson, 2011). Furthermore, our data suggested that our case study schools were unsure about how best to support aspirations through their teaching practices.

We then critically explore the constituency voices in our research and show how our data revealed a difference of opinion with regard to the significance of external and internal relationships within each of the schools. It was interesting to note that certain groups within each setting valued the importance of developing, maintaining and sharing internal relationships and working to develop school specific responses to policy in order to support pupils. There was a noticeable split with some other groups suggesting that external relationships (i.e. working with other agencies, other schools, businesses, Further and Higher Education institutions etc) were more significant in helping to raise aspirations within the schools. The role of the pupils and teaching and learning relationships appeared to be a secondary concern for this group, or perhaps more accurately, something that was to be addressed once all external factors were in place.

Finally, we examine how these perceptions within the schools are related to prior and current educational policy on raising aspirations and achievement. From our data it appeared that the centralised policy imperatives of the previous government were too blunt and far removed to make a difference to the lives of children and young people in each school. This poses the question of whether these schools will fare better within the current reforms or whether the current initiatives will weaken consensual bonds at the national level, producing greater variation in the outcomes of schooling to the disadvantage of isolated communities. Whilst some of our respondents were positive about the possibilities offered by national initiatives, the evidence of unevenness of their enactment has led us to agree with Ball (2008a) that ways in which much policy emanates from London and the South East contributes to geographical policy isolation for regions like Cornwall. However, it is still to be seen whether local initiatives divorced from national contracts will better serve their interests.

Setting the scene

Ball (2008) notes the ways that policy initiatives and innovations in the last two decades have noticeably moved from small local pockets of pedagogical research and development in schools, towards large scale, sweeping programmes across all schools in all regions (the Academies initiative is one such example). He cites examples where schools and local government worked together to develop context specific programmes in curriculum areas prior to the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1989.

> The concentration of influence also reflects a more general literal and metaphorical redrawing of the map of educational and educational policy space...The erosion of LEA powers and the paraphernalia of the National Curriculum and other policy moves has meant that sources of innovation and fresh thinking outside of London have been cut off... There is certainly little evidence at the school level of 'counter flow' of influence and ideas from other parts of the UK or English regions – while in the 1960s and 1970s comprehensive education reforms were initiated by schools and LEAs. The flow of policy and policy ideas in England has become increasingly from the centre out. (Ball, 2008a: 107)

However, differentiation according to locality in achievement and other social outcomes, and a particular link between low achievement and socially deprived

communities, implies that heavy handed centralisation works against addressing issues of social equity. A more localised response is called for because neighbourhoods and localities have an effect upon an individual's outcomes (Lupton, 2003; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006). One could argue that initiatives like academy and trust schooling, which devolved some curricular and financial responsibilities to the schools that they have not had previously, were intended to produce strong, workable and localised responses to community problems. When our case study schools were unable to achieve their goals through the Academies programme, we were left asking what is possible for schools that aspire to better outcomes for their pupils, yet were located outside of "normal" frameworks for change. Now however, decentralisation and school autonomy is normalised within educational policy rhetoric. It is still to be seen whether this change in language will empower schools on the margins and enable them to make a difference to student outcomes.

This small case study closely investigates two schools that are attempting positive change. Our goal at a general level has been to investigate how the national policy context caters for differences in local school communities, and how schools in isolated regions negotiate between national priorities and the needs of individual learners; prior work suggests there is an inherent tension between local needs and generalised policies that cannot be easily overcome through reform efforts (see Kaur et al., 2008; Boyask et al., 2009b). Contrary to prevalent centralisation of policy, research and development in schooling identified by Ball (2008a), we contend that micro-level relationships remain an especially important area to investigate. Educational research, even from different ideological positions, shows that the relationship between teacher and student is significant to learning outcomes (Boyask et al, 2007; Luke, 2006; Wiliam et al., 2004).

More specifically, in this study we were looking at the issue of aspirations and the underlying assumption that raised aspirations result in higher levels of achievement, which we do not approach without recognising its flaws and complexities (Davidson, 2011). We documented the aspirations of and for young people within a rural community and examined these in the light of national social priorities, such as raising student attainment and regional development (e.g. Cabinet Office, 2008). Our questions for this study were:

a) What perceptions do different groups have of the aspirations and intentions of young people in the community?
b) What role does schooling play in supporting those aspirations and intentions?
c) What supports and barriers are perceived in relation to those aspirations and intentions?

In June 2008 our field researcher approached three Cornwall secondary schools in close proximity: Worthfield, Dale and Wickbury with the intention of talking to different stakeholders within the school communities. While we initially secured access to all three schools, Wickbury withdrew from the project prior to interviews because of other time commitments.

The researcher carried out semi-structured focus group interviews, exploring understandings of community and aspirations for the young people within the community. We requested up to seven interest groups in each of the local communities of Worthfield and Dale (for example, parents, school council, other

pupils, board of governors, teaching assistants, teachers and non-teaching staff). Our school contacts arranged the following groups:

Table 1: Interest Groups Interviewed for the Research (including numbers of participants)

	Worthfield	Dale
School Leaders	*Governors (includes Deputy Head) (2)*	*Governors (2)*
Teaching Staff	*Teachers (8)*	*Teachers (7)*
	Parents/Teaching Assistant (6)	*Teaching Assistants (5)*
Non-Teaching Staff	*Non-Teaching Staff (6)*	*Non-Teaching Staff (7)*
Young people	*School Council (10)*	*Pupils Year 9 (8)*
		Pupils Year 10 (7)
Other	*Parents/Teaching Assistants(6)*	*Parents (5)*

The groups were interviewed using semi-structured interview schedules. The interviews were held during two visits to Dale and Worthfield in July 2008. They were audio recorded and transcribed in full, then content analysed according to the guiding research questions. This analysis highlighted three significant themes in the data:

1. Differences in the aspirations and intentions of and for young people in the community;
2. Regional location and culture affecting the aspirations of young people;
3. The role of schooling in supporting aspirations and intentions of young people

The Aspiration Gap?

A review of research by the Social Exclusion Task Force (Cabinet Office, 2008) reported that young people who live in neighbourhoods where there is a high level of social deprivation are more likely to have low aspirations, consequently restricting their levels of attainment and life opportunities. However, the focus of policy is most commonly on deprivation in inner city areas, which means there is a gap between policy intended to address social equity and the needs of schools in isolated localities. Ball (2008a) asserts that equity and social justice in policy terms are almost always part of bringing excluded groups back into the mainstream through employment – this

is more difficult in the outlying communities we have been working with, where aspirations are oftentimes limited by what is on offer for young people when they enter into employment and the opportunities they perceive around them.

Conversely, 'Unleashing Aspiration' (Cabinet Office, 2009) seemed to suggest that there are pockets of untapped potential and that it is narrow-mindedness that prevents young people from achieving their aspirations. Our data suggests that people within our school communities recognised the importance of furthering aspirations and cited many examples of what they perceived to be positive aspirations. At Worthfield, some emphasis was placed on different pathways to success and the necessity of providing choices. The data from Dale suggested that the adult respondents perceived there are challenges for schools in fostering high aspirations in pupils. Parents' aspirations were about wanting their children to be happy and to achieve their aspirations. The latter were couched in terms of future jobs (for example, by parents from Dale).

At both schools, the pupils interviewed stated that their aspirations were to get good grades or good jobs. The sorts of careers they mentioned were in Veterinary science, Forensic science, Zoology, Acting, Primary School Teaching, Law, Journalism, Carpentry, Catering (Chef), Plumbing, Rugby (Player/Trainer), Child Care, suggesting that they had very high aspirations. It was evident that much of the talk about aspirations related to employment. Adults and young people talked at length about 'good jobs' relating to professions and accepted the inevitability that talented young people have to leave the area in order to achieve their aspirations. There was a perception amongst adult respondents that some pupils had high aspirations, particularly in terms of continuing education. "We have a number who have very high aspirations, and they tend to be the more academic, and theirs are clearly to go on to university and to go on to a full blown career" (Governor at Worthfield, interview, 21/7/08).

When asked whether they expected young people to stay in the locality, responses varied. Most respondents suggested that 'local' was as far as the county boundaries with the remainder suggesting that it was only as far as Truro, the largest county town. Factors felt to impact on whether young people stayed or left the locality were, unsurprisingly perhaps, related to whether the young people would be going on to higher education or whether they would need to leave in order to get work. Those expected to travel were largely the academic 'high fliers', with the implication that lower academic achievers would be less likely to have to travel for either study or work. Furthermore, respondents generally felt that attendance at university would lead some young people to take jobs outside the locality. The implication of these responses was that high aspirations could not be accommodated within Cornwall, and thus the schools are unable to fulfil their duty to raise the achievement of all and consequently produce economically viable citizens.

At Worthfield, much was made of the influence of community on pupil aspirations, and in particular, how the community limited aspirations:

> Because in terms of aspirational thinking, I think it's an insular community. When I think of some young people, I want them to understand that there's a wider world that they may choose to buy into" (Governor at Worthfield, interview, 22/07/08).

> Because of the low socio-economic area. Very often their parents are working in Tesco or not working at all…I don't know, I just think everything seems

very insulated here. Quite a narrow view of life (Worthfield Parents/Teaching Assistants, interview, 22/07/08).

Additionally, respondents other than parents and pupils often linked parental/home influences to low aspirations, stating that

> "…sometimes because they come from families where aspirations are not fostered well enough. They may have no 'in family' role models that would indicate where high aspirations could take them" (Worthfield Non-Teaching staff, interview, 22/07/08).

Other comments suggested that a "sizable minority" of pupils wanted to go on to higher education. Conversely, a significant number of adult respondents suggested that pupils' aspirations were constrained by their desire to remain in Cornwall. Some of the reasons given by the adult school respondents about why young people might stay in the locality appeared to be related to notions of geographical and cultural insularity. For example, a Worthfield Governor commented:

> …there is … this group who just don't understand that there is anything outside of Worthfield. I know of some parents who have never been outside of Cornwall and of one person who has never been outside of Worthfield, and she is 60. (Interview, 22/07/08)

The implication was that this view on mobility not only affects aspirations, but also has an effect on whether young people in Cornwall achieve their aspirations. As one interviewee put it,

> 'Cornish children find it very hard to move away. Some will go to university and in the first year, the pull of home is too great.' (Dale Governor, interview, 21/07/08)

Teachers believed that geographical location also affected young people's performance in schooling, influenced by the cultural values of their families.

> 'All the time, as a language teacher, I ring up to say 'Johnny hasn't done his homework' and when you say what subject, they say 'Oh well, that doesn't matter, they're never going to go abroad.' (Worthfield Teacher, interview, 22/7/08)

One of the crucial findings of our study related to differences between groups within each school in the factors that they considered made a difference to the meeting of individual need in furthering aspiration. The data suggested that different constituencies within the school community held generally different views about aspirations of young people. We noted that in their responses there was a tendency for school leaders and teachers to focus on national policy goals (such as attainment and raising aspirations) and external relationships between the school, businesses and tertiary education institutions, whereas students and teaching assistants seemed most concerned with interpersonal relationships and other micro-level phenomena within the school.

Policy and Practice

Whilst the New Labour government's intention was to produce good policies that "…will produce fairer outcomes by raising the achievement of all pupils" (Ball, 2008a: 153), educational commentators cited failure in achieving this goal due to a mis-match between policies that intend to address social justice (e.g. Every Child Matters, which construes positive outcomes holistically) and how it measures school success (i.e. largely in terms of student achievement) (e.g. Muijs & Chapman, 2009). Ball (2008a) suggested that the concept of 'think tank' policy making has proliferated the 'urban bias of the nineteenth century' and that schools are now defined by clearly identifiable policy technologies and strategies such as 'top down management (p.109), competition and contestability (p.117), choice and voice (p.126), and capability and capacity' (p.137). Systems that appear to create choice may actually create and/or perpetuate inequality (e.g. parental choice of school – but schools still control admissions). These commercially orientated and particularly urban management practices have also seen school leaders become the embodiment of policy on school change (Ibid.); in the face of these policy reforms, it is now widely regarded as self-evident that head teachers are the linchpin for achieving successful change (Forrester & Gunter, 2009). As Forrester & Gunter point out, the discourse of head teachers as agents of change and its positive connotations obscures the challenges they and other members of schools communities face in genuinely improving the lot of their pupils, particularly within the regulatory environment of schooling. In the current government's schools white paper, The Importance of Teaching (Department for Education, 2010), the Conservative/Liberal Democrat government have continued this discourse, and in fact, made it more concrete. Head teachers have been offered greater autonomy through reducing Local Authority control of schools and devolving centralised decision-making to individual schools, yet they are concurrently to be held more accountable for addressing national priorities, like raising aspirations and attainment. This normative view of head teachers leading schools towards the salvation of their pupils fails to take full account of the effects of context upon school performance. Wrigley (2004) addresses this in refuting the notion that all children and young people can achieve regardless of 'background'.

A central tenet of Labour policy was that equality is synonymous with sameness; all children should be subject to the same systems and this will improve outcomes. This 'homogenisation' did little to support isolated and rural localities. Rather than ignoring context specific elements, Wrigley suggests that we should in fact take more account of them:

> ...the relationship between a school and its environment is complex, dynamic and reciprocal. Some schools in high poverty areas become more successful through an intelligent and hopeful engagement with the community, and the schools improvement may sometimes even contribute to an area's economic regeneration. My hypothesis is that successful schools in 'adverse circumstances' are effective precisely because they take background fully on-board. (p. 235)

Within the Coalition policy, the problem of context takes on a different complexion. It is claimed that the new localism of educational policy intends to take account of the specific issues facing communities and the individual needs of learners. While the responses from many of our participants suggested they will welcome this

liberalisation, the data also reveals some limitations of decentralisation. Some of the perspectives expressed by participants, particularly amongst the teaching and school leader groups, reflected their own limited aspirations for young people, regarding their location as a deficiency to be overcome rather than as strength to draw upon.

With regard to national initiatives, teaching staff, school leaders and non-teaching staff identified some national policy initiatives as significant to supporting aspirations, such as the Diplomas for 14 to 19 year olds and personalised learning allowing for greater flexibility in choices for students. However, as one non-teaching staff member at Dale pointed out, these initiatives required local commitment and in the case of the Diplomas, they had limited resources to 'drive' this agenda. Some respondents suggested that local initiatives could mitigate some inadequacies in national policy. For example, one respondent commented that the constraints of a centralised and inflexible national curriculum were alleviated somewhat through a local initiative at Worthfield called the TOTAL Curriculum. TOTAL stands for 'Topic Orientated Teaching And Learning', which groups curriculum areas around three 'flavours': Communications, Creations and Innovations. Other local initiatives and projects mentioned in relation to the schools' involvement in the life of their students were the Dale local regeneration project, Worthfield's 'McMaster Day'[1] celebration, interschool sports and the Comenius project, which promotes contact with Europe and is funded through the British Council. However, evidence of positive local initiatives within the schools suggested that these were small scale or ad hoc and did not appear central in our participants' perceptions of what might enhance young people's aspirations. While initiatives like these are more likely to be supported with funding and resources under the new policy regime, it may be that they continue in ad hoc fashion without clear centralised direction and strategy.

Waterhouse (2008) evaluated a project intended to raise aspiration in communities in the East of England that has achieved some success. Whilst the commitment to change has come from a number of sources, the direction has not come from individual schools. Rather it has required a central strategy group that has given an overall shape to the project, including members from the local authority, the Adult Education Service and a local high school, emphasising the importance of bringing a variety of perspectives to bear upon problems of specific school communities. While the initial Academies proposal for the Cornwall schools was a consortium that represented quite different interests, the new proposals are from individual schools. With schools acting independently, we are concerned that entrenched beliefs and practices that were evident in our data will serve to marginalise pupils and not be challenged or sufficiently scrutinised. However, there are also challenges that arise when governance is circulated through networks or linkages between different agents. In the project Waterhouse (2008) describes, she found that there were difficulties enacting change, with participants who were engaged in the project facing difficulties when they took the initiative back to their schools. She notes that it is "…highly significant in a context where school/community links, inter-agency initiatives and Every Child Matters are of high priority that communication with and between schools has been so problematic" (p. 382). With an increasing policy discourse of autonomy within schools, and reliance upon local communities and social networks to address significant social issues like aspiration, we suspect these challenges will increase rather than diminish.

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[1] The name of the Worthfield celebration day has been changed to preserve the anonymity of the school.

Conclusion

The aspirations ascribed to and held by young people in outlying communities are shaped significantly by their geographic location. In our case study schools in Cornwall we found that there was a strong relationship between aspirations and location, and that location was predominantly perceived as a disadvantage. Educational policy responses have tended to further marginalise young people in outlying communities because they are centralised and focused upon the problems of young people in large urban centres. In the United Kingdom, policy has tended to be London-centric (Ball, 2008a), so that urban issues such as population density and multi-culturalism take precedence over concerns of isolation and regional identity. Recent policy is following a trend, started under previous governments, that is explicitly aiming to shift aspects of authority and control away from the centre, and devolve responsibility for social provision to local communities. This trend is evident in the expansion of the Academy schools programme. While there is encouragement within this scheme to establish chains or networks of Academy schools to work together, the majority of schools are applying to the scheme as individual entities.

The data from our schools showed up that pupils we spoke with generally had very high aspirations with regard employment. While we suspect that the pupils were not representative of all pupils (at one of the schools they were the School Council), responses from the other groups we talked with suggested that there are pupils at these schools who have high aspirations and will achieve them. However, there was also considerable evidence to suggest that there is another group of pupils who have low aspirations and are not expected to achieve highly within school. The general expectation for the first group was that they would leave Cornwall for study and employment. The young people within the second group were expected to remain in Cornwall, and were generally portrayed as having limited horizons. The Academies programme is intended to give schools the autonomy to address problems such as lowered aspiration, and the school communities have expressed their commitment to change through their engagement with national policy. However, question arise about how individual schools will scrutinise themselves and their practices to ensure that they do not perpetuate poor social outcomes through entrenched beliefs about a link between physical isolation and social disadvantage.

Current government policy that is intended to address social disadvantage appears dependent upon community involvement. If schools can mobilise their communities, form solid and workable links with other organisations and individuals, we feel they may make some progress in raising aspirations. While such networks can be powerful mechanisms for social change, utilising them for a particular social ends can also be challenging. Formed through relationships at interpersonal and experiential levels, there is considerable variation in their quality and commitments (see Howes & Frankham, 2008; Ball, 2008b).

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