The Restaurant: A space for social learning? An ethnographic case study of an Academy school

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

by

Gurpinder Singh Lalli
School of Education
University of Leicester

2018

Abstract

The Restaurant: A space for social learning? An ethnographic case study of an Academy school

Gurpinder Singh Lalli

This thesis investigates the impact that food has on social learning at a school in a Midlands city in the UK that I have chosen to call (for reasons of anonymity) Peartree Academy. The premise of my thesis is that the dining hall of the facility can be utilised as a space for fostering social learning. My research explores what happens when a school organises its dining hall as a restaurant. The school dining hall is a place often neglected in research, and this thesis demonstrates that there is much to be gained for both pupils and staff from interaction in eating spaces. The research questions address the impact of the food environment on social learning. The key focus is to explore the social and life skills that pupils develop through meeting, making choices, modelling behaviours, eating, and talking together in a space in the school known as the 'restaurant'. This is written as an ethnographic case study and adopts a social constructivist position to frame the theoretical aspects of the research. The study is based on pupils in Years 4 – 11 and uses a qualitative research framework for data collection. The findings emphasise the tensions and challenges between the aims of the school - to create an eating space that promotes social values and encourages the development of social skills - and the activities of teachers and catering assistants, who face the challenge of managing and providing food for a large number of pupils daily. The thesis concludes that, like the traditional classroom, a school dining area also requires conscientious environmental adaptation in order for social learning opportunities to take place.

Acknowledgements

Contents

Frequently used acronyms

BERA	British Educational Research Association
CCT	Compulsory Competitive Tendering
CFT	Children's Food Trust
CoE	Church of England
DBS	Disclosure and Barring Service
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
DfE	Department for Education
DoH	Department of Health
EAL	English as an Additional Language
EBD	Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties
EYFS	Early Years Foundation Stage
FFE	Food for Education
FRAC	Food Research and Action Centre
FSM	Free School Meals
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
HPS	Health Promoting School
HWRC	Health and Wellbeing Review Committee
KS2	Key Stage 2
KS3	Key Stage 3
KS4	Key Stage 4
LA	Local Authority
LRC	Learning Resource Centre
LSB	London School Board
NFA	National Food Administration
NQT	Newly Qualified Teachers
OECD	Organisation for Economic Development
OfSTED	Office for Standards in Education
PE	Physical Education
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SET	School Food Self-Evaluation Toolbox
SFP	School Feeding Programmes
THR	Take Home Rations
VVF	Vegetarian and Vegan Foundation
WFP	World Food Programmes
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

List of Appendices

List of Figures

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 - Introduction to the study

The opportunity to carry out an investigative study on the link between the school food environment and learning came about through an advertised project scholarship of a three-year PhD programme. The project aimed to explore the relationship between food and learning in a secondary school Academy (see Appendix 1). This was an opportunity to explore an area of interest where little research had previously been undertaken. My rationale for pursuing this area of inquiry stemmed from several reasons, but principally a passion for studying the sociology of food and experience of teaching hard-to-reach students at a Further Education college. I spent a number of years supporting students with issues concerning food consumption. In my previous studies, I read widely on culture and identity and the sociology of education and pedagogy in teaching and learning. As I became increasingly interested in these areas, I decided to pursue a research degree in education studies. This studentship was attractive to me due to the ideas put forward behind the research project, relating to the social and cultural dimensions of food and learning. I was selected as the candidate to pursue this research following an application and interview process at the University of Leicester. This specific PhD path was an unconventional one, as I was required to put a proposal together instead of having one in place prior to the start the project.

Consequently, I developed a research proposal which introduced some of the key works in this research area (McEwan, 2013; Jyoti et al, 2005; Ahmed, 2004). However, these works stemmed predominantly from an international context, and my study aimed to investigate social interactions in a school restaurant in the Midlands, UK, which I decided to call Peartree Academy for reasons of anonymity. One of the issues that emerged from my study of the literature and early observations of the school was how to define social skills in the context of learning. The overall aim was then to establish how social learning opportunities are developed, with a particular focus on social skills development in the school dining hall; otherwise known as the 'restaurant'. This study seeks to move away from a focus on the individual and their perceptions

of certain foods, or to draw on any quantitative nutritional links. Instead, it explores situations in which food is prepared, cooked, served, and eaten; a practice of engaging in forms of sociability (Murcott et al, 2013). In turn, it is then important to clarify that this thesis aims to investigate 'how we eat' as opposed to 'what we eat'. In order to learn about the surrounding literature on food, a multi-disciplinary approach is needed in order to acquire knowledge on the field. The focus of my study is on pupils in Year 4 to Year 11. The younger Year 1 – 3 classes ate in a separate part of the school compared to the rest of the pupils who ate in the restaurant.

It is said that 'a family that eats together, stays together' (Stone, 2002: 270). The social cohesive force implied by this phrase arguably brings families closer and helps pupils to succeed in society and education, whilst also developing their life chances. Although there is some literature around this research area, it seems to be mainly reported in the form of journal and newspaper articles (Murcott, 1983). Murcott (2011) discussed the emergence of sociology of food through identification of the works of social anthropologists, making reference to the views of Yudkin and McKenzie (1964). According to the latter scholars, the social sciences are just as important as the natural sciences in the study of human nutrition (Yudkin and McKenzie, 1964). In their works, Beardsworth and Keil (1996) also recognise the importance of the sociology of food, providing an overview of the multidisciplinary literature which places an emphasis on exploring the familiar everyday experiences of sharing food and identifying with its broader cultural context. They also noted how psychologists dedicated more attention than sociologists towards a wide range of research on food and eating, including the cognitive and emotional dimensions of eating, the processes of nutritional socialisation, and the causes of eating disorders (Beardsworth and Keil, 1996: 3). They also discussed the overlap between subject disciplines. Those working towards the physiological end of the spectrum were better placed to study the physical processes of eating in their direct bodily and behavioural contexts, whilst those researching the social end could more easily investigate the influences of personality, biography, and interpersonal relationships. In essence, it can be argued that the interests of the social psychologist might intersect with those of the sociologist; and the same is

also true for the social anthropologist and the historian (Beardsworth and Keil, 1996).

Weaver-Hightower (2011) promotes the idea of placing further emphasis on food research, particularly in an educational setting. He recognises how food is a basic aspect of life, tied to survival and identifies how it plays a huge role in the school setting. He argues for further research to be conducted in a subject area which largely consists of research from disciplines outside of education studies. He identified with school food as a window into culture and identity as education research attempts to consider ways in which food provides an insight into individuals and culture-sharing groups in schools (Weaver-Hightower, 2011: 18). As for Weaver-Hightower (2011) this thesis argues for the importance of linking school food and education studies, through which the cultural practices of schools change. He poses typical examples through an investigative inquiry into school food and representation which provide opportunities for contributions towards educational policy. My study investigates the social aspect of the school meal at Peartree Academy.

School meals are a popular area for policy reform, which is highlighted through reference to the work of Dimbleby and Vincent (2013) who developed the 'School Food Plan' (DfE, 2013). They had the backing of the Secretary of State for Education, at that time (Michael Gove) and the diverse organisations who plan to support head teachers to improve the overall food practices in UK schools. Dimbleby and Vincent (2013) draw on hidden benefits associated with good food culture and how pupils, peers and teachers are able to sit and eat together, whilst developing positive relationships in a civilised environment. Pupils clearly care about the food environment and like the idea of a clean and well-lit dining area, with friendly cooks and supervisors (Dimbleby and Vincent, 2013). Pupils also like to socialise in their dining environment, whether their friends have packed lunches or school dinners and they like the idea of shorter queues. A recent study carried out by Hart (2016) makes close links to the School Food Plan (DfE, 2013) placing a focus on the social context of the school meal, which highlights issues of public health and the school meal is quickly becoming an area for public debate. Littlecott et al (2015) also studied

the association between breakfast consumption and educational outcomes which again makes an attempt to connect health to wellbeing and achievement. Furthermore, Greaves et al (2016) carried out an investigation in order to find a link between school breakfast and attainment, which involved increasing the uptake of school breakfast by pupils.

When I started looking for literature on this topic, most studies were carried out in an international context, which were important, particularly as they set out the context for this PhD studentship (see Appendix 1). This led me to use the following search criteria: (1) Free School Meals (FSM) (2) school food (3) obesity (4) food for education (5) food and learning (6) school canteen (7) school food trust (8) Jamie Oliver (9) food culture in schools (10) nutrition and learning (11) eating habits (12) community intervention in schools (13) social skills. Once I had gathered literature around these search terms, I came up with the following research question: What is the impact of the food environment upon social learning? I then developed two subsidiary questions (see below). There is much evidence to suggest that eating habits and promoting a healthy school-life are closely linked to social skills, attendance and academic performance (McEwan, 2013; Jyoti et al, 2005; Ahmed, 2004). This led me to develop a literature review, which introduces the history of the UK school meal, starting from the mid-nineteenth century as this was when nutritional standards of the UK school meal were being considered. The western context is a key focus for this study. The main and two subsidiary research questions are presented below:

Main research question
What is the impact of the food environment upon social learning?

Subsidiary research questions
1. How do eating behaviours of staff and pupils impact on social learning?
2. How do teaching staff promote social learning within a food environment?

The subsidiary research questions compliment the main research question by ensuring that a structure is in place to explore the issues raised. The two sub-questions allow for a broader focus, which challenge the processes which shape the school restaurant. Moreover, the literature on food programmes draws out some of the potential learning opportunities on offer in a school dining hall, through which social skills can be developed. It is important to outline the context of Peartree Academy, in order to hone in on the background in which the school is situated as well as introduce the norms and values that are being instilled.

1.2- Case Study School: A context

Peartree Academy is an all through 3 – 16 urban school which opened in 2007. The school replaces what was a deteriorating school, in a deprived area of a UK City. According to the latest figures (DfE, 2017) it holds a capacity for 1046 pupils with 933 currently enrolled and 272 staff. The school specialises in Business and Enterprise with a focus on food. Local businesses also have involvement within the school, by supplying the ingredients for the school breakfast club as well as sending in their own chefs to teach cookery skills.

It is a mixed sex school with a large proportion of pupils of White British heritage. The proportion of pupils supported by the pupil premium is above average. The pupil premium is an initiative which allows access to additional government funding in order to support disadvantaged pupils, who are identified as being eligible for FSM. A total of fifty-one per cent of pupils at Peartree Academy have access to FSM. In addition to this, forty-nine per cent of pupils have Special Educational Needs (SEN) which is above average for a school. According to the 2011 census, income, employment, health and education deprivation was recorded as high, in comparison to the rest of the UK. The unemployment rate was measured at 13.3 per cent in comparison to the rest of the UK, which was 7.8 per cent. It is useful to bear these figures in mind when interpreting the study.

The school curriculum is made up of 3 phases. Phase 1 includes the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) which runs through to Year 4, with a particular

focus on literacy, numeracy, personal and social skills in preparation for the wider curriculum. Phase 2 includes Years 5 – 8 which continues to develop literacy and numeracy skills in preparation for the GCSE stage. The school's curriculum in Phase 3 supports Years 9 – 11 in making subject choices alongside the schools core curriculum of English, Maths, Science, RE (Religious Education), PE (Physical Education) and Enterprise. The school is innovative in its role in supporting the local community, through raising standards for pupils as well as providing a strong support network for parents and the wider community, in giving them access to developing their skills further to aid local regeneration. For example, unpaid and paid employment is available, which has seen some parents working as teaching assistants in the classroom and others in the canteen as assistant chefs and lunchtime supervisors.

The Principal's philosophy of the school rests on trying to exceed set expectations each year in order to support children in becoming successful adults. For the Principal, the restaurant acts as the central hub of the school. Staff members at the school are able to use the restaurant to build positive relationships with parents whilst discussing children's progression. In addition, parents and community members are able to take up opportunities to volunteer as support staff in the school, both in and outside of the classroom.

The board of governors within the school play an influential role in the day to day running of the school. They include two parent governors, one of whom is responsible for the extended school activities. This is an opportunity for the local community to develop a wide range of skills in sports, arts and gain further prospects towards achieving additional GCSEs. A local businessman who funded the school has been involved in the food manufacturing business and is very passionate about the importance of having a strong team of governors, which include education professionals to be able to drive the ethos of the school forward.

Peartree Academy is a Church of England (CoE) school and there is a strong impetus towards helping the pupils to achieve their full potential throughout their

early and adolescent years. The school is designed with the church positioned on the left as a key feature so that everyone that enters the school will pass the church. The Church at the school is closely linked to the community which enables pupils to understand the meaning of belonging in a community. The Christian values of the school are represented through the schools core values, which include, loving, caring and respecting, forgiveness and new beginnings, trust and honesty, nurturing, faith and prayer and 'doing our best' (as cited in the school prospectus).

The restaurant at the school dominates the right hand side of the main building upon entering the reception area. The restaurant is exceptionally spacious and well-lit by natural lighting. An image of the restaurant alongside a view of the outside of the school is shown in Figs. 14 and 15 . The design of the restaurant is open plan, which means easy access for everyone. The main staffroom is situated opposite the restaurant as well as a number of classrooms including the reception enquiry desk. The rectangular and circular tables in the school restaurant are a shift away from the rows of tables seen in a traditional school canteen. There is a random combination of tables with each one decorated by a vase of fresh flowers. The restaurant at Peartree Academy has a great nurturing, homely yet bright presence within the school, acting as the focal point. In an article from The Independent (Lepkowska, 2012) written on the school which cannot be named for issues of ethical confidentiality, recognition was given to this focal point, which is otherwise known as the meeting place; breakfast table; dining room, or more commonly referred to as the restaurant. A unique feature of this restaurant is that there are always pupils and staff sitting at tables throughout the school day. The school lunches are staggered amongst different year groups whilst others continue to study. The presence of the restaurant creates a particular identity for the school, highlighting the specialism of food. The architecture and curriculum support both the ethos and specialism, which has come about following the introduction of the UK Academy status.

The Blair administration established academies in 2000 which are primarily self-governing (Shimmon, 2010). As a result, there is less bureaucratic involvement

at Peartree Academy with more freedom over their budgets. This means the leaders of the school can drive the curriculum design to support the needs of their pupils and local community. This has had a huge impact on the structure of the school day allowing for a more flexible approach. In order to reflect on my role as a researcher, I decided to highlight my first impressions here.

1.3 - 'First impressions' as a researcher and 'Reflections in the school restaurant

First impressions as a researcher

This is my story, coming from a background in teaching and starting as a researcher. Having started the new role as a researcher in January 2012, I sat down with my supervisor and discussed expectations and my immediate insecurities in conducting research. This initial meeting enabled me to pose questions to my supervisor, who was supportive and pointed out that I would need to ensure that I regularly attended the doctoral research workshops. Attendance at the workshops were instrumental to my development as a researcher as I had the opportunity to listen to conference presentations as well as participate in sessions delivered by experienced educational researchers within the department. I attended sessions on 'how to conduct a literature review', 'preparing for data collection', 'using Nvivo as a research tool', 'developing theoretical frameworks in the doctoral thesis', 'methodological implications', 'interviewing and observational research', 'collecting documentary evidence', 'writing up' and 'communicating findings effectively'. These sessions were available every three to six months throughout my doctoral studies and they were influential in constructing my identity as an early career researcher. Although I had some experience at an undergraduate and postgraduate level in conducting interviews and observations, I had doubts in my mind with regards to these research methods as I had not previously had formal training in them. More importantly, I felt that I needed to learn more about how to carry out structured observations and learn appropriate questioning techniques for interviewing in order to get the best out of the data.

There was also the position of 'insider' which I felt was imposed upon me as I embarked on a study of the school. This involved 'getting to know the culture' and becoming to some extent an 'insider' in the school and I introduce a discussion on this in chapter four. This is a methodological issue, which became an on-going one throughout my doctoral journey and one which has been reflected upon in my article (Lalli, 2015). As I progressed with the study, I quickly came to learn that I would have an impact on the life experiences of participants who attended Peartree Academy as a researcher. Having regularly visited the school for the past three years, I became a familiar face amongst the school staff and pupils. I find myself reflecting upon my visits to the school in my lectures when drawing on examples of schooling today. I am currently a lecturer in education and inclusion studies at an institution where I have worked for the past four years. My role prior to starting the research in January 2012 was college lecturer, which then shifted to that of an early career academic. The change in roles has led to increased opportunities to communicate key ideas from my research and reflect critically upon those comments in further refining the narrative of my study. For example, I have been able to present my research ideas at conferences both nationally and internationally, whilst also publishing journal articles (Lalli, 2017a, Lalli, 2017b; Lalli, 2015; Lalli, 2014a; Lalli, 2014b; Lalli and Burgess, 2012). My research journey, as documented in my notes began in the following way.

Reflection drawn from research notes
It was a frosty winter's morning, at 8 o'clock on 16th January 2012 as I approached with some trepidation the school I later called Peartree Academy. The entrance was unusual. On the left, and built as part of the school, was a church. I discovered later that the church was regularly used by the local community and ceremonies such as baptisms and marriages as well as funerals took place during the week even when the school was open. On the right, was the school reception where all visitors were asked to sign in before proceeding. Walking straight ahead and through the doors into the school, I was faced with a surprise. The area that lay in front of me was a wide open space filled with tables attractively grouped to provide seating from small to large numbers of people. On each table stood a small vase of fresh flowers and

the whole eating area shone with cleanliness and care. Even though this was before the start of the school day, I saw children eating breakfast, parents talking to one another, a few adults who I assumed to be the teachers chatting in groups, stood around the edge of the dining area. Later in the day, after I talked with the principal, I returned to the dining area, when children were coming in for lunch. This area was known as 'the restaurant' and it became my main research site for collecting data.

In my field notes (see Appendix 2) I had written a very different scene from early morning, which highlighted the school lunch period. This time of day saw a busy and fluid environment, which set me thinking about the research questions. The noise level was different, instead of calm, it was busy with catering staff and pupils hurrying around the restaurant area. Yet, all the participants I could see, although carrying out different roles, still treated the area as if it were a restaurant, rather then a school dining hall. As the children left, the tables were tidied by the canteen staff, ready for the next 'customers' to use the restaurant.

It became clear to me that this was no ordinary school dining hall, it was 'the restaurant', a place which had been built for purpose, positioned in the centre of the school, the reason for which became clear to me as the research progressed. An overview of the chapters sets out the major themes developed during the research.

1.4 Chapter Overview

This PhD thesis is organised into nine chapters. These include the introduction to the study, literature review, theoretical framework, methodology, ethics, findings and conclusion. A brief synopsis of each chapter is provided below.

Chapter two introduces the historical context of the UK school meal from 1870 to the present day. This is followed by a review of school food programmes, eating behaviours and social learning. It is here that the key ideas begin to emerge.

Chapter three introduces the theoretical framework for the study, debating key concepts including ontology, epistemology and interpretivism. This chapter is dedicated to social constructivism as the main theoretical frame for interpreting the school meal situation at Peartree Academy. The relevance of Foucault is discussed and early links to the methodology begin to take shape.

Chapter four introduces the methodology of the study, specifically providing a justification for implementing an ethnographic case study approach. This is followed by the overall research design. Whilst it provides an overview of symbolic interactionism as a mode of data analysis, the chapter is further extended into a debate on methodological decisions and considerations. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion on the writing of the ethnography.

Chapter five builds on the methodology with a focus on ethical considerations, drawing specifically on processes, subjectivity, objectivity, validity and generalisability as key debates. This is a particularly important aspect of the study as it helps to build a suitable ethical framework for investigation; one where careful interpretations from certain situations during the research process are explored.

Chapter six opens with the first of three key chapters which emerged from the findings. This is about the recruitment of staff and the design of the school

restaurant. The original aim of why the school dining area was built is introduced here.

Chapter seven is a significant one as it begins to bring together a notion originally outlined as a key objective in the study (to explore the impact of food on social learning). The lack of literature available on social learning in schools is apparent, which is highlighted as a key movement in terms of the originality of the thesis. This chapter explores the 'pedagogical meal' (Sepp et al, 2006), a concept originally developed in Sweden, and uses a similar framework in aiding the meaning making process of the school restaurant. This chapter brings together the complexities involved in interpreting the school meal situation as a place for learning.

Chapter eight provides a discussion on how behaviour is being modelled in the school restaurant whilst also drawing on the inference of surveillance. There are a number of extracts which emerge from the main dataset which help shed light on the overall interpretations made from the teachers' and pupils' perspectives.

Chapter nine draws the thesis to a close with a discussion on concluding remarks, recommendations and methodological reflections.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

2.1 – Introduction

The literature review provides a multidisciplinary view of the school meal, offering a holistic lens to better interpret the complexities surrounding this discourse. It has been organised into four parts: (1) the history of English school meals (2) school food programmes (3) eating behaviours and attitudes to learning (4) social learning.

2.2 - The history of English school meals

There is much evidence to suggest that political agendas feed into policy making for the UK. This is evident with school meals, where plans to enforce nutritional standards were introduced, heavily influenced by WWI and WWII (Dewey, 2014). A discussion on school meals in the UK is provided, starting from the mid-nineteenth century up to the present day. The reasons for the introduction of legislation and policy reform of school meals are discussed. Historical events highlight the social impact on the nation during each period. This section is split into six parts (1)1870 – 1903 (2) 1905 – 1951 (3) 1964 - 1979 (4) 1980 – 2000 (5) 2001 – 2011 (6) 2012 – present.

1870 – 1903

The introduction of the Elementary Education Act (1870) set the framework for all children between the ages of 5 and 12 to start attending school. In 1880, this was made compulsory for children up to the age of 12. The driving force behind this was an apparent need for a more competitive Britain (Cross and MacDonald, 2009). As a result many children from poor homes started attending school for the first time. Some historians date the origins of school food provision to the 1880s; a time which saw the introduction of compulsory education, which exposed the problem of undernourished children and their inability to learn effectively (Cross and MacDonald, 2009). In the nineteenth century, due to the concerns of adverse conditions in which people lived, the government enforced new regulations to ensure better housing, education and clean water for all (Gillard, 2011). At this time, City Corporations began providing water and drains; refuse disposal, cleaner streets, parks, public

swimming baths, libraries and schools, making a significant difference to the quality of life (Gillard, 2003: 1).

Following the introduction of the Elementary Education Act (1870) in 1879, Manchester began to provide FSM to poorly nourished children, which saw the introduction of a similar scheme in Bradford, initially set up by Fred Jowett and Margaret McMillan, who pushed for government legislation to encourage education authorities to provide school meals (Gillard, 2003). This highlighted the importance of the link between food and education at that time. McMillan argued that if the state planned to make education compulsory, then it must also consider taking the necessary measures to provide proper nourishment to school children (Gillard, 2003: 2). At this point in time the London School Board (LSB), an institution of local government, elected for covering the whole of London, began to provide cheap or free school dinners. Other providers included the Salvation Army and other humanitarian organisations, which recognised that children needed food to fuel their learning and development. However, this undernourishment became a national problem which led to a government response. That response was also influenced by Britain's lack of ability to win battles in wars, and therefore nutrition in schooling began to be prioritised (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). More than a third of the young men, who fought in the 1899 Boer War, were too ill, small or undernourished to be effective soldiers (Gooch, 2013).

In a survey carried out between 1889 and 1903, it was found that a quarter of the population living in London did not have enough money to survive (Gillard, 2003). Moreover, the Seebohm Rowntree's survey of working class families in York in 1901 found almost half of those earning could not afford enough food to maintain physical efficiency (Gillard, 2003: 2). Consequently, due to levels of poverty at that time, children did not have access to appropriate nutrition and many parents did not understand nutrition due to the level of poverty (Gillard, 2003).

1905 – 1951

The Liberal UK government who were in power between 1905 and 1915 announced the introduction of the Education (Provision of meals) Act (1906) which placed a focus on good nutrition for children. It was this liberal government in Britain between 1906 – 1914, which historians argued was the beginning of the welfare state (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). There were three eras of welfare reform in school food in the UK; the welfare era of collective provision, the neo-liberal era of choice and the emerging sustainable provision of controlled choice (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). The welfare state placed importance on the health and wellbeing of children but this was also a time of warfare, where the motive was to develop armed services with well-fed and able-bodied working class recruits (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010: 91). The Education Act (1906) allowed Local Education Authorities (LEA) the power to provide meals for children without the means to pay for them (Passmore and Harris, 2004). Cooked school meals were introduced in 1906, with three school meals provided per week (Dare and O'Donovan, 2002: 90). The prices of these meals were strictly controlled and free milk was available for all school children.

Following WWI, the introduction of the Education Act (1921) raised the school leaving age to 14 and also empowered LEAs to provide FSM, for those children who were eligible. However, due to the miners' strike of that year, attention was diverted, but eventually, the introduction of FSM led to an increase in the cost of providing meals, to almost £1m (Gillard, 2003). The Board of Education introduced a rationing system in order to limit the cost to central government, down to £300,000 (Welshman, 1997). Consequently, the rationing system affected the poor areas of the country, with less than half of those considered malnourished receiving meals (Webster, 1985: 216). Overall, a survey of 26 LEAs, carried out in 1936, showed where unemployment was above 25 per cent, in a population of half a million, less than 15,000 children were receiving free meals, with 8 of the LEAs having no service at all. By 1939, less than half of all local authorities were providing school meals, with 130,000 meals being served each day, totalling only 3 per cent of the school population, although 50 per cent were receiving milk (Smith, 1996: 191).

World War II saw a further emphasis placed on the nation's health, with food rationing being introduced in 1940 as part of the war effort in an attempt to ensure a healthy nation. The school lunch had to be suitable as the main meal of the day and had to meet the nutritional standards (covering energy, protein and fat) introduced in 1941 (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010: 91). Eventually, school meals were introduced in all state schools during WWII. The Education Act (1944) made it compulsory for every LEA to provide a school meal, which became a significant feature of the welfare state (Gillard, 2003). LEAs were informed that the price of meals could not exceed the cost of food. Although free school milk was introduced for needy children, it was not available for free to all until 1946. As the demands of WWII grew, so did the urgency of compulsory school meals, as adequate nutrition at this time took priority. As a result, half of the school population of state schools were eating a midday meal and official records identified an increase in height and weight of children as they grew faster (Fisher, 1987). Furthermore, this also had a positive impact on their social behaviour, where the school meal had become part of 'school life', valued as a quick, cheap and easy way of improving and developing the nation (Fisher, 1987).

During the Labour government (1945 – 1951), a proposal to provide all school meals free of charge was planned but eventually this was deemed unrealistic (Gillard, 2003). By 1951, eighty-four per cent of the population drank school milk. The typical daily diet of a child in 1951 included cereal or eggs with bread and butter for breakfast; meat, potatoes, a vegetable and a pudding for lunch; bread, butter, biscuits and jam for tea; with milk being the last thing at night (Gillard, 2003). The Conservative government returned to power in 1951 and an updated official government document was produced with advice on nutritional standards, specifically stating that the school meal should be 'adequate in quantity and quality to serve as the main meal of the day' (Gillard, 2003).

1964 – 1979

Having regained power in 1964, Labour played a part in the infamous snatching of milk by the successive conservative government. Up until the 1970s, the UK had a comprehensive school meals service, which was relatively cheap and

also provided children from disadvantaged backgrounds the opportunity to access FSM. However, the introduction of the conservative government in 1979 meant the school meal had to adjust to the new consumer culture of the 1970s, which saw a change in attitude towards school meals. In 1979, nearly two-thirds of pupils in England ate school meals. At the time, Conservative education minister, Mark Carlisle, provided three reasons why school meal reforms had to be made. These included (1) savings in public expenditure (2) to ensure that the burden cuts fell on the school meal service and not education itself (3) to provide parents and children more freedom of choice (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). However, due to his budget cuts, he had little choice but to cut back on the school meals provision (Campbell, 2012).

In her response to spending cuts, to meet their election pledges on tax, Margaret Thatcher demanded cuts in four areas, two of which included school meal charges and free school milk. As she became Prime Minister in 1979, during her first year, astonishingly for most, she brought an end to the provision of school milk for children over the age of seven (Smith, 2010). However, although she was known for abolishing free school milk, it was Harold Wilson's Labour government that stopped free milk for secondary pupils in 1968. In 1971, Thatcher, who was education secretary under Sir Edward Heath, brought an end to free school milk for children over the age of seven, although recent documents released suggest she had fought to save the grants but was overruled by Sir Edward Heath (Smith, 2010). There are a number of underlying factors which have brought about a change in opinion on the consumption of milk. Although milk has a naturally healthy image, the Vegetarian and Vegan Foundation (VVF) claimed it was not as healthy as alternatives and heart charities proposed it contributed to childhood obesity (Spence et al, 2011). Dentists recommended water and milk as the two drinks that should be regularly consumed by children (Smith, 2010). Following the introduction of the 1980 Education Act, the Tories changed the school meals service from a compulsory national subsidised service for all children, to an optional local service. Four notable changes saw the removal of the obligation on LEAs to provide school lunches, except for children entitled to FSM. The entitlement for

FSM was decided based on the economic position of the family in terms of income.

In 1978, the government decided to enable LEAs to provide free school milk for 7 – 11 year olds and take advantage of the European Union subsidy for the school milk scheme (Smith, 2010). The European Commission Scheme allowed schools to receive subsidies of up to a third of retail prices for milk. The shift towards a consumer's market led to schools opting to purchase meals from competitive tenders.

1980 – 2000

The Education Act (1980) also saw a move away from meeting nutritional standards; which involved an end to free school milk whilst removing any obligation for meals to be sold at a fixed price. This enabled LEAs to provide free milk as the scheme enabled them to claim additional funding for primary and secondary milk sales. In 1988, many children lost their eligibility for FSM and some school meal payments made by the government were replaced by direct cash sums to families. However, there was no way of establishing whether this cash incentive was spent on food. By 1990, the criteria for FSM changed as Local Education Authorities (LEAs) were only required to provide meals for children entitled to free dinners and also to provide a place for children to eat packed lunches (Dare and O'Donovan, 2002: 90). This saw the introduction of a privatised culture of school meals, where the priority shifted from providing a nutritional meal, with in-house school control to a 'value for money' meal culture.

In 1988, caterers provided school meals to a specific contract, meaning the LEAs decided the specifications for the school meal service contract, including the cost, nutritional guidelines and quality of the meals served (Ridgwell, 1996). This saw a privatisation of school meals. 'Best' value replaced the system of Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT). Elsewhere, in education the selling of school fields led to a lack of interest and participation in day-to-day physical activity and the National Curriculum abolished Home Economics as a subject, which consequently led to a lack of interest in food preparation for children

leaving school (Gillard, 2003). This had a huge impact on the nation's diet, with less fresh food being cooked at home and a growing uptake on ready-made meals. By 1989 the figures for uptake of consumption of school meals plummeted to less than half of pupils.

By the time New Labour took power in 1997, there was a mass of evidence pointing to the nation's health concerns, particularly children's diets, which had become less healthy over time, with concerns about excessive levels of sugar, salt and fat (Gillard, 2003). The government announced that it would introduce nutritional guidelines which encouraged school canteens to provide a choice of four main categories of food – fruit and vegetables, meat and protein, starchy foods and milk and dairy products. The main agenda was to ensure fruit and vegetables were accessible and affordable for all, as the Public Health Minister, Yvette Cooper in 2000, argued that children who grew up in low income households ate less fruit and vegetables than children who grew up in high income households.

2001 – 2011
Stigma has also shaped part of the school meal, in terms of uptake. In 2001, over 1.8 million children in the UK were eligible for FSM, but it was reported that only one in five pupils claimed this entitlement (Storey and Chamberlain, 2001). The stigma attached to FSM is the central factor that has affected meal uptake; the embarrassment and fear of being teased. The report on school meals in secondary schools in England, identified that in over seventy-five per cent of the schools surveyed, those pupils receiving FSM were easily identifiable by other pupils (Cross and MacDonald, 2009: 61). The Ofsted inspection survey of 27 schools in 12 local authorities identified how the visibility of payment methods discouraged pupils entitled to FSM to take-up the meal (OfSTED, 2007).

Nutritional standards were reintroduced in 2001. It was during the period, 2001 – 2011, that attention was refocused on health matters, and in particular, issues of obesity and quality of school dinners. These concerns were pushed into political focus in February 2005, by food chef Jamie Oliver, in the television

series 'Jamie's School Dinners'. For once, this brought a general consensus amongst the three main government parties (Labour, Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats). Their manifestos leading up to the general election all promised to improve school meals, police junk food advertising aimed at children and to control the content of school vending machine sales (Gillard, 2003). Education Secretary, Ruth Kelly promised an additional £280m to improve school meals, and as of March 2005 the government were required to allocate 50 pence a day on ingredients per primary pupil and 60 pence per day per secondary pupil (Branigan et al, 2005).

In 2005, food revolutionary Jamie Oliver created a series on Channel 4 called 'Jamie's School Dinners' (Conlan, 2005) which caused uproar because evidence identified pupils consuming a quarter of a ton of chips every week at Kidbrooke School in Greenwich (BBC News, 2007). The food budget was 37p per meal and the dinner ladies at the school had become demotivated. As a result, the Children's Food Trust (CFT) was set up in 2005 in order to help schools introduce and maintain the national standards for school food, as well as helping children enjoy their lunchtime experience. Junk food was banned in schools in 2006 (BBC News, 2006). More recently, an independent study identified the performance of 11 year old pupils eating Oliver's meals improved in English and Science and absenteeism due to ill-health decreased by fifteen per cent (Khan, 2009).

In 2007, OfSTED introduced new interim standards for food in schools in 2006. A survey evaluated the progress schools were making in meeting the new standards, which would ensure that school lunches provide pupils with a healthy diet (OfSTED, 2007: 7). However, the report identified that school lunch take-up had fallen in 19 of the 27 schools visited for the survey (Curtis, 2007). The reasons for the decline included a lack of consultation with pupils and parents about the new arrangements in school, poor marketing of new menus, high costs for low income families who were not eligible for FSM and also a lack of meal choice (OfSTED, 2007: 5). In addition, dining areas played a part in the take-up of school meals as they varied in quality, with primary school generally being better than secondary school dining spaces. Overall, pupils wanted

shorter queuing times in order to allow time for extra-curricular activities and the opportunity to eat with friends who brought packed lunches. It was also found that primary schools were more likely than secondary schools to see lunchtimes as an important tool in developing pupils' social skills. Interestingly, the quality of the dining provision was an important factor in deciding whether pupils chose to eat school meals (OfSTED, 2007). Poor cutlery skills were also identified in the report as the younger pupils struggled to manage a knife and fork or make conversation during a meal.

2012 – present

The recent move towards a more performative culture in UK schooling needs to be highlighted, where the emphasis is placed on reaching targets (Wilkins et al, 2012; Jeffrey, 2002). For Wilkins et al (2012) performative systems are characterised by a data-driven 'audit culture'. Jeffrey (2002) identified the importance of an economic market structure for schools in order to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the outputs of learning and to increase opportunities for consumers of education (Jeffrey, 2002: 5). Consequently, this has led to further funding issues and pressures, which has seen the introduction of the Pupil Premium in an attempt to close the attainment gap. The Pupil Premium was introduced in 2011, and has now risen to £900 per pupil and was introduced for those receiving FSM; although it is argued that this is not a clear measure of disadvantage, which ultimately affects the application of the pupil premium (Kounali et al, 2008). The link between FSM and low attainment at school only represents a minority of the group who are disadvantaged, which implies that only a certain number of disadvantaged pupils at school have been identified (Kounali et al, 2008). More importantly, this raises questions about the way progress in schools is 'officially' measured and raises suspicions about the validity of FSM as a reliable indicator of deprivation (Kounali et al, 2008: 22). This is another example of a political agenda, feeding through into policy implementation.

Brown et al (2012) explored the effects of FSM to all in two pilot areas of England (Durham and Newham), suggesting primary pupils advance by two months on average as a result. Overall, it was identified that if the government

were serious about improving outcomes for all children, they would need to re-examine the positive impact that universal FSM has had, especially in Durham. In 2013, Liberal Democrat Leader at the time Nick Clegg announced his decision to introduce free school lunches for pupils at infant schools from September 2014 onwards (BBC News, 2013). In essence, universal FSM mean that every child will have the chance they deserve, in order to build a stronger UK economy and egalitarian society. This has a huge bearing on the future of school meals and will ultimately impact on the dynamics of the school dining experience.

The current nutritional standards, as recommend by the School Food Trust (SFT) (DfE, 2005: 3) states the following:

a. No confectionery will be sold in schools
b. No bagged savoury snacks other than nuts and seeds will be sold in schools
c. A variety of fruit and vegetables should be available in all school food outlets. This could include fresh, dried, frozen, canned or juiced varieties
d. Children and young people must have easy access at all times to free, fresh drinking water in schools
e. The only other drinks available will be:
    (i)   Water (Still or sparkling)
    (ii)   Milk (skimmed or semi-skimmed)
    (iii) Pure fruit juices
    (iv)   Yoghurt and milk drinks (with less than 5 per cent added sugar)
    (v)   Drinks made from combinations of i) or iv)
    (vi)   Low calorie hot chocolate
    (vii) Tea
    (viii) Coffee

Taken from SMRP (School Meals Review Panel) – Nutritional standards for school lunches and other school food (DfE, 2005: 3) – Final decisions on the report of the school meals review panel on school lunches and the advice of the school food trust on other school food.

UK schools have seen the introduction of the new FSM for all infants (DfE, 2014). In the academic year 2014 to 2015, schools were paid a flat rate of £2.30 for each meal taken on by newly eligible pupils (DfE, 2014). It is apparent that over time, there has been a shift on the emphasis of school meals and whether they should be made a priority. The introduction of academy schools in the UK has allowed them to specialise in terms of curriculum delivery and Peartree Academy is one which has adopted a food and enterprise specialism, with a significant investment in the school restaurant. Littlecott et al (2015) provided evidence to suggest that children who eat a healthy breakfast before starting the school day achieve higher academic results than pupils who do not. This study was carried out using a sample of 5000, 9-11 year-olds from more than 100 primary schools in England. Ten years on from the exposure of 'Jamie's School Dinners', he admitted that his campaign was far from a success based on the notion that eating well is still viewed as an indulgence of the middle class (Furness, 2015).

In the lead up to the General Election in 2017, Theresa May planned to abolish FSM for infant pupils in England and wanted to target pupils from families who were most in need by planning to provide head teachers with the fund instead (Wilford, 2017). However, following the Queen's speech in June 2017 (Cabinet Office, 2017), Theresa May's plan to axe universal FSM for five to seven year-olds was dropped (Agerholm, 2017).

Conclusion

Overall, historically it can be argued that school meals have not always been a priority in the UK and it is the political aspect that has tended to shape policy on school meals, particularly with the introduction of nutritional standards. There is a growing trend to measure the impact of school food on learning but the social aspect of the school meal has not been explored in much detail. The next part introduces a discussion on school food programmes which begins to inform the main research question for my study, i.e. what is the impact of the food environment upon social learning?

2.3 – School food programmes

Following the development of my research questions, I was able to move forward with the literature for this section by drawing on associations made between school meals, eating habits, academic performance and learning. More specifically, interventions such as breakfast clubs are one of the ways in which learning is influenced (Greaves et al, 2016). Developing a discussion on a global perspective has enabled me to pinpoint the key issues surrounding school food on a national and international level. Therefore, the overall discussion includes the following: (1) UK school food programmes (2) International school food programmes.

<u>**UK School Food Programmes**</u>

Previous national food studies highlight some key issues, particularly addressing breakfast clubs (Greaves et al, 2016; Stevens et al, 2008), behaviour during school lunch (Golley et al, 2010), health (Seaman and Moss, 2006) and social skills development in the school environment (Rahim et al, 2012). The discussion here is split into two areas: (1) school breakfast clubs (2) school lunches. The literature which relates specifically to the impact of school breakfast clubs and school lunches has been reviewed.

<u>School breakfast clubs</u>

At Peartree Academy, the breakfast club exists and is extended into the classroom for the younger year groups, who are able to take toast into the classroom before the first lesson of the day. Research on school breakfast clubs highlight links between food, attainment and health. As the research surrounding breakfast and educational outcomes grows, it is useful to present the discussions which help inform the complexities surrounding academic performance and school food. My study investigates how potential opportunities for social learning can be developed as opposed to trying to establish a link between school food and academic performance. As there is not a great deal of literature surrounding the social aspect of school meals, reviewing links between school breakfast clubs and academic performance proved to be a useful way for navigating my way to the literature on social skills as discussed by Stevens et al (2008). A link between the breakfast club and Key Stage 2

(KS2) results was identified through an investigation carried out by Stevens et al (2008). They found that the breakfast clubs helped pupils to achieve better results compared with other primary schools who did not adopt a similar scheme in London. The breakfast clubs were initially launched to address problems relating to children being hungry upon arrival at school and by mid-morning showing signs of tiredness, a lack of concentration and poor behaviour, which had a negative impact on their academic performance. Pupils most likely to attend the breakfast clubs were those who came in early as their parents needed to be at work or attend college. The breakfast clubs were targeted at those arriving late on a regular basis. They aimed to address whether there was an association between breakfast clubs and academic performance, time keeping and absence reports compared with schools that did not have a breakfast club (Stevens et al, 2008: 2). A number of benefits derived from the introduction of breakfast clubs; it was reported that children were less hungry and began socialising with a wider range of peer groups (Stevens et al, 2008). They also found that students were able to focus on their studies and saw an improvement in punctuality. Furthermore, the findings displayed a connection between the breakfast club schools and the KS2 average points scores. This ties in with my investigation which also explores the benefit of the school dining hall as a space for social interaction.

Whilst it is useful to draw on associations between school food and average points scores, it was the improvement in environmental changes that enabled me to think about how my investigation at Peartree Academy highlighted the impact of these environmental changes to the school restaurant. For instance, the improvement in attainment in the breakfast club schools could be accounted for by the existence of head teachers in the breakfast club schools who had more interest in introducing environmental changes within the learning environment, than those in the control schools. Stevens et al (2008) categorised findings from the study into four distinct groups: (1) improvement in social skills (2) promoting links between parents, school, pupils and class teachers (3) to support pupils with punctuality issues (4) to improve pupils' concentration spans and health.

The main issues in running the breakfast clubs included, extending the school working day for staff, recruiting more volunteers, poor facilities and costs involved in buying ingredients (Stevens et al, 2008). The underlying concern involved the neglect of valuing family time, which would in effect be replaced by schools adopting greater parental roles at an important time of day; a time in the morning, when families are able to bond and congregate. In relation to my study I set out to explore the environmental aspects surrounding the school meal as reflected by my main research question. The importance of encouraging parents to spend as much time in the school dining hall as possible, particularly in the morning, emerged as a key feature.

In order to explore the overall impact of breakfast clubs, it is useful to look at the evaluation report on the Magic Breakfast club (Greaves et el, 2016). The Magic Breakfast project involved 106 schools who were provided with support and resources to offer a free, universal school breakfast before school (Greaves et al, 2016). The project aimed to improve attainment outcomes by increasing the number of children who consumed a healthy breakfast. The impact of the project was evaluated using a randomised controlled trial which involved 8,600 pupils (Greaves et al, 2016). The evaluation of this project involved a qualitative research case study with four specific schools. Overall, it was found that it was not just breakfast consumption that helped pupils to improve, but attending the breakfast club was also beneficial. It was also found that Year 2 children who were involved in the breakfast clubs experienced two months additional progress compared to Year 2 children in other schools (Greaves et al, 2016: 5). Therefore, the benefits surrounding school breakfast clubs highlight the growing influence they have in schools today, from the aspect of settling in to school in addition to the nutritional benefits. For this reason, the work on breakfast clubs was useful in order to interpret the positive and developmental aspects in which the school dining space can help nurture pupils.

<u>School lunch</u>

The lunch period at Peartree Academy is staggered and over 900 pupils make use of the school restaurant for meal time. The school lunch period is a time of day which brings pupils together, away from the classroom and into an environment which is said to foster attainment and help with promoting positive behaviours as well as bringing health benefits (Golley et al, 2010). Having used the school restaurant as the site for my investigation, this led me to review the literature surrounding school lunches. Following the review of the studies alongside my time spent in the school restaurant at Peartree Academy, I explored four key issues: (1) impact on learning related behaviours (2) provision of food (3) healthy eating environment (4) social skills at meal time.

<u>Impact on learning related behaviours</u>

In terms of learning related behaviours, there is a growing trend in the exploration of this field of inquiry and this forms part of my investigation, more specifically related to the first subsidiary research question, i.e. How do eating behaviours of staff and pupils impact on social learning? A study was carried out over 12 weeks, across 6 primary schools in Sheffield to investigate the impact on learning related behaviours following improvements made to the dining environment and to the nutritional value of the food offered, using observational techniques to gather behavioural patterns one hour after pupils had eaten (Golley et al, 2010). Schools were selected on the basis that four of the schools had their dining halls revamped, whilst the other two schools did not have any interventions. Changes to the dining environment included a new queuing system, redecoration, introduction of artwork, murals and also new furniture. The study found that pupils in the intervention schools were 3.4 times more likely to be 'on-task' in the 'teacher-pupil' social mode compared with pupils in the non-intervention schools. Although, in the 'pupil-pupil' social mode, pupils in the intervention schools were 2.3 times more likely to be 'off-task' than those in the non-intervention schools. This study shows that a more modernised dining environment can have an impact on the pupils' ability to learn after lunch. The approach which was adopted by Peartree Academy in the design stages of the school meal involved changes to the dining facilities and space.

So, it is useful to explore studies on the school lunch period and how they impact on children's behaviour. This idea links to the first subsidiary research question for my research. Storey et al (2011) investigated pupil behaviour in food intervention research, in order to explore the impact of learning related behaviours immediately after the lunch break. The 15 week study was carried out in 11 mixed secondary schools across four Local Authority (LA) areas in Manchester, Sheffield, Leicester and Essex. A number of food related measures were put in place, which included changes to the dining room layout and queuing system. Furthermore, the dining area saw the introduction of artwork, murals and new furnishings. 'On-task' and 'off-task' behaviours were observed in three social modes: (1) pupil working alone (2) pupil-pupil (3) teacher-pupil. Pupils across the 7 intervention schools were eighteen per cent more likely to be on task compared with those pupils in the 4 control schools. Pupils in the intervention schools were also fourteen per cent less likely to be off-task than those in the control schools (Storey et al, 2011). This can be closely linked to Peartree Academy which has been designed in a way to ensure pupils make every effort to utilise the restaurant at the school.

Provision of food

In terms of the provision of food, there has been a lot of work carried out in schools to improve the dining facilities in order to improve the overall school meal experience. As part of my investigation, I came to learn how the school invested heavily in the school restaurant which reflects the work of Kaklamanou et al (2012), who evaluated the overall provision of school meals, which included the dining space. A qualitative study across 12 academies and 1 Free School was carried out to assess the provision of school food and drink (Kaklamanou et al, 2012). Interviews were carried out with senior school staff alongside questionnaires with head teachers and catering managers. In addition, observations were carried out on the school food provision and dining facilities. Participants from the schools were asked about their views of food in the school. Some of the reported issues included the lack of space available in the dining halls at lunch time. When asked about the pupils' lunchtime needs, participants from the study indicated it was important to get pupils into and out of the dining room as quickly as possible (Kaklamanou et al, 2012: 17).

Although some academies recognised that their dining spaces were not sufficient, no one suggested that a longer lunch break would help to meet the pupils' social objectives whilst promoting better nutrition and benefit from positive behaviour and learning outcomes (Kaklamanou et al, 2012: 17). The majority of schools had between one and six support staff who were responsible for managing queues, behaviour and clearing tables. Furthermore, three members of those staff identified that they were also required to educate pupils and promoting healthy eating. Eight of the twelve academies said their staff also ate in the dining room alongside pupils. Staff at Peartree Academy are encouraged to sit and eat with pupils, which is evidently becoming a trend in UK academy schools. In terms of the importance placed upon prioritising the provision of schools meals, it suggests that there are some real advantages for children in being able to benefit from a space which is not only respected, but also a platform for training staff in developing potential opportunities with children for social learning, merely through a focus on the provision of food.

Healthy eating environment

With regards to health, the priority has shifted to schools becoming the agents of intervention in a culture where ensuring children have access to a healthy school life is paramount according to the Health and Well-being Review Committee (HWRC, 2011). This is reflected in a number of studies (Nelson et al, 2012; Seaman and Moss, 2006) which allow me to delve further into the issue of health in the context of a school. For example, a national survey of school lunch take up was carried out by the School Food Trust in 2010 across all 152 local authorities (LAs) in England (Nelson et al, 2012). Overall, the key factors for take up of primary school lunches consisted of having access to full-production kitchens, good support from head teachers, keeping prices low and using professional support and software for menu planning and nutrient analysis. The reasons for lower take up in primary schools was due to some schools providing cold food only and a certain percentage of schools transferring hot food from elsewhere. The key factors for take up of secondary school lunches consisted of the utilisation of cashless systems, support from head teachers and governors, use of software for menu planning and having a stay-on-site policy. It was noted that the stay-on-site policy was introduced to

encourage pupils to take up FSM. The reason for lower take up in secondary schools was because of high meal costs and hot food being transferred from elsewhere. Peartree Academy makes use of in-house cooking resources to serve hot meals in the school restaurant and it is worth noting that pupils are also required to stay on the premises during school lunch.

There has been a shift in terms of what constitutes a healthy school meal as the emphasis moves towards providing other resources for ensuring children are able to benefit from the school meal experience. For example, in Islington, the FSM policy for primary schools helped to lead the debate between schools meals, attainment and health as well as a discussion around take-up of meals by those eligible pupils (Islington Council, 2014). The Health Committee was then introduced in 2009 in order to expand investigations into secondary school meals. Results identified the differences between primary and secondary midday meals, where primary pupils saw secondary pupils as their extended family, whilst secondary pupils were making the transition into adulthood. Secondary pupils were subject to certain sociological and psychological pressures in terms of eating choices with complex emotional pressures on young teenagers at break time through making the transition from childhood to adulthood (HWRC, 2011). Longer lunch breaks were recommended in order to stagger sittings where there was evidence of less food wastage (HWRC, 2011). The whole design of the dining room saw changes made to the queuing system. Overall, schools in Islington reported an increase in meal take-up. The impact of participation in controlling school food menus has seen an increase in school meal take up as well as an increase in interest for pupils to eat school lunches.

In terms of policy, there are a number of implications which I needed to address for my study in order to develop the discourse on school meals. There have been a number of recommendations made in terms of what constitutes an appropriate school meal. The most notable contributions have come from the school food campaign in 2004 and the report known as the School Food Plan (DfE, 2013) as discussed in the introduction and in the final part of the literature review (see p. 57). In 2004, British Chef, Jamie Oliver led a campaign called

'Feed me better' in the borough of Greenwich. The campaign helped retrain cooks and substitute all oily and fatty foods with healthy alternatives (Belot and James, 2011). In an article by Campbell (2012) food activist Jamie Oliver accused the state secretary of education, of obstructing improvements to children's health by ordering an inquiry into school food that was unnecessary. Oliver argued that a further review would be a total waste of time and would be most likely to be ignored (Campbell, 2012), although he believed Henry Dimbleby and John Vincent, co-founders of the LEON restaurant chain, would do a good job in a bid to ensure more pupils eat lunches that benefit their bodies and minds, Oliver argued "Now is not the time for more costly reports…now is the time for action and that doesn't seem to be what we get from Mr Gove when it comes to school food and food education" (Campbell, 2012: 1). The work of Jamie Oliver has led to the exposure of school meals in UK schools, which has led to some schools extending the priority of what it is that makes up a positive school meal experience.

In terms of health, there are a number of psychological benefits that school meals can bring, including how attitudes towards food can be shaped. Another study in a UK primary school which adopted a case study approach, investigated the success of a healthy eating programme (Seaman and Moss, 2006). Interestingly, results from the observational side of the study found that children opted for what appeared to be the unhealthy option, namely, pizza and hot dogs. However, the study also found that from the new 'healthy' and 'unhealthy' menus, children opted for the 'healthier choice', which was the sausage casserole. While it was difficult to measure what differences the healthy eating regime made to the diets of school children, there were positive changes for children who were more enthusiastic about school meals which was likely to have a positive long term effect. This is a good example of a case study in the UK, which draws on the potential benefits to children for getting involved in healthy eating regimes and the changing attitudes surrounding school food.

<u>Social skills at meal time</u>

There are a number of issues which are said to interrupt the school meal, most notably, the queuing system. This has an impact in terms of the time available for the pupils being able to interact during meal times. In terms of social skills development, key findings from a report by Rahim et al (2012) taken from 10 school case studies on FSM found a link between meal times and social skills development. Interviews were carried out with senior managers, catering staff, teachers, pupils and parents. Key activities in preparing the pilot included a number of food related measures that were put in place. The kitchen and dining spaces were increased in size and seating, with additional staff appointed to fulfil the lunchtime supervisory demands and food-ordering was tailored around pupils' tastes. Participants identified queuing for school meals as a frustrating and time consuming process compared with having a packed lunch. The changes to dining halls included staggered lunch sittings, although some participants still saw this as time-consuming.

For parents, developing social skills, table manners and dining etiquette were important, which included options to try new foods and making use of cutlery. Participants argued the pilot increased the range of food that pupils would eat, built their social skills at meal times and for some pupils, increased their concentration and alertness (Rahim et al, 2012: 2). Overall, the pilot improved social skills and table manners, specifically using cutlery effectively, particularly for new meal takers who were used to using their hands when eating packed lunches. The pilot also reported how pupils were able to develop their social skills when eating together. Sometimes pupils were seated with pupils outside their year groups, rather than eating with friends from their own year group. One of the concerns highlighted was around the stigma attached to FSM, leaving some pupils who received FSM alienated from others. Some of the parents who were entitled to FSM as pupils at school, said they were bullied for their attachment to FSM. Although the pilot highlighted a stigma around FSM, the management and payment for school meals meant pupils were unable to be easily identified (Rahim et al, 2012: 49). So, these pressures were beginning to upset the school meal experience. In terms of pressures, Peartree Academy was also subject to certain pressures which had an impact on the function of

the school restaurant. Having discussed some of the issues surrounding UK food programmes, it is worth considering international school food programmes.

International School Food Programmes

In terms of an international context of how food programmes are being developed, it has been useful to look widely at them, in order to explore the original ideas presented in the overall aims of my study. At the beginning of my research, I was presented with an idea to develop a research proposal (see Appendix 1) based on an issue on school meals, discussing links between participation at meal times to attainment. To expand my knowledge base, I explored the literature on school food in an international context, in developing countries before returning to the site of my investigation at Peartree Academy in the UK. School Feeding Programmes (SFPs) were introduced in developing countries to provide nutritional meals to reduce short-term hunger in the classroom and increase the attention span of pupils (Ahmed, 2004). Having considered one study in a developing country, I would also like to draw on one from a developed country. Kleinman et al (2002) carried out a study to investigate academic performance in the United States and found that thirty-three per cent of children who were classed as being at nutritional risk had significantly poorer test scores, attendance and punctuality, compared with their counterparts who were not at risk. The following discussion draws on the issues in developing and developed countries.

Developing Countries

In order to unpack some of the issues surrounding school food in developing countries, two key areas were dominant in the literature, particularly in the developing countries, which included: (1) school attendance, enrolment and class size (2) academic performance. The main issues here are participation and the influence of food on pupil engagement in school.

Pupil attendance, enrolment and class size

This particular point relates to the importance of attendance and the access to food. Links are made to pupil attendance, enrolment, class size and breakfast clubs as previously discussed (Adelman et al, 2008; Jyoti et al, 2005; Ahmed,

2004). Food for Education Programmes (FFE) in Northern Uganda and Pakistan (Adelman et al, 2008) were put in place as incentives to motivate children to attend school. Previous studies by Adelman et al (2008), Jyoti et al, (2005) and Ahmed (2004) have focused on developing countries, looking into SFPs and how timing and accessibility of food seems to be the key drivers in helping children to engage in education. According to Adelman et al (2008) SFP's can encourage children to attend school more often. Therefore, to explore the link between school participation and food is important in recognising how school food can act as a driver in engaging pupils to attend school. Adelman et al (2008) also discussed the impact of Take Home Rations (THR). These rations involve delivering food to the child at home in order to help with nutrition. However, this has become a costly exercise as well as detrimental to the child's health in that families tend to share food around the household. More importantly, for my study, this highlights the importance of food in a learning environment, particularly at Peartree Academy, which is a school in a socially deprived area.

According to Powell et al (1998) there is some evidence from SFPs that identified an improvement in a child's nutrition. Powell et al (1998) carried out a randomised, controlled trial which provided breakfast to nourished and undernourished children in Jamaican schools. The study identified a small yet significant improvement amongst those in the undernourished group. Children who participated, started attending school more often which led to an increase in time spent learning. Although much of the work in developing countries has been done around nutrition and participation through attendance, there are also other factors to consider such as class size.

The link of SFPs to my study can be better understood as a way of trying to establish the position and importance of school food as a tool for increasing educational engagement and attainment. For instance, in his work Ahmed (2006) investigated class sizes in Bangladesh's FFE programme, which was successful in increasing pupil enrolment in primary schools as a result of providing free food to families. One critique identified how class sizes were not taken into account when analysing SFPs (Adelman et al, 2008). Ahmed (2006)

set out to assess the effects of FFE by 'pupil/teacher' ratios in schools. FFE schools had a higher number of pupils per teacher compared with non-FFE schools. In non-FFE primary schools there were 55 students per teacher compared with 67 pupils per teacher in FFE schools in 2000 (Ahmed, 2006: 671). This is about investigating whether class sizes in FFE schools are the root cause of poor academic performance. It is also worth considering whether it is about a lack of nutritional status. Although much work has been done around class size and pupil/teacher ratio, Hanushek (2002) was unable to find clear and consistent evidence between the development of school resources like decreases in class size with academic performance. However, Krueger (1999) maintains that class size can improve students' performance, especially those who came from a low-income minority background. This is an important issue as Peartree Academy is located in a deprived area, with a large proportion of pupils from low-income families. It is crucial to draw on the idea that certain issues in terms of a lack of resources hinder those in deprived areas from accessing opportunities for gaining positive outcomes. Therefore, the work being carried out in developing countries stresses the need for emphasis to be placed on the influence of resources.

Academic performance

In terms of academic performance there are a multitude of variables involved in the academic development of a child (Lerner and Jovanovic, 1999). Such variables could include the social space in which a child learns how to behave and develop the relevant skills to perfect the social rules that govern a particular site. Jyoti et al (2005) explored the links between food insecurity, academic development and social skills for both male and female pupils. This study used longitudinal data, which highlighted financial barriers leading to poor nutrition and the consequences for academic performance and social skills for pupils. Overall, the study found strong evidence arguing food insecurity is linked to non-nutritional issues such as weak academic performance for boys and girls. Girls, in particular were identified as suffering from poor social skills and low reading abilities. This led me to question the difficulty in trying to develop a discussion between school and academic performance, and by academic performance I am referring to the potential informal learning opportunities

presented in the school restaurant which for the purposes of my study has been described as 'social learning' (see p. 57). Moreover, the type of learning that is explored is one which takes place away from the classroom environment.

The links to nutritional status in developing countries are inevitable as the nourishment and participation of children in consuming school food is a key issue. For instance, a number of past studies were identified through the works of Ahmed (2004), conducted in Chile and Jamaica (Pollit, 1990; Simeon and Grantham-McGregor, 1989), that addressed nutritional status and academic performance in relation to SFPs. It is said that children who do not perform academically are often subject to poor nutritional status (Pollit, 1990). According to findings from the Food Research and Action Centre (FRAC, 2011) missing breakfast impaired a child's ability to learn, whilst consuming breakfast improved their academic performance and behaviour. FRAC (2011) noted that those who missed breakfast were less able to differentiate between visual images with a slower memory recall resulting in errors. FRAC (2011) and Murphy (2007) also reported that children who ate a complete breakfast made fewer mistakes and worked much quicker in the classroom arithmetic assessments. Moreover, Murphy (2007) conducted a study in the United States, found that in the short term, breakfast skippers had less energy available and were undernourished over sustained periods. For Murphy (2007) these children were more likely to feel hungry and less likely to be active.

Whilst there is no clear evidence to suggest that school food has a direct link to academic performance, numerous studies based in developing countries explore this field of inquiry, but the concluding ideas point to the notion that food alone is not the answer to improving nutritional status. For this reason, the emphasis of my study on the social aspect of school food is heightened. For example, the findings from a study carried out in Bangladesh to investigate the outcomes of the SFPs pointed to the lack of participation, academic achievement in primary education in developing countries and identified how there were two causes for this problem (Ahmed, 2004). These causes included a lack of health and nutrition, which ultimately affected the pupils' ability to learn. A number of studies conducted in Ethiopia and a number of other

developing countries (Clay and Stokke, 2000; Pelletier et al, 1995) highlight how food alone does not guarantee improved nutritional status (Ahmed, 2004). Furthermore, if nutritional status is not guaranteed, this has an impact on the pupils' learning and attention span in the classroom (Ahmed, 2004). The study carried out in Ethiopia (Pelletier et al, 1995) highlighted other reasons apart from access to food that had an impact on children's nutritional status. The other reasons addressed child caring, feeding practices and household variables such as income and parental education. In developing countries poor health facilities and services were also barriers in a child's nutritional wellbeing (Pelletier et al, 1995). This emphasises the importance of food in relation to academic performance as well as nutritional status, but for my study, I chose to investigate the social learning aspect in a UK context, which shares similarities to issues in developing countries in terms of participation around school food.

Whilst the research in developing countries focuses on the nourishment of children in participating and consuming school food whilst trying to inform academic performance, the discussion in developed countries also holds a firm grip on linking food to academic performance and nutrition, but works on the assumption that there is already an established level of nourishment. This means that other aspects to include the 'social' can also be considered to improve the meal time experiences of children. The literature review continues to highlight issues surrounding the consumption of school food, but in a context which is more aligned to my research, which is based in one UK school. However, this is not to say that the issues surrounding school food in developing countries are to be disregarded, as it can be argued that the principles attached are the same, regardless of the context. Having discussed food for education in developing countries, drawing on similar studies carried out in developed countries can also help to provide an overview of some key issues, as the western world links to the context in which Peartree Academy is situated.

<u>Developed Countries</u>

A discussion on food consumption is developed on the research carried out in schools in developed countries. More specifically, the ways in which prioritising the space in which school meals are consumed can add to the existing literature on linking school food to academic performance; by performance it is the potential for 'social learning' opportunities to emerge. The review of school food programmes mainly focuses on health, behaviour and children's socialisation into school meals as this forms the basis of my study to explore the social aspect of school meals (Andersen et al, 2016; Andersen, 2015; Damsgaard et al, 2012; Murphy, 2007).

<u>Behaviour, socialisation and promoting health</u>

Similar to the issues discussed in the developing countries, it is evident that the issues are alike in developed countries in terms of pupil participation in school meal up-take. For example, data from a research project carried out in four Finnish schools on school diet preferences and behaviour, found that pupils receive one quarter of their daily energy from school meals, which highlights the potential influences of those who are served meals to their on-going diet and attitude towards eating (Tikkanen, 2009). One of the reported issues in this project is that pupils were not always keen on eating at school, whether meals were free or run on a commercial basis (Tikkanen, 2009). Although school meals are free of charge in Finland and Sweden, some pupils still choose not to eat certain parts of the meal. Meal choices certainly appear to be an important factor with regards to the school meal experience that pupils have when consuming food in the dining area. Whilst the issue of school meal participation can be comparable to the one discussed in developing countries, this appears to be about the selection and options available in terms of food consumption.

For my study on Peartree Academy, allowing children to socialise lies at the heart of the overall objectives of what the school restaurant aims to achieve. Therefore the work of Damay et al (2010) is useful in exploring children's socialisation. In a case study carried out in a French school cafeteria, Damay et al (2010) identify with a number of research projects which look into children's socialisation. They identify how children learn in a cultural context through

different interactions. For Damay et al (2010) the learning process follows an interactive dynamic where the child ultimately adopts cultural habits through norms and values of their environment. This socialisation process is extended to teachers and those who come into contact with children (Damay et al, 2010). In their study they noted how children love to talk at the table about what they know about food, using their knowledge gained from family or media as social and cultural resources for interaction (Damay et al, 2010: 118). They later concluded by suggesting that different social contexts need to be included in which the pupil is able to learn. So this is about developing the appropriate behaviour through food which highlights a link to my research question on how teachers are able to promote social skills development during meal times (i.e. How do teaching staff promote social learning within a food environment?).

In broad terms, health is at the centre of the overall aims of the school restaurant at Peartree Academy and the promotion of health is prioritised in both developing and developed countries. For example, Rowe et al (2010) undertook a case study of an Australian school to investigate the influence of a Health Promoting School (HPS), which looked into nutritional standards and the school environment. The case study identified how both changes in the school environment, which included the introduction of the 'Kids Café' and interventions involving families supported healthy eating habits amongst pupils. The Kids Café engaged pupils in learning about health, physical education (PE) and society. Overall, the study found how introducing the Kids Café could bring about changes in driving pupils to experiment with more nutritional foods by involving them in the running of the Kids Café, which meant deciding on the menus. For Rowe et al (2010) one of the fundamental aspects of helping a school to move forward is to consider broader social, environmental and economic factors and introducing clubs such as the Kids Café, which in turn were said to help foster positive behaviour.

Developed countries have been seen to continue promoting health, particularly in Sweden, Denmark and Finland, where there seems to be a growing trend of research exploring school meal time experiences. Therefore, my study adds weight to the growing number of studies taking place, where attempts to frame

the school meal in a social way are also being made. For instance, the OPUS School Meal Study was conducted across the Nordic countries, evaluating the impact on nutrition and health of a full school-day meal rather than focusing on certain components of a school lunch (Damsgaard et al, 2012). The aim of the project involved creating a positive peer-effect and look into understanding social and cultural aspects. Qualitative methods were used to collect this data, more specifically in-depth interviews with children, parents, staff and chefs. Two articles were published as a result of this project (Andersen et al, 2016; Andersen et al, 2015) alongside a PhD study (Andersen, 2015). Andersen et al (2015) set out to critically analyse the assumptions that are attached to shared school meals. For Andersen et al (2015) the social exclusions involved in the process of eating together are often neglected and for this reason, it is more important to focus on other factors during meal time other than just school food. Andersen et al (2016) presented evidence to suggest that children's school food choices are affected by classmates and recommended that when creating a new school food environment, it would be important to take peers into consideration.

Conclusion

Overall, part two of the literature review has demonstrated the shortage of research carried out on school food programmes and suffice to say, there are multiple conclusions to be taken away from this for my research. The majority of the studies based in developing countries pay close attention to health and wellbeing and make an attempt to demonstrate a link between school food and academic performance. The same can be said for developed countries, although whilst access to nourishment is not comparable to the lack of access to food available in developing countries, the focus on health and academic performance is also evident. Although, the provision of the way in which food can help children in other ways away from the classroom environment are only partially discussed in the developing world, compared to the developed nations which seem to have a growing trend towards highlighting the opportunities of how school food can help to foster social learning. Therefore, in order to move forward, exploring eating behaviours in the learning environment can be said to provide an extension to the existing debate on school food provision and

participation as discussed in this section. A key issue for schools, teachers, caterers and supervisors of the school lunch period is around the impact of learning related behaviours. Part three of the literature review provides an account of eating behaviours and attitudes to learning.

2.4 - Eating behaviours and attitudes to learning

Part three of the literature review makes an attempt to discuss some of the issues which link to the first subsidiary research question, i.e. How do eating behaviours of staff and pupils impact on social learning? The issues include the complexities surrounding the role which food plays in an educational setting and the impact of environmental changes in shaping positive attitudes to learning and behaviour. Previous studies have identified a link between children's knowledge and understanding of what constitutes a healthy diet (Kaklamanou et al, 2012; Roberts and Marvin, 2011; Eliassen, 2011). Based on the wording of my research question, the search terms used included 'school meals' and 'attitudes to learning', which led to studies on food preferences, food attitudes, eating behaviours, school environment, eating habits and modelling behaviour. There is a range of factors that all play a role in influencing children's attitudes to learning in relation to food. This section is split into five segments: (1) eating behaviours: collective responsibility (2) knowledge and attitudes towards healthy eating (3) changes to the school environment (4) influence of leadership (5) nutrition, food acceptance and meal choices.

Eating behaviours: collective responsibility

Food plays an important role in education and for this reason, it is argued that designing the school dining space needs to be prioritised (Kaklamanou et al, 2012). Findings from one study conducted by Kaklamanou et al (2012) on food in academies identified the important role of food in education. One respondent identified how citizens as a collective have a huge responsibility for forging eating behaviours for the rest of their lives. Another respondent said that eating habits were the most important aspect of the school that can be controlled as there is a massive link between how the food you eat impacts on your attitude to learning and the way you feel in general (Kaklamanou et al, 2012: 5). By

learning, multiple interpretations can be made here but I focused on learning related behaviour.

In terms of school food, there are a number of discussions which link to children's eating behaviours and how they depended on their families and teachers in supporting their wellbeing by promoting positive development (Eliassen, 2011: 84). For Eliassen (2011) families are seen as children's first important role models of eating behaviour followed by child care minders. With positive role models, children are able to try new foods and develop an attitude where they are open to trying new food and experiencing new cultures, whereas negative role models who comment about the taste and texture of the food make a child less willing to try it (Eliassen, 2011: 86). If an adult is experiencing new food and enjoying it, a child is likely to follow. Teachers become role models by engaging with children at meal time and spending time eating with them. Staff are able to model healthy eating through the lunches they bring to school which help children to make a further connection. One type of learning that takes place is in the dining room through the engagement of meal time conversations by teachers who talk positively about food whilst eliciting descriptions of tastes, colours and textures etc. For Eliassen (2011) tasting activities help children learn about foods, manners and even other cultures (Eliassen, 2011: 88). As well as providing positive health outcomes, children's eating attitudes are being developed. Based on this, the role which food plays can have a positive influence on shaping children's attitudes to learning. In terms of Peartree Academy then, prioritising school meals can bring about these types of positive changes.

In terms of strategies, modelling behaviour and using food as the platform for presenting opportunities for instilling positive behavioural traits in children can help shape their attitudes towards learning. For example, a qualitative PhD case study was carried out on 11 primary schools in Wales (Moore 2011), using observations and semi-structured interviews over two to three lunchtimes per school, to analyse feeding strategies, outcomes and behaviours in the dining hall (Moore et al, 2010). Modelling is an important tool for guiding children towards a healthy school meal. Moore et al (2010) found that interactions within

the dining hall took place at the tables and the food waste point. It was reported that once the infants had finished their midday meals, all staff would accompany them to the playground, meanwhile leaving junior children, from years 3 – 6, unsupervised. Furthermore, Moore et al (2010) found that influencing eating behaviour was lower on the priority list compared with managing the behaviour of the children and cleaning up after them during a busy school period. In addition, a number of issues surrounding the dining halls were identified which included accommodation, equipment, length of lunchtime and social actors (Moore et al, 2010: 399). It was concluded that without addressing these issues, school nutritional policy would only play a small role in influencing what children eat and how they eat. Furthermore, it was recommended that further emphasis should be placed on investing into school dining halls. This is important to me and my research as it centres on the notion of connecting school food together with learning and more importantly it is this type of collective responsibility that is involved in shaping the school meal experience.

Knowledge and attitudes towards healthy eating

In terms of developing knowledge and attitudes, food can play an integral role in acting as the catalyst for this type of change. Part of the approach for designing the school restaurant at Peartree Academy involved considering the layout and practical aspects involved in the school meal in order to develop a space which would help shape children's attitudes towards a healthy school meal experience. For instance, an analysis was carried out to explore the knowledge and attitudes towards healthy eating and physical activity of adults and children in England (Roberts and Marvin, 2011). The data was gathered mainly though self-completion questionnaires and interviews. Overall they found that the majority of children and young people considered their diet to be healthy, with responses linking to fruit and vegetable consumption. The results of the survey conducted nationally, across the UK in 2005 asked children and young people aged 8 – 16 what factors help them to make healthier food choices at school. They identified less queuing time and healthier meal choices as the most popular. There were a number of interesting interpretations made in this paper which highlight sociological links to explain the link between

knowledge, attitudes, skills, social and environmental influences and behaviour (Roberts and Marvin, 2011: 4). For Roberts and Marvin (2011) social and environmental influences can have an impact on children's eating habits in schooling, particularly parental views on healthy eating which determine whether or not their children consume five portions of fruit and vegetables a day. Moreover, the views of peers and 'significant others', i.e. teachers, tend to encourage children to engage in behaviour which is practised and valued by their peers. Roberts and Marvin (2011) concluded by signalling the importance of understanding people's attitudes and beliefs in order to plan ahead and put the relevant measures in place. For example, promoting ways of making healthy meals quickly and cheaply is likely to be effective amongst low-income families.

Changes to the school environment

There is much to be said about changes to the school environment in terms of the facilities and it is worth exploring this in relation to the school restaurant at Peartree Academy. These were some of the questions I had asked myself and this led to reviewing studies which explored environmental changes to school dining halls. A number of studies highlight the impact of the school environment in encapsulating and encouraging learning opportunities to take place (Garner, 2011; Devi et al, 2010; Banerjee, 2010). Rudd et al (2008) carried out 'before' and 'after' surveys in a UK high school with two year groups to see whether their attitudes to school and learning had changed following a revamp to the school. They found a strong association between students' attitudes with the move towards improved facilities. The survey also identified students' outlooks on the future as being positive. Moreover, students were questioned about 'spaces' and 'places' within the school, where they felt they learned most whilst enjoying the activities with peers. Students were asked before and after. Before the survey, social spaces in and around the school made up thirty-seven per cent of responses and after the survey and revamp made up forty-three per cent. Students were also questioned on the overall school facilities in order of importance. Sixty-four per cent of students identified 'good dining facilities for healthy eating' as very important.

Therefore, the school dining hall is one space which can be used to facilitate change and have an impact on behaviour and learning opportunities. An investigation was carried out in a middle school to identify how changes to the environment in school could be developed to improve physical activity and nutrition (Bauer et al, 2004). They identified time constraints as a barrier in eating nutritious food. Students pointed out that once they had finished queuing up and collecting their food, they did not have the time to eat which resulted in them often choosing an unhealthy option from the snack cart – something they were able to consume quickly (Bauer et al, 2004: 41). Overall, Bauer et al (2004) found numerous pressures across the school environments, which need to be examined, in order to help develop ways of improving the social and physical activity, including nutrition. Therefore, the impact of a poorly designed dining hall can have a negative impact on areas such as food choices for children and the reduced timings of the lunches due to longer queues can also have a negative impact.

It is said that the school meal is able to present opportunities for changing the behaviours and attitudes of children in schools, through a 'whole-school approach' (DuCharme and Gullotta, 2012). A whole-school approach is about the design and co-ordination of school standards in considering pupil-staff roles across settings in relation to the development needs of pupils (DuCharme and Gullotta 2012). McNeely et al (2002) examined the association between school connectedness and the school environment to identify ways to keep students more attached to the school. The study was conducted as longitudinal research, where 80 schools were selected at random in order to measure the level of the students' connectedness to the school. McNeely et al (2002) identified the importance of schools as places for intervention in terms of supporting student health, which include nutrition programmes and PE in the curriculum. However, they also supported the idea that although these programmes were effective and important in their own right, they did not address the crucial requirement of student health, which is their wellbeing (McNeely et al, 2002: 145). It is the feeling of belonging that is missing and the feeling of being cared for through pastoral pursuits. The whole-school approach

adopted by Peartree Academy prioritises the food environment in promoting healthy living.

It was identified that establishing and maintaining a safe and calm school environment was instrumental in helping to facilitate pupils' learning and opportunities and promoting opportunities for progression (Banerjee, 2010). This study also highlights the importance of the school conditions in which pupils are socialised. There are certain characteristics of how the environment has been built and set up at Peartree Academy. There are a number of factors which influence pupil behaviour, particularly the wellbeing of pupils, which are often affected by broader issues including the overall school environment (Banerjee, 2010: 7). Banerjee (2010) also pointed out how a 'whole-school universal' approach was the key to addressing issues of pupil wellbeing and promoting the idea of creating a connectedness amongst pupils as well as a safe and calm learning environment; further promoting learning, positive behaviour and positive peer interactions. Weir (2008) also supported the notion of taking a whole-school approach, placing particular emphasis on the standards of school meals. These views were taken from a caterer's experiences and perceptions of the school meal. Weir (2008) identified how caterers argued that all those involved in schools needed to take responsibility in order to provide support through the ethos of a whole-school approach.

Furthermore, in terms of environmental factors, school dining halls are commonly associated with having issues which create certain barriers. For example, Devi et al (2010) explored the environmental factors influencing schools' decisions and children's food choices in relation to vending machines. It was found that structural factors in the school canteen were the second most problematic of issues concerning school meals (Devi et al, 2010: 217). More specifically, this included canteen facilities, increased numbers of pupils entering the canteen, shortened lunch breaks and disruption of long queues. From the focus group interviews, students identified their frustrations in making food choices; these were due to the long queues, short lunch breaks, seating space available and unattractiveness of the school canteen (Devi et al, 2010:

218). This study provides further evidence of the day-to-day practical problems with the school environment associated with the school dining hall.

Having discussed the issues surrounding the school meal, it is useful to consider the views of children in establishing the most suitable type of school dining space. Dudek (2005) introduced the idea of an edible school space, suggesting that it involved drawing on the views of children about their ideal school environments. The study identified how the school meal as an edible landscape painted an impression of the school. He also reported how the ideal school spaces devoted to the preparation and consumption of food should be detached from the rest of the school building. In the UK, some schools tend to make multiple use of the school dining area, including use as an assembly hall and space for PE lessons. Dudek (2005) discusses how the school hall has traditionally been known as a space for dining which has been experienced by pupils and teachers over generations (Dudek, 2005: 260). He then distinguishes between the workplace for adults where food consumption takes place in a separate area detached from production or manufacturing spaces. The key point here is that the priority for the area in which school food is served has not been the primary concern for schools.

Symbolic attachments to school buildings may bring about potential benefits to the school meal experience. In a study by Nicholson (2005) the school building was identified as the third teacher. Following project work in communities based in California, she identified the importance of the environmental factors and in this case the school building as a tool for fulfilling ideas about how children learn, what they learn and how they are taught (Nicholson, 2005: 45). Aside from educational objectives, Nicholson (2005) discussed how the school building acted as a pillar for building respect in children, whilst making a difference in their life experiences. She discussed how every aspect of an educational environment represented a choice regarding the provision to be offered and identified three key struggles in school life: (1) the struggle for time (2) use of space (3) use of money. For Nicholson (2005) even choices made by the school were seen to carry certain values and symbolic messages. This

highlights the importance of the school environment and perhaps the reason why the design of school dining halls have been influenced.

Influence of leadership

In addition to the growing interest in changes to the school environment, there are a number of structural issues surrounding the school meal which include the relationship between leadership and the way in which food is used in schools. Mainstream schools' responses were examined in terms of the provision and practice being offered, focusing specifically on pupils with Special Educational Needs (SEN) and Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties (EBD) (Daniels et al, 1999). Overall the results identified the importance of values and creating and maintaining a positive school environment in developing good practice for pupils. This study highlighted the importance of the school environment and how if maintained properly, it could be an effective tool for inclusion by bringing people together. It highlighted the importance of effective leadership required in order to create coherence and cohesiveness (Daniels et al, 1999: 3).

Leaders in schools play a key role in promoting positive behaviours in schools by building on and expanding existing efforts with both pupils and parents (Henze et al, 2002). Garner (2011) carried out a review of literature on pupil behaviour, placing a particular emphasis on the role of leaders and the promotion of positive behaviour in schools and similar settings, drawing on the following areas: (1) school cultures, relationships and behaviour (2) partnerships and communities (3) professional characteristics and behaviour (4) promoting inclusion and limiting exclusion (Garner, 2011). The study discusses the importance of the school ethos and argued how effective school leadership is pivotal in maintaining a positive school environment, where the ethos communicated places emphasis upon inclusion (Garner, 2011: 8). The relationship between school leadership, behaviour and culture and ethos is important in my investigation at Peartree Academy and it is even more important in addressing pupil behaviour. As Grundy and Blandford (1999) argue a positive school atmosphere and environment are the result of effective leadership.

<u>Food acceptance and meal choices</u>

Food acceptance is another issue which needs to be considered in developing an understanding around attitudes to learning. Teacher modelling is one of the most effective methods of encouraging food acceptance for pre-school children (Hendy and Raudenbush, 2000). Hendy and Raudenbush (2000) gathered the opinions of experienced teachers about the effectiveness of modelling and compared these views to teacher reactions. They also examined the conditions of the effectiveness of teacher modelling in encouraging food acceptance in pre-school children (Hendy and Raudenbush, 2000). Overall, it was found that enthusiastic teachers were successful in encouraging food acceptance compared with teachers who were reserved and less enthusiastic. Teachers modelling eating behaviour was an important part of the observations. Initially, this was also a common theme which was highlighted in my pilot study (see Appendix 3).

There is a considerable amount of literature around school meal choices which also need to be considered. Richards and Smith (2007) carried out in-depth interviews with homeless children in Minnesota, USA to determine factors influencing food choice, ultimately affecting hunger and health. They discuss environmental factors in a wider spectrum and identify how family, peers, preparation time for consuming food, school and the media impact on children and the food choices they make. For Richards and Smith (2007) family members play a significant role during childhood through shaping attitudes and values about food, serving as role models, and providing access to food (Richards and Smith, 2007: 1572). Overall from the interviews, Richards and Smith (2007) found environmental, parental and personal factors all had influencing roles in food access and choice. This emphasises the importance of the role food can play in developing attitudes towards a healthier school meal experience.

Education can be seen to be one of the key drivers in implementing changes in ensuring good food choices are made. Hamilton-Ekeke and Thomas (2007) investigated the relationship between meal choices of primary school children in Wales and their knowledge of healthy eating. The study focused on

participants' ability to identify a variety of foods that make up a balanced diet. It was found that while effective nutrition education helps children to make healthy choices with school meals, they should also be involved in the redesigning of the content and delivery of nutrition education (Hamilton-Ekeke and Thomas, 2007: 466). Overall, for Hamilton-Ekeke and Thomas (2007) education is the key to changing the attitudes and behaviour of children in order for them to make informed decisions about the food they consume in school. This study enabled me to think carefully about my research at Peartree Academy and how opportunities could be presented for changing attitudes through taking opportunities to promote healthy eating during meal time.

Conclusion

It is evident that there is a highly complex set of sociological relationships between eating behaviours and attitudes to learning in relation to food. These include the social backgrounds of children, which ultimately affect their relationships with teachers and adults in the learning environment. Other factors which impact on attitude to learning include role models, i.e. parents, teachers and other staff involved in the school. Eliassen (2011) pointed to the integral relationship the family holds with children and the school in making positive transitions and overcoming barriers in order for children to be able to lead a healthy school life (Eliassen, 2011); whilst other studies (Rudd et al, 2008; Bauer et al, 2004) identified the impact of environmental changes and the influence of leadership in promoting positive changes to school dining halls. Common issues include finding ways to promote healthy eating and trying to develop an environment which is conducive to allowing food to play the important role in shaping positive attitudes towards food and learning. The final part of the literature review introduces the notion of social learning.

2.5 - Social learning

Having provided a discussion on multiple issues within which the school meal is bounded, it is important to present a discussion on social learning as this links to my main research question, i.e. What is the impact of the food environment upon social learning? This is made up of six segments: (1) social skills or social

learning? (2) the pedagogic meal (3) food education and intervention (4) School Food Plan (DfE, 2013) (5) learning spaces (6) meaning attached to school food. My research set out to explore the social aspect of the school meal at Peartree Academy. This led me to review a number of relevant studies which share the view that the school meal should be prioritised and more importantly that it should be integrated into school life and learning. A number of studies (Hart, 2016; Osowski et al, 2013; Pike and Leahy, 2012; Delormier et al, 2009) explore the social context of the school meal in connection with diet, behaviour and food. Other studies (Sepp et al, 2006 and Fjellstrom, 2004) introduce the notion of the 'pedagogic meal'; a way the food situation can be used as a tool to promote informal education. This is relevant to my research as I also explore the link between food and learning. Durlak and Welssberg (2007) address how social skills are being developed through certain programmes in the United States, specifically extra-curricular activities, whilst the work of Benn and Carlsson (2014) identifies how learning opportunities are developed in the school dining hall by means of intervention. Furthermore, the idea of 'learning spaces' is also introduced, through which today's school cultures are built (Kuuskorpi and Gonzalez, 2011; Nair and Gehling, 2008; Burke, 2005). Finally, 'foodscapes' are introduced in order to explore children's ideas behind the meanings they attach to food (Torralba and Guidalli, 2015; 2014).

Social Skills or Social Learning?

With regards to finding a suitable definition, I set out to explore multiple views of how social skills had been interpreted and also decided to include the term 'learning' in my search criteria, in order to come up with a holistic definition that I could then carry forward for my research. For Dalton (2004) social skills are needed by all members of society and I would like to unpack this by stripping the words down individually. 'Social' can be defined as society; concerned with mutual relations of human beings; living in organised communities', and 'skill' can be defined as 'expertness; practised ability' (Dalton, 2004: 14). For the purpose of this study, I am defining 'social' as being part of an organised community (activity in the restaurant) and 'learning' as including skills which have to be practised (i.e. using a knife and fork) as well as knowing how to behave in a social context (i.e. good manners, politeness and modelling

behaviour). Whilst this is the definition that is carried forward throughout my study, it is useful to review other definitions in order to look closely at how these terms have been interpreted.

Some of the literature on social skills in a school based context has been conducted around Asperger's syndrome as the three main areas of difficulty as listed on the diagnosis, which include: (1) social interaction (2) social communication (3) social imagination (DoH, 2014). As behaviour is a key part of how interactions are taking place in the school restaurant it is important to draw on some of the views of commentators and their definitions of what constitutes 'social skills' (Bellack et al, 2004; Dalton, 2004).

It is argued that there is no single definition of what constitutes a social skill and a situation-specific conception of social skills would be more relevant. Bellack et al (2004) recognised the neglect in connection to the broad array of social behaviours in considering a suitable definition of social skills. The overriding factor is the effectiveness of behaviour in social interactions (Bellack et al, 2004: 4). In the interpersonal context, social skills can be summarised as involving the ability to express both positive and negative feelings without suffering consequent loss of social reinforcement (Bellack et al, 2004: 4). In essence, for Bellack et al (2004) social skills involve the ability to observe and analyse subtle cues that define the situation as well as the existence of a collection of appropriate responses. Communication was also considered as a key term when trying to establish a suitable definition of social skills in relation to the school meal. Hargie et al (1994) identified that a person who is socially skilled is dependent on the extent to which one can communicate with others, in a manner that fulfils one's rights, requirements, satisfactions or obligations to a reasonable degree without damaging the other person's similar rights and in a free and open exchange (Hargie et al, 1994: 13). Furthermore, in their review, Hargie et al (1994) argued that social skills can be acquired through learning and that the control rests with the individual. Hargie (1986) identified six main features of what constitutes a social skill which included: (1) goal-directed (2) interrelated (3) situational appropriate (4) identifiable units of behaviour (5) how behaviours can be learned (6) control of the individual. Hargie (1986) draws on

Bandura's (1977) conceptual framework of social cognitive theory, highlighting the process of social learning.

Another term that emerged when searching for social skills was 'cognition' and this allowed me to extend my review to make links to learning. Bedell and Lennox (1996) emphasised the importance of cognitive elements and identified that social skills included the ability to (1) accurately select relevant and useful information from an interpersonal context (2) use that information to determine appropriate goal-directed behaviour (3) perform verbal and nonverbal behaviours that maximise the likelihood of goal attainment and maintenance of good relations with others (Bedell and Lennox, 1996: 9). This suggests that the term social skills represents two sets of abilities; cognitive and behavioural. Behaviour appears to be prevailing as a term used almost interchangeably with social skills, whether that is positive or negative behaviour. Interaction is also part of the communication process in utilising these social skills.

The 'Pedagogic Meal'

It is useful to consider how associations to the school meal and learning have been defined and more importantly which term has been used to identify with this phenomenon. It is the notion of the 'pedagogic meal' that has been commonly referred to as finding a way to link school food together with learning. There has been a growing interest in the study of food pedagogies (Andersen, 2015; Osowski et al, 2013; Pike and Leahy, 2012; Sepp et al, 2006). Sepp et al (2006) carried out 34 interviews across 12 pre-schools in Sweden to explore school meals. The staff provided strong views on how food and meals should be integrated into their daily work and pedagogic activities (Sepp et al, 2006). The teachers identified their uncertainties around the 'meal situation' as they lacked knowledge and understanding around food and nutrition. During interviews, participants declared in the past that they did not eat with the children at the dinner table and had difficulties in acting as role models. However, in recent times, staff have been encouraged to socialise with the children at the dinner table even if they are not inclined to do so or have not been shown how to socialise. The democratic approach to education in Sweden

seems to be reflected in their approach to the school meal, which is one of integration and another informal learning opportunity (Mavrovounioti, 2010).

Although most staff in the dining hall had a good understanding of how to practise a 'pedagogic meal'; a concept developed in Sweden in the 1970s which refers to teachers interacting with the pupils when eating school meals, they remained uncertain of how to present themselves in the meal situation. Sepp et al (2006) identified how food education occurs early in life for children as they develop preferences for taste, table manners and attitudes towards food. Moreover, it is these attitudes and behaviours that are communicated through the food and meal situation. There is certain behaviour which is seen as acceptable food related behaviour. Furthermore, they identify how part of this socialisation takes place in pre-school tables where behaviours are modelled by staff and pupils. Overall, it is important to address early childhood and the school meal as this helps to build the foundation of practising a pedagogic meal. The findings highlighted that staff had a good understanding in encouraging the children to help themselves, as well as acting as adult role models at the table (Sepp et al, 2006: 227), for example, showing the children how to handle cutlery, pass each other food, sit on a chair appropriately and have a conversation. They pointed out how the task of sitting and eating with children and teaching them skills to interact was a task in itself.

Some complexities were identified in studying the meal situation in schooling from previous research carried out in Sweden (Fjellstrom, 2004). These included how social and cultural aspects of children's food habits, including their attitudes behind food choice have all been important factors in studying from a health perspective (Fjellstrom, 2004: 161). It was also recognised how different dimensions of the meal situation can be observed through looking at time, space and social aspects. It was argued how universal definitions of the 'meal' lacked any idea of 'social dimensions'. By this she meant discussing the meal situation, meal order, meal patterns and meal situations, which include practices and rituals at the dining table (Fjellstrom, 2004: 161). Fjellstrom (2004) discusses how a 'proper meal' differs amongst Nordic countries, from the structure, daily rhythm and social context of eating. Janhonen et al (2013)

argued that meals that echoed the structural definition of a proper meal were most common when describing meals for the family. Fjellstrom (2004) made an interesting point regarding the relationship between pedagogy and food in a food situation. The social interaction between parents and children in a supermarket has an impact on food purchases and choices in everyday life. This is an example of a pedagogic real life situation which works as a tool for informal education (Fjellstrom, 2004: 163). It is this notion that is also being carried forward in the school restaurant at Peartree Academy, or at least this was one of the aims of the school.

Observations, interviews and focus group interviews were conducted in 3 schools in central Sweden to explore how the pedagogic meal is practised with a focus on teachers' interaction with the children (Osowski et al, 2013). There were three types of teachers identified, who all took different roles which included: (1) the sociable teacher (2) the educational teacher (3) the evasive teacher. The sociable teacher created a social occasion during school lunch time which involved having a high level of interaction with children. The only difference between the teacher-sociable role and child-sociable role was that the teacher took an interest in the child, giving them attention, meaning that they were able to interact and foster social learning. The educating teacher took the role of providing information during lunch time, which was a one-way teacher to pupil approach, applying rules and procedures. The evasive teacher took a passive approach, limiting interaction with children and not fully applying rules and procedures. According to the National Food Administration (NFA) as discussed by Filho and Kovaleva (2014) in Sweden, the aims of pedagogic meals are to give children and teachers a chance to interact and speak with each other while eating together and to educate children about food and healthy eating (Osowski et al, 2013: 420). Teachers are seen as role models and the NFA suggests that teachers speak positively about the school meal whilst teaching children about the importance of eating school meals. The Swedish NFA guidelines state that an adult presence brings calm to the school meal environment. This study has both literature and research method connections with my case study at Peartree Academy, which involved observations and interviews carried out in and around the dining hall. Osowski

et al (2013) identified how there was a shortage of literature around the school meal situation and that previous research had merely focused on pre-school children, which I also found evident in my literature search.

School interventions can play an influential role in helping pupils to develop social skills as discussed by Durlak and Weissberg (2007). In their study, Durlak and Weissberg (2007) carried out an after school programme in the United States in an attempt to promote personal and social skills development during meal time. After school programmes were defined as interventions that were available for children aged 5 – 18. Personal and social skills included problem-solving; conflict resolution; self-control; leadership; responsible decision-making; enhancement of self-efficacy and self-esteem (Durlak and Weissberg, 2007: 4). Outcomes in three general areas were examined which included: (1) feelings and attitudes (2) indicators of behavioural adjustment (3) school performance. It was found that young people who participated in these programmes improved significantly in the three areas. For Durlak and Weissberg (2007) it was possible to identify with these as effective programmes.

The role of school food was considered in connection with pedagogy during school meal time (Andersen, 2015). Findings from the OPUS school meal project found that staff had a significant impact during meal times. It was with regards to their role in both the school kitchen and as a useful resource during meal time. The lack of knowledge in terms of how to handle and prepare a basic meal restricted them from taking advantage. This led to a missed opportunity of a pedagogical activity that could have been carried out during meal time, which could become a formal learning task on food education.

Food Education and intervention
Interventions can play a part in enriching the lives of pupils in their participation with school meals as discussed by Burke (2002). Burke (2002) investigated school meals using three focus groups from different post-primary schools, with pupils aged 11 – 12, based in Northern Ireland. She explored the importance of food and cooking skills by talking to the teachers who taught this subject and

canteen staff in the school (Burke, 2002). It was evident that food theory taught in class was not put into practice within the school dining hall. Consequently the low response rate in healthy food choices led to a reduction in healthy food options. Educating children in their food choices was important in engaging with teachers, parents, governors and the wider community. She addressed how the curriculum has the flexibility to be adapted outside the school environment. Schools offer an ideal environment for the development of academic and social skills and also bridge the gap between dietary awareness and food choice. Burke (2002) stressed the importance of the need to attain basic food skills and nutrition in order to make correct food choices in the long-term.

In terms of food intervention, it is worth considering the importance of the roles of those involved. Benn and Carlsson (2014) evaluated the effects of FSM interventions on pupils' learning and on the learning environment in schools in terms of the role of pupils and teachers during the school meal (Benn and Carlsson, 2014). Their research aimed to explore the learning potential of school meals. It was conducted at four schools in Denmark, which generated cases through observations, focus groups and interviews. Overall, they identified that pupils were able to learn through tasting new foods and dishes and argued for the 'common meal', promoting the idea of 'social learning' (Ayers et al, 2007). This was at a different time to the break periods, where pupils brought different food from home. In the lunch period, social learning took place through having and sharing the same meal and experience (Benn and Carlsson, 2014). Furthermore, they also found further learning opportunities through informal learning arenas such as opportunities for pupils and staff to communicate with regards to meal choices.

Health carries cultural, social, moral and linguistic meanings, which is recognised in the research carried out by Karrebaek (2011). An investigation was conducted to highlight the socialisation process of healthy food practices in a Danish multi-ethnic kindergarten classroom based in Copenhagen (Karrebaek, 2011). She adopted ethnographic techniques; observing a class of twenty-five children during a school year by conducting video and audio recordings in class, during breaks and after-school. Karrebaek (2011) focused

on the relationship between health, socialisation, language and food practices. Overall, mealtimes were found to expose cultural values and act as the platform for acquiring these values. Children were socialised into a particular society, one which presented them with certain food-related values, including the following: (1) it is important to eat and drink healthy food and drinks and also having a specific food-related understanding (2) milk is healthier than juice (3) some children have an awareness of and acknowledge the importance of health (Karrebaek, 2011: 16). Overall, it was concluded that careful consideration needs to be given to health interventions in canteens as food practices are built on a number of culture-specific assumptions which cannot be neglected. This emphasises the complexity in trying to prioritise health when considering school meals. In terms of health, Delormier et al (2009) suggest that intervention in food consumption should consider eating as a social practice and not an act of behaviour.

To take on the view of a holistic approach then, it is worth considering studies which focus on children's health, nutrition and cognition. Bellisle (2004) identified how diet can affect cognitive ability and behaviour in children and adolescents. She identifies how good regular dietary habits for a child are the best way to ensure they perform well, behave and also gain from benefits in mental health. This particular literature is relevant as Bellisle (2004) emphasises the importance of good nutrition on cognition and behaviour in children, during a crucial period where they acquire factual knowledge, behavioural traits and the social skills that determine their ability to cope with different situations in and outside of the school environment (Bellisle, 2004: 227). For Bellisle (2004) academic achievement and successful integration into a social group depends on numerous factors. These include familial, psychological, emotional, social and nutritional factors. It is these factors which play an important role in the transition young people make into successful adulthood.

<u>School Food Plan (DfE, 2013)</u>

Based on the studies reviewed so far, there is a desire to push school meals forward for various reasons which are seen to combat issues surrounding health, nutrition and learning. As Peartree Academy is based in the UK, it is important to hone in on this particular region as it can help to connect with the context of my research. The School Food Plan (DfE, 2013) has had an impact on school meals and it is useful to discuss this here. An investigation was carried out by Dimbleby and Vincent (2013) on behalf of the Department for Education (DfE) to explore school meals and how to get children to eat well in school in order to help them learn more about food. The aim of the investigation was to develop a School Food Plan (DfE, 2013). They also wanted to address ways to make food tastier and to excite children about food choices. Another aim of the research was to look at the role of cooking and food in schools and how interventions can be put in place to help enrich children's home lives as well as give them a good start in life (Dimbleby and Vincent, 2013: 15). He visited more than 60 schools to trial their food, attend lessons and discuss issues with children, parents, cooks, teachers, business managers, teachers and heads (Dimbleby and Vincent, 2013: 16).

It was identified that for the first time in four decades, take-up of school food increased to forty-three per cent overall in 2013; an increase of seven per cent in the past three years. This follows the same ethos at Peartree Academy of putting the school restaurant at the heart of the school to promote togetherness and a sense of belonging. Dimbleby and Vincent (2013) made reference to this individual who described the ideal school canteen as a place for teachers and children to sit down together to eat and talk, creating a positive atmosphere. Table manners were also high on the priority list, as a means of teaching consideration, courtesy and social skills (Dimbleby and Vincent, 2013: 17). For Dimbleby and Vincent (2013) promoting the idea of a food culture is fundamental in achieving good food culture. This gives children who sit and eat with peers and teachers in a civilised environment, the opportunity to strengthen relationships and develop social skills whilst reinforcing positive behaviour throughout the school day (Dimbleby and Vincent, 2013: 28). So, this

led me to question whether I could also find a way to see if this was happening at Peartree Academy.

There is evidence to suggest that food can help shape relationships whilst building links with the community as discussed by Hart (2016). In her work, Hart (2016) made links to the School Food Plan (DfE, 2013) in a mixed-methods case study which focused on pupil wellbeing and building strong school communities. The social context of food practices in primary schools in England were explored and it was found that in addition to nutritional outcomes, food practices were identified as being related to wider aspects of individual wellbeing and the social culture of schools (Hart, 2016: 211). A key outcome of the study was the development of the School Food Self-Evaluation Toolbox (SET). This was designed to help empower children and their school communities in shaping a better experience of school meals.

Learning spaces

Learning spaces became an integral part of my background search in terms of highlighting the growing interest in this discourse. For my study at Peartree Academy, I noticed how there were numerous learning spaces dotted around the school but for me, the restaurant was also arguably reflective of a learning area in terms of the way it had been designed. A study carried out across six European countries, with a focus on the future of physical learning environments, led to the development of a learning space model, which was identified as flexible and sustainable (Kuuskorpi and Gonzalez, 2011: 1); a model which does not upset the teaching and learning processes within the learning environment. According to the OECD (2006) educational space is a physical space that supports multiple and diverse teaching and learning programmes and pedagogies; a place which encourages social participation. The objectives of the study involved identifying what constitutes a physical learning environment. They identified four learning contexts, which included: (1) social (2) individual (3) formal teaching (4) informal learning processes (Kuuskorpi and Gonzalez, 2011: 2). It was found that when schools saw the potential of the impact of physical learning environments as drivers for

supporting new teaching methodologies, they were in favour of implementing immediate changes to their operational culture.

It is useful to consider the role of eating and drinking and the effects it has on children in schools in the way in which the space is utilised. An investigation was carried out to look at the edible landscape of the school by drawing on a UK context (Burke, 2005). She recognised the importance of the significant role of eating and drinking for young people in schools. In her work, she highlights the pedagogic development in terms of the culture of food and young people. She provides a historical perspective by pointing out how the school hall was commonly utilised for assembly, physical education, public examination, performance, celebration and consumption of food. She draws on the experimental era of the 1960s in parts of the United States, where typically regimented rows of tables and chairs began to be replaced by more social arrangements, reflecting what was happening in the open-plan classroom (Burke, 2005: 583). For Burke and Grosvenor (2003) food is a language of communication, a shared code that children know how to interpret from their collective play.

Peartree Academy holds a different vision in terms of developing learning spaces, which enables pupils to access opportunities to develop. It is similar to the results of an investigation carried out to highlight the idea of the community centre model in the design of the school architecture as a space (Nair and Gehling, 2008). They identified how there was a division between formal lessons in school time and said that children have limited control over their learning at this time. They argued for a design of a school building which addresses this divide. They identified some of the non-learning spaces around the school and the implications. They also recognised the design of school cafeterias and how schools neglect involving pupils in the process of food preparation. Furthermore, they discussed how the furnishings in the school cafeterias commonly consisted of long tables with bench seating compared to more socially inclusive furnishings, which could be used to work together and socialise or even collaborate on group projects (Nair and Gehling, 2008: 13).

With regards to the school lunch period, it is useful to consider how monitoring takes place in a time of day which is said to be conducive for learning. In this case study by Lomax (1991) regular observations were carried out in a large multi-ethnic primary school in an outer London Borough, which schooled pupils aged 3 – 9 years of age. The context for the research was to look at the school dining hall, where regular observations of the interactions took place (Lomax, 1991). The overall project brought about a change in the dining hall atmosphere, particularly in terms of noise pollution and abuse experienced by dinner staff. The queues were also addressed, with children being seated straight away instead of the several lines of pupils in corridors. A training programme was created for mid-day staff, who were those members of staff involved in supervising the lunch time meal and the programme also aimed to engage interest in teachers' participation. The overall aim was to improve the quality of supervision provided in the dining hall and one of the strategies to develop this included greater interaction amongst staff and dinner supervisors in order for a mutual respect to be shared. One example of this approach is highlighted in the school restaurant at Peartree Academy where the dining space has been designed to help promote cohesion, particularly amongst staff and midday supervisors, as well as the community overall.

Meaning attached to school food

Having highlighted key debates surrounding school food and learning, I set out to expand this review by drawing on a discussion which relates to the meaning attached to food. One ethnographic study was carried out on food insecurity to describe the culture and social interactions of a particular group of people in their natural habitat, based in Cape Verde in the Republic of Cabo Verde (Nasirian, 2013). Nasirian (2013) focuses on children's experiences of the meanings they attached to school meals. This study was of interest due to the nature of the enquiry and methodology adopted which has similarities with my methodological approach for my study. Overall, the study found that children identified three key meanings from eating school meals (1) good health (2) enables them to learn better (3) that it is important due to the lack of food they experience (Nasirian, 2013: 26). Furthermore, Nasirian (2013) also concluded that children were also worried about one another through a lack of opportunity

to experience good food and this identifies the social and emotional meaning attached to school meals.

The idea of foodscapes stems from having contact with food in different environments. A study was carried out to investigate 'foodscapes' in three schools based in central Sweden, with an aim to study the knowledge constructed by children regarding food and meals in a school-based context (Osowski et al, 2012). Observations, interviews and focus group interviews revealed how children appropriated ideas and understandings from the adult world and society as a whole in order to participate amongst peers in the school meal situation (Osowski et al, 2012: 54). Children do not merely internalise society and culture, but produced their own knowledge by resisting rules and regulations set by adults in the dining hall (Corsaro, 2005).

The concept of foodscapes was employed in another inquiry in order to understand how children learn to eat in school by recording eating activity and conducting interviews with children and adults across school lunchrooms in Spain (Torralba and Guidalli, 2014). This allows me to think carefully about the school restaurant and how school structures impinge upon how pupils operate. The impetus to re-conceptualise school food and school eating practices in broader terms stemmed from the articles by Mikkelsen (2011) and Weaver-Hightower (2008) which promoted going beyond nutritional needs in addressing school food reform. They highlighted two levels at which the research on school food could be gathered. Firstly, to look beyond the school to factors such as the social and economic demographics, by reviewing organisational structures surrounding the school lunch. Secondly, to look deeper within the school in order to explore how food and eating practices can be conceptualised from the standpoint of the school (Torralba and Guidalli, 2014: 3). Moreover, at the structural level, the framework becomes attached to the organisational and socio-cultural aspect of eating practices during school meal time. Therefore, this is one theoretical model for analysing school meals and for my research, it involved trying to find a way of describing the process of learning during meal time. For Torralba and Guidalli (2014) eating is not simply a biological activity;

eating is a social and cultural occurrence while nutrition is a physiological one which addresses issues of health.

I came across literature on children's socialisation during meal time and decided to include this here as it was relevant to my research. Torralba and Guidalli (2015) examined children's eating practices and interactions during meal time. They identify how children's food heritage is developed as eating practices are highly structured and focus on socialising children into particular ways of eating; a focus also adopted by Karrebaek (2012). He argued that this takes place in school eating practices and interactions with teachers and midday supervisors, which develop ways of eating, social order and identity. Whereas, Torralba and Guidalli (2014) focus on how children in the school foodscape use language to construct meaning and forge a collective identity as school eaters (Torralba and Guidalli, 2015: 5). Essentially, they question some of the assumptions around heritage including time and place and make an attempt to look inside the school lunchroom, with a particular focus on how children make sense of the school meal situation. More importantly for Torralba and Guidalli (2015), children are identified as active participants in the construction of their norms, skills and knowledge and are able to take control of their eating experiences.

It is evident that there are further variables and complexities which need to be explored in order to address social skills in the restaurant at Peartree Academy. Sepp et al (2006) and Fjellstrom (2004) discuss pedagogy in bringing learning to the table. The work of Osowski et al (2013) has a direct influence on my study, as they examined how pupils appropriated ideas and understanding from the school meal situation. Torralba and Guidalli (2014) explore the cultural make-up of the meal situation. The studies identified above have been instrumental in trying to unpack how social skills are developed in a multi-disciplinary context. Academic performance has also been discussed with a link to cognition. In addition to this, the role of the teacher in the school restaurant needs to be recognised as an element of the discourse surrounding social learning.

Conclusion

The literature review has provided a multi-disciplinary approach to the school meal and highlighted a number of potential issues. In terms of the historical discourse of the school meal, at this present time, school meals seem to be a key priority from a policy perspective. This is reflected in the number of school food programmes being used to find a way to measure the overall meal time experiences, and the nutritional value of the school meal. Eating behaviours are also an important aspect in the exploration of this study as I would like to argue that social learning involves using social skills, which are bound by societal rules that impinge upon the participants who inhabit the school restaurant at Peartree Academy. The review of literature led me to exploring the theoretical positions of previous studies in order to help find a suitable theoretical and methodological position for my research. The following chapter introduces the theoretical framework for my study.

Chapter 3 – Theoretical Frameworks

3.1 – Introduction

This chapter outlines the influence of social constructivism, the work of Foucault and other influential studies in order to introduce the theoretical and methodological framework for my investigation conducted at Peartree Academy. It is organised into five segments: (1) social constructivism (2) influential studies (3) methodological positionality (4) interpretivism (5) A Foucauldian influence.

3.2 - Social constructivism

In order to explore the interactions that shape the school restaurant at Peartree, I adopted a social constructivist position. This approach is supported by other authors who adopted a constructivist framework in their research (Mckee, 2011; Pike, 2010; Acker, 1999; Pollard, 1990; Burgess, 1983; Ball, 1981). Social constructivism is based on the belief that children's learning is primarily a result of their social interactions with others (Tracey and Morrow, 2012). Young and Gamble (2006) describe social constructivism as a product of social practices and state that no knowledge is objective. It has also been described as a theory about knowledge and learning and ultimately it is about knowing and how a pupil may come to know (Fosnot, 2005). More importantly, constructivism has been identified as a theory that does not describe knowledge as truths to be discovered, but knowledge as emergent and constructed through justifications by individuals who are involved in making sense of the cultural make up of a community (Fosnot, 2005). For me, the community under investigation in which I seek to describe one truth is Peartree Academy.

Based on my assumptions of the world, I took a social constructivist position which allowed me to explore social interactions in the school restaurant. For Vygotsky (1978) social constructivism explores culture and social context. Vygotsky believes learning and development is a collaborative activity and that children develop cognitive functioning in the context of socialisation and education (Vygotsky, 1978). Moreover, social constructivism is based on the belief that children's learning is primarily a result of their social interactions with

others (Tracey and Morrow, 2012). For Vygotsky (1978) students construct knowledge through social interactions with each other. The study at Peartree Academy involved observing a number of social situations with pupils. Vygotsky (1978) argued learners can and should use the input of others, including peers, parents, friends and other sources of information to formulate their constructions and not merely rely upon themselves (Martin, 2011).

In his work, Vygotsky (1978) developed a theoretical model known as the 'Zone of Proximal Development' (ZPD). This is a region of learning activity in which learners navigate to maximise their potential, but with some assistance from the teacher or other people associated to the activity (Martin, 2011). Adults provide children with activities that will help them to scaffold their understanding from one concept to another (Pollard, 1990). The zone of proximal development identifies where learners are able to perform tasks independently as well as attempt more difficult learning tasks with assistance (Martin, 2011). For Vygotsky (1978) the teachers' role is to provide ample support in the early stages of investigating a situation and then to withdraw support as children progress and carry out tasks more independently. Vygotsky believed learning is first done socially and argues that the child is able to internalise their learning (Tassoni, 2004). In terms of the school restaurant, this position enabled me to think about how learning can take place and the situations in which it could occur. Social constructivism makes up one piece of my framework, which is accompanied by two other pieces which make up the whole jigsaw (see Fig. 1). The second area includes influential studies and the final piece includes theoretical positions held by Foucault.

Fig. 1 – Jigsaw illustrating three influential positions in the development of my framework.
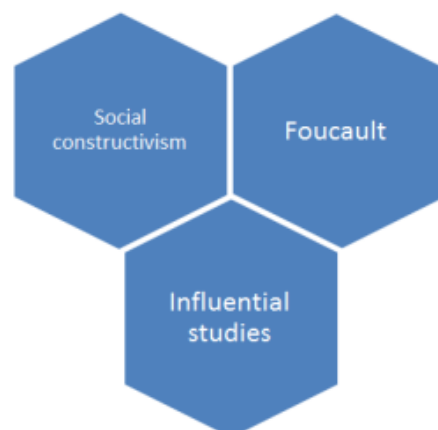
3.3 – Influential studies

The reason for taking a social constructivist stance emerged from my epistemological positionality and research questions which refer to social learning. The influence of earlier ethnographic case studies was also a factor behind my decision (Mckee, 2011; Pike, 2010; Acker, 1999; Pollard, 1990; Burgess, 1983; Ball, 1981). Progression in pupils' understanding can only take place by considering the social factors affecting their learning (Pollard and Tann, 1987). Moreover, teachers play a role in conditioning pupils to cope with certain situations successfully, which include 'high risk' and 'high ambiguity', where pupils formulate their own interpretations of situations as they arise (Pollard and Tann, 1987). This highlights a significant movement in social constructivist models of learning about control of the learning process (Pollard, 1990: 291). For Pollard (1990) learners are able to construct understanding in their minds only through governing their learning process.

I draw on the social context of pupils involved in the study to analyse social learning at Peartree Academy. Pollard (1990) carried out an ethnographic case study on one UK primary school and the study was designed to monitor the primary school careers of 10 children by drawing on home, playground and classroom settings. He also investigated pupil identities and possible links between social interactionism and social constructivism. Pollard (1990) adopted a grounded theoretical model to code and analyse the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Overall, Pollard (1990: 292) aimed to highlight the most important issues and correlations in the social relationships which affect pupil learning and careers. He developed a formula between the 'self' and 'others' which he later applied to certain settings in the classroom. More importantly, he stressed how having control for learning was a product of this. Although children may be supported by others, where understanding has been scaffolded, it is the child who is able to understand and make sense and take control of the end goal (Pollard, 1990).

In the case of Peartree Academy, staff, teachers, the board of governors, parents and community members are all responsible for pupils' learning and careers. Pupils develop their perspectives and identities in response to their

need to deal with situations which adults control (Pollard, 1990). Therefore, adults need to ensure they communicate and liaise with one another in order for pupils to recognise this interaction in the restaurant. In essence, if adults disregard the importance of co-operation, liaison and negotiation, it is the children who will suffer (Pollard, 1990: 298). Therefore, this led me to read past ethnographic case studies (Mckee, 2011; Pike, 2010; Acker, 1999; Burgess, 1983; Ball, 1981), which have all been influential in my decision to adopt an ethnographic approach in studying the daily lives of pupils, teachers and staff within the restaurant at Peartree Academy.

I adopted ethnographic techniques which provided a means to analyse the factors which shaped the school meal at Peartree Academy. The work of Burgess (1983) focused on how the social context of a school affects what goes on inside it. This encouraged me to look at the external influences on Peartree Academy. Ball (1981) explored processes of selection and socialisation which were areas of interest to my study. Acker (1999) investigated teachers' workplace culture in order to understand their position on one school which encouraged me to carefully consider the views of teachers at Peartree Academy. Pike (2010) focused on the social interactions that take place in school dining halls with a focus on how school food can be used as a cohesive force.

3.4 – Methodological positionality

In order to provide the theoretical framework for the research methodology, it is important to introduce two concepts, known as ontology and epistemology (Burgess et al, 2006). This is followed by a discussion on interpretivism as the research paradigm being used for my study.

Ontology and Epistemology

Epistemology refers to the nature of knowledge and ontology identifies with the reality itself (Niiniluoto et al, 2004). Scott and Morrison (2007) share this view in the discipline of education by describing how epistemology refers to how educational researchers come to know the reality that they would like to describe. Ontology is then described as the nature of that reality (Scott and

Morrison, 2007). The two do somewhat overlap in that the belief that one has about the nature of reality has an influence on the way one can identify with it (Scott and Morrison, 2007). Although understanding these ontological and epistemological orientations is relevant to understanding different research approaches, it is also important to highlight how these philosophical traditions influence the choice of research methods (Whitehead, 2004). My ontological stance rests on a naturalistic perspective where I aim to seek 'the truth' through the lived experience of a school which allowed me to become an 'insider'.

My naturalistic perspective led me to question whether I was an 'insider' or 'outsider'. I would like to argue that I was simultaneously to some extent an insider and to some extent an outsider in my research. My position to adopt this perspective was influenced by the work of Hellawell (2006), who questioned the insider-outsider methodological debate and argued how reflexivity could be developed as a result of recognising the subtleties which surround both insider and outsider research. For me, although I was not an employee of the school in which I conducted my research, the site for my investigation was in another educational establishment. However, I can concede that my employment position was not in a school setting, but in a university one. For me, this signifies my 'outsider' position but my connection to 'insiderness' stems from a background in teaching in schools and having obtained a formal teaching qualification. Therefore, on the spectrum of insider-outsider researcher, I would like to argue that although I was not a complete insider, i.e. not having an immediate connection to the school through employment, I became an insider as well as an outsider to some extent.

Based on my epistemological position, I adopted an interpretative research paradigm to inquire into the processes that shaped the school. Ethnography enabled me to develop a case study based on the culture of the school restaurant. Wood and Smith (2016) highlighted the complexities surrounding the term case study and found that it was not always defined appropriately. Generalising from this type of methodology is also said to be difficult to prove and whilst case study focuses on depth as opposed to volume, it needs to be carried out effectively (Wood and Smith, 2016). Whilst case study research is

not easily generalisable, it does offer one perspective of the school restaurant. Case study does not have a strong hold on generalisability; even though a single case may be studied at length (Stake, 1995). Unpacking generalisability is difficult, yet I would like to hold the position that some degree of generalisability can be made from my case study research. My study is interpretative and a discussion on case study is extended further in chapter four (methodology).

To clarify my epistemological position, I addressed the research questions by taking my assumptions of the world into account. As a result, discovery of knowledge about my research questions took place through observing and interviewing pupils, parents and staff. Whilst these were qualitative methods of inquiry, some documentary evidence also formed part of the investigation. Furthermore, themes were developed through these observations and interviews which were symbolised, using an interactionist approach. Although there are discussions on objectivity, subjectivity and validity in chapter five (ethics), I would like to be clear about my subjective attachment to the research. In my stance as an insider, I was conscious of my involvement throughout the research. Paying close attention to the 'self' as part of the research is what helped in establishing my view of the culture in the restaurant (Mead, 1967).

It was my own identity which informed the research process, right from the beginning up until the end of the research. Being objective in research is known as taking a rationalistic approach which brings about a certain level of representation in research. However, there are some complexities around what one may constitute as being objective. Hammersley (1993) questions the meaning of objectivity as a definition. He talks about how objectivity is attached to an elimination of any type of bias in a study. I attempted to take my personal bias of being a teacher and having earlier interests in managing food behaviour into consideration when carrying out my research. I aimed, therefore to be rigorous and systematic in the way I approached my research and collected my data.

3.5 – Interpretivism

Paradigms have been defined as a set of basic beliefs that deal with ultimates and principles, representing a worldview that defines for its holder, the nature of the world (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 107). For Punch (2009) methodological theory helps to establish the methods of enquiry that might be used in research. Punch (2009) states that methods of inquiry are based on assumptions. He defines the assumptions as the nature of the reality being studied, assumptions about what constitutes knowledge of that reality. More importantly, it is these assumptions that decide on the most appropriate methods of building knowledge of that given reality (Punch, 2009: 15). Punch (2009) explains that these assumptions often appear as implicit in educational research. There has been a great deal of work on whether or not these assumptions should be constructed more explicitly (Punch, 2009: 15). These assumptions hold methodological implications within Peartree Academy as my presence in the school was already known. Thus, it was important to take a step back and reflect on the data collected, in order to gain a fruitful dataset.

Interpretivism focuses on smaller numbers with an in-depth analysis of human behaviour (Basit, 2010). Interpretivism is based on the idea that as individuals, we construct our own social reality through the mind and that only we individually are able to experience the world through personal perceptions, which are manifested through our preconceptions and beliefs (Nudzor, 2009: 125). However, this perspective is criticised for producing results which lack any sort of generalisability, validity and reliability with regards to the output measurement. In terms of accounting for this research approach, I followed a rigorous path which began by a thorough review of the literature and carefully considering my research questions. Moreover, the theoretical positions employed in my research were part of my case study, which was then empirically enhanced by my findings. This became known to me as analytic generalisation, which is one way I was able to account for the limitations of case study research (Yin, 2014). More importantly a lack of representativeness and generalisation instils inappropriate characteristics, such as subjectivity, which has a danger of becoming a perpetual trait. A discussion on the final

piece in the jigsaw, which has shaped the theoretical model for my study is introduced at this point (see Fig. 1).

3.6 – A Foucauldian influence

The work of Foucault has been particularly relevant in theorising chapters six, seven and eight. It quickly became apparent how useful his discussions were, based on some studies which also made links to the work of Foucault whilst investigating school meals (Punch et al, 2013; Warin, 2011; Pike, 2010). Having explored links to the work of Foucault in studies on UK schools (Carter and Burgess, 1993; 1992), I was able to draw links to his work and went on to read further studies which were carried out more recently (Pike and Leahy, 2012; Warin, 2011; Pike, 2010). The works of Carter and Burgess (1993; 1992) were particularly useful as they applied a Foucauldian lens to a UK school setting. Punch et al (2013) conducted research in four primary schools to examine the cultures of school dining and the ways in which social relationships were constructed and reconstructed by actions within the setting (Punch et al, 2013: 50). Pike (2010) explored UK school meals and used the work of Foucault to draw on discussions of power. Warin (2011) also adopted a Foucauldian lens to analyse obesity in schooling, by exploring the intersections of different technologies that give rise to specific lifestyle interventions.

The key Foucauldian concepts include apparatus, body, culture, discipline, discursive practice, identity, biopower, gaze, governmentality, panopticism and surveillance (O'Farrell, 2005). These terms are closely connected to my research and for this reason, I make an attempt to contextualise them here. 'Apparatus' is used as a term to identify the various institutional, physical and administrative mechanisms and knowledge structures, which enhance and maintain the exercise of power within the social body (O'Farrell, 2005: 7). By this, I am referring to the school as the institutional piece of apparatus. Foucault is particularly concerned with the relations between political power and the 'body', which he describes as a component to be managed in relation to strategies of the economic and social management of populations (Miguel-Alfonso and Caporale, 1994). For my research, the pupils, parents and staff as

participants are the bodies in question for my investigation. 'Culture' is described as a hierarchical organisation of values, accessible to everybody, but at the same time, a mechanism of selection and exclusion (O'Farrell, 2005: 132). It is the culture of Peartree Academy that is of particular importance to me and the values attached to this organisation, which impinge upon the processes which shape the day to day running of the school restaurant. 'Discipline' is defined as a mechanism of power which regulates the behaviour of individuals in what is termed the social body (O'Farrell, 2005: 133). To apply the notion of discipline is an important one, in that it shapes the ways in which pupils behave in the school restaurant. 'Discursive practice' refers to historical and cultural rules for organising and producing various forms of knowledge. For me, this is about the cultural rules in the school and how people operate.

In terms of 'Identity', Foucault focuses on the closure rather than the birth or maintenance of power relations (O'Farrell, 2005). For Foucault, identity is a form of suppression and another way of exercising power over people, preventing them from moving outside static boundaries (O'Farrell, 2005). At Peartree Academy it is the identities of pupils in the school restaurant which are being shaped through power relations. Biopower refers to the ways in which power manifests itself in the form of daily practices and routines through which individuals engage in self-surveillance and self-discipline in which they become suppressed (Pylypa, 1998). In terms of daily practices, my concern is with the practices in the school restaurant. The concept of gaze stems from medical grounds but in this case in terms of the school restaurant it denotes how power is exerted constantly and the subjects in this case are not aware of when they are 'being watched' (Knudsen et al, 2008). Consequently, this leads to a level of self-monitoring upon the social actors taking part in the school restaurant. Foucault (1980) uses the term 'governmentality' to refer to the practices of government through which individuals are made subjects refers to the state. He uses the term government in a broad sense, in that he is referring to the way individuals are disciplined and encouraged to become particular types of citizens and I would like to draw attention to the school restaurant as one platform in which this type of discipline is said to be organised. He identifies with the 'Self' as being the technique used to make the individual a significant

element of the state; originally coined 'policing'. In one of his statements he mentions 'the conduct of conduct', which refers to an attempt to shape, guide or affect not only the conduct of persons; it is an attempt to constitute people in such ways that they can be governed (Marshall, 1996: 112). 'Panopticism' and 'Surveillance' are key terms which draw on the structure of a prison but used metaphorically. In this instance, the school restaurant becomes subject to power and surveillance, which is one space in contemporary society.

Foucault has been criticised for failing to offer a rational theory of power (Mills, 2003). Although, Foucault (1982) made it clear regarding the focus of his work. For example:

> '…first of all, what has been the goal of my work during the last twenty years? It has not been to analyse the phenomena of power, or to elaborate the foundations of such an analysis. My objective, instead, has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects. My work has dealt with three modes of objectification which transform human beings into subjects' (Foucault, 1982: 777).

Therefore, Foucault (1982) identified three ways in which individuals are made subjects: (1) through the modes of enquiry which try to give themselves the status of sciences (2) through the objectivising of the subject through dividing spaces (3) through the ways a human being acts upon himself into a subject (Foucault, 1982: 778).

Foucault's ideas provide a lens to view the restaurant at Peartree Academy (Ball, 2013; Marshall, 1996). There is a growing interest in exploring the relationship between food and learning. School meals have attracted attention in terms of government policy initiatives which include the School Food Plan (DfE, 2013). One influential study (Pike and Leahy, 2012) adopted a Foucauldian lens, which specifically looked at school food and pedagogies with a focus on the governmentality of school meals, parents and the state. For this reason, there is a moral value attached to the school meal. At Peartree

Academy, the organisation of the school restaurant is influenced by local level and 'in-house' governance through those associated and working at the school. There are also national levels of governance which have shaped the reforms around school meals to date. Historically, schooling in the UK has been led by central government which then became weakened and in the last decade, the move towards 'Academy Status' for some UK schools including Peartree Academy has seen a more localised level of management in terms of behaviour, space and food consumption. It is these three variables that are interconnected and form the structure of Peartree Academy.

3.7 Conclusion

In summary, it is important to highlight the difficulty in interpreting the works of Foucault who has previously been referred to by historians of religion, Georges Dumezil as the person 'wearing a thousand masks' (Marshall, 1996: 4). Whilst Dumezil may have rejected some of those masks, he never doubted Foucault. Ball (2013) questions the reference to Foucault and the link to philosophies of education. Foucault makes no claim to any particular disciplinary background which is important to establish at this stage before any interpretations begin to be made (Ball, 2013). For my study, it is the notion of surveillance that is particularly insightful in helping to establish some theoretical grounding. Whilst Foucault's PhD thesis examiners placed his work in a conceptual and philosophical context, little work is established in the field of education and policy studies (Ball, 2013). Although in his book *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault and Sheridan, 1991), links are made to schools as avenues for illustrating modern power; there is no direct link to power and education. The relevance to this study is on the political spectrum through which governmental ideals are exposed and attached to agendas which shape how surveillance is used in school meals. Foucault's work was particularly relevant as my findings suggest that there is a sense of surveillance shaping the day to day running of the school restaurant. The data chapters (six, seven and eight) are closely aligned to key Foucauldian concepts. I used Foucault's (1982) work in order to develop a suitable critique throughout my findings.

More importantly, I would like to re-emphasise the complexities surrounding the process of the school restaurant and for this reason, I adopted multiple theoretical and methodological positions in an attempt to establish and produce a robust case study of Peartree Academy (see Fig. 1). The theoretical position of constructivism is central to my study as it offers a lens for exploring the social aspect which surrounds the school meal at Peartree Academy. Without the influence of previous studies, I would have been unable to draw on points of reference as these studies also adopted ethnographic case study approaches in preparing, collecting and analysing the data. The reason for introducing a discussion on ethnography and case study research at this point before the methodology chapter is due to the interconnected nature of the key theoretical positions in relation to my research. The final piece of the jigsaw as previously discussed is reference to the work of Foucault, who also allows me to explore the interactions shaping the day to day running of the school restaurant. More specifically, by drawing links to power relations in order to establish one form of criticality in identifying with key issues surrounding what I discovered in my research. The underlying issues for me relate to the complex nature of case study research and the notion that it is a 'soft' research method. Furthermore, discussions on the lack of generalisability and representation offered by this method led me to questioning whether or not this was a robust research design. However, through reviewing previous studies (Mckee, 2011; Pike, 2010; Acker, 1999) who also adopted this method and reading the work of Yin (2014) and Stake (1995) enabled me to delve further into highlighting the richness case study research offers. The following chapter introduces the methodology by developing an argument for the decision to adopt ethnographic techniques and pays close attention to the research methods employed.

Chapter 4 - Methodology

4.1 – Introduction to methodology

Having adopted a social constructivist position as the conceptual framework, I decided to adopt an ethnographic case study approach to conduct my study as this best suited my research topic and research questions. The decision to adopt a case study was influenced through reading previous ethnographies which explore certain cultures in a school setting (Nasirian, 2013; Pike, 2010; Burgess, 1983; Ball, 1981). Before exploring the culture of the school and the impact of the use of the 'restaurant', it was important to differentiate between what constitutes 'culture' and 'society' as concepts, which are often traded terms in everyday conversation. Wolcott (1999) believes an individual cannot belong to a culture but can belong to groups. He uses 'language' to elaborate by saying that an individual cannot belong to a culture or language, but can use them to do things. It has been said that adopting ethnographic techniques to collect data from a cultural perspective is accepted, but most important of all, in its complex nature, ethnography is envisaged as much more than merely a method of data collection. In this view, ethnography is used to describe what people in a particular place or position typically do and the reasoning behind their choosing of such behaviour (Wolcott, 1999).

This chapter is organised into seven segments: (1) ethnographic case study research (2) influential studies (3) research design (4) methodological decisions (5) selected research methods (6) symbolic interactionism and theoretical positions (7) thematic data analysis.

4.2 – Ethnographic Case Study Research

The term ethnography means to write about people and to describe the culture of a group of people and learning about what it is like to be a member, from the viewpoint of a particular member in that group (Johnson and Christensen, 2014). It is about the discovery of knowledge from one culture, which is studied in-depth. The idea of an ethnographic case study is that one case or several small cases will be studied in detail, using whatever methods and data seem appropriate (Punch, 2009: 119). For my research, I used an ethnographic case

study to carry out a single in-depth case of the restaurant at Peartree Academy. Unlike experimental research, case study research enables me to observe the characteristics of an individual unit, i.e. a school or pupil (Cohen et al, 2007). In essence, whatever the inquiry, a method of observation takes place. For this study, I used the ethnographic case study domain, which took shape as a single in-depth one of Peartree Academy. As a qualitative methodology, an ethnographic case study involves the researcher interpreting the real world from the perspective of the subject in the investigation (Dobbert, 1982). Furthermore, Wellington (2015) highlights the advantages and disadvantages of case study research. Case studies can include a strong interpretation of reality in the institution but there are also a number of problems (Wellington, 2015). In terms of advantages, they are arguably able to offer illustration, insight and are accessible. In terms of disadvantages, they tend not to be representative, replicable or repeatable.

It is important to point out how case study research allows for analytic generalisations to be made (Yin, 2014). For me, this is a key approach in moving forward as the analysis of the findings involves going beyond the school restaurant as the site for research. It also allows those who are interested in exploring the relationship between school food and learning to use my research in developing the most suitable theoretical and methodological model for their own research.

Ethnography relies on developing a full description of the school and everyday lives of the people within it (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). As a method, ethnography refers to the way of studying, knowing and reporting about the world (Atkinson et al, 2007). Moreover, ethnography is also a frame of mind and helps the research to remain open to everything unknown; a suspension of disbelief (Atkinson et al, 2007: 160). Ethnographers are often questioned about their use of methods, in analysing and interpreting data collected in natural settings (LeCompte et al, 1999). It is the characteristics of ethnography that are responsible for the questioning of this method. LeCompte et al (1999) discuss how ethnographic research is not generalizable to other situations. Moreover, ethnographers do not have control over situations in research and must attempt

to observe and make sense of what they see and this could be problematic for me as a researcher. Ethnography is unique, as the researcher is the primary apparatus of data collection (LeCompte et al, 1999). Therefore, developing clear research questions and conceptual frameworks is essential in strengthening this type of research. Ethnographic techniques allowed me to remain flexible and maintain a level of spontaneity in the dataset. For me, the constructivist and ethnographic approach enables meanings and perspectives of research participants (pupils, staff and parents at Peartree Academy) to be studied in-depth (Williamson, 2006). Moreover, multiple ways of thinking about issues as they arise which were not initially visible to me, emerged in the data analysis section (see chapter eight). For example, the deep red ties worn by those in a position of leadership at the school was an interesting feature and one which led me to draw on the works of Foucault (1982). This allowed me to question the role of the leadership team in the school restaurant. Whilst this is explored at a later stage, it is important to outline influential studies.

4.3 – Influential studies

Studies written by Damsgaard et al (2012), Mckee (2011), Damay et al (2010), Rowe et al (2010), Pike (2010) and Seaman and Moss (2006) have played an active role in my decision to adopt these techniques. For instance, Damsgaard et al (2012) and Damay et al (2010) both adopted qualitative techniques and produced case studies around food and learning in schooling. Seaman and Moss (2006) used semi-structured interviews to carry out a case study in a UK primary school in Edinburgh to investigate obesity amongst pupils. They also used small observational studies to explore the wide range of issues related to the nutritional content of school meals. They found children at the school were very enthusiastic about the eating regime and felt it had a positive long-lasting contribution to health and wellbeing (Seaman and Moss, 2006). Rowe et al (2010) carried out a case study in a primary school in Australia using in-depth interviews, focus groups and observations of health promoting activities to collect their data around nutrition in school. Mckee (2011) carried out an ethnographic case study on a number of US high schools, using interviews, observations and documentary evidence to collect data on social inclusion and the social interactions amongst students with learning difficulties and

disabilities. Pike (2010) carried out an ethnographic case study on lunchtime experiences in four UK based primary schools whilst addressing UK policy. This has been particularly helpful in helping me to draw on ethnographic techniques.

4.4 Methodological decisions

<u>Research questions</u>

When I decided on formulating a research question, I intended to try and maintain a framework worthy of some theoretical underpinning. Moreover, I looked into how I could further break down and develop the research question into further sub questions for inquiry. The most noticeable difference for me in developing and changing the research question involved trying to connect with an appropriate research approach and method, whether that would be qualitative or quantitative. As my previous experience in research rests in qualitative research, my decision and lean towards this method was based on my interest, know-how and understanding of this perspective, which is why I decided to adopt a qualitative framework.

It is important to consider the problem areas of using qualitative research. The main issue was that adopting a fixed hypothesis would not enable me to carry out my research using ethnographic techniques (Hammersley, 2007). I was able to relate and draw on the reference he made to research as a process of innovation. Carrying out research in this way helped me to understand the need to investigate before formulating concrete questions. I would not know if my research questions were answerable before piloting such techniques.

To unpack the main research question (What is the impact of the food environment upon social learning?) exploring food culture in connection with learning and social skills within Peartree Academy represents the primary focus for my study. Food is linked to the background and specialism of the school. My research questions changed over time which for me was an important process which I would like to highlight. If a research question is poorly conceived at the beginning, it is likely to lead to problems throughout the research (Andrews, 2003). Initially, for me this involved developing four subsidiary research questions, which helped to refine the study: (1) To what extent have food

environments challenged learning in schools? (2) Do children's eating habits affect their attitudes towards learning in school life? (3) How do eating behaviours impact on social skills development in schools? (4) How do teachers promote social skills and learning opportunities within a food environment? These were later narrowed down to one main research question and two subsidiary question as listed below:

Main research question:
What is the impact of the food environment upon social learning?

Subsidiary research questions:
(1) How do eating behaviours of staff and pupils impact on social learning?
(2) How do teaching staff promote social learning opportunities within a food environment?

The main research question aims to establish a connection between food environments and social learning. The first subsidiary research question addresses eating habits for pupils with reference to social learning. The second subsidiary research question explores how teachers promote social learning.

4.5 - Research Design
As part of data capture, key documents were obtained from the school ranging from statistical data on the number of pupils in the school, each key stage, school food menus and timetables. Interviews and observations were conducted from October 2013 to June 2014. The data collection consisted of 80 hours of semi-structured observations and 54 semi-structured interviews which took place in the restaurant and around the school, in the main staff room, classrooms, reception, school crèche, finance office and the Principals office. A pilot study (see Appendix 3) was conducted for a period of one month, which stemmed over two days per week, during the period November 2012. The names of all participants involved in the study, which include staff, pupils and parents are all anonymous and pseudonyms have been created to mask their identities. The specific details of the dataset are presented in a table in order to help illustrate the specifics (see Appendix 4).

Observations

The initial observations were carried out by recording field notes, which included written descriptions of events in the restaurant. The text was separated by including the timings of the recordings. However, as observations progressed, I began using a systematic procedure in order to record data by using a chart, which included the following headings; period/situation; who (year group); what I have observed; why I think this has happened; further thoughts (see Appendix 5). The revised semi-structured observations included the following interactions in the restaurant: Pupil – Pupil; Teacher – Pupil; Pupil – Teacher; Staff – Pupil; Pupil – Staff.

Selection Criteria

Carrying out observations involved placing myself in an appropriate position which would enable me to ensure that I could see pupils in the school restaurant (see Appendices 11 and 12). The position I took was to sit amongst students and change my seating position at every other observation, but the position I took always involved my back against the wall, in order for me to have an extended view of the school restaurant. The subjects that were used in my observations were similar to the groups interviewed, i.e. school staff, pupils and parents. The observation schedule included sitting in the restaurant and carrying out observations mainly before the start of the school day, lunch period and after school. Observations were also carried out in between these periods in order to detail the day to day interactions that took place.

Interviews

A total of 8 questions were developed for the school staff, 6 questions for pupils and 4 questions for parents (see Appendices 6, 7 and 8).

Selection Criteria

I used a screening process when selecting pupils in order to narrow the search and maintain a focus. An opportunity sample was adopted for interviewing pupils, parents and the majority of the school staff. The final number of interviews carried out exceeded the planned number because of the level of access available, particularly in terms of staff, which resulted in 26 interviews.

School Staff

The selection criteria for the school staff consisted mainly of an opportunity sample. Interviews with the Principal, Deputy Principal of Finance and Resources Deputy Principal of Behaviour and Safety and the Catering Manager were planned as they are all involved in the running of the restaurant. The first set of semi-structured interviews were conducted using an opportunity sample, which consisted of 26 members of staff (see Fig. 2).

Pupils

The sample consisted of an equal spread of selected year groups and by gender (see Fig. 3). Overall, the pupils comprised of 6 aged 7 – 11, 6 aged 11 – 14 and 4 aged 15 – 16. The school Principal organised two days when I could come in to interview the pupils and parents. The second set of interviews conducted consisted of another opportunity sample, which involved the Deputy Principal of Behaviour and Safety, who asked a member of staff to pull out the required pupils. Therefore, pupils were selected by staff as opposed to a random sample by me as the researcher. As certain groups were out on field trips, a total sample of 16 pupils aged 7 – 16, with a fairly equal spread across KS2, KS3 and KS4 were interviewed (see Fig. 3).

Parents

Parents were interviewed individually, using an opportunity sample. This involved interviewing randomly selected parents in the restaurant area after school. The final set of interviews consisted of 12 parents, who were also interviewed on the same day as pupils (see Fig. 4). Overall, 11 female parents were interviewed and 1 male parent. Some of the parents were also staff members of the school. For example:

- 5 Parents were midday supervisors at the school
- 3 Parents were teaching assistants
- 4 Parents were full-time mothers

Overall, opportunity and judgement sampling methods were used. According to Wragg (2002) a researcher has the opportunity to interview those willing to be interviewed rather than a genuinely random sample (Wragg, 2002: 146). Judgement sampling is a form of convenience sampling which is commonly used for questioning individuals who are judged to be representative of a particular population (McMurray et al, 2004: 84). The majority of the data was collected through judgement sampling, particularly because I wanted to involve the catering staff as well as the leadership team who all play a part in the running of the restaurant. A judgement sample was also useful in deciding on which pupils to interview in terms of year groups, age and gender. In this instance, an equal spread of male and female pupils was interviewed, totalling a number of 16 pupils, 8 boys and 8 girls, with 2 pupils from each year group. Although, I provided staff with my criteria, the senior management team selected pupils on my behalf.

4.6 – Selected Research Methods

The study involved adopting qualitative research methods in order to collect data. The decision to adopt qualitative research methods stemmed from my previous experience of carrying out interviews and observations in educational research. It was also influenced by my epistemological position as I believed the most suitable technique was an ethnographic one. The decision to adopt ethnographic techniques are discussed further here.

Qualitative research methods differ from quantitative methods which are highlighted in the discussion around paradigm wars, which refers to the debate between two research approaches known as qualitative and quantitative. Firstly, I would like to introduce positivism and its main function before moving into discussing my interpretivist position in greater detail. Countable objects or facts are not unambiguous and in terms of gaining verification from research carried out, it is difficult to place any real meaning of truth behind these 'facts' (Pring, 2004). By this, I mean whilst positivism offers a degree of logic in terms of truth, i.e. pupils routinely using profanity in the school lunch queue, and producing a record of this measurement in numerical forms offers no further

verification in terms of being able to identify with being able to seek a certain truth. In essence, the positivist approach requires a clear distinction between the aims and a means to reaching those aims (Pring, 2004). I am not in a position to reject the features of positivism, but to re-emphasise my epistemological position that played a part in my adoption of an interpretative approach to my research.

The issue here is between establishing the nature of truth and its authentication (Pring, 2004). In the words of the philosopher, Popper, there cannot be growth in knowledge without any form of criticism (Pring, 2004: 120). For me, in terms of being able to examine the reality of social situations, like the school restaurant in my research, it is ethnography that lends itself to this kind of research which considers the perspectives and interactions of the members of one particular social group being under investigation (Pring, 2004). These competing positions make up the cultural and philosophical background of research. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) identify qualitative research as being a lot more complex, where a variety of structures are in place. Qualitative research methods are based on tensions, contradictions and hesitations. These tensions work back and forth among competing definitions and concepts of the field (Denzin and Lincoln, 2004: ix). Although this study adopted qualitative research methods, I wanted to highlight the complexities surrounding this method (Punch, 2009). For Punch (2009: 115) qualitative research is not a single entity, but an umbrella term incorporating enormous variety. A discussion around paradigms has helped me develop this section and provide the study with core strength. Punch (2009) believes it is important to take account of all the paradigm possibilities during the research process.

It is also important to look at Hammersley (2007) and his views around the research questions and design for those adopting qualitative research methods. For Hammersley (2007) qualitative researchers tend to shy away from specific research questions (Hammersley, 2007: 114). The ideas of a qualitative researcher are more general and uncertain, which I appreciate, as a researcher who favours the qualitative approach. The flexibility of this type of method

enabled me to obtain multiple meanings from certain set situations in Peartree Academy.

<u>Interviews</u>

As interviews were one of the dominant methods of data capture used in my study, they did not take place without pitfalls. The process of the interview involved using an opportunity sample, as there were only a small number of scheduled interviews. It was important to draw on the 'Interview' as a research method in order to highlight the issues surrounding them as well as question exactly how many interviews are enough (Kvale, 1996). Baker and Edwards (2012) discussed this issue by looking at Adler and Adler (1987) who explained the differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches to the question. Adler and Adler (1987) refer to quantitative methods as those that are objectively used to describe and understand what people do (Baker and Edwards, 2012: 4). Qualitative approaches are those that attempt to generate a subjective understanding of how and why people interpret, reflect and role-take in a specific manner dependent on the surrounding environment (Adler and Adler, 1987). They suggest the emphasis on 'how many' is dependent upon how the research is undertaken. They argue that quantitative researchers usually have a good idea of how many cases they will need, in order to test their hypothesis at the beginning of their research (Baker and Edwards, 2012: 4). However, as qualitative research is empirical by nature, qualitative researchers may be unaware of how much to collect in advance. Therefore, I decided that it was going to be difficult to attach a number to the interviews that were conducted.

It is argued that methodological implications in terms of the wordings associated with research can have an impact on the overall findings. For Punch (2009) the wordings in questions carry methodological implications. Although I set out to use qualitative research methods, I had to take account of the wording used between interview questions and research questions. Furthermore, these words are linked to ethnographic work as well as case studies (Creswell, 1994: 71). Essentially for Punch (2009) an effective way of making a connection between questions and methods is to ensure that the

questions take priority over the research methods. Therefore, the content of the research needs to have a logical priority (Punch, 2009: 27). This approach put forward by Punch (2009) highlights the need for careful planning as a good question-method fit helps to maintain validity in research.

The purpose of a qualitative research interview is to collect qualitative descriptions of the life world of the subject, with respect to interpretation of their meaning (Kvale, 1996: 124). In essence, in the interview, knowledge is created from the points of view of the researcher carrying out the interview and the respondent, i.e. interviewee (Kvale, 1996). The idea behind the qualitative interview conversation is to treat it as semi-structured in order to cover the themes throughout the study, alongside any suggested questions. In this study the themes involved posing questions based on interactions in the restaurant, the development of social skills, utilisation of the restaurant and the overall attitudes towards school meals. There is the added strength of openness to changes of sequence with the utilisation of semi-structured interviews which I have found useful, in gaining further depth. However, clearly, there are issues of power in the interview process as the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee are not equal. Essentially, it is the interviewer who outlines the situation, introduces the themes in the conversation and also through supplementary questions, navigates the course of the interview (Kvale, 1996). For example, there were a number of occasions which consisted of probing questions where interviewees were asked to elaborate and specify in terms of their responses. For example:

> *Interview 7*
> *Pupil guidance leader – They're learning social skills…*
> *Interviewer – Ok, when you say social skills, can you elaborate on that a little?*
> *Pupil guidance leader – yeah, um, just talking to their peers as well as the adults in a polite manner…*

Each interview involved advance preparation in order to provide respondents with an overview of the aims of the study. It was important to establish rapport in preparing interviewees for questioning. Kvale (1996) discusses appropriate ways of framing the interview. As knowledge was constructed through the

interaction of the interviewer and interviewee, it was imperative that the interviewee understood the context of the interview. This was carried out before the interview where five minutes were spent on getting to know the context of the interviewee as well as the interviewee having the opportunity to grasp the purpose of the interview. As the interviewer, I defined the situation, drawing on the aims of the study prior to starting the digital recording. In addition, I allowed some time for the interviewee to ask any questions before starting the interview. According to Kvale (1996) the first five minutes of an interview are decisive in establishing a connection with the interviewee, as attentive listening and showing interest plays a huge part of establishing rapport. For me, the build-up to the recording of the interview involved establishing positive rapport and giving the interviewee the opportunity to describe the context of the reality in which they live. I found it useful to conduct a debriefing after the interview, in order to eradicate any feelings of emptiness, particularly with parents. Overall, the interviews with the school staff seemed to draw out positive feelings, where they were able to talk freely with an attentive listener on the other end; with someone with a particular interest, one that is similar to theirs. One particular debriefing lasted up to fifteen minutes, as I shared an interest for a specific subject with Shaun Talbot, who was an English Teacher at the school. This was however different for the interviews with pupils and parents as I saw a shift in the power balance. For me, this allowed me to connect closely to the participant but I would like to assume that my epistemological position here would also become a shared one.

Six key criteria which were considered in an attempt to gain quality data from interviews are described by Kvale (1996). In terms of the data analysis, Kvale (1996) prioritised three of those six criteria: (1) the ideal interview is to a large extent interpreted throughout the interview (2) the interviewer attempts to verify his or her interpretations of the subject's answers in the course of the interview (3) the interview is 'self-communicating' – it is a story contained in itself that hardly requires extra descriptions and explanations (Kvale, 1996: 145). During the interviews, I ensured clarity was gained, by using follow up questions. The questions posed were short in length, where the interviewee had ample time to provide an in-depth response. There were also some examples of leading

questions, which made up the list of interview questions. These were particularly suited for checking whether respondents agreed with the preconceived notion. For example:

> *Interview Questions with Staff*
> *Question 6 – How does the breakfast club help pupils?*
> *Question 7 – In what ways do children continue to learn during the time in the restaurant?*

Leading questions do not entirely reduce the reliability of interviews as a balance in questioning ultimately plays a part in the versatility of a fair set of interview questions (Kvale, 1996). Writing the interview questions required a degree of decisiveness, which involved channelling questions in a context related direction, which was important in interpreting responses as well as producing new and interesting knowledge of the subject.

For this study, my particular stance leans towards the metaphoric traveller as described by Kvale (1996). In the debate between the 'traveller' and 'miner', he makes an attempt to conceptualise the approach to ethnographic research to allow the researcher to make sense of the research carried out. The miner essentially adopts a traditional view in approaching the research problem by looking out for the 'treasure' in which facts are discovered through a process of transcription from oral to written form (Kvale, 1996: 3). Whereas, the traveller embarks upon an insightful journey where narratives are developed through the interaction with those encountered along the period of the research, including the interviews conducted. It is this meaningful dialogue which forges a relationship; one which is built over time rather than in one structured interview setting, where the interviewee merely responds to questions asked. At Peartree Academy, I was able to forge both short and long term relationships, specifically with the school staff.

Based on a phenomenological approach, learning from the interviewee as a researcher plays a part in the interpretation of the data (Spradley, 1979). He argues ethnographers assume a particular stance towards the respondent, specifically subconsciously, in subtle ways. Spradley (1979) paints the picture

of an ideal interview where the researcher is able to understand the world from the respondent's point of view, to live life in the life of the respondent, which moves away from the traditional interview frame of having respondents answering questions. From my experience of using ethnographic techniques to collect data, there were certainly occasions when I felt this way, particularly in trying to establish the position of the respondent and the reasons for their responses and interpretation.

One critique for using interviews as a research tool is that traditional approaches often hinder their usefulness (Ten Have, 2004). Reference is made to the 'active interview' which places an emphasis on the way in which knowledge is assembled. It is to understand 'how' the meaning-making process takes shape in the interview rather than seeking out 'what' is asked and conveyed (Ten Have, 2004: 76). This view was particularly useful in using the data gathered from the interviews, where consideration was given to the 'how' and 'why'. To understand the culture of Peartree Academy, whilst interviewing offers a complex set of issues in providing the researcher with a judgement free approach, interviews can take the form of a narrative, where a researcher is able to extract how the meaning-making of the interview unfolds.

The power struggle between interviewer and interviewee also needs to be acknowledged, as interviews are essentially arranged and managed for the interviewer and it is the interviewee who is responsible for providing the answers, based on the research agenda. For example, some of the interview questions aimed at the staff working at Peartree Academy were steered towards the main aims of the research on social learning (see Appendix 6). More specifically, questions two and three potentially instigate a move towards gaining a direct response on the overarching research agenda, i.e. 'social skills' and 'dining hall experiences'.

> *Q2. Outside of the classroom, how are pupils able to develop their
> social skills?*
> *Q3. What's your experience of dining halls in schools? What makes
> this different?*

Forsey (2008) discusses some of the complexities of the 'ethnographic interview', which he argues holds uncertainties. He conducted a similar number of interviews in a school based research project. Upon completion of the study, there were three particular areas which he felt were important in addressing the complex nature of the ethnographic interview. These include: (1) what it means to call an interview ethnographic (2) the process of ethnographic interviewing (3) the ways in which ethnographic interviews are processed into transcript and published into text (Forsey, 2008: 58). Traditional methods of participant observation typically involve the researcher immersed in the given society as a 'full-participant' (Ball, 1981). For Forsey (2008) the ethnographic interview differs to the traditional qualitative interview which is usually associated with descriptions such as 'in-depth' and 'friendly conversations'. The ethnographic interview aims to gain a further understanding on the human condition rather than merely testing a hypothesis. Overall, Forsey (2008) believes incorporating the subjective experiences of both the interviewer and interviewee within the research frame is what may be missing in other approaches to interviewing. It is the biographical nature offered by ethnographic interviews that allow for the researcher to explore the cultural context upon which the respondent resides. This belief has encouraged me to conduct fewer interviews than my initial instinct to conduct eighty interviews at the start of my study.

Sherman Heyl (2001) offers a working definition of the ethnographic interview as a process where the researcher is required to establish respectful, on-going relationships with the respondents, which includes a strong level of rapport worthy of a genuine exchange (Sherman Heyl, 2001: 369). Essentially it is the impact of the interviewer/interviewee relationship that enables the researcher to construct knowledge in ethnographic traditions. Having carried out interviews in the pilot study (see Appendix 3), I was able to build rapport with a number of staff at the school who were later interviewed as part of the main study. It is said that interviews involve a complex form of social interaction with respondents and that the data collected from the interview is co-produced in these interactions (Sherman Heyl, 2001). In addition, the conditions set out in the interviewer/interviewee relationship are reflected in what the interviewee decides to share. The interviewee is responsible for reconstructing the social

experience in question which is further affected by how the interviewer makes sense of what has been shared during the interview.

<u>Observations</u>

The main data collection stage involved starting with observations, as interview questions had already been previously piloted and revised accordingly. There were some initial setbacks in recording observations, as the notes made were presented in continuous prose, rather than positioned in the form of a chart, which were adopted immediately after the first observation, displaying certain situations in and around the school restaurant. The chart consisted of an information box, which was used to record the date, time and duration of the observation. The main chart was used to record certain situations (see Appendix 4).

Having adopted ethnographic techniques, the observations commenced in the restaurant from the moment I walked into Peartree Academy, in January 2012. The consistent visits to the school since then have played a major role in my understanding of the culture that is being presented and the way 'things are done' in the school. The process of the observation involved taking an appropriate position in the restaurant, in order to record data with a view of the whole restaurant. The semi-structured observations involved 10 visits to the school, with observations being carried out before school, during the staggered lunch period, and after school. Additional observations were carried out in between these periods.

Structured observations were used to help interpret an organised dataset. The decision to use observations was made due to the nature of the study. Although observation can be used in both quantitative and qualitative research methods, quantitative is more structured in its nature whereas qualitative allows for a more unstructured approach. It is also important to highlight the concepts of learning through research methodologies, namely through the work of Hodkinson and Macleod (2009). This study adopts an ethnographic lens, whilst adopting mostly qualitative methods and it is important to highlight the complexity in adopting a mixed method approach in reducing methodological

subjectivity. As a conceptual orientation, mixing methods in relation to learning does not merely offer a technical issue, but also a conceptual and theoretical one (Hodkinson and Macleod, 2009: 186).

A discussion between the differences between carrying out structured and unstructured observations is presented by Basit (2010) who also argues, not all features of field activity can be quantified and researchers need to obtain detailed field notes in order to capture other aspects of interaction in a situation (Basit, 2010: 128). The most notable problem Basit (2010) raises is similar to the one put forward by Delamont (2008) that the researchers' field notes may be viewed as subjective by others because of their own biases and preconceptions about quality.

Prior to collecting data for the observations, there were a number of factors that needed to be considered. As an inexperienced researcher, there were some difficulties in preparing for observational research, which is closely related to the works of Delamont (2008). She identified five things ethnographers found to be bewildering and problematic; how to observe, what to observe, what to write, where to record observations, and what to do with the field notes and other writings afterwards (Delamont 2008: 39). I would take mental notes and later record these on to a notepad, which were unstructured notes. Before conducting the more structured observations, I was unsure of how to observe and record the data, but made the decision to position myself in the restaurant with my back to the wall allowing me to have a clear view. The first observation was carried out in the school restaurant, where I initially sat on the same table as those used by students. The approach to record involved jotting down 'what was happening' at a specific time. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Day 1*
> *Wednesday 25th September 2013*
> *8:32am*
> *On the first day of the observations, I made myself familiar with some staff and was also approached by pupils, who welcomed me to the school. I positioned myself in the corner of the restaurant, next to the dustbin, buffet stand, where I had a view of the whole restaurant.*

Some extracts included a series of notes I had made on bits of paper, as I walked around the school trying not to carry a notepad around. Trying to fit into an environment without coming across as an 'outsider' was a difficult task. This meant avoiding the use of a clip board whilst walking around the school and using any other possible resources available to record the data at that particular time. I used a paper towel (see Fig. 12) to note down my thoughts as I wondered around the school trying to blend in. There were times when making use of resources such as paper towels were particularly useful in helping to establish some of the job titles of those involved in the school restaurant, some of which personally I had not come across before.

Over familiarity with the educational setting was another problem that was encountered in observing and recording data. As a teacher by background, it was difficult to adopt the ethnographic techniques in trying to see 'things' in a familiar culture (Delamont, 2008). One of the main ideas behind ethnography is to make the familiar strange and it this notion that can become problematic, particularly for me as I have participated in the time and place of schooling (Mills and Morton, 2013). Having been in the position of a pupil, student, teacher and lecturer it was difficult to concentrate on looking for something. In order to help overcome this problem, a systematic approach to observing and recording basic facts was adopted. For instance, in Peartree Academy, I decided to sketch out a bird's eye view of the school restaurant (see Appendix 11). This was not the only position that I was seated at throughout the observations, as I wanted to record data from other angles. These included sitting around different places in the restaurant (see Appendix 12). Furthermore, my initial observations did not allow me to develop a systematic way of recording data, which then led to the development of my observational chart mentioned earlier (see Appendix 4).

There was also a stage where I needed to structure the observations and this came to light through collecting data, through a trial and error process and reviewing of relevant literature. For example, I was able to find a systematic way of carrying out observations following the review of Wragg's (2002) work and for me this was about an attempt to quantify the qualitative.

<u>Documentary Evidence</u>

In the build up to the main data collection, there were a number of useful resources which were collected from the first day at Peartree Academy to the final one. Resources were informative in nature, but also key in terms of learning more about the school's operations.

A further part of data collection involved analysing documents within the school, which were used to introduce the school context (see chapter one). These included recent articles, reports and statistical data on the school as well as menus from the restaurant. Thomas (1998) discussed some of the issues around collecting documents within educational research. For Thomas (1998) a researcher is faced with what to include and what not to include from the original source. Delamont (2012) points out how documents obtained can offer some insight into the basic elements of an institution's culture. However, the ultimate meaning of a document depends on the context in which it is considered (Ten Have, 2004). One particular document was presented to me via e-mail by the first person I interviewed as part of the pilot research study at the beginning of my research. Upon completion of the interview, one of the male respondents who worked closely with pupils as a behavioural leader e-mailed an IQM (Inclusion Quality Mark) report across, although I did not request this. The IQM is a set of standards governed by Ofsted which helps the school to self-evaluate and define what it means to be educationally inclusive. The inspectors, who for reasons of anonymity cannot be named, spent two whole days immersing themselves within the community. The school were awarded the IQM mark. The respondent made an effort to showcase the merits of the school by letting me see this document. This is an ethical issue which is discussed further in the ethics chapter (see chapter five).

4.7 – Symbolic Interactionism and theoretical positions

I read about symbolic interactionism in order to develop my theoretical position in my research. To enable me to find a way of theorising my research. I read about grounded theory and decided to use some aspects of this approach to code the data. In this way I was able to analyse social interactions taking place in the school restaurant (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Researching social

phenomena is complex and highlighted in the relationship between symbolic interactionism and its usefulness for grounded theory. For Milliken and Schreiber (2012) there are complex interactions which take place in the data, specifically with the researcher, between the researcher and participant. They argue that this cannot be conveyed with a 'recipe' but they do believe understanding can be achieved if the researcher appreciates symbolic interactionism as foundational to grounded theory (Milliken and Schreiber, 2012: 693).

'Mind', 'Self' and 'Society' are the core concepts of symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1967). The 'Mind' is the process of internal conversation, of the individual in symbolic interaction with self (Milliken and Schreiber, 2012). Whilst forming 'Self', Mead (1967) introduced 'I' (responding freely, creatively and spontaneously) and 'Me' (responding through an organised set of attitudes and beliefs learned from others) which run parallel with one another (Mead, 1967). The self is a form of self-reflection where one interacts with one's self and becomes an object of one's own actions (Milliken and Schreiber, 2012: 688). Grounded theory methods move the research and researcher toward theory development. Grounded theory is used to explore the whole meaning that participants ascribe to in their responses. In some cases, this would mean contacting respondents again to seek clarity in their responses without imposing my own meanings on to their intents (Milliken and Schreiber, 2012: 687). I did not, however, rigidly follow a grounded theory approach and only drew on those elements appropriate for analysing my research.

The analytic process, referred to as 'trying on' to establish whether the specific piece of data is 'fit for purpose' is discussed by Milliken and Schreiber (2012). I have been able to establish how a constructivist ethnographic approach enables meanings or perspectives of participants to be studied in-depth and wordings from their responses to be used to portray meanings to the reader (Williamson, 2006: 698). Furthermore, ways of thinking about issues, which may not have occurred to me in the first instance, began to surface during the data analysis, through which complexities were able to emerge (Williamson, 2006). Atkinson et al (2007) discuss the distinction between ethnographic work

and grounded theory, yet argue how they can complement and further each other. Grounded theory helps refine the analytic edge of the study and allows humanistic stories to emerge as opposed to scientific outputs (Atkinson et al, 2007). Ethnography encourages researchers to place themselves within narratives and can be used as theory to connect to 'realities' (Atkinson et al, 2007). These commentators influenced my decision to adopt symbolic interactionism as the approach for data analysis. I would like to say that overall my position to use aspects of grounded theory proved to be helpful in the interpretation of my data. However, it was the ethnographic methods that were central to the data collection process.

4.8 – Thematic Data Analysis

For the data analysis, I adopted symbolic interactionist techniques in order to look at situations and carry out emergent thematic analysis. 'Thematic analysis is not another qualitative method but a process that can be used in systematic reviews (Boyatzis, 1998: 4). Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) involves three distinct processes: (1) noticing things (2) collecting and sorting (3) thinking about things (Seidel, 1998). In addition, it is important to draw on my key readings during the analysis of the data. These are the philosophies that drove my data analysis forward, in an attempt to achieve as much validity as possible. For example:

> 'A word does not contain its meaning as a bucket contains water, but
> has the meaning it does by being a choice made about its
> significance in a given context. That choice excludes other choices
> that could have been made to 'stand for' that word or phrase and that
> choice is embedded in a particular logic or a conceptual lens,
> whether the researcher is aware of it or not. It is better, we think, to
> be aware (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 57).

Based on the idea of Woods (1996), validity can only be achieved if the culture of the school is understood before attaching any cultural symbols which may appear as the same but have different meanings. In essence, to look through the lens of participants is what helps to maintain a further grip on the study.

Although, these frameworks enabled me to focus, I maintained flexibility in my research in order to ensure I was able to access data that may typically appear as unexpected.

The process of analysis is important in finding new meanings about what is happening in the school restaurant, although it is not always clear to establish why something is happening (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). The process of analysis cannot rely on the ideas of the researcher and any existing ideas which may or may not stem from the existing literature review. However, in order to help make sense of the data, resources such as the literature review can be utilised (Hammersley an Atkinson, 2007). In terms of 'making sense' of the data, in this case involves a process of 'grounded theorising', which holds key traits of the broad sociological symbolic interactionist perspective (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Further clarity is provided through the works of Glaser (1992) on grounded theorising, who seeks to establish what seems to have presented many misunderstandings (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 166). The main point of the argument is that the stance toward the development of fruitful ideas, concepts and theories that are generated through a close exploration of the data does not indicate a rigid set of procedures (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 166). The elaboration of research questions and an appreciation for the complexity of social life was central to the traditional approach to analysing data.

A further process of analysis involved establishing triangulation in my research. Traditionally, triangulation combines qualitative and quantitative research which is otherwise understood as providing greater validity (Bryman, 2012). This combination allows for triangulation of the findings in order for mutual corroboration to be achieved (Bryman, 2012: 633). More specifically, data source triangulation involves the comparison of data relating to the same phenomenon but through the development from various phases of the field work (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 183). It consisted of implementing logical associations between interview questions, responses gained, field note reflections and also from what was learned through the literature review. One example of triangulation in my research occurred between the interview and the

field notes (see Fig. 6). Although, this is one view of the perceived corroboration, whether it helps to make sense of the meaning of the data is questionable. There is a clear objective in an attempt to gain respondent validation and this is the reason why it is important in establishing the idea of triangulation in my study. The example from my research highlights one example of the potential of using triangulation for enhancing validity from the research (see Fig. 6). This example focuses on the link between the field notes and interview where a theme begins to emerge; one which connects how the school restaurant is used as a meeting area for staff.

Consideration needs to be given to the different ways of approaching ethnographic analysis, which is discussed further in the works of Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) and Mills and Morton (2013), which draw on previous ethnographic portraits in order to illustrate ways of capturing the social world in description. Overall, it remains true that adopting ethnographic techniques is insecure in terms of future research scholarship although 'ethnographic writing constitutes ethnographic analysis' (Mills and Morton, 2013: 116). For Mills and Morton (2013) endless creativity and interpretation allows for ethnographic research to flourish although eventually the ethnographer will question the way findings are analysed and presented in terms of representation. There are many ways in which findings can represent broader truths without having to be 'representative' (Mills and Morton, 2013: 127). For example, O'Reilly (2009) makes the suggestion of 'modest generalisations' for formal expression with an open ended-ness to adjustment and 'analytical generalisations', which would involve creating hypotheses to be tested through application to other settings. Taking a case study approach allows for magnification of the social world and the complexities that surround them; it is this approach of ethnography that is applicable in my study. It is important to recognise that it is not the case that is being generalised but rather the whole corpus of knowledge that surrounds the case (Mills and Morton, 2013: 128). The knowledge that surrounds the school meal situation at Peartree Academy in this instance is what is shaping the process of analysis.

With these considerations in mind, I aimed to maintain flexibility in refraining from taking a rigid approach to analysing data. There were a number of levels of analysis that took place, which were procedural in nature, although they are not indicative of the overall interpretation of the dataset. Although there are a number of typologies and ways of theorising in ethnographic research, descriptions and explanations were prioritised as being equally important.

The themes began to emerge through a logical process, consisting of a manual magnification of the data (see Fig. 7, 8 and 9), which became my initial method of data analysis. This process involved sifting carefully through printed copies of field notes, interviews, observations and documentary evidence, highlighting key and common terms throughout, whilst brainstorming and establishing key ideas throughout.

I analysed the interview data by entering certain search terms, which had emerged through the literature review and through my overall reflections of the ethnographic research. It is this first level of analysis, which led to the development of the following three themes:

Theme one: Modelling behaviour in the school restaurant
Theme two: Managing behaviour in the school restaurant
Theme three: Social learning spaces

Having come across the works of Boyatzis (1998), it became apparent that my data analysis method as described above would be unable to offer the level of validity that I would have hoped for. Consequently, I adopted an alternative coding technique in order to better organise my data and also fight for getting as close to the 'truth' as I possibly could as what is seen in a transcription is inescapably selective (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 56). 'Codes identify a feature of the data that appears interesting to the analyst, and refer to 'the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon' (Boyatzis, 1998: 63).

The emergence of how each theme developed is described in this section. I used the search criteria 'modelling' in order to extract relevant passages from participants. For theme two, I used 'manage' and 'behaviour'. For theme three, I used 'social skills', 'learning', 'teach', 'interaction' and 'space'. For the second level of analysis, I deposited chunks from the interviews as I searched for each theme, meaning that I went back to add in any additional interview data that I thought fitted in well with the relevant theme. Following a reflection on the findings and a discussion with my supervisor, it was decided that the three themes would be developed as individual chapters. The following headings were developed for each chapter. For example:

Chapter 6: Creation and use of the school restaurant
Chapter 7: The restaurant: A Social Learning Space?
Chapter 8: The restaurant: Community Forum or Surveillance Mechanism?

Coding process

In order to provide a structured view of the process of inquiry, there were six coding techniques used in order to analyse the interviews and one example of a transcribed interview has been included in the appendix (see Appendix 13). The table below describes each of the coding techniques used for the interviews (see Fig. 10).

Fig. 10 – Interview coding techniques

No.	Technique	Appendix
1	Coded transcribed interviews	See Appendix 14
2	Open codes grouped by staff, pupil and parent	See Appendix 15 (Staff example)
3	Themes from refined codes	See Appendix 16
4	Themes and reoccurring themes	See Appendix 17
5	Major themes by group	See Appendix 18
6	Developed a Venn Diagram to draw links to the main research question and sub questions.	See Appendix 23

For the observations, four coding techniques were used in order to carry out an analysis. These techniques have been illustrated in the table below (see Fig. 11).

Fig. 11 – Observation coding techniques

No.	Technique	Appendix
1	Open codes created using field notes	See Appendix 19
2	Refined codes	See Appendix 20
3	Refined codes and major themes	See Appendix 21
4	Key themes identified	See Appendix 22
5	Venn diagram was created using a colour coded technique to make clear links to the proposed chapters	See Appendix 23

The data analysis began to take shape as soon as I entered Peartree Academy for the first time. This was a time where I began to apply the ethnographic techniques in analysing the data that I collected and tried not to separate the 'data collection' and 'data analysis' as distinct stages, but rather maintain a continuous reflexive approach in analysing data from the first association with the school. This is a process also recognised by the works of Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), who emphasise how the process of analysis takes shape in the pre-fieldwork phase. Envisaging potential themes that could emerge was also a continuous process, where thought was given to the potential for publications in the short-term.

Having explored the methodological considerations, process of analysis and provided an overall research design, in moving forward, the 'write-up' as an ethnographer takes shape from the very beginning of the research and it is important to recognise the ethnographic writing as a process. This was an integral part of my overall research approach.

4.9 – Conclusion

Overall, I have made an attempt at developing the methodological framework and also recognise the importance of prioritising the writing process. Writing and rewriting was the most important process in terms of communicating the culture at Peartree Academy. The writing up of the results began earlier than anticipated as I learned about ethnographic techniques and as discussed by Wolcott (1990), the writing up of the results should not be restricted to the end of the research process, but should be an ongoing activity. Most ethnographers argue conducting ethnography can be achieved but communicating the perceived culture into an accessible piece of writing is a difficult task (Brewer, 2000). For Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) ethnography should be developed progressively with a focus on the research problem. While they reject the idea of representing the social world in a single way, they outline different genres of ethnographic writing, all holding different emphases, meaning they are only relevant in the context in which they are interpreted. The next section introduces the ethical considerations in order to build a framework for what it means to conduct ethical research.

Chapter 5 – Ethical Frameworks

5.1 – Introduction to ethical frameworks

Developing a suitable ethical framework was important in framing the overall research, particularly in building a case for validity and representation. A number of commentators have been influential in helping me to develop my ethical framework for the study (Mills and Morton, 2013; Madison, 2011; Basit, 2010). Ethics is concerned with the principles of right and wrong; questions of what it means to be honourable, whilst generating goodwill (Madison, 2011).

For my study, I developed a narrative on the school restaurant using ethnographic techniques and conducted interviews and observations. Madison (2011) outlines some of the key ethical principles which are reflective of the ones adopted in my study. In her works, she discusses the ethics of ethnographic research, with a specific focus on interviews. This chapter presents an ethical discussion which consists of the following sections: (1) ethical process (2) ethical considerations (3) Teacher versus Researcher: subjectivity and objectivity (4) relations with funders (5) validity (6) generalisability. This study would not have been able to withstand ethical criticism without consideration of these six fundamental elements which emerged from my experience as a researcher. Firstly, the process of how ethical approval was granted is introduced in order to outline the relevant procedures and also a justification for why these were adopted.

5.2 Ethical process

Since starting the study in January 2012, I was able to gain ethical approval from the University of Leicester and also complete the Disclosure and Barring Service application (DBS). In addition, I created an informed consent letter for parents and carers (see Appendix 9, BERA, 2011). This was an area of grave concern in a study which involved coming into contact with children. In order to contain any issues, I created an information sheet highlighting the key focus of the study (see Appendix 10). The information sheet included a section on confidentiality which is closely linked to the ethical guidelines set out by BERA (2011). However, respondents had the right to choose whether or not to have

their identities revealed. I had a responsibility to treat persons involved in the research fairly, sensitively, with dignity, with respect and freedom from prejudice regardless of age, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, nationality, cultural identity, partnership status, faith, disability, political belief or any other difference (BERA (2011: 5). I also made participants aware that they had the right to withdraw from the research at any time and any decisions to persuade the participant to reconsider were taken with care (BERA, 2011). I was able to prioritise the best interests of children, vulnerable young people and vulnerable adults as primary, in line with articles 3 and 12 of the United Nations Convention (1992) on the 'Rights of the Children' (BERA, 2011). I was able to honour all of these guidelines set out by BERA (2011) throughout my study.

5.3 Ethical considerations

This study involved grappling with balancing 'principles' through 'rules' and 'values' of 'ethics'; some of which are outlined under the ethical process section, which give reference to the BERA (2011) ethical guidelines. For Pring (2004) ethics is often associated with morals and moral judgements, which require substantial consideration, specifically relating to 'principles of action' (Pring, 2004: 142). However, Pring (2004) calls for moving beyond the logic of the constraints held against the interpretation of ethical rules, by referring to two principles through which a key ethical concern is highlighted; one of which is very relevant to this study. He identifies two distinct irreconcilable principles, firstly the principle of maintaining respect and dignity for the participants of the study and secondly, the principle of seeking the truth and the right of society to have access to that truth. Basit (2010) highlights how the most difficult ethical problems stem from conflicting principles and through the need to substitute one against the other (Basit, 2010: 56). This is further supported by House (1993) who argues that the balancing of such principles in concrete situations is the ultimate ethical act (House, 1993 in Basit, 2000). One of the balancing acts of this study involved ensuring respondents were at ease in participating in the study and that any works communicated or published in this subject area hold clarity and substantial weighting in terms of quality and rigour. Gorard (2003) highlights this as being the first responsibility of all research, in ensuring fluidity

is achieved from the beginning with the research question reflecting the overall approach and make-up of the study.

It was up to me to ensure I was able to develop an ethnography in an ethical manner. For Madison (2011) there are four key facets of developing an ethics of ethnography. The first ethic being 'accountability' through which an opportunity to tell a story arises; a story of how I came to know Peartree Academy. The second ethic being the 'context' which follows the idea of taking an open-eyed and meticulous approach in the surroundings, in this case the school restaurant and considering an awareness of the social, political, physical, emotional and environmental issues in telling the story (Madison, 2011: 112). Thirdly, an ethic of 'truthfulness' to see that which is on the surface but is not visible and finally an ethic of 'community' through which one is able to step forward into the ethnographic narrative and is no longer able to pretend from those with whom we have shared that story (Madison, 2011: 113).

I placed respondents at ease by following the BERA (2011) guidelines in order for them to express themselves freely. Lichtman (2009) highlights confidentiality as one of the most controversial ethical issues to date. Although Lichtman (2009) discusses the key principles and theories for the qualitative researcher, the practicality of conducting research needs to be acknowledged. For my study, 'access' is one example of an ethical issue from which I had identified a potential power relationship between staff at the school and the Principal. For example, when I requested to interview staff for the pilot study, I liaised directly with the school Principal's PA, who made a phone call within the school to some of the staff. The staff wanted to know exactly who the interview was for and the PA informed them that it was for a study connected to the Principal. This led me to question whether I needed to consider 'power relationships' as an ethical concern.

Another ethical concern was the excitement of the media, who were interested in knowing the factual information of the study at an early stage. The media were interested in knowing how many participants were going to be involved and also the specific research methods that would be adopted. Although, this

helped me to build a presence in the school, this also caused a control problem and meant I had a massive response in teachers wanting to be interviewed for the pilot study. The research methods must be fit for purpose (BERA, 2011) and I had a responsibility to the sponsors to consider the philosophies of the research before pursuing fieldwork. Therefore, for me this became a concern with regards to trying to establish an accurate account from respondents, although it also provided me with the exposure.

The potential difficulty in maintaining privacy and keeping all the data confidential was also an issue. For me, this is an issue which could cause problems as the findings from Peartree Academy begin to be communicated to the public via university conferences. Moving forward, I will need to ensure, that I maintain anonymity when addressing the school in any interactions I hold outside of Peartree Academy. Lichtman (2009) pointed out that if published results brought about negativity, then maybe it would be in the researchers best interest to disguise the entire identity of the school and merely provide a vague description of the school.

5.4 Teacher versus Researcher: Subjectivity and Objectivity

My role as a teacher had an impact on the overall data collection process and one example of this stems from the interview conducted with the English teacher at the school, who held a specialism in teaching English as an additional language; a role in which I was familiar having taught the same subject in my teaching career. As a result, this affected the duration of the interview with the teacher, which lasted longer than the other interviews with staff, apart from the interviews with the leadership team, which were the longest. To challenge the notion of subjectivity and objectivity, from one angle it can be argued that my position here was apparently subjective, yet the aim of the research was to remain as objective as possible. Much work on the debate between subjectivity and objectivity tends to reject the two terms on a word level, particularly in terms of ethnographic research (Hegelund, 2005). This is the position that I would like to adopt for my research. This leads to debating the case between the two and giving consideration to traditional views against postmodern ones. The common notion attached to qualitative research is that it

lacks the structure of quantitative research, commonly provided by a hypothesis from the beginning of the research. Whereas, an ethnographer does not work from a set of variables but holds an expectation that certain variables or themes emerge from the inquiry (De Laine, 1997: 24). Whilst in the realist view (Rollins, 1985) it is possible to approach the research project without a hypothesis allowing for patterns to emerge, it is still to some extent structured through the lens of the researcher, whether it is through the language or personal history etc. (Hegelund, 2005). In this view, the ethnographer observes certain things, whilst ignoring the other. Furthermore, the realist approach on one spectrum differs to the ideas put forward by Kirk and Miller (1986) who state this is an unscientific approach and without knowing what he or she wants, logically speaking, the process will prove difficult for the ethnographer (Kirk and Miller, 1986: 66).

Prior to collecting the main dataset (interviews and observations), reflections took place in a tutorial with my supervisor (see Fig. 12), with whom I was able to discuss some of my key thoughts at that particular time. It was through a stage of piloting of the observations that I was able to collect a more structured observational dataset, exploring certain situations, whilst continuing to record an overall set of field notes to maintain the spontaneity that the ethnographic approach offers. In terms of objectivity then, the natural questions arising include addressing the concept, disregarding or redefining it and deciding whether to conform to the traditional connotations associated with the logical positivist doctrine in accepting it (Hegelund, 2005). In response to the common associations made to objectivity and qualitative research, Kirk and Miller (1986) argue that qualitative research and social science are just as objective and scientific as physics. Furthermore, they state that the aim of the inquiry is the same; to obtain a true description of an empirical reality, without accepting a description that takes a fictional form (Hegelund, 2005: 653). Rorty (1980) made a statement regarding subjectivity which begs one to question whether it is near enough impossible to remove oneself away from having an impact on the life experience of respondents, not just in ethnography but in any research method adopted. For Rorty (1980) 'judging subjectivity is as hazardous as judging relevance' (Rorty, 1980: 338). Without considering such philosophical

doctrines, it is difficult to make a case for subjectivity and objectivity. Whilst there are issues with regards to the definitions of objectivity and subjectivity, one still needs to consider the terms in the continuous re-evaluation of the ethnography.

5.5 Validity

The first point I would like to highlight is that no research is completely valid as threats to validity cannot be entirely removed in a research study (Basit, 2010). Having adopted qualitative techniques, there is certainly an element of participants and the subjectivity they bring to the overall research, which is a familiar issue of validity (Basit, 2010). For Hart (2005) validity denotes that the research describes or measures the research question it originally set out to tackle, in order to be able to make generalisations. This takes shape through carefully constructing definitions and concepts. Moreover, Hart (2005: 334) argues validity is about ensuring that there are strong transparent relationships between the conceptual part of the research and the phenomena under investigation. In relation to this, it was from the perspective of my social constructivist position that I was able to shape my research and my research questions allowed me to carry out the investigation at Peartree Academy.

5.6 Relations with funders

Although issues of consent did not surface, one ethical concern involved the relationship with the funders of my study. This impacted on the overall approach to the research in the initial stages, as the school were interested in finding connections between 'food' and 'learning'. However, as the research unfolded, it quickly became evident that making claims between food and learning would be unrealistic in such a small study. As this study was jointly funded by the University of Leicester and Peartree Academy, this raised an ethical concern in terms of the expectations of my research from the perspective of the school. There was an assumed responsibility to project my findings in a way that would promote the school and this became a burden which I carried throughout the study. However, it was important to remain objective in the overall outputs of this study, which on occasion meant promoting certain ideas that emerged from the findings as well as trying to

establish a critique and other themes that may not have necessarily painted a positive portrait of the school.

5.7 Generalisability

Generalisability is one of many ethical concerns, as this study seeks to present an ethnographic take on the socio-cultural dimension of the school restaurant at Peartree Academy. Walford (2008) discusses the idea of generalisability in terms of the outputs of ethnographic research. Although, generalisations from ethnographic case studies are difficult to communicate, they are still as valid as quantitative projections of facts and figures (Walford, 2008: 17). Atkinson et al (2007) draw on distinctions between biomedical research and ethnography highlighting risk throughout the research. They identify how the risk of harm in biomedical research takes place during the experimental phase, whereas the risk in ethnography arises at the time of publication. Therefore, control is limited in terms of the findings, once they are available in the public domain (Atkinson et al, 2007). However, as put forward by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) the immediate goal of ethnography is to produce knowledge and it is this notion that has been instrumental in driving this research forward.

5.8 Conclusion

Overall, as a researcher there is an expectation that ethical responsibility is assumed towards the participants of this study with regard to the extent to which I may influence and interrupt their life experiences as well as the ethical principles I apply in communicating the ideas of this research (Mills et al, 2009). This is the reason I labelled myself as sliding along the 'insider-outsider' spectrum as opposed to choosing one position (Hellawell, 2006). Issues around power, representation, researcher-participant boundaries are not simple to overcome and there is no single regulation which allows for complete elimination. However, it is recognising that the very nature of these issues required continuous re-evaluation, through which the overall research outputs are judged (Mills et al, 2009). The next chapter introduces the first of three key data chapters.

Chapter 6 – Creation and use of the 'School Restaurant'

6.1 – Introduction

Peartree Academy is an ordinary school in nature, but the school dining hall, termed as the 'restaurant' is a particularly unique part of the school. The argument presented in this chapter highlights how the restaurant was created to bring communities and people together; to meet and greet (Corvo, 2016). Whilst there is no single agreed upon definition of community, I would like to adopt the notion of 'community' that implies that there are relationships between a group of people, usually in a certain locale (Bruhn, 2008: 11); which in this context is the school restaurant. This chapter sets up the influences on the creation of the restaurant and how it was used by the participants, which includes some of my observations. The following chapters (chapters seven and eight) develop what was actually going on in the restaurant during these times.

There are two key discussions which take place in this chapter: (1) the creation of the school restaurant (2) use of the restaurant: drawing on perceptions from staff, pupils and parents. The first part introduces the involvement of senior staff members in the creation and running of the restaurant. It highlights how staff were carefully recruited in order to help push the ethos of the restaurant forward. The school restaurant was designed to ensure that a certain set of values were able to be achieved and these values were built into the ethos of the school. Through its ethos, environment and curriculum the school aims to value all children and young people equally and enable each individual to realise their true potential, whilst encouraging them to make a positive contribution to society and prepare them for adult life. Further, spiritual, moral, social and cultural education relates to the whole life of the school who believe the adults within the academy are of particular importance through the examples they set and the opportunities they provide.

The second part highlights how the restaurant is used by staff, pupils and parents based on their views whilst also drawing on the 'meet and greet' ethos. Furthermore, a discussion is held on the staff dress code which for pupils is usually an important matter in schools (Laws and Davies, 2011).

Firstly, it is important to discuss the idea of 'meet and greet' and why I decided to highlight this narrative in my research. The term 'meet and greet' was a common discussion point made by participants. The idea of meet and greet was first noticed during a pilot interview with the former Deputy Principal who left the school before I was able to begin conducting interviews for the main dataset. In this example, the notion of meet and greet is introduced. For example:

> *'A massive part of the pupils' day is 'meet and greet'. It's simple, absolutely simple, makes a huge difference. If there's someone there at the front to meet them with a smile they have a few minutes to set them off for the day. It's an opportunity for them to resolve any issues, first thing in the morning…'*
> *Former Deputy Principal – Pilot interview, 14th November 2012*

The Former Deputy Principal describes the notion of meet and greet as an essential part of a pupils' day. It is about welcoming each other into the school and ensure a positive start to the day. This is said to be achieved by pupils addressing any issues they may have between one another. The reason why I included the example of meet and greet is because it was part of the reason for the aim of the school restaurant, to foster opportunities for meeting and greeting and this is discussed in finer detail in part two of this chapter. Before introducing part one, I would like to discuss the term 'restaurant' and how it was introduced and the connotations which are brought into play.

The 'Restaurant'

The staff at Peartree Academy referred to the school dining hall as the 'restaurant' and it was interesting to come to learn about why they decided to attach an identity to this space. The term 'restaurant' came about in 2007 when the school was rebuilt and the Principal described the influence behind this. For example:

> *'…so everything from what was put in the restaurant, in other words the centre, do we give people enough time to have their lunch, do we have all children stay in school?'*
> *Philippa Davids – Principal (Interview 25, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

The term restaurant is used by everyone in the school and I quickly learned how using anything different like 'canteen' or 'dining hall' was frowned upon, particularly by the Principal. When I first arrived at the school, the Principal was quick to correct me on this, or at least ensure I was clear that the term restaurant was to be used with no alternative. For example:

Wednesday 25th September 2013
Field Notes
12.44pm
A short run in with the Principal who makes it clear that the term 'restaurant' should be used when I asked about the school canteen and how it was initially introduced. [The conversation was short and sharp as I asked about the school canteen, when she was quick to interrupt and say that actually, we don't use that word, we use the word 'restaurant' instead. I also learned how they didn't use the term 'library' and used 'learning resource centre' instead].

The term 'restaurant' carries many connotations. In comparison to the term canteen, the restaurant is interpreted in a different way at Peartree Academy. A canteen is a store that sells food and drink at an institution like a camp, school or military base (Winchell, 2008). By definition the restaurant is a noisy place and the design requires giving careful consideration to the climate as this is a space which is supposed to be used for communication (Baraban and Durocher, 2010). A restaurant is described as a space with a particular climate; a space which aims to be appealing and used for relaxation, communication and discussions. One of the most important functions in running a restaurant is the selection and recruitment of its employees. It is said that good staff make a good restaurant (Turiace, 2015). Moreover, it has been argued that the term canteen has been interpreted as a place for enforcing rules (Winchell, 2008). However, this school set out to ensure that it was not a place for setting rules. The catering manager shared her view on what she thought about the creation of the restaurant. For example:

'I think pupils are able to develop social skills through the restaurant and through the opportunity to share food'.
Lana Masey – Catering Manager (Interview 1, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

The response from Lana helped me to establish a connection between the restaurant and social learning. The layout of the restaurant includes a mix of multi-shaped and coloured tables which were decorated by flowers. This presents a certain image; one which creates an inviting and exciting atmosphere (see Appendix 11). This was also noted in my field notes when I recorded my reflections during the first day of the structured observations. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 25th September 2013*
> *3pm*
> *So at the end of the first day, I felt a warmth in the school restaurant as it was unconventional in its nature, compared to the school dining halls where I ate as a pupil and worked as a teacher. It was light, airy, open, accessible and inviting. The reception area was opposite, the library was visible above as was the church, which was located to the left of the school, again in plain sight of the restaurant. Some of the classrooms were accessible from the restaurant, which almost replaced the corridor space. It was an unavoidable space, with no place to hide [It was almost as though this space was purpose built to avoid sharing similarities to the traditional canteen; similar to a modern kitchen in a newly furnished home, where the dining hall and kitchen are built as one open space. Perhaps the architects who designed the school were trying to achieve this modern dimension. I think they achieved this in terms of the aesthetics of the restaurant].*

Having reflected on this field note, I adopt the view that the restaurant provides a structure to enhance community togetherness and sharing. Part one of the discussion is introduced next which is based on the creation of the school restaurant.

6.2 The creation of the school restaurant

This part draws on the views of a particular group of staff, mainly consisting of the leadership team, which is made up of the Principal, Deputy Principal of Finance and Resources and the Deputy Principal of Behaviour and Safety. It also draws on the views of the catering manager and a member of the teaching staff team. Some of these individuals helped to create the restaurant in terms of how it was going to be operated and managed and they also had input on the design. This section has been split into three segments to highlight key themes that emerged from the data analysis. These include: (1) school background:

recruitment of the staff team (2) experience of food: the influence of leadership (3) school dining experiences: a comparison. Overall, this section aims to argue that the recruitment of the staff in the school was conducted in a strategic way; it is argued that the restaurant was created in order to ensure the ethos of the school restaurant was being carried forward and that it would help bring people together.

School background: Recruitment of the staff team

As a relatively new school, it is useful to highlight the trend in the make-up of the leadership team, who shared similar values to those who funded the new school which gained academy status in 2007. More specifically those values surrounding food were adopted by the Principal who put food at the centre of creating the image for the school. The restaurant in the school was prioritised in the planning stages. For example:

> *'I actually created the school, I was the only person employed initially, and my job was to apply for the job and to dictate the vision'. Philippa Davids – Principal (Interview 25, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

I can only assume that the Principal is referring to ensuring food is kept at the heart of the school. This led me to highlighting the influence of the leadership in the running of the school restaurant. The relationship between school leadership, behaviour, culture and the ethos is said to be dependent on the way in which pupils behave (Dimbleby and Vincent, 2013). Grundy and Blandford (1999) idealised the most appropriate school climate as being a positive one with good atmosphere and leadership. Although, Principal Philippa Davids suggests that the aim of the school was to ensure pupils had enough time to consume their lunches, observations did not suggest that this was true. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Day 5: Observation of school restaurant*
> *Wednesday 30th October 2013*
> *The catering staff and other staff around the restaurant signalled 2 minutes for 2 pupils who had been sitting at the table a while still eating [This is particularly interesting to me as I thought the restaurant had been created to allow pupils extra time to consume their lunches. Although, maybe this was about managing them*

effectively and ensuring the staggered lunch break was also more organised].

From my field note above, it was evident that time for eating was limited. It was interesting to learn how two members of staff, James Clueton and Lana Masey, closely associated with the processes of the school restaurant had not previously held a position working in a school. For Grundy and Blandford (1999) good leadership involves the ability to communicate a positive vision, where all staff are able to play a part in shaping the school, in order to move forward with the positive ethos. With a background in the food industry, it can be argued that it was their knowledge, expertise and understanding of food that influenced their recruitment. Therefore, it is useful to draw on the contexts and backgrounds of those involved in leading the school restaurant that have carried forward the visions and ethos until today. Firstly, I draw on the views of Deputy Principal, James Clueton:

> *'I've been involved, this is my first time working in a school here, but I've been involved in food. Food is my background, I've been involved, looking at some other schools and they've asked me to go look at their setup and how they can make it a bit smarter, and yeah some are very good, some just need somebody, a different pair of eyes to look at it'.*
> *James Clueton – Deputy Principal Finance and Resources (Interview 21 Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

James highlights how food was in his background and had expertise in working in other schools to offer a view on setting up, although he states that his first leadership position in a school was at Peartree Academy. Andersen (2015) identified how staff had a significant role during school meal times and my research begins to demonstrate staff influence. Furthermore, the input into developing a school dining space is important and both Ahmed (2004) and Hanushek (2002) stress that any spaces in which some form of learning is to take place requires careful consideration of the design.

The catering manager, Lana Masey was also recruited in 2007 and held a background in catering. She relished the prospect of working in a school, based on the influence of food and the ethos of the school, i.e. 'healthy mind, body and spirit'. For example:

'I came in 2007; I started in June as the school was getting ready in September. I started out in a mobile out the back of the kitchen, so the school wasn't even ready. I've always been in catering but never done school meals, so basically when I saw the advert, what I liked about it was the ethos of healthy mind, body and spirit'.
Lana Masey – Catering Manager (Interview 1, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

Both James and Lana were tasked with ensuring the role of food was central to the creation of the school. This meant the school had been created by a senior group of staff who had a specialism in food or managing behaviour as opposed to experience working in a school. In terms of the curriculum, food and enterprise were listed as the school's specialism. Kaklamanou et al (2012) highlighted the importance of the role of food in education with an emphasis on the space and time available for food consumption.

Overall, there is much to be said about the rationale for the recruitment of the staff at the school; particularly the leadership team and restaurant manager. They set the scene for the school ethos to emerge. Staff were strategically recruited to fulfil the needs of the school. Arguably, this is about the transmitting of norms and values attached to food consumption. This means going beyond the role of food as merely serving nutritional benefits, but focusing on instilling a set of beliefs and being able to support the ethos of the institution in achieving its aim (Weaver-Hightower, 2008). The design of the restaurant was a strategic way of diminishing traditional canteen regulated models of watching the behaviour of pupils.

Experience of food: The influence of leadership

It was evident that a background in food and experience in managing eating behaviours were seen as favourable attributes and a key priority in the recruitment of key members of staff. It is important to recognise the processes involved in an attempt to help children engage with school food (Jyoti et al, 2005). The catering manager in the school was also heavily involved in the catering industry prior to taking up a position in the school. For example:

> *'I've always been in catering but never done school meals, so basically when I saw the advert, the business side of the school, all the different things encouraged me to come…'*
> *Lana Masey – Catering Manager (Interview 1, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

Lana was discussing the variety of opportunities involved in the running of the school restaurant. It was about the opportunity to shape it in a way which could potentially fit in with the ethos of the school. Weir (2008) discussed how caterers in schools were also responsible for moving the vision of the school forward. In doing so, it became a priority to take a whole-school approach which involves making necessary changes to the school environment. For my research, these changes relate to the school restaurant at Peartree Academy.

The senior management team and the catering manager were interviewed and it was interesting to learn about their backgrounds. Prior to conducting the interviews, I noticed a correlation between having expertise in food and experience in managing pupils' eating behaviours as prerequisites for the recruitment of the senior management team and catering manager. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 25th September 2013*
> *9.20am*
> *Having popped in to say hello to the Principal, she said a few words – 'You know why I came to this school? It was because I was able to drive the ethos of food forward…actually the senior management team all have some sort of interest in either food or behaviour…' [It was interesting to see how carefully staff had been recruited].*

It became apparent that a background in the food industry and having experience in managing pupils eating behaviours were key priorities for the school as evidenced in this response from the Principal. The school is funded by an established food manufacturer, and this influenced the healthy eating ethos and the emphasis on the school dining space as a restaurant. The work of Roberts and Marvin (2011) is relevant here as they analysed a survey carried out which explored the views of children with regards to how they would be able to make better food choices during the school meal. Children highlighted how

the design of the school dining hall was important and made reference to queuing times as being problematic. The Principal was involved in the early stages of the new development of the Academy. She was the first employee of the school and was tasked with fulfilling the vision of the sponsors, by making food central and included the rebranding of the school canteen as a restaurant. Principal Philippa Davids, said that it was her job to make the vision become a reality. For example:

> '…to take that and make it a reality and the focus on food, was a key part of the vision that was set by the sponsors before I even started, and it was my job if you like to take that and make it a reality, that was my job'.
> Philippa Davids – Principal (Interview 25, Thursday 19th June 2014)

The Principal had also been recruited to try carrying the vision of having a focus on food forward. For Rudd et al (2008) changes to the school dining hall were important in being able to prioritise the space for consumption and make it appealing. Deputy Principal, James Clueton was the second person employed who held a considerable amount of experience in the catering industry and expressed that it was the prospect of a new challenge that was appealing; one which would still involve food but in an educational institution. For example:

> 'I was the second employee after Philippa, who you knew about. So yeah, 7 and a bit years, just the excitement of a brand new project I came here. To be here at the start and formulate the policy and apart of the process. It was a very exciting challenge'.
> James Clueton – Deputy Principal of Finance and Resources (Interview 21, Wednesday 26th March 2014)

James discussed issues around policy and processes of developing the school. Deputy Principal, Adam Walker was recruited two years later. He had established himself as a senior manager in education, and previously held a background in teaching PE. His main drive for getting involved in this new project was to help young people, who struggled with behaviour. For example:

'…what influenced my decision was the opportunity to be involved in a new project, and to be involved with something that was in line with my main values about not giving up on young people and supporting them with behaviour, about the school being able to have that wider influence on their lives'.
Adam Walker – Deputy Principal of Behaviour and Safety (Interview 26, Thursday 19th June 2014)

Adam pointed out his motivation to help young people most in need. He identified the importance of his role in having a wider influence which is about the transitioning phases both inside and outside of school (HWRC, 2011).

Therefore, the examples from the data support the argument that staff were carefully recruited, in order to ensure they had either an interest or experience in food and managing behaviour to some degree. Having spent some time discussing the introduction of the restaurant and influences on staff recruitment, I came across some interesting comparative parallels of school dining experiences, which also influenced the creation of the restaurant.

School dining experiences: A comparison
The development of the new school led to the introduction of the school restaurant. Having noticed a correlation between the views of staff, I was able to collate a number of responses on comparisons of school dining halls. It was difficult not to draw on negative experiences of school dining halls and in order to problematize this view, it is useful to try and develop an understanding of school dining halls as spaces in which traditional power relationships between adults and children are contested and renegotiated; as also highlighted by Pike (2010). By this, I mean that the school restaurant was supposed to be created to move away from the traditional view of the school canteen, which was bound by societal rules and regulations. Three members of staff, including year 7 nurture teacher (Steve Woolley), Deputy Principal (Adam Walker) and Principal (Philippa Davids) reflect on comparisons of the school restaurant with their past experiences of school dining halls. Firstly, Steve provides an account of his view. For example:

> *'…my normal experience of being a primary school teacher, the hall and the dining room and the PE room, they're all the same. So normally there's a cupboard full of tables, it's brought in this one's different because it's set up as the dining room 24/7'.*
> *Steve Woolley – Year 7 Nurture Teacher (Interview 22, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

Steve is making a link back to his experience as a teacher in a different primary school. Furthermore, by '24/7' Steve suggests that it is a fixed space as opposed to one which is used as a multi-purpose one (i.e. using the school dining hall as the PE room, assembly hall and for anything else in between). In addition to this Adam Walker also shares his view based on his childhood experience of school dining halls. For example:

> *'My experience of dining halls is that they are logistically difficult for schools, often not fit for purpose, often not a nice place to be. Children want to be outside as quick as possible as do staff. Ours is different, its design, the high ceiling and the light, that makes a big difference to the atmosphere, the rotation that we have whereby not more than 2 year groups are in at the same time, that has a big impact. It doesn't have that mass feel to it. The children are safer, relaxed in that environment. My personal experience in the dinner queue as a child was that it was a horrendous place to be, particularly at my school. That isn't something they experience here, it's a very short dinner queue'.*
> *Adam Walker – Deputy Principal Behaviour and Safety (Interview 26, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

Adam describes the restaurant at Peartree Academy as being a better place compared with the school canteen that he experienced as a pupil. He is promoting the restaurant by making comparisons to his past experiences as a pupil in studying at the school; about what school dining spaces for him used to be like. The references that he makes draw out negative associations of the structures which surround the school dining hall. Research carried out by Devi et al (2010) demonstrates how structural factors in the school canteen were one of the most problematic issues with regards to school meals. Furthermore, children pointed out how the school dining facilities were unattractive in appearance (Devi et al, 2010). The restaurant at Peartree Academy is presented with fresh flowers on the tables and these tables differ in size, colour

and shape. The introduction of the flowers on the table made a positive impression on both staff and visitors according to the Principal. For example:

> *'…I think putting flowers on the table…was quite a unique thing but it's something that everybody just accepted you know, and lots of visitors make a point when they come'.*
> *Philippa Davids – Principal (Interview 25, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

The flowers carry the message that it is a restaurant and that is the symbolic nature in which they reside, which is supported by the views of Nicholson (2005). The school restaurant could be compared with a real life restaurant. This was recorded in my field notes. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 30th October 2013*
> *9.10am*
> *There are fresh flowers on the tables. I can't say that I've come across this before. It's surprising to see that no one has tampered with them! [Most people who entered the school seemed to hold a positive view of the design, layout and aesthetics of the restaurant].*

The replacement of 'flight trays' with plates has had a positive impact in terms of the appearance of the restaurant, according to Lana Masey (Catering Manager) and James Clueton (Deputy Principal). They discuss their views on the impact of flight trays. For example:

> *'I went around schools seeing what they actually do in schools, and I noticed that they did the flight trays and I thought no I don't want to go down that route. I want crockery…flight trays, which were like plastic trays they have, it's like the food divided up into sections. Even from 3 years old'.*
> *Lana Masey – Catering Manager (Interview 1, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

> *'…and other schools use these plastic flight trays…'*
> *James Clueton – Deputy Principal Finance and Resources (Interview 21, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

The school restaurant in this portrayal relates to the home environment and other spaces outside of the school, like cafes and restaurants. This example highlights how the decision to make it more like a restaurant was adopted to avoid recreating the traditional school canteen.

The first part of this chapter has argued that there has been a strategic move towards allowing the restaurant to be a welcoming place and this has been carefully created by selecting and recruiting key staff, who are predominantly in positions of leadership. The strategic decision to appoint staff with a background in the food industry instead of appointing staff with a general background of working in a school was a key approach in helping to achieve the aim for developing the school restaurant. This means that potentially, the school is able to carry a certain vision forward and the views of the leadership team are also reflected in a positive light compared to their individual experiences of the school meal (Weaver-Hightower, 2008). I was also able to relate in this instance, as the school meal for me was certainly not a welcoming place in my school experiences from both being a pupil and teaching in a school. The next part highlights key movements of how the restaurant is used and perceived by staff, pupils and parents.

6.3 Use of the restaurant: Perceptions of staff, pupils and parents

The restaurant is used in multiple ways and this section presents a discussion on examples from various groups alongside my observations of how it is used. The restaurant is used for meeting and greeting (Corvo, 2016), but also a place to recognise the identity of the individuals in terms of the dress code. This led to developing three discussion points. Firstly, the restaurant as a useful and conducive space for meeting and greeting. Secondly, the symbolic meanings attached to the way staff dressed. Thirdly, how the restaurant is used by all groups. This part has been divided into three segments, which include: (1) meet and greet (2) the dress code (3) perceptions of restaurant usage. Firstly, an insight is provided into the meet and greet ethos set out by the Principal. Secondly, the symbolic nature of the way staff dressed is discussed (Nicholson, 2005). The third segment is dedicated to highlighting how the restaurant is used by and between staff, pupils and parents.

Meet and Greet

The idea behind the meet and greet ethos is that everyone at the school has a responsibility for ensuring that all those who enter the school are made to feel welcome. It can be argued that this is about chaperoning parents or visitors to

the restaurant which is situated in the heart of the school. It is said that food has a social function and allows for an opportunity to meet new people and reinforce existing relationships and to define social roles (Corvo, 2016). My data suggests that it is mainly the staff that are responsible for meeting and greeting mainly pupils and parents. The front entrance leads into the restaurant. Linkages to meet and greet emerged from the very idea that the restaurant was originally designed for; a place to interact with everyone associated with the school and for meeting and greeting to take place.

It can be argued that the school restaurant is an environment for meeting and greeting. The Principal alongside a number of other staff used these two terms interchangeably. The Principal talked about how the 'meet and greet' was an important aspect of the day to day interactions. For example:

> *'…make it a welcoming place for a meet and greet for public usage and for staff to work together with pupils'.*
> *Philippa Davids – Principal (Interview 10, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

Upon entering the reception area and signing in at the desk, a visitor's pass is provided. The church is located to the left of the school upon entering reception and the double doors are then accessible, which act as the main secure gate between the external community and the school. This is an important part of the school; a gateway for the community to the church, which is also the gateway to the school restaurant. It is common to assert that parents are often left at the 'school gate', which is said to create a barrier between parents and the school (Crozier, 2012). At Peartree, the only gate is the guest book, in which visitors are required to sign in, if they are not of course bringing their children to the school. Pupil guidance leader, Marilyn Huston describes her view of the restaurant. For example:

> *'…it's just totally different…soon as you walk into the school you're in the restaurant, it's not called a dining hall… it is more like a restaurant than a school dining hall'.*
> *Marilyn Huston – Pupil Guidance Leader (Interview 7, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

I also observed how the restaurant was quite welcoming, particularly during the morning period, where tea and coffee were readily made available to both

pupils and parents. School breakfast has been identified as a means to which schools are able to influence children's learning (Greaves et al, 2016). The example from my field notes below illustrates how tea and coffee were readily available even for parents:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 16th October 2013*
> *8.25am*
> *Staff members are walking back and forth, preparing, with their hot drink containers. There is free tea and coffee for parents [Seems to be quite an inviting place for parents who have free coffee available, particularly during breakfast].*

It is not possible to bypass the restaurant upon entering and leaving the school; particularly for all pupils and staff members. Whilst the restaurant is being used as a place for meeting and greeting, this is also potentially sending a message about community spirit; ensuring those who enter the school are made to feel welcome. As it is located at the front of the school, this can be compared with a guest being welcomed into a home when showing up at the front door. According to Rowe et al (2010) for a school to move forward and work towards establishing community links, consideration needs to be given to the broader environment and social issues.

The dress code

This part introduces a discussion on the way in which staff dressed, namely the Deputy Principals, Principal and male and female catering staff. Stephen (2010) argues that there is too much attention given to the professional dress codes of staff at school. However, Hamilton (2008) suggests school staff who dress professionally are able to convey respect for education. Whilst the views of both Stephen (2010) and Hamilton (2008) are useful, it is the symbolic nature of the dress code at Peartree Academy that I am interested in. I would like to argue that there was a symbolic meaning attached to the staff dress code (Laws and Davies, 2011). It was early in the observations when I first noticed the 'deep red ties'; which were worn by certain members of staff, namely the Deputy Principals. For example:

The two Deputy Principals (James Clueton, Deputy Principal of Finance and Resources; Adam Walker, Deputy Principal of Behaviour and Safety) wore 'deep red ties'. The administration assistant was able to verify my observations in terms of the way in which staff dressed. For example:

Field Notes
Day 2
Wednesday 2nd October 2013
12.45pm
Prijeet, she quickly greets me in the restaurant and makes a comment "I bet everyone's wondering why you're making notes". I asked her to confirm names of a few staff members, namely those which I identified as wearing deep red ties. She said, "They're the Assistant Principals [Deputy Principals]". [I was surprised at how honest Prijeet was being in the first instance. Then I began to question why she was so open to me as a researcher; somebody who was almost a stranger in the school at this early stage].

At first, I was unaware of the role of staff who wore these ties. It was difficult to obtain validity on whether they were assigned with these ties, encouraged to wear them or whether it was an uncanny coincidence. I would like to argue that this is about staff presence and discipline. Based on Prijeet's response, I can only assume the leadership staff were asked to wear these specific coloured ties. However, from one interview conducted with the Assistant Phase Leader after the observations, further clarification was gained. For example:

'It's very good. Oh and if you're ever wondering who the senior management team are, look out for the red ties!'
Charlotte Barry – Assistant Phase Leader (Interview 11, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

Therefore, multiple staff members were able to confirm how the senior staff team wore these red ties. In terms of pupils, the school uniform allows presence in a school in the form of identity; which in turn creates visibility in the school for pupils, as well as staff who can quickly identify when pupils are present. For

Foucault identity is a form of suppression and this can become a way of exercising power over participants in the restaurant, which arguably prevents them from moving outside static boundaries (O'Farrell, 2005). This is another feature of a real life restaurant, in that the staff are identifiable (Baraban and Durocher, 2010). In terms of the red ties then, this signals what I would like to call a position of authority but more importantly, it creates presence in the restaurant in the form of being able to attach an identity from the perspective of pupils and staff.

The catering staff (both male and female) shared the same colour hair nets as the colour of most of the tables (i.e. green and lime). This was interesting as usually catering staff would be wearing hair nets that are white. The coloured hair nets and matching table colour gives the restaurant an individual style which enhances the notion that it is more than just a dining hall or canteen. For example:

Field Notes
Day 2
Wednesday 2ⁿᵈ October 2013
1.05pm
Catering staff have hairnets the same colour as the restaurant tables (green and lime in colour).

Although it is common to assert that uniforms are consistently enforced upon both staff and pupils, it was interesting to observe how the Principal was dressed. The Principal was also subject to a certain style of dress, which was observed. For example:

Field Notes
Day 3
12.30pm
Wednesday 16ᵗʰ October 2013
From my past visits, the Principal seems to stand out by appearance as she chooses to dress in bright, vibrant colours [I noticed the principal wearing florescent colours which included orange, yellow and blue. Although, maybe this was merely a personality trait as opposed to bright colours to make a statement and stand out from the crowd. She was easily identified in the restaurant and also identifiable when walking around the school].

It was noted how the Principal's dress code would always include bright and vibrant colours, almost in an attempt to stand out from the rest of the staff. This was about the visibility and presence of the school staff (O'Farrell, 2005). By being visible, the Principal is able to maintain a presence in the school restaurant which allows for the space to be managed.

Therefore, it could be argued that the dress code of staff is a strategic move in allowing for both pupils and staff to recognise the identity of one another in the school restaurant. Dress code has been known to draw attention in schools in order to avoid criticism from teachers, parents and community members (Peterson and Vergara, 2016). As a result, the restaurant becomes subject to a power relationship as the dress code becomes one way of managing pupils in the space.

Perceptions of restaurant usage

In terms of the school dining space, it is said that they are not just a place for children to refuel, but that it is a place where children learn valuable socialising skills (Mosley, 2015). Therefore, making use of the school restaurant is important in ensuring children are able to gain an opportunity but it is also vital for staff and parents to be involved. The users of the restaurant and how they think they are using the restaurant are presented here. I will consider the views of each group in turn. These include: (1) staff (2) pupils (3) parents.

Staff

The discussions relating to staff include links to three periods of the school day, morning, mid-morning break and the school lunch period. One student teaching assistant introduces the idea of how the restaurant is used as a space for 'social meetings'. As it was difficult to find a definition for the idea of a social meeting, I decided to define the words individually. As discussed by Dalton (2004) in chapter two (see p.58), the term social has been defined as concerning mutual relations of human beings. I would like to extend this view here by including the view of Edmonds and Beardon (2008) who define social as involving association, co-operation, mutual dependence and belonging

(Edmonds and Beardon, 2008: 98). The example from my data below introduces the idea of a social meeting:

> *'Yeah, I think it's good to have that social meeting in the morning before school, everyone likes to sit and have a little natter'.*
> *Linda Charlton – Student TA, children in Foundation 1, Year 2, Year 6 (Interview 29, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

Linda identifies the importance of having a social meeting in the morning and particularly before school. Staff also make use of the restaurant to meet the parents. For example:

> *'I sometimes go down to meet parents also because it's a meeting area; I sometimes go down to talk to the people in the kitchen'.*
> *Marilyn Huston – Pupil Guidance Leader (Interview 22, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

Staff make use of the restaurant to conduct meetings with one another. Marilyn highlights how she uses the restaurant as a meting area but also talks to staff in the kitchen which is a useful way of building relationships. I would like to point out the importance of the other significant adults in the school dining room who are known as the lunchtime supervisors. They also have an important function in the school dining hall as discussed by O'Dea and Eriksen (2010). The use of the restaurant as a meeting place for staff was also evidenced in my field notes. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 25th September 2013*
> *8:32am*
> *Although meetings were brief between staff, the restaurant seemed to be utilized constantly. There were small groups of staff who would regularly sit and chat away [The restaurant seemed to be used throughout the day and I thought from this it was a conducive space for informal teaching and perhaps tutoring].*

A further example of how staff were using the restaurant for meetings was highlighted in a response by Deputy Principal, Adam Walker, who describes how he used the restaurant to conduct meetings with colleagues, parents and pupils. For example:

'I do conduct some meetings in there, both with colleagues, parents and pupils…all the other times its impractical to do so and you have to do it somewhere else, there's obviously certain meetings you wouldn't have out in the public. I mean if you've got something a bit confidential or a little bit more…it's quite a nice place to have a meeting sometimes because I think it sends a message that you've got nothing to hide'.
Adam Walker – Deputy Principal Behaviour and Safety (Interview 26, Thursday 19th June 2014)

Adam discusses how he uses the restaurant as a public venue for conducting meetings. Although, there could be implications in using the restaurant to conduct confidential meetings. There are different types of conversations to be had in the restaurant and I would like to highlight them here: (1) sensitive conversations (2) friendly conversations (3) building relationships conversations. In school, sensitive conversations tend to stem from issues of conflict or isolation which can often become an issue for safeguarding pupils (Raffo, 2013). A friendly conversation would not involve any formal discussion taking place in the restaurant and involves an exchange between either pupils and staff who make an attempt to socialise (Graham, 2014). A conversation which involves building relationships requires inviting the child or young person to share information with the aim of making professional judgements about need and welfare (Welbourne, 2012).

This can be linked to the work of Osowski et al (2013) as discussed in chapter two (see p. 62), who introduced three types of teachers which include: (1) the sociable teacher (2) educational teacher (3) evasive teacher. Deputy Principal, Adam Walker recognises that certain meetings need to be held in private and therefore, the restaurant would not always be able to a suitable space to conduct confidential meetings. However, overall he was in favour of the idea of using the restaurant as the main venue for discussions and said that there was nothing to hide, which would arguably allow for a level of transparency in terms of how those using the restaurant would perceive the school.

Deputy Principal, James Clueton introduces the idea of the 'canteen effect'. In his view, pupils are subject to this 'canteen culture' of queuing up, eating as quickly as possible and moving on, with the canteen used for multiple purposes

throughout the school day. By canteen culture, James refers to the unattractive and hectic nature of a school canteen, which is also usually limited in terms of space with long queues (Devi et al, 2010). Based on his view, it can be argued that the school have made an attempt to move away from the traditional canteen, which is often bound by rules and regulations. For example:

> *'…the canteen effect' as I call it, where children go to eat and that's it…I think the way we serve dinner with our plates and proper cutlery'.*
> *James Clueton – Deputy Principal Finance and Resources (Interview 21, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

James comments on his thoughts regarding the use of dinner plates and proper cutlery which is about the resources available in the restaurant at Peartree Academy. As the school is funded by a food manufacturing organisation, heavy investments into the school meant the restaurant could be designed in a flexible way.

The Principal highlights how the school restaurant is not closed at certain periods of the school day and identified as a resource that is not closed off, just like the family kitchen. It is in the home that parents are able to forge relationships with their children (Desforges, 2003). Parents are also able to model appropriate eating related behaviours (Birch, 1980; Eliassen 2011). Principal Phillipa Davids describes how the restaurant is used throughout the day. For example:

> *'Can I say we also use the restaurant throughout the day, and we use it for meetings, for other things during the day, even for group intervention learning etc. So, it is a resource that is used throughout the day, not a closed off resource only used during meal time and that's the same with any kitchen at home isn't it? I think we must understand in our community a lot of the pupils don't have tables at home, right, they eat the food on their knee. So actually giving them tables to sit at and developing the skills to be able to do that is really important'.*
> *Philippa Davids – Principal (Interview 25, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

The Principal makes an assumption that all pupils eat on their knees. She makes comparisons to the kitchen in the home (Bergh, 2014). She discusses

how pupils are trained to conform, which is about eating related behaviours (Birch, 1980). For Philippa, imitating the behaviour of what goes on in the pupils' home and outside in restaurants is important. In order to achieve this, it is important for schools to be consistent and this is demonstrated by Garvis and Pendergast (2017) who discuss the importance of being able to sustain food related behaviours in the home. She briefly describes how the restaurant is used throughout the typical school day and also supports the idea of an open-ended eating space, with lots of opportunities for interactions to take place.

During the morning period, James Clueton describes how the reception is designed in a way which provides a good view of the restaurant, which arguably means that he can attend to anyone who enters the restaurant. I created a diagram which helped me to produce a bird's eye view of the restaurant (see Appendix 11) and another diagram which illustrated the table and seating arrangement (see Appendix 12). The example from the field note below demonstrates how James Clueton was using the restaurant:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 16th October 2013*
> *8.25am*
> *James Clueton is stood by the reception area, which provides a good view of the whole restaurant. [Clearly he has a good view here and it looks as if this is purpose built in order to help create an open and inviting space].*

Having discussed how the restaurant is being used during the school morning period, I came across data which demonstrated how the restaurant was being used during the mid-morning break period. It is said that the school dining hall can be used as a multi-purpose area which is conducive for learning to relax and enjoy social time (Gillmore et al, 2010). In this example from my field notes, the restaurant is being used for one-to-one learning opportunities with a pupil during the mid-morning break period before the school lunch. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 13th November 2013*
> *10.45am*
> *The teacher continues to work with the pupil on the laptop one-to-one [the tutor is sitting opposite the pupil with a laptop in front and typing away, whilst chatting].*

140

In the field note above, I highlight how the teacher is working one-to-one with a pupil in the school restaurant and for this to work, the space needs to be less hectic then the school lunch period and I had witnessed these sessions occurring regularly. From my interpretation, this was a tutorial between staff and pupil.

In the field note below, Deputy Principal, James Clueton highlights how staff make use of the restaurant as a place to meet and have coffee whilst potentially being able to discuss any issues with parents. The relationship between school staff and parents is essential for ensuring pupils are able to gain the best possible school experience (Crozier, 2012). James makes use of the restaurant to meet with a fellow colleague whilst other teachers are taking this time to talk with parents. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 27th November 2013*
> *10.23am*
> *James Clueton (Deputy Principal) is having a meeting with a female member of staff, again as usual at one of the circular tables.*
> *Some of the teachers are still around chatting to parents.*

Although classes were taking place during this period, some of the teachers who had a free period were using the restaurant to interact with parents. Some of the parents had come in to meet staff after dropping their children to the classroom whilst others had arrived at the school at this time to attend meetings with staff.

Having discussed the instance of the mid-morning break and the example of staff and pupils using this time to work, it is important to move onto the school lunch period in which staff make use of the restaurant. The relationship between staff and parents is crucial in terms of making good food choices at school (Smith, 2007). The evidence in the field note and interview response below suggest that staff are able to use the restaurant to interact with pupils whilst helping them to make food choices in queues. Furthermore, the teaching assistants are ensuring pupils are being supported within the restaurant. For example:

Field Notes
Wednesday 30th October 2013
12.30pm
There are another group of pupils who begin to make their way towards the buffet line as their teacher follows them, talking to them whilst they choose their food [Do teachers have to follow pupils and watch them closely and is this about teachers interacting with pupils? Also, could this be about ensuring pupils are conducting themselves appropriately in the restaurant?]

'The teaching assistants and teachers come in and have meals with them to make sure they eat their food, so it's like a community, they all sit together'.
Lana Masey – Catering Manager (Interview 1, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

The field note above demonstrates how staff are using the school lunch period to guide pupils in promoting positive eating related behaviours. By this, I am referring to the way in which pupils are being followed by staff to ensure they reach the buffet line. This is about the modelling of eating behaviours and the importance of this modelling is demonstrated by the work of Eliassen (2011). The catering manager, Lana Masey compares the restaurant to a community setting, suggesting that the restaurant is being used to bring teaching assistants, teachers and pupils together whilst ensuring pupils eat their food.

Finally, during my time observing the school lunch period, I was able to record a display on the back wall of the school restaurant, above the buffet line which was visible to all those who entered the school restaurant (see Appendix 12). The display was about the ethos of Peartree Academy and about the importance of making a successful transition into adult life. In this case, staff who had put up this display were making use of the restaurant to promote the idea of making positive contributions. For example:

Field Notes
Day 1
Wednesday 25th September 2013
12.40pm
Within the Academy we recognise that pupils who feel happy, safe and are valued and given opportunities to contribute to school life not only make more progress academically but also develop into more rounded and confident adults, ready to make the transition into adult life.

In this example, it can be argued that staff use the restaurant to provide opportunities for pupils to help them understand the value of making the transition into adult life. This display is placed in the restaurant and the display demonstrates the importance of the role of food and the school environment (Rudd et al, 2008), which can help shape positive eating behaviours in pupils (Eliassen, 2011).

The narrative in terms of how staff are using the restaurant refers specifically to its usage for meeting and greeting, social meetings, one to one tutorials amongst pupils and staff and making food choices. Overall, staff are using the restaurant to meet with parents and help encourage pupils to eat whilst being able to make good food choices (Richards and Smith, 2007). The restaurant is still being used to serve multiple purposes, but it is used with food being at the centre and the space is open and inviting for all.

Pupils

To discuss how pupils use the restaurant; I would like to point out that it is not entirely made up of pupils' perceptions, but drawn out from various other groups. Pupils make use of the restaurant in various ways throughout the school day. In this field note below, pupils seem to be using the restaurant to discuss common areas of interest; without this space, they would perhaps have one less avenue in which to converse. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 4th December 2013*
> *8.15am*
> *Pupils begin to enter the school restaurant area, as teachers roam around, back and forth. There are a number of pupils sat by me, discussing yesterday's football. There is another group of pupils, who are chatting away about music [It seems that the restaurant is conducive for having these conversations].*

For pupils the restaurant is a place for relaxation, friendship and sharing interests. The example in the field note above highlights some of their interactions in the restaurant. Although the main function of the school restaurant is to provide a nutritious meal for pupils, it is also about young

people having the opportunity to spend time with friends and classmates which forms part of this social time of day (Honeybourne, 2017).

The pupils use the restaurant before school for the breakfast club. Science teacher, Vidor Nootan suggests that they do not necessarily have access to breakfast at home and that the restaurant helps to fill this void by providing breakfast. Breakfast is said to be an important part of day for pupils and Littlecott et al (2015) provided evidence to suggest children who ate a healthy breakfast before starting the school day achieved higher academic results. Furthermore, Greaves et al (2016) pointed out how school breakfast was one of the ways in which learning can be influenced in pupils. For example:

> *'It helps pupils because most of the students here do not have enough time in the morning to eat at home, or they don't have food to eat at home. So having a breakfast club encourages them to come and eat, they'll also get some help with what they need, get food to eat in the morning, which really helps them during the day'.*
> *Vidor Nootan – Science Teacher (Interview 20, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

Vidor makes a point that suggests the restaurant is a helpful place for allowing pupils to have breakfast in the restaurant, which means they are coming in to use this space for eating and obtaining support for their needs. Vidor mentions how pupils get help with what they need and by this he is not necessarily referring to food. I would like to argue that he is referring to pastoral care. It is said that pastoral care has a high priority in schools and the structure of the school aims to ensure no pupil is neglected (Florian et al, 2016). He refers specifically to the lack of time and access to having breakfast at home.

Middle school leader, Ellie Boyd was also in agreement with the comment made by Vidor who said that pupils did not necessarily have the opportunity to have breakfast at home. For example:

Whilst it may be useful to make comparisons with the home, we cannot assume that pupils who attend Peartree Academy do not necessarily have time to eat breakfast at home. It is true that some parents now have to work multiple shifts, finishing at different times of the day meaning that children are often rushed to school in the mornings (Moffatt, 2004). This was not highlighted by staff in the interviews.

Senior behavioural leader, Lindon Murray discussed how pupils were able to access breakfast in the classroom as well as the restaurant. It is said that school breakfast is an important part of the school day particularly for influencing learning (Greaves et al, 2016). For example:

'Every room has toast in the mornings, especially the nurture classes which obviously working at our schools some people have had breakfast, some haven't. Some have had breakfast but maybe not an appropriate breakfast, gives them that balance in the morning'.
Lindon Murray – Senior Behavioural Leader (Whole school, Interview 5, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

It is interesting to notice how classrooms have toast available in the mornings for pupils and Lindon Murray makes the assumption that whilst some children have had breakfast in the morning, others have not. Although, the point he makes is about having the right type of breakfast which leads back to the idea of food choices (Devi et al, 2010).

Overall, pupils are using the restaurant to socialise with peers and develop friendships whilst discussing their shared interests (Honeybourne, 2017). The restaurant is functioning as a space to allow pupils to make informed food choices through the use of visual aids in the form of wall displays where positive messages are being communicated.

<u>Parents</u>

Parental engagement is proven to be a powerful device for raising achievement and wellbeing in schools (Harris and Goodall, 2007). Most schools that successfully engage parents in the learning environment are said to enforce the idea that parents matter and a positive relationship between the school and parent is formed (Harris and Goodall, 2007). Parents were regularly in attendance in the school restaurant during the course of my research. The restaurant provided opportunities for parents to interact in a number of ways and this was noted by the teaching staff. Library resource centre leader, Rochelle Sinclair commented on how parents made use of the restaurant to socialise. For example:

> '...the restaurant is quite a big meeting area, parents come in here to socialise a lot'.
> Rochelle Sinclair – Library Resource Centre (LRC) leader (Interview 10, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

The restaurant was originally designed to allow all groups including parents to be able to gain access to the restaurant and help provide opportunities for them to interact with one another as well as with the pupils and staff. It is a public venue, accessible to the local community and the parents are able to sit and eat with their children in the morning. This example illustrates how the restaurant is arguably a useful venue for parents to engage with the restaurant in support of eating with their children in a response by midday supervisor, Shonda Peters below:

> 'Yeah, we do get a lot of parents, come in and sit and eat with their children'.
> Shonda Peters – Midday Supervisor, Parent to Year 1, 8 and 11 pupils (Interview 34, Thursday 19th June 2014)

Parents are usually welcome to attend the breakfast club and breakfast clubs are viewed as one of the ways in which learning can be influenced in schools. It is said that breakfast helps pupils to achieve better results (Stevens et al, 2008). Furthermore, Littlecott et al (2015) pointed out how consumption of a healthy breakfast before the start of a school day would also lead to better

academic results. One of the midday supervisors expressed how the restaurant was a useful place for parents to meet one another. For example:

> *'You can meet other parents in breakfast club and have chats and things'.*
> *Sharon Simpson – Midday Supervisor, Parent to Year 10 and year 7 pupils (Interview 35, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

The examples below have been grouped and include my reflections on how parents are using the restaurant and their involvement in school is important. Parental involvement is a way of creating a web of social relationships that allows people to approach other individuals for help with ideas and strategies for solving social problems or for improving the school (Brown et al, 2012). It was evident from my field notes that parents used the restaurant for a number of reasons. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Tuesday 8th October 2013*
> *10am*
> *Actually, I've noticed a number of parents and community members sitting in the restaurant, even grandparents.*
>
> *Wednesday 16th October 2013*
> *8.15am*
> *I can see some parents and catering staff sat around the restaurant too, interacting with one another [They seem to be having a coffee and chat and seem fairly comfortable in their surroundings – almost as if they do this regularly].*
>
> *Wednesday 16th October 2013*
> *8.45am*
> *Parents are also here with babies, in prams and as the school bell begins to ring, pupils make their way through to the main corridor, which leads to all the classrooms.*
>
> *Wednesday 27th November 2013*
> *8.15am*
> *There are a small number of parents in the restaurant as well. The behavioural leader (Lindon Murray) is in discussions with one set of parents [Parents seem to be comfortable in their surroundings, even though the staff member is having a private conversation in what has been created as a public space].*

The field notes above highlight two ways in which parents are using the restaurant. Firstly, parents are using the restaurant to meet others and socialise

with the catering staff. Secondly, the restaurant is being used as a space for a private conversation, in what has been built as a public space. In this example above two parents are using the restaurant to meet with behavioural leader, Lindon Murray for a private discussion, although this would usually take place in the staff office. It can be argued that the school restaurant has been designed in a way that does not make parents feel intimidated.

Midday supervisor, Kylie Ford identifies how she uses the restaurant to interact with parents. As discussed by Brown et al (2012), building social relationships is important in children's future development as they are able to build social capital. Kyle Ford describes how she sits with parents with a cup of tea and even converses with friends of parents and any children who come along with their parents. For example:

> *'I mean, I sit with them in the mornings and have a cup of tea, speak*
> *to the other parents, friends, friends of kids, stuff like that'.*
> *Kylie Ford – Parent and Midday Supervisor (Interview 35, Thursday*
> *19th June 2014)*

This example illustrates how the restaurant allows parents to meet with staff in the morning before class begins which could potentially allow parents to get a progress review on their children. It could even allow parents to raise any issues their children are having outside of school. Parental involvement in schools is said to increase the effectiveness of the education that children receive (Hornby, 2000). Furthermore, Stevens et al (2008) noted how neglect can be addressed through the breakfast club; an environment which allows pupils to bond and congregate with staff and fellow pupils as well as their own parents, in the school restaurant. This is an important part of the school day, particularly in the mornings, where families bond and are able to form positive relationships (Stevens et al, 2008). It can be argued that the school restaurant can be used as a place for such bonding to take place, ultimately acting as an alternative social space; mirroring the home environment (Bergh, 2014).

In the field note below, one father engages in a conversation with his son whilst dropping him off to school in the morning. He then decides to encourage his

son to eat breakfast. If adequately provided, school meals are said to have an educational value for children as great as medical care (Pike and Kelly, 2014). Furthermore, it is said that if the school meal is served well with a happy discipline, its nutritional value is heightened and its educational value becomes infinite (Pike and Kelly, 2014). In this example from my field notes below, one parent is using peer pressure to encourage his son to eat breakfast.

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 25th September 2013*
> *Field Notes*
> *8.25am*
> *A father talks to his child whilst dropping him off.*
> *'Go on, have your breakfast here then because you didn't eat it at home….there's no excuse now, I know your hungry son!'*
> *'Oh, there's my mates'*
> *'See, they're eating!'*
> *'Alright, bye dad!!'*

The pupil ate breakfast with his peers as the father left the school. This is another example of how parents use the restaurant, but here the father is using peer pressure to encourage his son to eat breakfast. The father is using a positive technique to discipline his son and encourage sound eating habits, which is discussed by Kaklamanou et al (2012), who describes the importance of being able to shape positive eating behaviours for children.

Year 7 nurture teacher, Steve Woolley discusses the activities in the morning and how parents are given the opportunity to interact with children whilst eating breakfast. He describes how parents use the restaurant to meet with their friends and can also catch up with the teacher if necessary. Therefore, this highlights how they choose to spend time in the restaurant for leisurely purposes. For example:

> *'What's different about it is in the morning. There's often parents sitting down with the pupils… you know catching up with friends or if they need to see a teacher. Also, it's very often used by members of staff in between meal times and they can sit there until 10 o'clock or whatever…'*
> *Steve Woolley – Year 7 Nurture Teacher (Interview 22, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

For Steve Woolley, the school restaurant is different and he implies it is particularly different in the morning. It is interesting to learn how members of staff use the restaurant in between meal times but the open access to the restaurant for parents means positive relationships with staff are able to be formed (Harris and Goodall, 2007).

Overall, it is clear that parents have access to the restaurant throughout the school day. Parents are using the school restaurant for multiple purposes and I would like to summarise using some examples here. In one example, parents are using the restaurant to eat breakfast with their children which means the restaurant is able to provide an alternative space from the home to bring parents and children together by using food as the driving force (Kaklamanou et al (2012). In another example, one parent is using the restaurant as a platform for exercising discipline through peer pressure in consuming breakfast. The restaurant is being used as a space to allow parents to connect with the school comfortably. The school restaurant has been designed to provide opportunities for helping pupils to develop social learning and learn how to engage with others.

6.4 Conclusion

The restaurant aims to bring pupils together in a space which is conducive for meeting and greeting; this is also true for other users of the restaurant, which include staff and parents. The introduction of this chapter was dedicated to unpacking the term 'restaurant' in order to help develop a context of why this term had originated and also its relevance to the school. The first part of this chapter has argued how the restaurant was originally designed and built to allow for the space to be used to bring communities together, whilst being able to share food and discussions. From my observations, what the school seemed to do for me was to paint a positive picture of the restaurant and the flowers on the table was just one example of how this appeared to be a 'proper restaurant'. Another example is the way in which the school staff welcomed multiple usage of the restaurant with open access for parents.

The second section was developed in order to highlight how the restaurant was used by staff, pupils and parents. As the first of three key findings chapters, overall, the aim of this was to explore and introduce the school restaurant as well as identify emergent themes. It appears there is a sense of community spirit which is shaping the way in which the restaurant is being run on a daily basis. It can be argued that this is about allowing for communities to come together, whilst sharing food. This chapter has argued that the restaurant was created to resist the traditional school canteen approach (bound by rules and regulations), whilst chapter eight (the restaurant: surveillance mechanism or community forum) delves further into notions of rules and regulations in the form of surveillance, monitoring and discipline. The next chapter (chapter seven – the restaurant: a social learning space?) places a focus on social learning by introducing a discussion on the restaurant as a potential space in which learning opportunities are created.

Chapter 7 – The restaurant: A Social Learning Space?

7.1 – Introduction

School meals could be described as a teaching opportunity, where it is possible for children to learn about acceptable behaviours when eating together, as well as learning about gaining from a positive school meal experience. Such teaching opportunities have been termed as the 'pedagogic meal' in Sweden (Osowski et al, 2013) and this term is applicable to this research study as I am focusing on social learning in the school restaurant. This chapter provides an account of what happens in the restaurant throughout the school day and what social learning occurs. Social learning in this context is described as coming to understand the different discourses that emerge from teaching staff, non-teaching staff and pupils about how to behave appropriately when eating with other people. The school restaurant at Peartree Academy is a place for both meeting and eating and can therefore be regarded as a 'learning space' (Harrop and Turpin, 2013). It provides opportunities for pupils, staff and parents to mingle, socialise (McCulloch and Crook, 2008) and it is also where informal leaning can take place (Burke, 2005). However, just as elsewhere in the school there are rules and regulations in terms of how that social space is used. These rules and regulations in part determine the behaviour of staff and pupils during meal times and have an impact upon the social learning that occurs. Data presented in this chapter explores the role of teaching and non-teaching staff and also pupils' views about social learning.

Few studies investigate the social context of the school meal (Hart, 2016; Andersen et al, 2016; Morrison, 1996) and social learning in school dining halls (Osowski, 2013; Jyoti et al, 2005; Ahmed, 2004). Some studies have explored how behaviour and attitudes help shape social skills in schools (Karrebaek, 2011; Durlak and Weissberg, 2007). For example, Karrebaek focused on the relationship between health and school food practices. Social learning is often bound by societal rules and regulations that are created by a community or culture (Sacks and Wolffe, 2006).

There is much confusion regarding the terms social skills and social learning. Social skills are the skills employed when interacting with other people at an interpersonal level (Hargie, 1986: 1). Kelly (1982) adds the dimension of learning by defining social skills as those identifiable, learned behaviours that individuals use during interpersonal situations to obtain or maintain reinforcement from their environment (Kelly, 1982: 3). Knowing how to behave in a variety of situations is part of a social skill. To help provide a lens for understanding social learning, it is imperative to have a definition for my study. In chapter two (see p. 62) I unpacked the terms social skills and came up with the term social learning to move forward in my research. Jyoti et al (2005) carried out a study on the impact of food insecurity on academic performance and define social learning in a way that allows for educational attainment to be measured. Osowski (2013) indicates that the school meal is a teaching occasion and this definition is used in the context of school dining halls. For Ahmed (2004) school meals were seen as allowing children to develop opportunities for learning in a social way. For me, social learning is about being part of a community and learning about the practical skills of eating and how to behave. Although, it is important to unpack how I came to this point.

I decided to adapt a definition of social skills that was originally introduced by Dalton (2004) who argues social skills are needed by all members of society. Dalton (2004) defines 'social' as society; concerned with mutual relations of human beings; living in organised communities', and 'skill' as 'expertness; practised ability' (Dalton, 2004: 14). The term social suggests that we need some rules by which to live if we are going to get on with those around us. The term skill suggests a measure of being an expert or of having practised something to the point of being expert (Dalton, 2004: 14). As a result, together the term social skills means being an expert at living according to the rules, which are essential for getting along well with others. In the context of my research, this definition is the most relevant. For the purpose of this study, I am defining 'social' as being part of an organised community (activity in the restaurant) and 'learning' as including skills which have to be practised (i.e. using a knife and fork) as well as knowing how to behave in a social context (i.e. good manners, politeness and modelling behaviour).

The following two themes are covered in this chapter: (1) what perceptions do teaching staff and non-teaching staff have of the restaurant? (2) what social learning occurred in the restaurant? These two ideas emerged from the data drawn from interviews, observations and documents such as poster displays. The data in this chapter presents an account of how staff thought they were developing social learning in pupils and explores the view of pupils' experience of the restaurant.

7.2 Perceptions of teaching staff and non-teaching staff

My findings indicated that what is considered to be social learning differs between teaching and non-teaching staff. Firstly, the view of teachers is presented and how they understand and interpret social learning. Secondly, data is drawn from non-teaching staff and how they understand and interpret social learning. In some of the data, teaching staff and non-teaching staff refer to it as 'social skills learning'. Therefore, some of the quotations use the phrase social skills rather than social learning. During my observations in the school restaurant, I noticed the divide between the teaching and non-teaching staff in terms of how they were interacting with pupils. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 13th November 2013*
> *12.25pm*
> *How come teaching staff seem to be doing more patrolling then interacting? I can see the non-teaching staff taking up more time with pupils, chatting away, mingling and grouping pupils in the restaurant [By grouping I mean ensuring they are seated by year group].*

Following this observation, I began to question staff understanding of social learning. It also led me to think about discipline as teaching staff were focused on organising the groups of pupils, whereas the non-teaching staff were socialising with pupils. Upon reflecting on the data collected, I noticed how the views of teaching staff and non-teaching staff on what they considered to be social learning differed. For this reason, I have organised the discussion by grouping teaching staff against non-teaching staff.

Teaching Staff

In this analysis the views of five teachers, two teaching assistants, pupil guidance leader, LRC leader, an assistant phase leader, senior behavioural leader and the school Principal are considered. These staff have a background in teaching. Based on the perceptions of teaching staff, this has been organised under three sub headings: (1) rules: structure and control (2) building relationships in groups (3) manners: moral development.

Rules: Structure and Control

The teaching staff frequently made links to rules and regulations in relation to the restaurant. Osowski et al (2013) identified three types of teachers who took part during the school lunch period and identified how it was the educational teacher who led the way for applying rules and procedures whilst interacting with pupils. The comment from assistant phase leader, Charlotte Barry describes how pupils were subject to time constraints during break and lunch periods. For example:

> *'Outside of the classroom? Well, it depends what context you mean? There are a lot of extra-curricular activities; there are a lot of clubs, and a lot of things to do, after school particularly. The social times we have here are quite short. We only have about 12 minutes break and 30 minutes lunch. So it's quite a short amount of time then that is literally a quick run around outside, so I think primarily, the movement around the school over lunch time is how pupils get time to interact'.*
> *Charlotte Barry – Assistant Phase Leader (Interview 11, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

The response from Charlotte links to issues of conformity, rules and regulations, which leads to questioning whether the restaurant has been created as a space for this monitoring to take place. Charlotte highlighted the structured and controlled nature of the break periods as they were short in duration. Her understanding of social learning was not reflective with the one set out by Dalton (2004) as Charlotte highlights how break time is restricted, i.e. pupil time, which means time for social learning is limited. She describes opportunities for movement around the school as an opportunity for social learning. For my study, social learning involves mutual relations of human

beings, living in organised communities and it is about being an expert at living, which is essential for getting along with others (Dalton, 2004).

In another example, I observed how the restaurant as a space was being monitored and controlled. For example:

> *Field notes*
> *10.25am*
> *Wednesday 13th November 2013*
> *'I have found the school very unique in the sense that the restaurant area is like nothing I have seen before in other schools. There is a level of monitoring and structure going on, but also a lot of integration with the whole school set up' [By this I meant that the school clearly thought through how to utilise space around the school, particularly in the corridors which looked more like learning spaces, not so distinct from a classroom set up, although I also saw how pupils were being monitored throughout the school day].*

When I walked around the school, I noticed how there were spaces for pupils to study outside of the classroom, in corridors and these looked as though they were conducive spaces for learning which is why I thought pupils had opportunities to integrate in the school. However, I also saw how staff controlled pupils throughout the school day and particularly during the lunch periods. This led me to question the purpose of the school restaurant and whether it was a platform for developing opportunities for social learning amongst pupils or about controlling their environment. Based on the evidence in the field note above, it can be argued that the restaurant is a space for monitoring and imposing rules.

In relation to being asked about what pupils are learning in the restaurant, assistant phase leader, Charlotte Barry discusses how to behave and conforming to rules. However, she talks about skills which involve using cutlery appropriately and lining up in queues and sitting down to eat properly. For example:

> *'Well its learning social skills, it's what they should or shouldn't be doing over a lunchtime period, you know how to line up, how to get to the till, how to behave responsibly, how to act with your peers'.*
> *Charlotte Barry – Assistant Phase Leader (Interview 11, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

Occasionally, I interrupted with follow up questions as it was important to clarify responses, particularly relating to social learning. I asked Charlotte a follow up question who then discussed the importance of instruction in terms of how to help pupils develop social learning in the school restaurant. In her response she talks about lining up, sitting down and learning by example:

> *'…by instruction and example, it's quite different here because we've got the years right from little so they sort of learn it you know the routine of the restaurant from a tiny little dot, lining up and waiting to go and then we've got them sitting down, we sit down, they sit down, and they're quite close to the older year, because we have a staggered lunch time, say for example we have a Year 5, 6 and 8 lunch, with younger pupils as well…how they behave, and even the change in the uniforms. The much older years, I think the Year 10 and 11 pupils are independent, I don't think they have younger kids in there, learn by example'.*
> *Charlotte Barry – Assistant Phase Leader (Interview 11, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

This response from Charlotte demonstrates how the restaurant allows pupils to learn how to behave and although I am asking about social learning, she is talking about instruction and learning by example. She makes the point that pupils learn from one another in the younger year groups. This is about the transitioning period between year groups. In schools, transition has been identified as an important factor in measuring underachievement (Ekins, 2013). More specifically, Charlotte talks about uniforms, routine, waiting, sitting down and a staggered lunch period. According to Charlotte, the restaurant allows pupils to learn from one another.

Teaching Assistant, Sanjeet Badesha describes his view on how learning is taking place, through being autonomous, behaving and practising social skills. For example:

> *'…I think just behaving, showing the way to communicate to people politely, properly you know in a bigger crowd…it gives a chance to…what's the right way. Show a true picture of yourself'.*
> *Sanjeet Badesha – Teaching Assistant (Interview 13, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

The ideas of behaviour and respect appear in the response from Sanjeet. It is difficult to link these terms to social learning. In this way behaviour is seen as

learning. The evidence from the definition by Osowski (2013), Dalton (2004) and Ahmed (2004) coupled with the view of social learning in this chapter suggests that actually learning how to behave is part of a skill that can be practised. Furthermore, teaching assistant, Sanjeet highlights a power relationship in the form of behaviour. He is referring to the idea of conformity as pupils are said to be behaving. As discussed by Saldana (2013), schools exercise strategies to ensure pupils are able to conform to the rules that shape the school and for my research, the restaurant is being used as a space for conformity.

English Teacher, Shaun Talbot also mentions the term 'behaviour' and particularly emphasises the idea of 'establishing patterns of behaviour', rather than referring to social learning. The question that was asked was related to social learning. In his view, Shaun talks about how pupils learn to interact and behave. For example:

> *'Some of the pupils have difficulty with socialisation and it's trying to get them and to gain established patterns of behaviour, establishing norms for how you should behave in certain situations. So apart from the formal academic side of learning, there are also other patterns of learning going on that feed into their normal learning because we find that some pupils, if they're below a certain level of socialisation, they can't access the learning anyway, because they don't know how to behave in the classroom, they don't know how to speak to adults, they don't know how to interact with children their own age, so it's all part of it…'*
> *Shaun Talbot – English Teacher (Interview 19, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

Shaun talks about socialisation as a concept but manages to latch on to key words including 'certain situations'; 'how to speak to adults', 'interaction' and 'establishing norms'. In schools, there is a growing emphasis on behaviour management meaning socialisation is perceived in a highly individualised and personalised form (Furedi, 2009: 19). Although, by socialisation I would like to believe that Shaun is talking about social learning. He also makes a reference to behaviour and 'patterns of learning' which differ from formal academic learning. He recognises the restaurant as a venue for social learning. The power relationship at play is the one of conformity and discipline, which is being exercised in a positive way (Saldana, 2013). This notion of norms and value

transmission involves using techniques of behaviour management and aligns with Shaun's perception and also offers a potential reason for his association of socialisation with the terms 'norms', 'interaction' and 'how to speak to adults'. For example:

> '…because we find that some pupils, if they're below a certain level of socialisation, they can't access the learning anyway, because they don't know how to behave in the classroom, they don't know how to speak to adults, they don't know how to interact with children their own age'.
> Shaun Talbot – English teacher (Interview 19, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

It appears that Shaun confuses socialisation with social learning. He makes links to how pupils need to learn certain patterns of behaviour dependent on the situation in which they find themselves. Other research argues that, ultimately teachers are responsible for the pupils' welfare, which includes their physical, emotional and social wellbeing (McCulloch and Crook, 2008: 453). Shaun has a good understanding about social learning and he demonstrates the importance of pupils needing to learn about the eating behaviours which are bound by rules.

Building relationships in groups

The data analysis identified staff associating the restaurant as a place for building relationships. Shaun discusses how bonding between staff and pupils takes place through sociable conversations, before and after lessons. It is useful to consider whether the views of Shaun on social learning is a more expansive one. For example:

> '…sociable conversations, nothing to do with work, so that's an opportunity to see people and that building up relationships really helps, so preschool and after school that helps bonding between staff and pupils'.
> Shaun Talbot – English Teacher (Interview 19, Wednesday 26th March 2014)

The perspective of Shaun Talbot is a significant one as he offers an in-depth view of social learning. He makes a reference to 'sociable conversations' and it is useful to consider one view of how a sociable conversation is interpreted. For

Simmel (1950) in a sociable conversation the topic is not important but it is about developing a charm and attraction for talk.

Year 7 teacher, Rachel Jones describes how pupils are not just learning about developing relationships, but also about looking after their own wellbeing. It is useful to draw on the idea of a whole-school approach which was identified as a way to address pupil wellbeing and the approach was to promote pupil connectedness (Banerjee, 2010). For example:

> *'…there are social skills clubs, even relationships with staff are promoted, in terms of greeting each other in corridors, and discussing things, not just about the pupil as learning but everything about the pupil making sure that their wellbeing is at the forefront which has an impact on their education…'*
> *Rachel Jones – Year 7 Nurture Teacher (Interview 17, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

Rachel identifies the importance of developing relationships in order to learn social skills. I also observed how pupils were developing relationships when conversing in groups. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Monday 28th October 2013*
> *12.52pm*
> *There are a number of Year 7 pupils chatting away and acknowledging the group sitting opposite them which I've identified as a group of Year 9 pupils [Although different Year groups are in at the same time, they are still divided by Year group and seated accordingly]. It is interesting to note how the Year 9 pupils have also come in closer together and chatting away and the Year 7 pupils are now also talking about football. Is this a common interest area? Or is this an opportunity to develop social learning through conversation?*

The topic of conversation which I observed plays a huge role in bringing pupils together; as the topic of football is a shared interest as recorded in the field note above. Based on Ahmed's (2004) view, school meals are seen as allowing children to develop in a social way. It could be argued that the school restaurant is the space in which they are able to have a dialogue. For instance, if this conversation were to take place in the playground, it would be interesting to consider whether the conversation would last as long or whether it be overtaken

by more physical activity. Although pupils do not necessarily have to sit together, it is the common ground upon which they become connected that they are able to interact and converse. It could be argued that the restaurant encouraged for pupils to share these types of discussions which lead to social learning.

Academic Maths Coach, Roy Piston talks about relationships and provides another view of social learning. His perception is based on a comparative view of other schools, although he does not provide any specific examples of how other schools operate. He describes the relationship between pupils and staff and suggests that it is not so formal and how they consume lunch together. It is said that pupils and staff who dine together are able to develop their social skills and behaviour (DfE, 2007). Roy Piston draws on his ideas in the example below:

> *'…I find that relationships between students and staff there's a divide usually, you know the students talk to the staff and the staff talk to the students. It's much more easy going here, I will certainly stop to say hello to any students I come across. Sometimes we sit together and have lunch, teachers and students will sit downstairs and have lunch together'.*
> *Roy Piston – Academic Coach Maths (Interview 18, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

Staff are modelling how to build relationships in this example above. Roy Piston was not able to elaborate with specific examples and therefore did not offer any depth in his view of social learning.

Teaching Assistant, Tammy Smith shares a similar view to Roy but describes how pupils are able to use the restaurant to sit together in groups. School food is said to bring groups of pupils together and create an opportunity for them to socialise (Stevens et al, 2008). She describes how pupils use the restaurant to learn how to be part of a group and makes reference to social learning. For example:

> *'They're learning how to be part of groups, they tend to sit with their friends, and the social skills are there'.*
> *Tammy Smith – Teaching Assistant (Interview 4, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

For Tammy, pupils are learning to work with one another in a group setting and states how pupils tend to sit with friends but does point out how social learning is taking place in this situation.

Year 7 nurture teacher, Rachel Jones highlights how conversations that take place between staff and pupils lead to relationship building where these groups are able to mix together in the restaurant. For example:

> *'…conversations between staff and pupils, and the fact that staff and pupils mix together, sometimes you'll get groups of staff sitting together, but quite often you'll see staff integrating together, with the children….modelling the social skills of the general how's the day gone and what have you been up to, what you doing tonight? I think that helps them quite a lot, compared to literally across the road where staff don't interact with pupils'.*
> *Rachel Jones – Year 7 Nurture Teacher (Interview 17, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

Rachel was referring to the primary school across the road, although she did not explicitly say which school she was referring to in the response. Furthermore, she did not mention visiting the primary school. There seems to be a tendency to compare to the school across the road. She seems to have only a partial understanding of what social learning entails. She makes associations to modelling behaviour when talking about social skills or social learning. It is interesting to consider why Rachel perceives social learning in this way. Her implicit if partial understanding is confirmed by the work of Hendy and Raudenbush (2000) who found associations between teacher modelling as being one of the most effective methods of encouraging food acceptance in children.

Manners: Moral Development

Another common theme that emerged from the data analysis was about table manners and moral development. It is about recognising the importance of

teaching pupils about how to behave at meal time whilst modelling good eating behaviours as discussed by Birch (1980) and Eliassen (2011). In this example below, one teacher points out how saying 'please' when in the restaurant is a form of social learning. For example:

Field Notes
Wednesday 25th *September 2013*
12.15pm
Pupils are also correcting one another around the table, e.g. "Pass me the water…", "Say please!" Pupils are also analysing their puddings [Just comparing with one another, saying hmmm, mine looks nicer than yours]. A Year 6 pupil has been asked by a female member of staff to return to his side of the restaurant as this section belongs to Year 8 pupils.
Staff (teacher) – "See…that is a social skill!" (Looking in my direction)

In the example above, pupils are in discussions which link to manners in a number of ways. By commenting on each other's puddings, they are exercising positive eating behaviours. More specifically, this links to the work by Rahim et al (2012) and Eliassen (2011) who make links between school food and manners in terms of how pupils are able to exercise good manners during meal time. This teachers' knowledge of my research and how I am concerned with social learning also begins to surface as she looks towards me for reassurance. Therefore, this piece of data indicates that manners, including please and thank you, are understood by this teacher as a form of social learning.

The response from science teacher, Vidor Nootan below offers another view of social learning. In this case, he talks about the displays on the wall; respect and forgiveness as forms of moral development. It is useful to consider changes to the school dining environment which were discussed by Rudd et al (2008), who found that pupils responded positively to changes to the dining environment which included changes to the aesthetics. The study by Rudd et al (2008) considered the views of pupils before and after the renovations. There is something to be said about the wall displays in the school restaurant at Peartree Academy and links between social learning and wall displays are made by Vidor Nootan in support of this notion. For example:

> *'…they can learn social skills…which are also displayed on the walls. You've got posters, when they're eating, most time, they're facing the dinner ladies or dinner men, whoever is serving, they've got stuff to read around to do with respecting you know, forgiveness and they can read around that area [Unsure whether there will be any further evidence which will allow me to evidence pupils actually reading these posters]'.*
> *Vidor Nootan – Science Teacher (Interview 20, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

Vidor assumes that the pupils actually read the posters and did not simply see them as wallpaper. During my time at the school, I did not notice these posters ever changing and I did not hear staff encouraging pupils to read them; or at least I do not have any record of them doing so. While the intentions of the school may have been to encourage moral and social development through the poster displays, my evidence does not support this as an effective approach. My data demonstrates that active modelling of behaviour was a more appropriate position in terms of social learning.

The Principal, Philippa Davids discusses a number of factors in relation to social learning in the school restaurant, but here, she presents a similar response to that of the Deputy Principal who also talks about manners and moral development synonymously with social learning. The Principal describes the responses of visitors to the school and the manners pupils display when visitors are present. For example:

> *'…well we all know that skills around even using a knife and fork, manners, developing healthy eating skills, developing social skills…I have lots of visitors to this academy, and I can tell you now that visitors that come from outstanding schools tell me, that our Year 10 and 11 in particular are exceptional in their manners, they can sit there for a good 20 to 25 minutes and they are impeccably well behaved because they've learnt how to use social time in that way. I think whatever we're thrown in teaching people manners, in teaching people everything, in that restaurant at lunch time, it serves up every opportunity…'*
> *Philippa Davids – Principal (Interview 25, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

The Principal is talking about manners and how visitors perceive the view of the restaurant. The point that she is describing 'exceptional manners' as being able to sit in the restaurant for twenty to twenty-five minutes, whilst using a knife and

fork properly suggests that firstly pupils are learning how to behave, but it also highlights a power relationship. The argument she presents does have value but it is also due in parts to disciplinary pupil behaviour. She refers to skills pupils acquire, making reference to pupils leaning about manners. The Principal suggests that pupils are being controlled in their environment. By discipline, I am referring to the mechanism of power which regulates the behaviour of pupils (O'Farrell, 2005).

Pupil guidance leader, Marilyn Huston describes how pupils are learning about social skills, manners and also how to eat. She discusses how she encourages pupils to help them develop autonomy. This is about developing positive eating behaviour as discussed by Eliassen (2011). Marilyn Huston provides her perception of how pupils are using the restaurant for social learning in this way. For example:

> '…they're learning social skills…also manners, and eating skills cutting up food and just general table manners…I'm in charge of a team of midday supervisors, and I always encourage them to show how to set a good example to the children. I always encourage them to help them with the food but to encourage the children to do it for themselves, help them learn...'
> Marilyn Huston – Pupil Guidance Leader (Interview 7, Wednesday 9th February 2014)

She highlights how pupils are encouraged by midday supervisors to set good examples, particularly in terms of food choices and table manners. This is also discussed by Eliassen (2011), who links eating behaviour to role modelling.

Head of English, Carol Busher describes how pupils are learning about the social skills of eating and using cutlery appropriately. For example:

> '…I think they learn the social skills of eating together, sitting at a table, using the cutlery, that kind of thing, eating proper food, eating a rounded meal, which many children in lots of walks of life but particularly some of our pupils who haven't had a meal at home, they don't necessarily sit at the table, and eat as a family'.
> Carol Busher – Head of English (Interview 16, Wednesday 26th March 2014)

Carol Busher also mentions how some pupils do not have the opportunity to eat together at home, but does not elaborate. Carol assumes that pupils are not eating together at home which links to the work of Bergh (2014) who identifies with the importance of trying to create an environment which is similar to the home.

Deputy Principal, James Clueton identifies how pupils are able to learn how to use the right cutlery. He pointed to meal time experiences for some of the pupils who he claimed did not have access to a 'proper meal'. Janhonen et al (2013) provided one view of a proper meal, which was considered as structural and most common when describing meals for the family. James Clueton identified how pupils were using lollipop sticks to pick up the chicken breast instead of using a fork. For example:

> *'…early on I saw some kids, 12, 13 year olds, with a chicken breast with a fork and lollipop stick because they're not used to using a knife and fork…so all those are good things because we get a lot that, they don't have tables at home, get them to sit around a table and actually have proper home cooked meal…'*
> James Clueton –Deputy Principal Finance and Resources (Interview 21, Wednesday 26th March 2014)

According to James Clueton, pupils did not always have access to a dining table at home and were not familiar with how to use a knife and fork. Whilst it is difficult to find evidence to support his claim, he does identify with the school restaurant as a space for interacting, although cutlery skills in children have been identified as a problem area (Piercy, 2008).

Senior Behavioural Leader, Lindon Murray was also in agreement with James Clueton and highlights how some of the older pupils often struggle with using cutlery. It is said that with the shift towards a fast food culture, children have not been able to develop cutlery skills (Piercy, 2008). Lindon Murray draws on his experience of how this is affecting pupils. For example:

'We've got some pupils in Year 10 who aren't sure how to use a knife and fork'.
Lindon Murray – Senior Behaviour Leader (Whole-school, Interview 5, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

Assistant Principal, Lucy Tyler also describes how pupils struggled to use cutlery and points out how the school spent a considerable amount of time teaching pupils about table manners, prior to her appointment at the school. For example:

'…before I came they spent a lot of time actually teaching children to have those table manners really and a lot of the children weren't able to use knives and forks properly'.
Lucy Tyler – Assistant Principal, Phase 1 (Interview 6, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

Therefore, there is evidence to suggest that pupils are learning the very basic skill of how to use cutlery in the school restaurant. This emphasises the importance of the role of food in education (Kaklamanou et al, 2012).

Assistant Principal, Lucy Tyler discusses how pupils are learning about politeness and presented with opportunities to make healthy food choices. Andersen et al (2016) highlight how children's food choices are affected by the way in which the food environment has been developed. Lucy Tyler describes how the restaurant allows for the opportunity of sharing food together. For example:

'…I think through the restaurant and through the opportunity to share food. I know at the beginning it was a real focus for the academy, so there was a really big focus…encouraging them to be polite really and social to each other at the table and then we have lunch time supervisors as well who again just make sure children are making good choices with their food, finishing their lunch and just sorting out any issues that they're having over the lunch table'.
Lucy Tyler – Assistant Principal, Phase 1 (Interview 6, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

This point illustrates how the restaurant encourages pupils to be polite and social although this is not described any further. Lucy identifies how lunch time

supervisors ensure pupils are making good food choices whilst encouraging them to be polite.

Senior Behaviour Leader, Lindon Murray discusses how pupils are able to learn about what is acceptable behaviour and social cues, particularly how manners are being acquired. For example:

> *'Well like I said, I think, you touched on it earlier, the key social cues that they may not already have, so it's that wider life skill learning you know, the social cues, what's acceptable in a restaurant, what's acceptable around a dinner table, how you conduct yourself around other people when you're eating you know…they're key social skills that everybody needs. And also then you are teaching them about different foods and what, it's an opportunity to you know say why you should eat this food and model these behaviours'.*
> *Lindon Murray – Senior Behaviour Leader (Whole-school, Interview 5, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

He also draws on the importance of teaching pupils about how to behave during meal time and modelling eating behaviours (Birch, 1980; Eliassen 2011). He makes links with what to eat as well as how to eat as important factors all contributing to a healthy school experience. Lindon identifies the responsibility of both staff and pupils, who are in a position of modelling social behaviour by eating with each other, minimising behavioural difficulties whilst developing opportunities to interact in a social way.

Pupil guidance leader, Marilyn Huston highlighted the importance of politeness, manners, walking sensibly and following the rules. Whilst this is also about positive behaviour, it is the disciplinary actions that are being implemented. For example:

> *'… just talking to their peers as well as the adults in a polite manner, not just shouting across, talking in small groups, being polite to adults and listening, doing as they're asked, walking sensibly.*
> *Marilyn Huston – Pupil Guidance Leader (Interview 7, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

The Learning Resource Centre (LRC) leader, Rochelle Sinclair discusses social learning but links to the difference between 'right' and 'wrong'. It is known that

most schools now operate with the assumption that teachers are able to take on the role of the parent in order to teach them about values (Aspin et al, 2007: 48). For example:

> '…it's a lot down to social skills in the restaurant, what sort of table etiquette, what's right what's wrong'.
> Rochelle Sinclair – LRC leader (*Interview 10, Wednesday 19th February 2014*)

There are two lines of argument in what is said by Rochelle. Firstly, that the restaurant is a place where social learning takes place in the form of learning about 'table etiquette', but then, secondly she makes the link to right and wrong. The evidence above suggests that Rochelle is interested in the moral development of pupils and refers to this as a form of social learning. It is about 'expertness' and the ability to get along with other pupils in the school restaurant. Dalton (2004) describes how this expertness emerges through practised ability and Rochelle highlights this when talking about achieving independence in pupils.

Overall, it is evident that staff perceive social learning in different ways. The correlations gleaned from this section highlight the perceptions of the teaching staff. When discussing social learning, teaching staff seem to be referring to three common themes, which include rules, conformity and manners. Therefore, rather than talking about pedagogy, teaching staff seem to be predominantly concerned with monitoring behaviour and rules. The next part provides an account of how non-teaching staff perceive social learning.

Non-teaching staff

In this section the views of an exams officer, a catering manager, a midday supervisor and LRC leader are presented. I discovered that both the exams officer and LRC leader did not hold formal teaching qualifications. The reason why responses from these individuals have been included is due to their closeness to the school restaurant in terms of their daily roles. Based on the perceptions of non – teaching staff, this has been organised under three sub

headings: (1) manners: dining etiquette (2) control: a safe environment (3) communicating together.

Manners: Dining etiquette

Meal times are said to be particularly important for children so that they can be taught to eat correctly whilst using good table manners and making use of cutlery properly. This is said to help children to develop confidence in any type of environment with a food setting (O'Sullivan, 2015). Lomax (1999) identifies the school meal experience as a special communal space and time of day for sharing, which includes placing importance on table manners, conversation, togetherness and community.

The catering manager describes her view of how pupils learn to adapt to the rules of etiquette in the school restaurant. For example:

> *'Even from 3 years old, we decided, that plates would get broken, but then their learning on a plate from the word go, you know and it was a good thing. And the little ones, well I thought they wouldn't be able to carry food…but yes they can, they'd line up just like everyone else to go to a separate hall, place'.*
> *Lana Masey – Catering Manager, 44 (Interview 1, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

The example below from my field notes highlights an interaction between a non-teaching staff member and pupil, which tends to focus on instruction via the use of a knife and fork:

> *Field Notes*
> *Day 1*
> *Wednesday 25th September 2013*
> *12.30pm*
>
> *One member of staff, who is sitting next to a pupil, is explaining how to use a knife and fork.*
> *Staff – "The fork is held in the left hand with the knife in the right!"*
> *Pupil – "Oh, are you sure?"*
> *Staff – "Look at him over there" [staff member points to another staff member].*

In this example the member of staff is providing instructions for the pupil in the

school restaurant and this is evidence of an observation where I was able to capture one type of social interaction between pupil and staff. Rahim et al (2012) carried out an investigation on school meals and found that parents were particularly keen for pupils to develop social skills, table manners and dining etiquette. The example from the field note above involves a more competent individual, showing how to perform a specific task to a pupil.

Catering manager, Lana Masey, points out how some of the pupils lack an awareness of how to handle cutlery being in the restaurant. For example:

> *'The social skills, I think from our point of view basically, in the dining room, where from the word go, we wanted it to make it homely, we wanted to put flowers on the tables, we wanted to make it bright and open to encourage people to come into it, to do meetings, which was the main focus. Basically, a lot of children were not aware of how to use a knife and fork…'*
> *Lana Masey – Catering manager (Interview 1, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

She has a particular view about what is meant by social learning and social skills. She suggests it is about creating a community space. A space that is homely and welcoming and will encourage children to learn simple tasks. Therefore, based on Lana's view, the restaurant allows for social learning to take place through the teaching of practical skills.

Control: A safe environment

The LRC leader made links to school meals and the need for a safe and controlled environment. Lomax argues how time spent in the school dining area is a time for interaction, sociability and self-discipline (Lomax, 1999). This creates a sense of belonging where pupils feel safe, yet controlled so that behaviour can be monitored and pupils are able to have a structured day. In addition to this, Ahmed (2004) argues that social skills or social learning involves allowing pupils to develop in a social way, with the school meal experience being instrumental in potentially allowing for this to happen. For example:

> *'…breakfast, it's one of the important meals of the day, often our pupils come in to school without having had anything to eat and then*

expecting them to work and concentrate, they were expecting too much of them. So, providing that breakfast and for them to have something to eat, and also, you know a lot of them have been kicked out the house early on, and if their parents work, it is somewhere safe and warm for them to go as well, which also gives them structure'.
Rochelle Sinclair – LRC leader (Learning Resource Centre, Interview 10, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

Rochelle talks about the restaurant as an environment in which pupils can be safe and secure and nurtured. Rochelle also makes a link between breakfast and learning. She suggests that pupils cannot be expected to work and concentrate if they are hungry. Greaves et al (2016) point out how school food is one of the ways in which learning is influenced. This view is further supported by the work of Stevens et al (2008) who found a link between school breakfast and how it helped pupils achieve better academic results. In addition to this Benn and Carlsson (2014) evaluated the effects of FSM intervention and saw how this had an effect on pupils learning outcomes.

Year 7 teacher, Sheila Harris suggests that the restaurant is a safe environment for pupils to socialise with peers, whilst eating breakfast. It is said that children have an important role in healthy school initiatives, such as the food provided in the school canteen, which is said to be a clean and safe physical environment (Taylor et al, 2012). For Sheila, pupils are able to come to the restaurant, but this is separated from the 'learning environment', which I infer to be the classroom. Therefore, Sheila does not see the restaurant as a formal learning environment, but does see it as a safe environment for developing friendships. For example:

'…where they can come to a safe environment before learning [classroom], chat to their friends while they're having breakfast…I do think that's a really big bonus'.
Sheila Harris – Year 7 Teacher (All subjects, Interview 24, Wednesday 26th March 2014)

Sheila states that the time spent before learning is a 'big bonus' for pupils and she relates specifically to the period before the morning lesson and by using the

terms safe environment, she is suggesting that the restaurant is a controlled space in which pupils are able to develop social learning opportunities.

Communicating together

The exams officer identifies the relationship between learning, social skills and behaviour. She talks about the importance of developing autonomy in pupils through communication, although I had to probe to get her to explain what she meant by 'develop social skills'. For example:

> *'Well again it's the social skills, they're learning how to develop those and…'*
>
> *'…well learning to work and communicate with peers that are older than them or adults how to behave independently, how to get their own meals'.*
> *Tammy Reynolds, Exams Officer (Interview 8, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

The response from Tammy above suggests that she has a better grasp of social learning compared to the teaching staff. To an extent, it can be argued she does as teaching staff neglect any mention of the idea of independence and personal development. For Flutter and Rudduck (2004: 133), it is important to recognise and respect pupils' need for autonomy in learning and instil them with a sense of independence. There seems to be a contrast between how teaching staff understand social learning compared with the non-teaching staff. Midday Supervisor, Shonda Peters also discusses communication and how it plays a role in shaping opportunities for learning. For example:

> '…yeah it's good, they're learning about communicating together in the restaurant by sitting with each other, whether they are 10 or 14 years old'.
> (Shonda Peters, Midday Supervisor and Parent, Interview 34)

The non-teaching staff make reference to communicating together, dining etiquette, manners and control in the school restaurant. Whilst teaching staff also make reference to these areas, they tend to focus predominantly on rules and regulations. On balance, it is the non-teaching staff who appear to have a better understanding of social learning and are ultimately the group that are

173

seen to be ironically teaching pupils specific skills and encouraging social learning. However, teaching staff do not appear to be as knowledgeable as the non-teaching staff with regards to social learning. There seems to be some discrepancies in their understanding of social learning. Furthermore, when I ask teaching staff about social learning, they refer to rules, working together and manners, linking closely to behaviour. Whilst Dalton (2004) would argue that rules are important in getting along with others in society, the restaurant as a space for developing social skills could be a good pedagogical learning opportunity. However, some of it is being missed because the staff do not understand what sort of social learning could be encouraged.

7.3 What social learning occurred in the school restaurant?

Learning spaces are defined as non-discipline specific spaces visited by both staff and pupils for self-directed learning activities, which are commonly within and outside of library spaces (Harrop and Turpin, 2013).

The idea of learning spaces has been studied in connection with learning outcomes (Kuuskorpi and Gonzalez, 2011; Nair and Gehling, 2008; Durlak and Welssberg, 2007; Burke, 2005). According to the OECD (2006) educational space is physical and supports multiple and diverse teaching and learning programmes and pedagogies; a place which encourages social participation. The learning space in question relates to the school restaurant. Burke (2005) discussed the role of the school meal as a place for informal learning, which she termed as the 'edible landscape of school'; a place and time of day associated with the consumption of food and drink (Burke, 2005: 573). This is the notion that informal learning opportunities are being presented in areas of the school other than the classroom.

The relationship between the pupil and the meal is embedded in the everyday life of the school. According to Benn and Carlsson (2014) it can be an occasion for relaxation and informal learning through the meal experience; it can also be a more organised and structured aspect of the school day. This discussion is made up of two segments: (1) staff and (2) pupils.

Staff

This part presents the views of the following staff who discuss what pupils are learning in the school restaurant: five teachers, two pupil guidance leaders, a teaching assistant, a senior behavioural leader, a catering manager, an assistant Principal and the Deputy Principal. This has been split into five segments: (1) socialising and interaction (2) a space for group teaching (3) food choices: 'knowledge' (4) practical learning via coaching (5) patrolling, controlling and setting the standards.

Socialising and interaction

The data analysis highlighted the following terms; 'socialising' and 'interacting'. By this I mean the restaurant is seen as a potential space for allowing pupils to interact together with various year groups. As discussed by Filho and Kovaleva (2014), the idea of a pedagogic meal aims to give children and teachers the chance to interact. Year 7 Teacher, Michaela Perry, presents an account of how the school restaurant is used as a space to allow pupils to mix together, particularly during break and lunch time. For example:

> '…I think during break time and lunch time obviously they're encouraged to mix in kind of communal areas rather than find little cubby holes to hide away and then outside which is monitored by staff. I think that improves interaction'.
> Michaela Perry – English Teacher Phase 2/3 (Interview 15, Wednesday 26th March 2014)

English teacher, Michaela Perry also makes the point of pupils being encouraged to interact in communal areas rather than find little cubby holes to hide away and she then states how pupils are monitored outside by staff. From this, it seems the staff are encouraging pupils to use the restaurant but there is a power relationship as all pupils do not necessarily want to be using the space, but the reason for not wanting to use the space is not clear. The school meal is known to have different types of stigma attached to it, one of which includes take up of FSMs as pupils do not always like the association (Storey and Chamberlain, 2001). The more apparent power relationship identified in the response by Michaela is where she refers to the monitoring of pupils taking place by staff.

Year 7 Teacher, Simon Woolley describes the school meal as a social occasion which allows for sharing to take place and he discusses how opportunities are presented for interacting and sharing meal experiences. It is said that in contrast to the classroom environment, the school dining hall offers a period of non instructional time that pupils view as a much more flexible social occasion (McCullough and Hardin, 2013: 176). In the example below, Simon describes how pupils are learning to interact with each other:

> *'… well they're learning how to interact with each other, that's the main thing, they're learning how to sit down in a social occasion and share an event like a meal, it's the only time they sit down and have a meal and actually do sit down and share a meal with others because for whatever reason, that might not be happening at home. So I think the social aspect of sitting down together in a group and also because we don't have a separate staff dining room or you know an area like that. You'll often find members of staff siting with the children as well, and it's a good way to build and form relationships sometimes, if you find it tricky inside the classroom'.*
> *Simon Woolley – Year 7 Teacher (All Subjects, Interview 22, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

In this example, Simon discusses the importance of the social aspect of the school meal as discussed by McCullough and Hardin (2013). Simon identifies how the restaurant is being used as a social learning area and said that the main idea behind the development of the restaurant is for pupils to sit down in a social occasion and share a meal. Benn and Carlsson (2014: 25) discussed how the meal was the most communal human act and that the arrangement of a communal meal is part of a cultural and social lesson. For Delormier et al (2009), eating should be considered as a social practice as opposed to an act of behaviour. Furthermore, Simon also emphasises how there is no separate dining hall for staff who also sit with the children and points out how the restaurant is a good way of building relationships. Pupils are learning about interacting and socialising with both peers and staff in the restaurant according to the views of both Michaela Perry and Simon Woolley.

A space for group teaching

Another theme that emerged from the data collection was the emphasis on the school restaurant as a space for group teaching. As discussed by Wills et al

(2015), the dining hall is increasingly becoming known as both a space for teaching and dining. English teacher, Shaun Talbot describes how the restaurant is a useful platform for teaching pupils, referring to it as a 'learning area' and a place where informal learning can take place. For example:

> '…the restaurant is used as a learning area as well, so I teach there…for a number of lessons every week and also see a lot of teachers doing similar things. The learning area, sometimes EAL other times with English pupils doing work. I see a lot of teachers doing that and its formal academic teaching but it's also being together and being sociable and eating together, they are learning other things, they are learning social skills and I think that's one of the main drivers to creating the restaurant to allow them to be socialised.
> Shaun Talbot – English Teacher (Interview 19, Wednesday 26th March 2014)

In his response, Shaun Talbot identifies how he is using the restaurant as a formal and informal way to teach pupils and placing an emphasis on being sociable. He teaches in the restaurant for a number of lessons but pupils are allowed to be sociable and eat together. Shaun highlights the importance of the restaurant as a formal and informal learning space, by suggesting that pupils are learning other things whilst eating together and highlights how the restaurant functions as the space to allow pupils to be socialised. This is supported by Osowski (2013) who states how the school meal is another teaching occasion. Furthermore, Dimbleby and Vincent (2013) support the notion that the school dining hall is an informal space in which the whole school are able to come together.

The Deputy Principal for Behaviour and Safety, Alan Wilkinson discusses how the restaurant creates an almost a 'naturalistic learning' opportunity for pupils to interact with one another in a group. For example:

> '…they get obviously what I call a natural opportunity with their friends, they're in the restaurant with their friends, in any kind of new group situation, all kind of together and have that interaction …there are some success activities designed to go on to encourage sometimes there run by people who have got skills in that area, they'll patrol that environment'.
> Alan Wilkinson – Deputy Principal Behaviour and Safety (Interview 26, Thursday 19th June 2014)

Alan Wilkinson suggests that the restaurant allows for pupils to develop what he terms a 'natural' opportunity to develop friendships. The restaurant has the potential to create certain learning opportunities for social learning to take place which is also about getting to know new peer groups. The second point Alan identifies is how the restaurant is managed by staff who have a particular skill set and those are the staff members who patrol the restaurant.

Teaching Assistant, Tara Sanders discusses how pupils are presented with opportunities to socialise in the restaurant and learn to become part of groups. For example:

> *'…we do loads of after school clubs, there's loads of ways to get together, more social side of skills is the restaurant, it's our main port of call, so everyone mingles in there, and they're allowed their phones out and the school with the WIFI, they're learning how to be part of groups, they tend to sit with their friends, and the social skills are there'.*
> *Tara Sanders – Phase 3 Teaching Assistant (Interview 14, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

Tara highlights how internet access is available for pupils and that this provides them with opportunities to learn in groups. She mentions the importance of learning to be part of a group and that this is encouraged by being allowed to use their mobile phones. This is essentially another rule as pupils are only allowed to use their mobile phones at particular times. Learning about being part of a group is about knowing when to be a contributor and when to take the leading role, whilst listening to others' opinions (Arnoff and Wilson, 2014).

Therefore, Alan Wilkinson, Shaun Talbot and Tara Sanders recognise the school restaurant as a space for teaching which takes place through formal group work in terms of teaching and also establishing new groups of friends on an informal way which links back to social learning.

Food choices: 'Knowledge'
The teaching staff highlighted the importance of food choices and this was a theme which emerged from the data analysis. It is about building knowledge and good food choices in the restaurant, whether that involves the food itself or

how to behave when eating. For Roberts and Marvin (2011), children's knowledge towards healthy eating has an impact on their food choices and attitudes to food. Assistant Principal, Lucy Tyler emphasises how food is used as an avenue to teach pupils how to make good food choices. For example:

> '…I think things have improved in the children, social skills have improved, there's not as much of a need but it's still there as an opportunity…a lot of the children, it's surprising how hungry they are when they come in and...It's great to have it there because often if a child is having any issues one of the first things we'll say is do you need something to eat?'
> Lucy Tyler – Assistant Principal, Phase 1 (Interview 6, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

For Lucy, the restaurant allows for social learning opportunities to take place and also states how staff prioritise asking pupils for food. Lucy makes an assumption that parents are also making poor food choices which lead to children taking on these eating behaviours. This notion is supported by Eliassen (2011) who identified how families were seen as children's first important role models of eating behaviour.

Lucy describes her experiences of how the restaurant promotes certain opportunities, including the encouragement from staff to be polite and socialise with one another around the dining table. She also describes her view on how the restaurant brings about opportunities in making food choices and building knowledge. Food choices are also discussed by Hamilton-Ekeke and Thomas (2007) who point to education as playing a key role to changing the attitudes and behaviour of children in order for them to make good food choices. Lucy also distinguishes between 'structured time' and 'unstructured time' which is the move from the classroom to either the restaurant, play ground or other parts of the school. She introduces the role of the lunch time supervisors, who are there to intervene with potential issues amongst pupils. For example:

> 'They're learning about healthy food choices… they're learning to be sociable with each other, there is often a lot of disagreements in the restaurant, but the minute you go out of that structured time from the classroom and you move into the unstructured time, as teachers we have to spend a lot of adult resources, getting the children to walk down… sensibly and…come back up sensibly… when the lunch time

179

supervisors come in and the teachers leave, so there's a lot of them learning to work with different adults, learning to be respectful, to an adult that's not their teacher'.
Lucy Tyler – Assistant Principal, Phase 1 (Interview 6, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

She describes how the lunchtime supervisors take over in place of the teachers and points out how opportunities are created for pupils to interact with various members of staff. She differentiates between learning to work with an adult who is not their teacher and learning to be respectful. She describes how pupils are able to interact with adults in the school restaurant. She talks about making healthy food choices, structure, walking sensibly which is also discussed by Hamilton-Ekeke and Thomas (2007). This was observed in my field notes. For example:

> *Field Note*
> *Day 1*
> *Wednesday 25th September 2013*
> *12.30pm*
> *Pupils seem to be well mannered, as they walk through the restaurant, asking to be excused as they pass by the pupils [This is something I noticed quite regularly, pupils seemed to have respect for the space outside the classroom].*

In the example from my field notes above, pupils are behaving appropriately in the restaurant whilst exercising good manners so pupils seem to have respect for the space outside of the classroom. Therefore, in this view the school restaurant had been created in a way that meant pupils would respect the space. Rudd et al (2008) also considered the school dining space and highlighting how pupils reacted positively to changes made to the dining hall when questioned before and after the renovation. However, when pupils were standing in queues, I observed something quite different. For example:

> *Field Note*
> *Day 1*
> *Wednesday 25th September 2013*
> *12.45pm*
> *Pupils begin taking out frustrations, using foul language to vent on route to the buffet, specifically, Year 9 pupils. The pupil finishes her comments with "Excuse my language!" [So the pupil recognising that using bad language is breaking the rules of the restaurant].*

Lucy is talking about getting pupils to walk sensibly which is about appropriate behaviour. This field note above highlights one example of how bad manners and bad choices are still in evidence.

Inclusion Leader, Debbie Mander makes reference to how pupils are trained how to use a knife and fork; a similar response to the one set out by the Deputy Principal and Senior Behavioural Leader. This is about attitudes and behaviours towards eating habits which is discussed by Roberts and Marvin (2011). Debbie Mander also suggests that certain foods are not prohibited in the school restaurant. For example:

> '…They're told how to use a knife and fork, all those that bring in their lunch box, it has to be a healthy lunch box, no sweets are allowed in there and no fizzy pop and if that's seen they'll just confiscate it straight away'.
> Debbie Mander – Phase 1 Inclusion Leader (Interview 9, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

Debbie Mander draws on the rules and regulations set out by the school on what pupils are allowed to bring in their school lunch boxes. This is about teaching them and their parents to make good food choices. While, it could be argued that pupils are encouraged to eat healthy food, it might also be argued that pupils are just doing what they are told, to avoid getting into trouble. They are not necessarily learning why sweets and fizzy pop are not healthy food choices (Leahy and Pike, 2012).

Practical learning via coaching

In a response from the catering manager, she draws on the pedagogical approaches in terms of teaching methodologies, taking a reflective approach in trialling strategies to integrate food, learning and the space within which the activity is carried out. She introduced the context through storytelling and it was this narrative that enabled pupils to engage and taste new foods whilst making use of the restaurant to learn. Furthermore, Lana also talks about how food production is about developing pupils' knowledge about food in a practical way through coaching. For example:

'…I tell you what we do…I do every first term where I have the children come in and they all learn about our job. And last week was my job… they come in, I used to talk in the classroom, but I found they wanted to see what was going on, so what they do now is they come in, one in the morning, one class, this is the 5 year olds, it was really successful, they see the food production, I introduce them to everybody, show the children what they're making and then in the afternoon we do cakes, and then we show them that and we go to the table with little questions and then we have a sample of what we made, then we made flapjack, cookies and they love doing that. I also do another one where they're learning about the story goldilocks and the three bears, so I make them porridge and then we talk about the story of goldilocks and how it works. You know the sort of things to introduce different things'.
Lana Masey, Catering Manager, 44 (Interview 1, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

Lana highlights how pupils are able to learn to cook and participate in a question and answer activity around the table in the school restaurant. Adopting a pedagogical approach (Osowski et al, 2013) during meal times was not established from the beginning, according to the catering manager, who disclosed how the transition was difficult in trying to integrate everyone to sit and eat together, including staff and pupils. For example:

'…they didn't do that at the beginning, at the beginning they sat with the older children at the top of the dining hall, it was a case of them [the younger pupils] being pushed out the way, so let's keep them separate. The teaching assistants and teachers come in and have meals with them to make sure they eat their food, so it's like a community, they all sit together'.
Lana Masey – Catering Manager (Interview 1, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

It would appear that the teacher involvement was structured to ensure teachers mingled with all the pupils. The catering manager identifies the relationship between the staff and pupils and how practical learning opportunities are presented. Overall, it could be argued that pupils are encouraged to engage in practical learning opportunities in the school restaurant.

Patrolling, controlling and setting standards

Much of the staff rhetoric is about the restaurant as a community social space but it became evident that it is a space that is both highly controlled and

'patrolled' by teachers. Deputy Principal, Alan Wilkinson highlights how the restaurant is patrolled by staff. For example:

> *'…they'll patrol that environment, sometimes; particular groups are set up to look at the needs of those children'.*
> *Alan Wilkinson – Deputy Principal Behaviour and Safety (Interview 26, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

Pupil guidance leader, Chloe Creswell discusses how the restaurant is used as a space for pupils to set standards for one another. This is about the restaurant as a space for encouraging good behaviour and staff are able to point out the good behaviour of another pupil (Bentham, 2012). Chloe highlights how staff are expected to perform and also set standards. This is about teacher modelling which has been identified as one of the most effective methods of encouraging food acceptance in pupils (Hendy and Raudenbush, 2000). For example:

> *'Well, they're learning from others aren't they, and you know looking up to their elders, because a lot of the phase 2 children have their lunch at 12.15…Year 7, 8 and Year 9 are in the restaurant at the same time so they kind of get to look up to them and get to see what expectations are within the restaurant and things like that. We've also got staff members on duty as well, so we know what's expected of them and standards are set really'.*
> *Chloe Creswell, Pupil Guidance Leader (Interview 4, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

Chloe discusses expectations, standards and duty as three key terms in relation to being able to learn from others in the restaurant. Overall, the narrative in this part supports the interpretations of Kuuskorpi and Gonzalez (2011) who studied the physical make up of learning environments. They discussed how informal learning was taking place, away from the traditional classroom. They argued that advances in communication and information technology have contributed in shaping the way teaching is operated in schools today.

It also supports the work of Nair and Gehling (2008), who discussed the experiences of young people within the confines of a classroom arguing that they do not reflect the diversity of settings and relationships young people must

learn to negotiate in order to succeed in the workplace (Nair and Gehling, 2008: 11). They argue the divide between formal and informal learning activities is a divide which largely relies on the design of the school building. They also draw on school cafeterias in their account and describe them as a place for refuelling, with little time or space to socialise or collaborate on projects. This means that potentially, the school restaurant at Peartree Academy could be a space for bridging that gap between formal and informal learning activities, so that it is more than just a place for 'refuelling'.

This part was about the perspective of staff, who highlighted their perception of social learning within the restaurant. It presented examples of how pupils are learning about making food choices, how to behave and modelling different behaviours. There were some correlations between the perceived idea of learning and what pupils actually learnt in the restaurant. Overall, power relationships were discussed and the sub headings reflect the idea of control in the restaurant, whether that is a positive view (through instruction and learning about manners) or negative view (controlling pupils and enforcing them to use the restaurant).

Pupils

This part presents the views of pupils and what they consider is being learnt in the school restaurant. Pupils referred to two common themes when discussing their views of the school restaurant which included: (1) organisation of the restaurant (2) rules and expectations. There are both positive and negative perceptions of the pupils presented in this final part of the chapter. The pupils include Jemma Frost (Year 11 pupil, Age 15), Maggie Castle (Year 11 pupil, age 15), Joe Eden (Year 10 pupil, age 13), Rudisha Reynolds (Year 9 pupil, age 13), Aaron Hart (Year 9, age 12), Melissa Kendall (Year 7 pupil, age 12), Marie Daniels (Year 5 pupil, age 10), Felicity Riley (Year 6 pupil, age 11), Claire Childs (Year 6 pupil, age 11), Chloe Wallis (Year 4 pupil, Age 9), Rosie McKenzie (Year 4 pupil, age 8) and Emma Foley (Year 4 pupil, age 9), all of which are pseudonyms given to ensure confidentiality is maintained. The reason why responses from these particular pupils are selected is due to their interest in the layout of the school restaurant.

<u>Organisation of the restaurant</u>

Pupils at Peartree Academy made consistent reference to the organisation of the school restaurant. Rudd et al (2008) carried out an investigation to explore the impact of pupil perceptions on changes to the school dining environment. The work of Rudd et al (2008) is useful as it highlighted positive responses from pupils following a revamp of the school dining hall in terms of the way it had been renovated and managed. It was the day to day running of the restaurant and how the tables and chairs are set out in particular that were apart of pupil comments in the restaurant. Year 11 pupil, Jemma Frost described the layout of the restaurant and was not sure opportunities for learning were being presented. For example:

> *'I don't like the way its laid out, there's only a few circle tables, then you got long tables, you've got massive groups…we don't understand why only adults are sat there on circular tables'.*
> *Jemma Frost (Year 11 pupil, age 15, Interview 39, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

In this example, Jemma highlights her perception of the hierarchical layout of the tables; as the circular tables are placed in the middle of the restaurant and she mentions how adults predominantly occupy these tables. There is a power relationship in the restaurant and Jemma points out how only adults were allowed to be seated on the circular tables. This is about staff presence and a strategy for ensuring staff are present in the school restaurant. It has been known for quite some time that the school lunch period is the biggest behaviour related problem in schools and that discipline is paramount (Lomax, 1991: 55). Jemma offers a rich account of the restaurant compared to other pupils who were not able to provide as much detail. This conflicts with the views presented by staff of the restaurant which all seem to be positive, describing it as a community and social space.

Four other pupils also make reference to the organisation of the school restaurant, sharing similar views, paying particular attention to the lack of space available. McNeely et al (2002) examined the association between school connectedness and the school environment which highlighted the importance of taking a whole-school approach. The reason for this approach was to ensure

that schools would keep the health and wellbeing of a pupil in mind. Felicity Riley, Claire Childs, Rudisha Reynolds and Maggie Castle all make the comment that the restaurant would function better as a space if it were bigger in size. For example:

'I wish the restaurant could be bigger'.
Felicity Riley (Year 6 pupil, age 11, Interview 50, Thursday 19th June 2014)

'…it's like too crowded cos the tables are too much together, hard to get out'.
Claire Childs (Year 6 pupil, age 11, Interview 49, Thursday 19th June 2014)

'I don't like it because its crammed and packed, so it's like going in at once, sometimes the card machines don't work so have to take on cards [By this the pupil is referring to the vending machines which are operated by a smart card]'.
Rudisha Reynolds (Year 9 pupil, age 13, Interview 48, Thursday 19th June 2014)

'Things that I don't like about it, it's like too crowded sometimes, they take the water before you use it, some tables they take the cups and leave the jugs out'.
Maggie Castle (Year 11 pupil, age 15, Interview 43, Thursday 19th June 2014)

The views of the pupils in the examples above seem to be conflicting with the views of staff. Pupils seem to be discussing negative aspects of the restaurant whilst staff did not highlight anything which involved hygiene, space or crowdedness. Burke and Grosvenor (2003) recognise the importance of the significant role of eating for young people but also recognised the negative connotations which is said to involve an unsettling time and space for pupils. Five pupils below discuss the day to day organisation of the restaurant, more specifically identifying issues of hygiene in terms of both the restaurant and food being served. For example:

'….I don't like sometimes food is getting out of date, a bit mouldy'.
Chloe Wallis, (Year 4 pupil, age 9, Interview 52, Thursday 19th June 2014)

'…I don't like when floors are not clean'.
Rosie McKenzie (Year 4 pupil, age 8, Interview 53, Thursday 19th
June 2014)

'…when they clean the tables they use the same cloth over again,
the dirty food that's gone on to the cloth they use the same one to
clean it'.
Marie Daniels (Year 5 pupil, age 10, interview 10, Thursday 19th
June 2014)

'I don't like the hygiene; it's disgusting like cups have got all dirt in
them and everything'.
Melissa Kendall (Year 7 pupil, age 12, Interview 44, Thursday 19th
June 2014)

'…the glasses are really dirty, have the water, the waters always
warm so not cold and I don't like that and that's it'.
Maria Thorn (Year 10 pupil, age 13, Interview 41, Thursday 19th June
2014)

There were no comments from staff in terms of the hygienic state of the school restaurant but it is important to note that pupils were asked about what they disliked about the restaurant. Children are more likely to tell the truth and this is one of the reasons why I was able to gather responses in which negative perceptions on the restaurant were presented. Whilst I did not record any specific examples of issues surrounding hygiene (see field note below) in the school restaurant, I did notice sticky glasses with water marks left on them, but this could be down to the usage of the restaurant and difficulty in maintaining the cleanliness of the space. For example:

Field note
Day 5
Wednesday 30th October 2013
12.46pm
I am yet to see a dirty table or a pupil sitting at a table that hasn't
been wiped.

I noticed how queues were not as short as discussed by staff and this was evidenced in a field note. For example:

Year 9 pupils begin to stroll in as noise levels seem to decrease with a calmer atmosphere. Staff members have lined up with pupils as queues become larger [So why are staff saying queues are relatively short when generally, pupils seem to think the opposite?].

Whilst there seems to be positive comments from staff, pupils seem to view the restaurant in a completely different light. For example, pupils are saying the queues are quite long although there seems to be a general consensus amongst staff, that queues are very short.

Rules and Expectations

It was evident from the data analysis that pupils were interested in discussing rules and expectations in the restaurant. It is useful to consider what type of rules and expectations are imposed upon pupils. As discussed by Saldana (2013), the school exercises strategic power relations as a means and as an end to teaching conformity and in this case the school restaurant is being used as the platform for discipline. This is about conformity, Year 10 pupils, Jemma Frost and Joe Eden outline how expectations are imposed upon them in the restaurant in the example below:

> *'The environment's alright, we're told to make sure we sit properly and behave for the younger lot…the Year 9s just go in as we have dinner'.*
> *Jemma Frost (Year 11 pupil, age 15, Interview 39, Thursday 19ᵗʰ June 2014)*
>
> *'…the line for the dinner, sometimes…I don't like when you don't have much time…have 10 minutes to have your lunch' [The pupil was referring to how the queue was quite long for the lunch period and the punishment was that lunch had to be consumed in a short period due to a lack of uniform on the day].*
> *Joe Eden (Year 10 pupil, age 13, Interview 42, Thursday 19ᵗʰ June 2014)*

I did not observe a period where pupils were being punished in this way. Pupils appear to be being disciplined for not wearing a school uniform. In terms of

learning about rules, Jemma describes her experiences in the restaurant with the staff. For example:

> '…the cleaners that wipe tables, ask if you're ok, actual dinner ladies, evil, don't like any of them, she dropped a plate once, so I was like have you dropped your favourite plate and she was like don't talk to me, and wasn't happy. Don't like the dinner ladies here, they should be getting the sack not the behaviour support team, can cook our own dinners'.
> Jemma Frost (Year 11 Pupil, age 15, Interview 39, Thursday 19th June 2014)

For Burke and Grosvenor (2003) the negative connotations attached to the school meals usually consisted of a perception of school canteens as noisy places, often dull with robotic dinner assistants, including midday supervisors. The restaurant at Peartree Academy has been designed in a way which allows those who step into the restaurant to be monitored at any time of day (see Appendix 11 and 12). In order to unpack what is being learnt, it is important to consider how pupils perceive the restaurant. Year 4 pupil (Emma Foley) highlights how the restaurant is not offering an appropriate salary for her mother for the duties she carries out on a daily basis, as a midday supervisor in the restaurant. For example:

> '…she's not like paying them the right amount, my mom does the after school clubs and she don't pay her right. She's getting like a low amount of money'.
> Emma Foley (Year 4 pupil, age 9 Interview 51, Thursday 19th June 2014)

There is a level of expectation here and this was evident from other responses in which pupils tend to highlight areas of concern with regards to the restaurant.

A more positive view of the restaurant is presented by other pupils. Year 4 pupil, Chloe Wallis, Year 6 pupil, Claire Childs and Year 9 pupil Aaron Hart describe how opportunities are presented to work as part of a team as well as the restaurant being a space for spending time with friends. For example:

'Pretty good cos they do nice food and always help each other, no one at the desk who will not help'.

'We've got the older children to learn what to do and how to be a good pupil'.
Chloe Wallis – Year 4 pupil, (Age 9, Interview 52, Thursday 19th June 2014)

'Like you can hang out there with your friends and talk until the bell rings'.
Claire Childs – Year 6 pupil (Age 11, *Interview 49, Thursday 19th June 2014*)

'It's a useful space for everyone really…activities, working together, meeting up and obviously eating as well'.
Aaron Hart – Year 9 pupil (Age 12, *Interview 40, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

These views of the pupils coincide with the views of the majority of staff. One interpretation that can be made is that pupils are learning about how to work as part of a team through observation. They are learning about interacting and maintaining relationships with peers and friends. In addition, they recognise the importance of helping one another and modelling behaviour of other pupils in learning how to be a good pupil.

The pupils describe how they are learning to work as part of a team and interact with one another and also about making good food choices. Learning is said to be based on a result of collaborative intention and one pedagogical method is to use the school restaurant as a potential space for doing so (Osowski, 2013). I would like to argue that the school dining area is a platform for both imposing rules upon pupils whilst also a potential space where social learning can take place. Other responses from pupils were directed towards the hygienic element and organisational side of the restaurant which involved a discussion on the condition of the food and lack of space in the restaurant. There is evidence to suggest that the restaurant can foster opportunities for social learning, but there is a complex array of variables involved in making this judgement.

7.4 Conclusion

The data in this chapter has been presented in a way that draws out correlations between how different staff define social learning. The data was

organised into three parts which included: (1) a discussion on what was meant by social learning (2) how social skills were perceived by teaching and non-teaching staff (3) how social learning was shaping pupils' development in the school restaurant. Overall, staff presented a positive account of the restaurant whilst the majority of pupils spoke about the negative aspects of the school restaurant. Although it could be argued that pupils only want to address the areas for development in the restaurant, there were some valid points in pupils' quotes; some of which concurred with those of the staff.

It is clear that there are positive aspects in which the school restaurant is helping to foster opportunities for social learning. Although, there is a pressure which is holding this social learning from taking place at times. When referring to social learning, teaching staff make reference to four common areas. These included (1) rules and regulations (2) how to behave (3) relationship building in groups (4) manners: moral development. Non-teaching staff made reference to three common areas which included: (1) community (2) manners: dining etiquette (3) communicating together. Pupils were more interested in discussing issues of organisation, rules and hygiene. There is evidence to suggest that learning opportunities are presented in the school restaurant and this was evident in part two of this chapter where views of both staff and pupils were discussed. For pupils, it was evident in some places that social learning was taking place, although they were more inclined to highlight issues of hygiene and how there was a lack of space available.

Overall, this chapter presents an argument to suggest that non-teaching staff have a better understanding of social learning and make little reference to rules and regulations compared to the teaching staff. So, it is important to consider what could be done to help tackle this missed opportunity for social learning. One argument is that schools should prioritise the dining space so that it is conducive for social learning. There are still differences in perception between teaching and non-teaching staff as well as the pupils. There was consensus amongst pupils on particular issues which highlighted the positives of the restaurant but conversely, some pupils were in agreement with the negative

191

aspects which was preventing the restaurant from working as a platform for fostering social learning opportunities.

Chapter 8 – The restaurant: Community Forum or Surveillance Mechanism?

8.1 – Introduction

The previous two chapters explored how the restaurant was designed to bring communities and people together (see chapter six) whilst making an attempt to foster opportunities for social learning to take place (see chapter seven). This chapter relates back to these two ideas but questions whether the restaurant is a community forum or another mechanism for surveillance. The overall argument presented highlights what actually goes on in the restaurant as opposed to its original intended purpose (as discussed in chapter six). Therefore, this highlights two narratives running in parallel, firstly that the restaurant allows pupils to converse and interact, acting as a community forum and secondly that there are certain pressures working against this which leads to surveillance by staff. In support of the restaurant as a community forum, it is useful to look closely at eating behaviours. It is useful to consider the notion of eating behaviours and to recognise how the term behaviour is bound by societal rules and regulations. This led me to developing a discussion on the management of the school restaurant alongside the modelling of behaviours (Danaher et al, 2002).

Eating behaviours
In this section I am using the term 'eating behaviours' to refer to how pupils behave and what they choose to eat. When discussing eating behaviours, food pedagogies are particularly important because of the social, cultural and symbolic meanings of food and potential 'good lives' that can be produced (Flowers and Swan, 2015). Flowers and Swan (2015) were referring to the influence of food and how it can help young people to 'do good' and 'be good'. By this, they are referring to the influence of eating behaviours on being a 'good member' of society. Therefore, food is seen by society as a means through which we can improve our individual and collective lives (Flowers and Swan, 2015: 19). There are a number of studies which have investigated eating behaviours (Osowski et al 2013; Eliassen, 2011; Richards and Smith, 2007; Sepp et al, 2006) and it is useful to highlight what was found and how they

interpreted the term eating behaviours. Osowski et al (2013) highlighted the notion of the pedagogic meal (as discussed in chapter 7, introduced by Sepp et al, 2006) and identified three different roles in which staff were modelling during children's meal time experiences, which include: (1) sociable teacher (2) educational teacher (3) evasive teacher (as discussed in chapter 2, p. 62). Although it can be argued that children's eating is a private and family affair, they are taught what, when and how to eat and become subject to educational regulation at school (Osowski et al, 2013). The work of Osowski et al (2013) is particularly useful for my study as I also noticed how staff were modelling different behaviours in the school restaurant at Peartree Academy.

Eliassen (2011) argued how children were dependent on their teachers and families to support their wellbeing and promote positive development, including eating habits. This study is useful in that it considers the influence of both staff and parents in terms of the impact on eating habits. Richards and Smith (2007) investigated the factors that influenced food choices for children and identified how it was staff in schools and family members who played a significant role in shaping their attitudes and values towards food by acting as role models. This is useful as it lends itself to the narrative of eating behaviours with a link to role models. Sepp et al (2006) carried out a study to identify staff members' attitudes to the role of food and meals as part of daily activities in a school. They identified how attitudes towards interaction played a key role in children's eating experiences and this relates closely to my study as I also make an attempt to frame social learning in this way.

In terms of 'eating behaviours', the definition that is being adopted for my study is the one put forward by Eliassen (2011), who states that like the family, teachers are able to model eating behaviours in schools which involve social interactions with children at meal times. So, for Eliassen (2011) eating behaviours are defined as behaviours set by educators and parents and it is the behaviours they model and social interactions during meal times that is of key importance in ensuring children are able to gain from this. Eliassen (2011) also discussed how positive role modelling around children would help to ensure a positive attitude is shaped towards food. Whilst Eliassen (2011) is more

concerned with food choices, I would like to use the part of the definition which places an emphasis on modelling of eating behaviours and social interactions to help explain my own research.

<u>Surveillance</u>
This idea links to the second narrative running throughout this chapter which is based on the notion that the restaurant is used as a space for monitoring pupil behaviours. Firstly, it is useful to look at what is meant by surveillance (Danaher et al, 2002; Foucault, 1980) before drawing on some influential studies (Saldana, 2013; Punch, 2013; Leahy and Pike, 2012; Pike, 2010) which have helped inform the discussion in this chapter.

There is evidence to suggest that the discourse of surveillance has always been part of the structures in society as Foucault wrote about these ideas in 1980 and twenty two years later, Danaher et al (2002) are still discussing them. Surveillance and self-regulation techniques have become a fundamental part of life in western societies, particularly in spaces like shopping centres where security cameras have been installed (Danaher et al, 2002). Surveillance has become an attribute of modern society in institutions like schools. The definition carried forward in this chapter is the one presented by Foucault (1980) who states, there is no need for arms and violence, just a 'gaze', where each individual (pupil or staff) exercise surveillance over and against themselves (Foucault, 1980: 155). The notion of visibility has been used in part one of this chapter to highlight how this is happening.

Drawing on my research data I would suggest that pupils are being monitored in the restaurant and that there is a sense of surveillance shaping the day to day running of the restaurant. I am concerned with the fragilities between establishing whether pupils are able to take up social learning opportunities or whether surveillance hinders this. It is said schools have a role to ensure learning takes place in a safe environment and also that schools must provide excitement, challenge and discipline (Calvert and Henderson, 1998: 15). This narrative aims to argue how pupils are being monitored in the form of a 'learner' vs. 'trainer relationship', i.e. pupil vs. staff (Calvert and Henderson, 1998). In my

research, the learner is the pupil and the trainer becomes the member of staff who is monitoring pupils in the school restaurant.

The restaurant was originally designed to help foster opportunities for social learning. However, in addition to the many activities described earlier in this thesis, the restaurant as a space seems to be used by staff to watch over and monitor pupil behaviours. For example:

> _Field Notes_
> _Wednesday 25th September 2013_
> _12.40pm_
> _A female member of staff is constantly monitoring every move of the younger pupils, using hand gestures to calm them down [It seems that there is a level of patrolling going on in the restaurant]._

Having provided a definition of surveillance, it is useful to look at power relations which shape meal time. In order to make sense of what is going on in the restaurant, it has been useful to use some key studies (Saldana, 2013; Punch et al, 2013; Leahy and Pike, 2012; Pike, 2010), which make links to notions of surveillance and how this shapes the school meal.

Saldana (2013) argues that a school exercises strategic power relations as a means and as an end to teaching conformity and that some pupils learn to become agents in its services, whilst others learn to oppose it (Saldana, 2013: 228). My study also draws on issues of how strategies are being implemented in order to monitor the day to day running of the school restaurant. Punch et al (2013) adopted a Foucauldian lens to investigate the cultures of school dining halls and the ways in which social relationships are constructed and reconstructed. This is useful as the restaurant is also a place where fragile relationships are being negotiated. Leahy and Pike (2012) studied discourses of food pedagogies and reveal how pedagogical techniques of surveillance are deployed by schools and by this they are referring to lunchbox surveillance. I am interested in exploring the notion of surveillance and Leahy and Pike (2012) identifies how the school meal is bound by surveillance. This links back to my research as one teacher said that fizzy drinks and sweets were taken out of lunchboxes at Peartree Academy (see chapter 7, p. 181). Pike (2010) argues

that school dining spaces are neglected areas of inquiry and that they should no longer be regarded as a 'passive container' for human activity. It is evident that research on school meal time and surveillance is a recent area of inquiry in which investigations have begun to highlight the complexity in interpreting the school meal time.

The rest of this chapter has been divided into two parts: (1) managing the school restaurant (2) modelling eating behaviours in the restaurant. The first part explores how the restaurant is managed drawing on discussions of the staggered lunch break, pupil participation, control and structure. The second section highlights a discussion on modelling eating behaviours in the restaurant. This includes a discussion on the idea of the school building as the 'third teacher', which refers to how the school environment can help shape learning interactions (Nicholson, 2005)[1]. It is said the role modelling of healthy food choices can have a massive impact on children and can involve a range of activities including cooking healthy food, preparing better snacks, having dinner with the family whilst promoting a positive experience; further promoting positive associations with healthy foods (Garvis and Pendergast, 2014: 142). Furthermore, there is much to be said about the role modelling of eating behaviours and in some instances, this involves making the right food choices (Birch, 1980). It is argued that the school restaurant can act as a platform for training and inducting people.

At this point it is worth noting that the school restaurant at Peartree Academy was designed and built to allow social interactions to take place, in line with the original aims of the restaurant (as discussed in chapter 6). Overall, this chapter investigates the fragilities between whether this was achieved or whether the restaurant became another platform for surveillance. The first part introduces a discussion on the management of the school restaurant.

---

[1] The term 'third teacher' was derived from the Reggio Emilia approach, a powerful and arts-based pre-school curriculum first developed in Reggio Emilia, Italy and published in C. Edwards, L. Gandini, G. Forman (eds). *The Hundred Languages of Children; The Reggio Emilia Approach to Childhood Education*, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Company, 1966, p. 136

8.2 Managing the school restaurant

Only some research has focused on how behaviour is managed in school dining halls (Pike, 2010). This part of the chapter introduces a discussion on how the school restaurant is managed which supports the notion of the restaurant as a surveillance mechanism. Power can be organised at minimal cost to the school as it can exist in the school structures (Foucault, 1980). By this, I am referring to how staff are using the school restaurant to control pupil behaviours. Sub-sections of this chapter include: (1) the staggered lunch break system (2) pupil participation (3) structure and control. The key focus of the first part is to highlight how the staggered lunch break system works. There is a problem in terms of how the shorter lunch break hinders opportunities for social learning to take place. The second part introduces a discussion on pupil participation in the restaurant and the negotiations which take place in terms of how some pupils conform with the short lunch break whilst others choose to resist (Saldana, 2013; Danaher, 2002). The final part explores how structure and control is exercised in the form of staff presence in the school restaurant.

The staggered lunch break system

One issue that impinges upon the school meal is the length of lunchtime (School Food Trust, 2007). This part highlights the logistics of the school lunch which includes an insight into the timings by year group. It also highlights the rationale behind the introduction of the staggered break system and describes a normal lunch hour in the UK. The School Food Trust (2007) developed a document to support schools in finding ways of organising a suitable lunch break system and a staggered lunch break is one form that is mentioned.

At Peartree Academy, due to the number of pupils, seating them all at the same time is not possible and therefore the school decided to stagger the lunch break. The school adopted this system in order to allow all year groups to have their lunches and also to minimise behavioural disruption, so this one approach was adopted for a dual reason. The school lunch period begins at 11.30am running through until 2.15pm and this is becoming normal practice in large UK

schools (Lightfoot, 2007). Data from my field notes explains how the lunch break is arranged. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 13th November 2013*
> *Having bumped into one of the administrative staff, I was told how the lunch break was staggered over two hours and fifteen minutes. There is also some overlap [By this the administrative staff member was referring to the fact that sometimes things could over run]. Staggered break time:*
> *11.30am – 2:15pm (School lunch period)*

The younger pupils, i.e. year groups 1 – 3 ate in a separate dining hall, whereas the rest of the school ate in the school restaurant. In terms of the timings of the typical school day, there is no statutory requirement for the length of the break times and it is up to the governing body to decide. Lightfoot (2007) reported that it was uncommon for schools to have one hour lunch breaks due to behavioural difficulties that might arise but recognises the importance of pupils needing time to sit and eat with peers whilst discussing issues of the day. At Peartree Academy whilst the lunch break is spread over two hours and fifteen minutes, each year group have 40 minutes to get to the restaurant, queue up for lunch, eat and are then required to leave the restaurant in order to allow the other year groups to enter (see Fig. 13). The rest of the lunch break is spent either in other parts of the school or in the playground. Shorter lunch breaks have been identified as being a worrying trend in schools and this has led to the questioning of the negativity placed upon pupils as a result of this (Zandian et al, 2012). Traditionally, the school lunch period lasted for sixty minutes, more commonly referred to as the lunch hour (Devi et al, 2010). At Peartree Academy there are three main lunch time sittings which include eating time as well as playtime. This has been illustrated in a chart below (see Fig. 13):

Fig. 13 – Table illustrating lunch break timings

Year Group	*Time*	*Duration*
Primary Years 4, 5 and 6.	*11.30am – 12.10pm*	*40 minutes*
Restaurant break: Catering staff clear restaurant ready for the next year group.	*12.10pm – 12.35pm*	*25 minutes*
Secondary Years 7 and 8.	*12.35pm – 1.15pm*	*40 minutes*
Restaurant break: Catering staff clear restaurant ready for the next year group.	*1.15pm – 1.35pm*	*20 minutes*
Secondary Years 9, 10 and 11.	*1.35pm – 2.15pm*	*40 minutes*

Based on the chart, 40 minutes for a lunch break seems relatively short, bearing in mind that pupils are required to fit in quite a lot during this short period. It was interesting to learn about why the school lunch break had been reduced. One of the English teachers (Shaun Talbot) discussed the rationale behind the introduction of the staggered lunch break and pointed out how it was reduced to minimise behavioural issues:

> *'We have a shorter lunch period…I don't know if you know the background of it, because we're experiencing difficulties with pupils who have too much time on their hands. That was one of the reasons for reducing time available. So, it's all staggered because we have to get the whole school through but previously there used to be a longer period. We're finding that pupils, once they'd eaten, once they'd had that extra time it would lead to fighting…more problematic behaviour…so it became trimmed a little bit. So they still have enough time to run around and eat, but they're not getting into so much trouble. I guess if they have less time on their hands to get into difficulties, then it's going to happen on fewer occasions'.*
> *Shaun Talbot – English teacher (Interview 19, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

Due to the behavioural issues and number of pupils during lunch breaks, it was decided that staggering the lunch breaks and reducing the duration of the break was for the best, particularly for minimising the number of incidents during this period. Although there may have been behavioural difficulties at the school in the past, the strategic decision to shorten the time and create a staggered lunch break helped to minimise disruptive behaviour during lunchtime, whilst arguably

also training pupils to conform. This is about the students becoming agents of their own conformity and the school is exercising its strategic power relations in this case (Saldana, 2013). By this I am highlighting the power relations of the restaurant and the influence it can have. However, a parent expressed their concern about the impact of the staggered lunch break. For example:

> *'When my grandson was in Year 11, they used to be last because of the staggered lunch and he used to say that there's never anything left [in terms of food]…what was left, was dry'.*
> *Julia Allen – Intervention TA, Parent to Year 3, 11 and one Year 11 pupil who left last year (Interview 37, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

Based on her grandson's experience, Julia identified an issue with regards to the lack of food left over as a consequence of this staggered lunch system. Julia highlighted how this system meant the quality of food was being affected so the impact of this staggered system extended beyond just a lack of time in terms of a quality lunch break.

English Teacher, Shaun Talbot suggested that less time during lunch led to a reduction in behavioural difficulties arising, but there was no evidence in my data to suggest that this had reduced issues of truancy. The restaurant is run in a particular way and in order to better understand how it is operated, reference has been made to the field notes to capture an accurate measure of the logistics of how it all works. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 30th October 2013*
> *12.06pm*
> *…younger year groups line up by the smaller buffet line, waiting patiently to be seated. The teacher then allows 6 pupils with packed lunches to make their way to the tables, whilst others wait. There are two single files of pupils, one with packed lunches and others waiting to make their way to a parallel queuing system.*

There are two queues of similar length running parallel to one another around the outside edge of the school restaurant with all the tables in between. So this means that those with packed lunches are potentially allowed more time to eat compared with those waiting to be served. With a reduced lunch break this could have a negative impact on pupils' school meal experiences. This system

is interesting as I am yet to come across this anywhere else and at any other school in which I have taught, visited or attended as a pupil.

With this staggered lunch, one view is that it could help pupils to learn from their peers in different year groups to mix together. Although, the evidence suggests that younger pupils were separated from older pupils. For example:

Field Notes
Wednesday 30th October 2013
12.16pm
There is a clear separation between the younger and older pupils, even though the tables and chairs for the older pupils, who are yet to arrive are free. Chairs are a little smaller for the younger pupils, who take up their seats in the usual places.

From the field note above, pupils are separated by year groups in the school restaurant. This is a missed opportunity for the school who could make more of having multiple year groups in at the same time and not separating them in terms of their seating positions. Although the restaurant was designed to allow everyone to mix together, the staggered lunch system created pressure preventing this from happening, meaning that an opportunity for learning from older pupils was lost. This brings us to questioning the effectiveness of this staggered lunch system. Overall, it seems that the school made a strategic decision to stagger the lunch break in order to ensure all pupils were able to consume their lunches with little behavioural disruption. There has been a growing trend in surveillance studies and the study by Leahy and Pike (2012) is one example that recognises the disparity between school food and eating. Leahy and Pike (2012) explore school food pedagogies, more specifically how school food choices are regulated which is one form of surveillance. The work of Leahy and Pike (2012) links closely to my research in terms of surveillance of school food but I am referring specifically to the lack of time as one form of regulation imposed by Peartree Academy. In relation to my research, this could arguably hinder pupils' opportunities in terms of having enough time to eat and converse with one another. It would appear that the original aims of the restaurant to create a community forum is being diverted by the need for surveillance.

<u>Pupil participation</u>

Pupils are the main participants in the restaurant. This part draws on the negotiations which take place between pupils who conform and those who choose not to. It is useful to note that whilst conformity is central to this debate, it is said to take many forms in small groups in society and it may be the result of direct and overt explicit pressure, even though this may be unconscious (Saldana, 2013). This form of surveillance has a knock on effect on pupils' behaviours to conform. The field note below illustrates how this is happening, and suggests that there are two things going on; one pupil is conforming and participating whilst the other is resisting and encouraging the one who is conforming to resist. For example:

> *<u>Field Notes</u>*
> *Day 5: Observation of school restaurant*
> *Wednesday 30th October 2013*
> *The catering staff and other staff around the restaurant signal 2 minutes for 2 pupils who have been sitting at the table a while, still eating.*
>
> *1.08pm*
> *As the older pupils prepare to enter the restaurant, these 2 pupils begin finishing their food*
> *Catering Staff 1 – 'Come on guys, you have a couple of minutes'*
> *Staff 1 – "Guys, you came in the same time as us, there is no excuse".*
> *Pupil 1 – "Ok"*
> *Pupil 2 – "Why are they making us rush?"*
> *Pupil 1 – "I'm going to leave this food"*
> *Pupil 2 – "No, don't you dare, they can't do that, that's child abuse. I am finishing my dinner, my pudding how I want".*
> *Staff member – "Right, let's get moving. Let's go Lana, you've had enough time now, it's ten past 1!"*
> *[The older pupils begin to make their way into the restaurant as they discuss their school day].*
> *[According to Fig. 13, which details lunch break timings, this would be pupils from years 7 and 8 who should have another 5 minutes to finish as their lunch finishes at 1.15pm].*

The pupils then had to leave without finishing their food. There are different ways in which pupils operate in the restaurant, some are co-operative and eat quickly and leave the restaurant whilst others do not like to be rushed. Although the example above highlights how resistance was worn down, it was conformity that won. Again, this leads back to the point regarding the restaurant as a

surveillance mechanism. The restaurant has been created to allow for social interactions to take place away from the pressures of the classroom (School Food Trust, 2007) and the social benefit here is that pupils want to have nice conversations and staff should be encouraging them to do this. Instead, the staff member has missed the opportunity of allowing pupils to take their time which means that they are being moved along in a conveyor belt fashion. Therefore, another structure is being superimposed on the restaurant, which goes against the aim of the school restaurant, which is to foster opportunities for social learning to take place and help to create a sense of community.

Some of the pupils are being pushed out of the restaurant to make way for other year groups. As discussed by Wills et al (2015), for schools with dual purpose dining halls (i.e. used for dining as well as teaching), the times of using the dining hall for eating became restricted (Wills et al, 2015: 82). Consequently, this had a negative impact meaning time for eating was significantly reduced. If this is happening regularly, then pupils have even less time for eating and having opportunities to converse with one another. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 2nd October 2013*
> *12.45pm*
> *Catering staff are wiping tables down in preparation for the next lot of pupils to arrive. Staff and pupils around the restaurant are tucking in chairs to maintain a level of cleanliness to the appearance of the restaurant.*

From the example above, the restaurant becomes redundant as a space for fostering opportunities for social interaction. Another pressure which works against the restaurant is that pupils are discouraged to eat lunch anywhere other than in the restaurant and they are not allowed to leave the premises. However, whilst most conform to this regulation others interfere in the process and tend to try finding a way out of the school. It is said that school children are placed in an institution with strict rules and regulations that they are meant to conform to, but in reality they rarely do (Danaher et al, 2002). For example, the Principal describes how whilst most pupils conform and participate in the

restaurant, there are some pupils who often resist the school lunch period by trying to climb the fences. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Day 6: Conversation with the Principal in the restaurant recorded immediately after an unprompted chat.*
>
> *Wednesday 13th November 2013*
> *10.25am*
> *"…We don't allow our pupils out for lunch, although we have a few who climb the fences…"*
> *-   Principal*

In a conversation with the Principal, it was noted that truancy had been an issue and one regulation was that children should not eat anywhere outside of the restaurant. This was an interesting observation and although I did not see pupils climbing the fence, I heard this directly from the Principal. It could be argued that the environment is being controlled as pupils are encouraged to eat in the restaurant and eating elsewhere is frowned upon.

Furthermore, in terms of resistance to the rules set by staff, some pupils who choose to stay in the restaurant still find ways of resisting and one pupil described how this was happening. For example:

> *'They get a baguette yeah, and they get away with this, they wrap it up in tissue, put it in their bag, go outside and eat'.*
> *Melissa Kendall (Year 7 Pupil, age 12, Interview 44, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

Whilst some pupils seem to obey the rules set by staff, others seem to avoid this space. In this example, Melissa describes how pupils are eating outside and maybe this could be something to do with a lack of time or wanting to spend more time playing outside during the lunch break period. However, the critique of increasing surveillance places a focus on the presumed changes it might cause in space and social practices (Koskela, 2003: 294). As a consequence, surveillance could lead to a vicious-circle of defence and resistance (Koskela, 2003).

Overall, pupils are being treated as if they are on a conveyor belt compared with a normal restaurant where people have more time to eat and converse. The rules set by staff work against the restaurant being a space that will enable pupils to develop opportunities for social learning. Surveillance techniques are being used in order to monitor where pupils eat but this monitoring means staff are focusing their energies on managing the behaviour of pupils, instead of allowing them to participate in a space which was originally designed for eating and social learning.

<u>Structure and Control</u>

The arrangement of the school restaurant is closely monitored by staff. The structure of the restaurant is a fragile one as it exposes both pupils and staff. It is fragile because staff seem to be patrolling pupils and this goes against the aims of the restaurant which involves allowing pupils to mix and converse with each other. By structure, I am referring to the rules and regulations imposed on pupils by staff in the restaurant. The restaurant was designed to allow social interaction to take place and to make the eating experience a pleasant one. However, my evidence indicates that pupils are being controlled by staff, led by the leadership team. Visibility in the form of physical presence is of importance here as the senior leadership team are making a point of ensuring their presence is known to pupils in the restaurant. The leadership team and the Principal are able to exercise power through visibility and invisibility, meaning they place themselves under the gaze whilst also removing themselves from it (Niesche, 2011). I am referring to the presence in which the leadership team and Principal are in the school restaurant but also that power can be exercised through both visibility and invisibility. In my research, the Principal or leadership team can enter the school restaurant at any time. This means they are able to exercise power even if they are not physically present in the restaurant.

Firstly, it was interesting to hear the perspective of the Deputy Principal who highlighted how he line managed the restaurant manager. For example:

> *'Yes, I line manage the restaurant manager…it's how I run the*
> *school, so I'm down there every day…I always, always, always have*

The Deputy Principal emphasises how he always makes time to eat and have
informal meetings in the restaurant. The Deputy Principal is responsible for line
managing the restaurant and this means he has control of what goes on in the
restaurant on a daily basis. This was also observed in my field notes. For
example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Day 4: Observation of school restaurant*
> *Monday 28th October 2013*
> *There definitely seems to be a strong level of behavioural
> management around the restaurant. A very-well staffed area with lots
> of presence. Also, the busiest time of the school day.*

I could see that the restaurant was a space carefully monitored by staff and the
leadership team, who were visible in the restaurant. Usually, most managers
appear at the beginning and end of a period or day and are generally not a
seen presence as they delegate tasks. However, this manager is not like that,
he has presence in the school restaurant. Secondly, the positioning of the
Deputy Principals in and around the restaurant signal how behaviour
management is a high priority.

I noticed and observed how staff chose where they sat in the restaurant. The
senior management team were consistently positioned at the circular tables,
which meant they were in a position of visibility meaning that they were able to
have presence in the restaurant (see Appendix 12). Other staff chose where
they seated themselves in the restaurant. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Observation of school restaurant*
> *Wednesday 30th October 2013*
> *The senior staff members including the Principal and Deputy
> Principals entered the restaurant at different times during the lunch
> period, although there were occasions when they were all present.
> They ate together on one of the circular tables. This table was
> located in the middle of the restaurant. It would mean that they would
> have presence in the centre of the restaurant and be able to see the*

school entrance [This was arguably a way of monitoring everyone in the restaurant who might enter the school and also ensuring presence is maintained].

It is through this visibility and use of power that staff are able to get pupils to conform to the rules and regulations of the restaurant. Furthermore, staff are subject to this internalisation of control, meaning arguably they are also conforming. As the restaurant is designed to expose everyone from a visual point of view, this means the senior staff team are also able to watch staff in the school. Therefore, the restaurant becomes a space which offers a view of the school entrance. However, there was not any evidence available to support the idea of staff being watched. This is the most recognised panoptic principle; the basic nature of the exercise of disciplinary power involves regulation through visibility (Hannah, 1997: 171).

The Deputy Principals were seated on one of the few circular tables, situated in the middle of the restaurant. They chose to sit in this particular part of the restaurant regularly and pupils would rarely sit on these tables, knowing that this table was usually used by staff. However, there were occasions where perhaps a couple of pupils would join the staff. For example:

> <u>Field Notes</u>
> *Wednesday 25th September 2013*
> *8:32am*
> *I noticed how often the Deputy Principals would be facing the reception area in order to have a clear view of who comes in and out of the school. From time to time, some pupils would be sat with the staff on these tables, but this was rare. Staff would frequently walk into and across the restaurant as it was an unavoidable space in the school.*

The Deputy Principals were able to see the main entrance into the school from this position (see Appendices 11 and 12). Whilst they had their back turned to pupils, their presence was paramount. The Deputy Principals occasionally walked through the restaurant throughout the school day as well as during the lunch period. This allowed staff to keep a watchful eye on those who entered the school as they passed through the restaurant on their way to the classroom. Having developed a more structured set of field notes, I was able to record how control was maintained during other periods of the school day. The restaurant

was utilised from the start of the day to the very end. I developed a chart to help record and reflect on certain situations. For example:

Field Notes
Day 6
Wednesday 13th November 2013

Period	Year group	What I observed	What I heard	Further thoughts
Post break-fast	*Younger year pupils*	*A group of teachers evenly spaced walking in a single file with the younger year groups, walking out of the school for an excursion.*	*General pupil chatter of excitement.*	*A __structured__ and __controlled__ environment, which I was able to see from the restaurant.*
Post lunch break time	*Year 7/8*	*…One pupil zooms past the restaurant.. There is one member of staff in the area, who is supervising, a lot less than the usual numbers of staffing during the post lunch break time.*	*…Pupils seem very lively. Generally comments included – "Where you going?" Staff member wearing blue hoody – "Ladies, ladies, ladies, ladies, right, let's get together and start making our way to the next lesson".*	*…Pupils are listening well regardless of the loud environment during break time – very __controlled__.*

The field notes above reveal the level of structure and control that is shaping the day to day running of the restaurant space. The dialogue in this chart highlights how staff are monitoring the movements of pupils. This was also noted in my field notes, particularly during the lunch break where pupils were being controlled. For example:

Field Notes
Monday 28th October 2013
12pm
Lunch break
There definitely seems to be a strong level of behavioural management around the restaurant. A structured and well-staffed area of the school. Also, the busiest time of the school day.
12.30pm

As most pupils are seated, the restaurant seems to be fairly controlled, with only a few pupils wandering around with trays, back and forth.

The school lunch is known as being one of the busiest periods of the school day and good supervision during this unstructured time is essential (Thorpe, 2004). From my field notes, it is evident that the staff at Peartree Academy have been prepared for this time of day.

It was quite early into my observations that I noticed how the restaurant was being controlled or at least, there were lots of staff around including teachers, who were patrolling during the lunch break. This was unusual compared to my experience of working in a school or being a pupil. One way in which this is perhaps beneficial is that staff are able to keep a close eye on pupils who enter the school late.

The evidence in the field note below describes how the Deputy Principal welcomes pupils who arrive late to the school. The usual experience of this would be that a pupil who arrives late, signs into reception and provides evidence for their lateness. The unusual experience was that the Deputy Principal, Adam Walker intervened to ensure pupils who arrived late were addressed. It was unusual to see a member of the leadership team working in this way. For example:

Field notes
20th November 2013
9am
Latecomers make their way, through towards the main corridor area, as the Deputy Principal (Adam Walker) welcomes them, taking a friendly approach in conversing with them whilst walking along the main corridor, through the restaurant.

For me this seemed to be a way of ensuring someone is able to watch those who arrived late on a regular basis. Adam Walker regularly picked up the late comers walking along with them as they entered the school in the direction of the main corridor, leading up to all the classrooms. This is about the leadership team using visibility in the restaurant area to control pupils.

Therefore, the senior leadership team are engaging with pupils in managing their behaviour in the restaurant. Two examples of how this is happening include, firstly pupils arriving late to school, which include those who are unable to avoid passing through the restaurant on their way to class. Secondly, the ways in which pupils are behaving in the restaurant during the lunch break. These are two instances in which the leadership team seem to be present. The lateness of pupils is just one way in which monitoring of pupil behaviour in and around the restaurant is taking place. It draws specifically on how staff are regulating behaviour in the restaurant. In this instance, the senior staff member is speaking to a colleague whilst addressing a pupil for lateness as he makes his way through to the school restaurant towards classrooms. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *9.30am*
> *One of the Deputy Principals sits and chats with a colleague whilst addressing pupils as they walk around the restaurant towards their lesson (late-comers).*
> *Senior staff member – "Have you been to lesson yet? You're late!"*
> *Pupil (Mason) – "Yeah"*
> *Senior staff member – "What lesson?"*
> *Pupil – "Enterprise"*
> *Senior staff member – "Where's your tie?"*
> *Pupil – "In my pocket sir"*
> *Senior staff member – "Good morning by the way"*
> *Pupil – "See you later".*

This example highlights how behaviour is monitored by staff. There are two things going on here, firstly, the pupil is being quizzed regarding his lateness and secondly, the member of staff is trying to get the pupil to conform by asking him about his tie. Usually pupils who are late go straight to class in my experience. However, at Peartree Academy pupils are greeted by senior members of the staff team. In this situation, the staff member is paying lip service to a particular regulation as we can assume the pupil will probably not wear the tie. The way in which the staff member interferes is different to how teachers would perhaps manage pupils in a classroom. The fragility here is with the use of the staff member's authority and learning to use it in a way which allows the pupil to respond to it. So, it is a question of whether this pupil will actually listen or choose not to and it has already been said that pupils are not

always inclined to conform (Danaher et al, 2002). The fragility then lies in the balance between monitoring and managing behaviour.

Overall, this part highlighted how the restaurant is managed and provided a discussion on the complexities of the staggered lunch break. Whilst priority is given to ensuring all pupils consume their lunches, it can be argued that these pressures against the restaurant mean that once pupils have finished their lunches, they are being asked to move on. Consequently, this defeats the purpose of why the restaurant was designed in the way that it was. It was to ensure everyone had enough time to converse whilst eating. Clearly, the restaurant is a fragile space in the way in which negotiations between pupils and staff take place and also about how they are using it. Therefore, it is how these social relationships are being constructed and reconstructed or even not being allowed to develop (Punch et al, 2013). Part two of the chapter introduces a discussion on the modelling of eating behaviours in the restaurant

8.3 Modelling eating behaviours in the restaurant

This final part of the chapter highlights the impact of the restaurant on how behaviour is being modelled and draws on the notion of the restaurant as a community forum. As introduced earlier in this chapter, it is the definition of modelling by Eliassen (2011) that is being used. He argues teachers like parents have an influence and are able to model appropriate eating behaviours. In terms of modelling then, the discussions highlight how pupils are inducted and trained in terms of how to behave in the school restaurant. Furthermore, Osowski et al (2013) identified (as discussed in chapter 7) how the pedagogic meal was practised in Swedish dining halls focusing specifically on the teachers' interaction with the children and the roles being modelled by teachers.

This part is made up of three segments, which include: (1) modelling behaviour: staff roles (2) modelling behaviour: staff member or temporary parent? (3) modelling behaviour: the school restaurant as a third teacher. The first part discusses how certain roles are being presented by staff which carry mixed messages. The second part demonstrates how the staff role is extended

beyond their role as staff members. The final part highlights the symbolic messages being carried by the school restaurant as a space.

Modelling behaviour: staff roles

The role of staff during meal times is said to be an influential part of children's meal time experiences (Sepp et al, 2006). During the observations carried out, I noticed how some staff conducted themselves in terms of their roles in the restaurant. Although observations were carried out throughout the school day, the most notable occurrences took place during the lunch break. Therefore, this section highlights the types of staff roles on display and how they interacted with pupils in the restaurant and this is presented in a table in my field notes (see below). The example from my field notes below describes how staff presented certain behaviours in a strategic way. This has been represented in the form of a chart, which was developed during my data analysis. For example:

Field Notes
Wednesday 25th September 2013
12.40pm
I am beginning to notice the younger pupils' supervisors being more animated, particularly 1 male member of staff, who is using body language to make the suggestion of how food will make you stronger! [At this point, I am noticing multiple interactions between staff and pupils in the restaurant and I decided to draw up a list of the different type of strategies being implemented by staff in the restaurant].

1.47pm

Staff Role/Strategy	What I observed
Promotor of healthy eating benefits	*Mr Muscle [A member of staff, is very animated and working with the younger pupils, suggesting eating all your food will allow you to gain physically strength].*
Behaviour support	*"Calm down" [The staff member spread his arms across his body wide in order to establish control of the situation or at least the attention of pupils. He then slowly lowered his arms signalling that they needed to calm down].*
Managing the trays and pupil movement	*"Let me take those trays for you" [This was the staff member who wanted to ensure any disruptions were kept to a minimum in the restaurant].*

Staff Role/Strategy	What I observed
Sociable member of staff	"How you getting on?" [This was the member of staff who would mingle with pupils and have regular chats. For instance, the staff member would sit with pupils and move around every so often and pick out different topics which included, football, music and technology].
Listener	"How are things at home?" [This member of staff would seek out pupils who are perhaps isolated in the restaurant and are seated alone. The focus seems to be on monitoring whilst listening].
Observational member of staff	Reserved [This was the staff member who regularly took a step back to look over how pupils were actually behaving in the restaurant].

There are two things happening here, firstly some of the staff are encouraging pupils to participate in the restaurant by modelling certain behaviours. Whilst others seemed to be focused on monitoring the restaurant and are interested in surveillance. The first staff role was the 'promotor of healthy eating' who used body language to express his thoughts e.g. 'fist pumping' to acknowledge a piece of chicken on a plate, signalling that this will make you stronger. For Garvis and Pendergast (2014) there is much to be said about the role of food, which helps boost knowledge on food choices and these can have a positive influence, particularly for children. This signals that pupils can develop their physical health through healthy eating practices through staff modelling in which healthy eating choices are able to be made. This is about inducting and training pupils about what to eat. Furthermore, as previously discussed Osowski et (2013) also identified different types of teachers in the dining hall and the three types as discussed in chapter two included: (1) the social teacher (2) the educational teacher (3) the evasive teacher (see p. 62). They found a positive association between these as pupils had some role models to look up to, particularly the social and educational teachers.

The second staff role that I identified was the 'behaviour support strategy' which involved spending time using body language to enable pupils to learn how to conduct themselves. The role of 'managing the trays and pupil movement' involved the staff member ensuring that everything is managed appropriately to

avoid any disruption and this includes collecting the trays on behalf of pupils and minimising pupil movement. The 'sociable' member of staff created a social occasion during the school lunch period, which involved a high level of social interaction with pupils. This involved conversing with pupils regularly. The 'Listener' would observe and pay attention to the pupils' wellbeing, both in and outside of school whilst monitoring the movements of pupils. The 'observational' member of staff took a step back and watched the pupils throughout the restaurant carefully, noting any misbehaviour, whilst discreetly challenging pupils where necessary. The list of roles in the table above present an ambiguity in what is happening in the school restaurant. Some of the staff are taking the opportunities to develop social learning in pupils (sociable, listener) whilst others seem to be more concerned with monitoring and inducting pupils' eating behaviours (promotor of healthy eating benefits, behaviour support, managing the trays, observational).

Lindon Murray, a Senior Behaviour Teacher described how pupils were given opportunities to interact in a social way and that staff seem to spend a considerable amount of time in the restaurant, with the pupils. For example:

> *'…I think pupils get to interact in a social way, the staff are very good you may have seen them eating with the pupils, the staff then have a responsibility to model that social behaviour'.*
> *Lindon Murray – Senior Behaviour Leader (Whole-school, Interview 5, Wednesday 19th February 2014)*

As the staff are eating with the pupils, they are able to tap into the opportunities to promote positive eating behaviours. The idea here is that staff are responsible for inducting and training pupils in how to conduct themselves in the restaurant. For example:

> *Field notes*
> *Wednesday 16th October 2013*
> *12.30pm*
> *Staff are generally seated on the circular tables, which are in the middle of the restaurant and some of them are also occupied by pupils so staff and pupils are eating together.*

The restaurant in this view below potentially allows pupils to observe how to behave. Year 7 teacher, Rachel Jones discusses how pupils are able to observe staff on duty and identifies this as a form of interaction. For example:

> *'…in break and lunch times specifically, I think in the restaurant, there's people on duty so there's promotion there, of how to interact in a free environment, a lot of our students struggle with unstructured times, so there's staff there to reassign people and redirect people that are not coping in that unstructured time'.*
> *Rachel Jones – Year 7 nurture teacher (Interview 17, Wednesday 26th March 2014)*

Rachel talks about the promotion of positive behaviours where pupils seem to struggle with unstructured times. For Rachel, this was about staff making a judgement about which pupils needed the support. Overall, this part highlights some of the strategies used in supporting the original aim of the restaurant, which was to create opportunities for social learning. However, there seem to be some pressures working against this as staff seem to be more concerned with monitoring pupils. Whilst the intentions of some of the staff were positive, others appeared to be more concerned with monitoring pupil behaviour.

Modelling behaviour: Staff member or temporary parent?

Parents play an important role in shaping children's attitudes and values about food by acting as role models (Richards and Smith, 2007). Staff at Peartree Academy are taking on the responsibility, typically attached to the role of a parent, just like staff in many other schools. However, the staff role in this school is different, particularly during the breakfast and lunch period where staff are taking on the role of ensuring pupils also make good food choices (Birch, 1980). This section is about the modelling of food choices and the role of staff as temporary parents. For Eliassen (2011) parents influence children's eating behaviours and attitudes towards food through observation at home. For instance, children are seen to consume the same or similar food to their parents (Eliassen, 2011). The field note below demonstrates how staff in the school used the restaurant to 'mother' some pupils. For example:

Field Notes
Wednesday 13th November 2013
12.35pm
So one thing I noticed was how the exams officer and administration assistants spent time speaking to pupils about how they were getting on and how their day at school had been going. It felt like they were being mothered. It wasn't just the younger pupils; it was the older pupils too. I guess when pupils come away from the home environment, they still need to be supported or at least someone needs to replace the role of the parent for them to feel at home or at least comfortable in the surroundings [It is interesting to see how non-teaching staff involved in administrative roles also took time out to communicate with pupils].

Eliassen (2011) found that the role models had an impact on the children's subsequent food choices, with the exception of the adult. It was found that children were more likely to experiment with unfamiliar foods upon observing a role model. Staff at Peartree Academy also have responsibility for ensuring that pupils are equipped with the right attitudes in making good food choices and conducting themselves appropriately. For example:

'…think we've got a lot of challenges with parents. So we're trying to get the children to teach the parents, because it is quite shocking when the children come in and eat sweets and high sugary things in the morning'.
Lucy Tyler – Assistant Principal Phase 1 (Interview 6, Wednesday 19th February 2014)

Lucy describes how staff intervene by trying to encourage pupils to eat healthier foods which highlights their role as a temporary parent to pupils. Lucy observes how pupils come in to school with sugary sweets in the morning and this becomes about educating children on making better food choices. It is also about taking that home and allowing pupils to teach their parents. In this case, I would argue that eating behaviours of pupils can be influenced at Peartree Academy through staff modelling and taking the role of a parent in the school restaurant (Eliassen, 2011). For example, Klesges et al (1991) identified how children selected different foods when they were being watched by their parents compared with when they were not and overall the children made better food choices when they were being watched. So, this is about the staff member taking on the position of parent in the restaurant. In another study conducted by Birch (1980) on children's food preferences, peer modelling saw changes in

their preferences for vegetables. Therefore, there does seem to be a link between inducting and training pupils about eating behaviours.

Overall this part argued how the school restaurant can be used to foster opportunities for social learning, yet the evidence suggests that, in this school at least, there is not the time and space to allow this to happen. The examples from this section highlight how positive eating behaviours are being modelled and encouraged. Therefore, it can be argued that the restaurant is playing a key role in allowing for modelling to be taking place.

Modelling behaviour: the school restaurant as a third teacher
It is common to assert that certain areas of the school including empty spaces and waiting spaces outside are often overlooked and this introduces the notion of the 'third teacher' (Nicolson, 2005). Nicholson (2005) argues that pupils have an awareness of the symbolic messages attached to a school building and points out how schools are now becoming more attractive in their appearances in order to foster opportunities for social learning. Furthermore, the notion of the 'cam-era' as highlighted by Koskela (2003) also supports the ideas put forward by Danaher et al (2002) regarding self-regulation. This part highlights the impact of the school restaurant as a fixture in the school and how it can have a positive influence on pupils' eating behaviours. It is argued that the restaurant is one part of the school building which acts as a third teacher in order to foster opportunities for social learning.

In the field note below, I observed how the restaurant potentially acted as a third teacher (Nicholson, 2005). By this, Nicholson (2005) highlighted the importance of the environment in complementing the educational and social support of the pedagogy. In this example below the restaurant is being described as a common room space:

> *Field Notes*
> *Wednesday 30th October 2013*
> *2.40pm*
> *It is also a space in the school which I can see has the potential to allow pupils and staff to interact with one another. So far, outside of the lunch period, I have seen the restaurant in constant use,*

218

particularly at times when food isn't being consumed. It is what I would call a common room space, where pupils and staff are able to sit, talk and catch up throughout the school day. The main activity at times outside the lunch period is purely conversation between various year groups, staff and parents.

This highlights how the restaurant can be used to help foster opportunities for conversation and social learning to take place. If it is used well then this could be achieved. The wall displays in the school restaurant carry messages which are directed at pupils. I was able to capture the content of the display by recording them in the field notes. Eight key messages were displayed above the buffet aisle and kitchen. This was in view of all of those who entered the school restaurant. For example:

Field Notes
Wednesday 16th October 2013
8.25am

1. *'5 a day' – Important to eat 5 portions of fruit and vegetables a day.*
2. *'Meal time' – I'm eating 3 meals a day including a healthy school lunch.*
3. *'Me size meals' – I'm eating meals that are the right size for my age, not as big as grown-ups.*
4. *'Cut back fat' – My family are changing how we cook to make our meals more healthy.*
5. *'Snack check' – Lots of snacks are full of fat, sugar and salt so I'm eating healthy snacks!*
6. *'Sugar swaps' – I'm swapping sugary drinks for water, milk or unsweetened fruit juice.*
7. *'Up and about' – After I've been sitting still for a while, I'm jumping up and doing something more active.*
8. *'60 interactive minutes' – I'm spending at least 60 minutes walking, playing sport, running around, or playing outside every day.*

For me, this is a way that the school were able to attempt to control the daily eating behaviours of pupils in the school restaurant, if they are to read these messages. These displays are arguably an example of how visual aids were used in the school to help foster opportunities for developing positive eating behaviours (Eliassen, 2011).

Following several observations, when one of the staff members mentioned that there was a camera in the restaurant, I also noticed it. For example:

> *Field Notes*
> *Monday 28th October 2013*
> *12.45pm*
> *I have also noticed a camera in the restaurant, one which captures the whole school restaurant and reception area as well as the main school corridor.*

It was in fact a legitimate camera as opposed to an imitation. One pupil described her view on how she felt about the school camera in the restaurant. For example:

> *'…like they have cameras, there's this massive security camera, some people do you know what they do yeah…'*
> *Melissa Kendall (Year 7 Pupil, age 12, Interview 44, Thursday 19th June 2014)*

This leads me back to the notion of surveillance. This is described by Koskela (2003) as 'the cam-era' – an era of endless representations (Koskela, 2003: 292). His study on the contemporary urban panopticon also looked at 'space' as a crucial factor in explaining social power relations.

Consequently, part of our socialisation influences us to make ourselves the subject of our own gaze, meaning that we are constantly monitoring our behaviours (Danaher et al, 2002: 54). Therefore, it can be argued that both staff and pupils become subject to surveillance of this type. Through surveillance cameras the panoptic technology of power is electronically extended (Koskela, 2003).

In terms of this notion of the third teacher, it could be said that the restaurant was designed to allow pupils to converse with one another whilst gaining opportunities for learning. However, other staff are more concerned with managing behaviour in the restaurant and it is these pressures which seem to be working against the restaurant being an informal community forum. The restaurant has presence in the school and clearly has the potential to foster opportunities for social learning which are being taken by some of the staff in

the school. This part has demonstrated how a dining space in a school can be used to enrich the experiences of pupils.

The 'restaurant' as the 'third teacher' also has an inbuilt ambiguity in the way the tables are set out and the camera on the wall. The 'third teacher' has the same dual role as the staff. In this case, whilst an attempt has been made to create a community forum, it is one which is also being monitored.

8.4 Conclusion

The argument presented in this chapter highlighted two narratives running in parallel, firstly that the restaurant allowed pupils to converse and interact and secondly that the pressures of the lunch break timings and the ways in which staff patrolled the restaurant worked against this. Just like many other schools, maintaining behaviour was highly prioritised by staff compared with trying to influence pupils' eating behaviours during the school lunch period. However, there is a level of monitoring and surveillance taking place and some of the staff are too focused on managing pupils. Although, other staff are taking these opportunities of modelling positive eating behaviours. The tension between providing social learning opportunities and surveillance carried out by staff, presents limits, meaning there are limits on the pupils being able to develop eating behaviours. Whilst there is some evidence to suggest that social learning could potentially take place in the restaurant, the pressures against this are preventing this from happening.

Part one of this chapter considered some key discussions involved in the running of the school restaurant, particularly focusing on the staggered lunch, pupil participation and staff presence. There was some evidence to suggest that pupils were resisting participating during the school lunch period, but further investigations which concentrate on this idea need to be carried out in order to develop a stronger argument.

Part two explored staff influence on the school restaurant, whilst also drawing on the notion of the school 'restaurant' as a 'third teacher'. It highlighted how power can be interpreted in a more positive way; to ensure pupils have access

to role models in order to develop eating habits and behaviours. The restaurant in this view acted as a platform for inducting and training pupils, meaning positive eating behaviours are being filtered through the behaviour of staff and other pupils. Overall, the idea here is that staff have the opportunity to play an active role in training and inducting pupils in order to prepare them for developing their social skills.

To conclude, this chapter argues how opportunities for social learning are being missed due to the lunch timing constraints, rules and regulations imposed by staff on pupils. Pupils are being treated as if they are on a conveyor belt compared to a normal restaurant, where people have more time to sit, eat and converse. The rules and regulations imposed by staff are preventing them from modelling those positive eating behaviours for pupils.

Therefore, in this case, there is more evidence to suggest that the restaurant is a surveillance mechanism as opposed to a community forum. However, from the school's perspective, when trying to create a community forum, these are the difficulties that those who are leading the school are facing. The school originally set out with good intentions to build a restaurant which modelled an internal version of a community forum for all. It is the pressures of the rules and regulations that work against the school being able to achieve this.

Unfortunately, this means the school restaurant becomes subject to a complex debate and one which is fragile and ultimately the evidence suggests that opportunities for developing social learning are missed. It would be useful to carry out a further investigation into school dining halls, in order to investigate further lines of inquiry which continue developing key debates whilst trying to establish some recommendations for other schools to adopt in the future. The final chapter concludes by addressing the aims originally set out in this study and the recommendations.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion

9.1 – Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to return to the original statement I made in my abstract which outlines the originality of this work. The relationship between food and learning is a topical debate, although there has been little research and evidence collected on the social aspect of the school meal. Therefore, this study seeks to highlight the importance of the social aspect by placing a focus on one particular school. There are power relations which shape how the school meal is run on a day-to-day basis, although the school restaurant can arguably play a part as a space for harnessing social learning.

This ethnographic case study addressed the following research questions:

Main research question

What is the impact of the food environment upon social learning?

Subsidiary research questions

1. How do eating behaviours of staff and pupils impact on social learning?
2. How do teaching staff promote social learning within a food environment?

An underlying theme that ran throughout these chapters was the idea of 'surveillance' and how staff at the school managed pupils in the restaurant throughout the school day. This theme ran in parallel with the notion of social learning and how the school restaurant was a space for fostering these opportunities in pupils.

<u>What is the impact of the food environment upon social learning?</u>

To take the main research question, I have come to learn that the food environment has a huge impact on social learning in terms of the way in which school dinners are organised and served. With regards to the type of impact the food environment in a school has depends on the staff in the school. By staff, I am referring to the leadership team, teaching staff and administrative employees. Social learning opportunities can be both created and harnessed by

taking the opportunity to recognise the school meals as a time of day to learn. Moreover, the space in which the school meal is designed also has a positive influence on the attitudes towards school meals for pupils. Food is a powerful force in that it can bring both different groups of pupils and staff together where there is the potential to exercise and develop social etiquette. The main research question enabled me to provide an overview of the important role of food (Osowski et al, 2012) in schools in relation to social learning.

To take chapter six, I introduced two key discussions surrounding the restaurant, which included the creation and use of the restaurant. This chapter presented a narrative on how the restaurant was designed and also highlighted how the restaurant challenged the traditional style of a school canteen. The background of the school restaurant is introduced which highlights the design of the space. This chapter highlighted the potential impact of food on social learning.

How do eating behaviours of staff and pupils impact on social learning?
In terms of the first subsidiary research question, eating behaviours of staff and pupils play a key role in fostering opportunities for social learning. More specifically, staff hold the power in modelling behaviour in the school dining area and for this reason, investigating staff behaviour was crucial in providing evidence for how pupils can be influenced. Furthermore, pupils also act as role models to younger pupils and are therefore in a position of power to influence one another in making the transition from one year group to the next as well as the life transition outside of the school.

Chapter seven introduces the notion of social learning in the school restaurant. A discussion is developed on staff and pupil responsibility and the types of modelling that take place. There is a particular reference to what it is that constitutes social learning outside the classroom and what pupils are learning. Overall, the concept of 'social learning' is reignited as an ambiguous concept, which is reflective of the number of perspectives which have an influence on the school meal. The intricacies involved in trying to measure how food and learning are connected also came to the surface. It is the 'pedagogical'

(Osowski et al, 2012) practices that shape the potential learning opportunities in this particular context; a Swedish philosophy where mirroring the home environment takes priority (Bergh, 2014). I was particularly surprised by how staff understood the term social learning. Overall it was identified that staff held the responsibility of pastoral care in the school restaurant as well as a duty to model appropriate behaviours, social cues and etiquette. Eating behaviours do have an impact on social learning as this is where modelling is taking place by staff and in some cases pupils.

How do teaching staff promote social learning within a food environment?

The second subsidiary research question has had a huge influence on my desire to seek out how teaching staff are able to promote social learning opportunities within a food environment. Teachers have a massive impact on pupils with regards to their participation and presence in the school dining area and their actions and techniques play a part in helping pupils to develop social etiquette which is an important life skill. Moreover, lunch time supervisors are also in a position of power and have an impact on pupils' meal time experiences. There was a difference between teaching and non-teaching staff in teaching social learning. For example, the lunchtime supervisors had a better understanding of social learning and also took the opportunities to foster them in pupils.

Chapter eight provides a discussion on how surveillance is used as one form of a power relationship, which cultivates some of the interactions in the school restaurant at Peartree Academy. The discussions include the role of staff in managing the day-to-day running of the restaurant and how relationships are being built between staff, pupils and parents. It also includes how the restaurant is utilised throughout the day, whether it is an appropriate venue for greeting and how power relations come to light between pupils and staff in the restaurant. Overall it was identified that whilst social learning opportunities were being presented in the school restaurant, the pressures of the mechanisms of how the restaurant was being managed were working against this. It can be said that the teaching staff promote social learning through their attitudes and beliefs towards the act of leading a healthy life and eating together.

225

9.2 – Reflections upon the research process

In terms of reflections, it is difficult to draw generalisations from one case study and further research which makes use of multiple schools would help in drawing conclusions and developing representation and validity. Teachers may be able to use my research as a resource to broadly identify the impact of food on social learning, with a particular emphasis on the school dining hall as the space for fostering social learning opportunities. My study might also be used as a reference point for school leaders who plan to implement changes to the dining hall in their schools. Whilst these are discussed in finer detail in this section, I would like to return to the 'insider-outsider' discussion.

I was simultaneously both an insider and outsider as my presence in the school was known (Hellawell, 2006). Therefore, I was able to identify with the reflexivity of the research process. In recognising and adopting a reflexive approach, I have been able to appreciate my role as a researcher and develop a deeper understanding for my methodological positionality. Initially, I thought in future, carrying out research in a school where I already have an association would be a more suitable site of investigation, which would allow me to further enhance my position as an insider. There are obvious practical and logistical advantages of having a prior attachment to an educational establishment. The disadvantages include bias on the part of the researcher. However, for me taking a reflexive approach allowed me to connect to a certain reality where I recognised how my research carried both insider-outsider tendencies. That is where my reality rests, on the insider-outsider spectrum. Before I was able to establish a truth and reality, I needed to understand myself so my epistemological position in adopting reflexivity allowed me to come to learn one truth as opposed to multiple versions. It was truth where I could establish a methodological framework in seeking out new lines of inquiry in my research. My position as insider-outsider and through the process of self-reflection I was able to seek the best possible version of the truth (Hellawell, 2006).

<u>My development as a researcher</u>

Another issue I identified upon reflecting on my research was the lack of interview data from pupils. It would be useful to draw comparisons between

how pupils view the restaurant but with more interview experience, I would be in a better position to approach pupils in schools in future project work. As the pupils were selected for me, I found this to be a challenge in terms of representation. The difficulty here was in trying to gather a random sample as opposed to one where the leadership team had selected certain pupils. I had no way of verifying whether or not pupils were cherry picked in order to manage the exposure to those who do not attend to or work at the school. I would also like to enhance my skills in carrying out observations by gaining further experience in my research in a school setting.

In terms of my journey as a researcher and early career writer, I often found writing a difficult process although I began to understand the importance of writing and re-writing. I would like to add that as I adopted ethnographic techniques, the writing and re-writing of the narrative of Peartree Academy required a number of levels of writing analysis. It was only when I started to think clearly about my data and ideas that I was able to contextualise my data in line with the research questions.

Although having published six articles drawn from this study (Lalli, 2017a, Lalli, 2017b; Lalli, 2015; Lalli, 2014a; Lalli, 2014b; Lalli and Burgess, 2012) I was able to make progress in my writing whilst communicating key ideas from my journey at both postgraduate doctoral research conferences and international conferences. This has been a useful exercise in developing my thinking and analysing my work critically. I aim to publish three articles based on chapters six, seven and eight within a two year time frame upon completion of my PhD. More specifically, I would like to target journals which rest in the sociology of education and policy studies. I plan to focus on introducing the notion of a school dining hall as a social learning space. I also plan to continue investigating the discourse of power relationships in relation to school meals.

9.3 – Recommendations

Recommendations for schools

In terms of recommendations for schools, it can be argued that the school meal time should be extended and for more communication to take place between

teaching and non-teaching staff. I would like to recommend that schools invest in putting aside more time for consuming school lunches. This could be particularly useful for new schools who face the challenge of allowing pupils to have enough time to eat whilst being able to interact with one another. The restaurant is a space for fostering social interactions which can help the life experiences of pupils. It can also encourage pupils to develop their people skills, which become transferable skills throughout their life span. Furthermore, there are currently no national standards for the length of the school lunch period and little is known about the relationship between the amount of time pupils have to eat and school food choice and consumption (Cohen et al, 2015).

Recommendations for teachers

For teachers, I would like to recommend my thesis as one of many which place an importance of the school meal as a social event. An event which can help forge new and maintain existing relationships, where pupils, staff and parents are able to come together to develop fruitful relationships. I would like to recommend that teachers take the opportunity of mingling and socialising with pupils during the school lunch period as this can be a fragile time of day for some pupils who could benefit from social interaction. Furthermore, I would also like to reach out to teachers who are particularly struggling with managing pupil behaviour in and around the school during the lunch period.

Future research

I will continue to develop the ethical frameworks of the study and ensure informed consent is in place, by keeping in line with the ethical guidelines set out by BERA (2011). I will do this by ensuring I offer an honest view of the methods used to undertake the study whilst adhering to the BERA (2011) ethical guidelines. Finally, I aim to continue presenting at conference events across Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) as well as spaces where opportunities to explore the topic of school meals emerge. There is a host of literature which stems from the Nordic region of the world (Andersen et al, 2016; Janhonen et al, 2013; Osowski et al, 2013; Damsgaard et al, 2012; Osowski et al, 2012), that has been particularly influential in the construction of

the overall context of my study. The context in question revolves around promoting a Swedish philosophy of life (Bergh, 2014) where home comforts are being extended and incorporated into school reform, particularly in the school meal situation. For this reason, I have been able to establish connections with these studies across the Nordic region by reaching out to those scholars who have dedicated time and commitment to a research area in need of development (Murcott, 2013; Beardsworth and Keil, 1996). The work of Pike and Kelly (2014) on school meals and their links to Foucault have been particularly influential in helping me to explore power relations in the school dining hall.

More recently, having continued the search for up to date literature, there is a growing interest in the anthropology of food which is currently being studied through the works of Torralba and Guidalli (2015; 2014) who have begun to investigate how meanings can be attached to food. This has become an area of research for social policy and new initiatives have seen a shift in prioritising the school meal situation through the works of Dimbleby and Vincent (2013) who wrote the 'School Food Plan (DfE, 2013)', to help transform UK school meals. In terms of subject discipline, little research has been carried out in the field of education and for this reason Weaver-Hightower (2011) calls for a further emphasis to be placed on driving this area forward to look at the processes of school food. It was recommended that dining etiquette and teachers eating with pupils would help to cultivate strong relationships in schools whilst helping to establish healthier eating habits (Correria and Sakkal, 2015), which also supports my findings.

There is an apparent link to issues of social and cultural capital. Peartree Academy is located in a socially deprived area and this has a bearing on the overall interpretations of the study. Therefore, this is an idea I would like to explore in the near future. The culture in the school restaurant at Peartree Academy is one which offers encouragement and opportunities to learn in a space where quite a lot of time is spent during the school day. Until this point, certain themes have emerged which address culture and identity, more specifically, role modelling, behavioural traits, social learning and interaction

during the meal situation. However, to draw on the context of life at Peartree Academy, it is difficult to neglect the idea of social deprivation which surrounds the school and the pupils within it. In addition, FSM rates are higher amongst Academies, compared to other schools (Department for Children and Families, 2009: 13) which is also an indicator for deprivation.

Closing thoughts

My contribution to knowledge is accounted for through the theoretical and methodological lines of inquiry that I was able to adopt in presenting the findings from my research. Taking a social constructivist theoretical position to investigate the school meal is a relatively new line of inquiry, particularly as it is coupled with a methodological approach which explores the culture of the school. By this, I am referring to the ethnographic techniques I used in exploring the school restaurant at Peartree Academy. There is much more research that could be done to investigate the relationship between social learning and eating in schools. There are other lines of inquiry coming out from my research which I may pick up or others may do so. Social mobility and the relationship with Free School Meals (FSM) is one example in which I am interested. For me, research in this area seems to be growing, from a cross-disciplinary perspective, combining various disciplines which include: Education, Sociology, Social Policy, Anthropology, Psychology, Health and Nutrition. It is through this research that I have come to learn how disciplines are interconnected and that interpretations can only be made with these in mind. In terms of the contributions of my research, I would like to demonstrate how it might influence practice, policy and theory.

Practice

As a teaching practitioner my work is particularly relevant to Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs) who would be able to gain a further insight into supporting pupils during the school meal. More specifically, teachers could interact with pupils during school meal times and also use the school dining area as an avenue for developing rapport with pupils, as in my experience, engaging pupils in class can sometimes be problematic. It is also important to highlight the distinction between teachers and catering staff and how they were interacting

with pupils in the school restaurant. With teachers, it was a disciplinary and managerial role, whereas with the catering staff, it was about socialising with pupils and demonstrating positive eating behaviours. In a way, I would like to encourage teachers to consider the notion of a pedagogic meal (Sepp et al, 2006) and consider the skills and learning that are developing in pupils in the school dining hall and how they are able to foster social learning opportunities. In terms of the design of the school dining area, I would like to emphasise the benefits of stylistic changes to this space as this promotes positive behaviours in pupils. Furthermore, due to the changes in the design of the school restaurant at Peartree Academy, it was used as a meeting area and it was opened up to the community. The restaurant became the central hub of the school and as a result it became a powerful space in which the school is able to bring everyone together and prioritise food as another social cohesive device, which promotes community enhancement.

Policy

I have previously discussed the way in which school meals are a topical yet problematic area. Policy decisions have a direct influence on how school meals are able to shape the overall experience for pupils and promote their health in school. In terms of political changes as discussed in the historical section of the literature review, it became apparent that nutritional standards only became prioritised when deficiencies on the battlefield during the Boer Wars were attributed to the under-nourishment and poor health of the soldiers. It was only then that the UK government began to recognise the benefits of having a well-nourished nation for selection to the armed forces. In recent times, influences on school meals have come from food entrepreneurs such as Jamie Oliver, who exposed how UK school meals lacked the nutrients of a healthy meal. Furthermore, the School Food Plan (DfE, 2013) was developed following a review of school meals and the document emphasised how the government needed to prioritise the school meal. As schools are having to make hard choices and consistently lacking in funding, they often spend money on teachers whilst ignoring the infrastructure such as the aesthetics of the school and the dining space, so it is important for schools to consider these environmental changes which add weight to taking a holistic approach. Whilst

teachers are central to the school setup, the environment can also reinforce positive eating behaviours.

Theory

Having made theoretical links to the influence of power relationships during meal time, it is apparent that supporting pupils during this period of the school day can be instrumental in their development in terms of fostering opportunities for social learning. There are a number of theoretical links made to research into power relations (Pike and Leahy, 2012; Warin, 2011; Pike, 2010) and it is important to continue to apply relevant theoretical models to interpret the school meal setup in order to continue discovering new ways to support pupils and their learning opportunities. The work of Foucault (1982) was particularly useful as a lens for highlighting the power relationships which shape the daily interactions in the school restaurant. This particular Foucauldian lens is a relatively new line of inquiry in relation to school meals and it is the idea of surveillance that could be explored further in highlighting the discourse which is shaping school meals.

One familiar trait of ethnographic research is that opportunities for reflective learning are often dismissed. For me ethnography as a methodological position offers novice researchers a rich experience into writing about the culture of the site for investigation in question. My research has developed a unique line of inquiry into the social aspect of the school meal and recommends opportunities for learning are fostered in all primary and secondary schools.

Appendix 1 – PhD Research studentship

Peartree Academy Studentship - PhD Studentship in Education

School/Department: School of Education

The School of Education at the University of Leicester is pleased to offer this funded PhD studentship to be centred around research into the impact of food on learning at Peartree Academy

The Academy's specialism is Business and Enterprise, with a focus on food, and the Academy recognises the importance of healthy eating and a healthy lifestyle in supporting pupils in both their physical and emotional development. Through Business and Enterprise opportunities the Academy provides a range of opportunities for pupils to develop their wider skills including problem solving, working with others, independent learning and enterprising skills, and believes that these skills play a significant part in helping pupils achieve future success.

Research Areas

It has been said that 'a family that eats together stays together' and yet the importance of food within a school community is currently under-researched in the UK. Peartree Academy provides a unique study and research opportunity into the impact of food upon learning and social behaviour.   Previous research conducted at Cornell University (Jyoti et al, 2005) has considered how food insecurity can affect academic performance and impair reading and mathematics development in pupils and there are also studies linked to the World Food Programme (WFP) for example in Uganda (Adelman, Alderman, Gilligan and Lehrer 2008). However, such research does not consider the broader, and potentially more far reaching, impact of establishing a food-based ethos at the centre of school life. There are also very few schools in the UK who recognise the central role that food can play in terms of developing a community despite much publicity around the importance of good nutrition and adequate and healthy school meals promoted by advocates such as chef Jamie Oliver.

This research studentship will focus on a number of aspects related to the impact of food upon learning. For example, it could explore the social and life skills which students develop through meeting, making choices, eating and talking together in a welcoming restaurant environment rather than a traditional school canteen. It could consider the impact of challenging community perceptions of school in a context where learning and eating together are not high priorities in every home. The ways in which food can provide a meeting place for professional learning discussions and have an impact on students' attitudes to learning could also be studied.

Wednesday 25th September 2013
Field Notes

12.15pm
There are a number of Year 8 students who have now sat around me, tables beginning to fill up. The noise levels are now becoming unbearable and staff numbers have started to increase. I'm seated by the cutlery, which is constantly in use by pupils. Staff members are also beginning to have their lunch, next to pupils, although there are more stood around in discussions, catching up with lessons and updating one another on students. Other than the few Year 8 students sat next to me, I can see hundreds of knives and forks and also staff bringing around jugs of water. I can now see more staff seated and beginning to make eye contact with other staff. I imagine this to be an assumed interaction which takes place amongst adults. Tables are positioned quite intimately with chairs backing on to one another although there are also circular tables as well as the rows of rectangular ones. Staff member are beginning to roam around the restaurant ensuring pupils are seated. Students seem to be fiddling around with the fresh flowers, especially the younger ones. Pupils are also correcting one another around the table, e.g. "Pass me the water…", "Say please!" Pupils are also analysing their puddings. A Year 6 pupil has been asked by a female member of staff to return to his side of the restaurant as this section belongs to Year 8 pupils. Pupils have now left the table, making a fairly quick transition of finishing their lunch.

The pilot study consisted of trialling 3 interviews with the intention of trying to familiarise my position within the school, as well as go through the processes of conducting interviews with participants. These lasted between 15 – 18 minutes in length. I spent 1 month visiting the school 2 days a week and spent some time observing in and around the school restaurant. I made some revisions to the interview questions, which included providing some clarity for respondents. Initially, I targeted interview questions at teachers but ended up interviewing staff who had a mentoring position within the school. This was then altered to fit in with general staff at the school. This part of the report highlights the key themes of the pilot research and responses obtained from interviews, observations and documentary evidence. This is followed by a thematic analysis in the form of a table. The final section concludes and details reflections for moving forward.

During the interview process, there seemed to be an overlap between my role as a researcher and previous role as a teacher. This is something which I aim to address during the study, as I do not want to jeopardise findings. Based on my experience of carrying out the pilot, I have already provided an account of my teaching and professional background which is accessible for all respondents. In his works, Hammersley (1993) talked about the distinction between the researcher and teacher. Having spent a considerable amount of time teaching, I can relate to the responsibilities involved in teaching and I am uncertain as to whether or not my previous role as a teacher will influence the data collection.

During the school day, all employees are encouraged to spend their lunch hour eating around the same table as pupils, as only sandwiches are allowed in the staffroom. So, the rules created for pupils also apply for staff to some extent, which brings a level of equality in the relationship between pupils and staff. Perhaps in order for the restaurant to have a significant impact, rules such as these are imposed to ensure cohesion takes place. As a permanent fixture, this restaurant seems to almost dominate the school day, where lack of participation in this area is unavoidable, given its location in central hub of the school.

During the pilot study, a lot of work has started to point towards an alternative place of learning. For example, Miss B pointed out how the restaurant at the school allowed pupils to grow and develop as individuals. This is a theme that emerged from the pilot research; an area which I intend to explore further as the research takes shape.

Interview Responses
- Academy restaurant comparison

Miss M was quick to point to the lack of lunch time facilities available in other schools compared with those at Peartree Academy. Miss M referred to negative accounts of other schools facilities whilst favouring the restaurant at Peartree Academy. Miss B also talked about how the school canteen has become known as a restaurant in its own right. For example:

> *Miss M: "I think other places where pupils eat their food at schools is more like a conveyor belt, pupils come in, they go out, eating is a necessity, not enjoyable, whereas the restaurant, just by the name it's given, forces us to have an absolutely different experience".*

> *Miss B: "No, we call it a restaurant, because it is a restaurant. I mean there are flowers on the table; glasses of water, set up for events, weddings, and restaurant management team are excellent in what they do to the food they produce. In comparison to other schools, there isn't one. There's not the pizza and chips and burger area. There's not the rubbishy high fat salad bars, that potato salad, rice salad, massive range which varies every day".*

> *Miss B: "It's evident with the number of staff that eats at the restaurant, in other schools, staff don't eat in the restaurant, and they take their own sandwiches, because the food isn't that great or you know it's a long way away from anywhere else".*

- Modelling behaviour

Miss M talked about the positive relationships around the restaurant at the school, which she described as modelling positive behaviour. For example:

> *Miss M: "…well everything taught to us as the agenda of the school, is that we model the expected behaviour to the children".*

- Researcher Influence

As a researcher, I need to tread with caution and ensure I do not influence the responses in any way. There were numerous occasions where my previous role as a teacher made an appearance in the run up to some of the questions, more notably in the interview with Miss B. For example:

> *Researcher: 'Yes, because I guess there is a lot of embedding of both literacy and numeracy. Through my background in teaching, I learned the importance of embedding literacy and numeracy, into SOW and lesson plans'.*

> As a person, I need to ensure I maintain the professionalism of keeping opinions to myself, just as I did as a teacher. During the pilot, this transition was difficult as I felt I influenced the interview questions by including my opinions. I need to take a step back and simply read the interview question as it appears on paper. I think this will help me in moving forward.

- Meet and Greet

There was talk around the social skills and how they are being integrated in and around the school. For example:

> *Miss B: "The restaurant is our hub, I mean you know our restaurant, it's our focal point of meeting and it encourages social skills".*

At this point, I could have probed Miss B by asking how the restaurant encourages social skills. This is an area which needs to be developed in

moving forward. From this point on, I will use probing questions in order to get more informed information. Another example of discussions around social skills being integrated came from Miss M:

> *Miss M: "A massive pupils' day is 'meet and greet'. It's simple, absolutely simple, makes a huge difference. If there's someone there at the front to meet them with a smile they have a few minutes to set them off for the day. It's an opportunity for them to resolve any issues, first thing in the morning, also for kids, everyone needs breakfast, the fact that everyone gets toast".*

- Restaurant as a learning space

There was some mention of the ways in which the restaurant has acted as a place of learning and not just a place for food. For example:

> *Miss B: children need space to grow and develop and know they're aware within secure surroundings, and social skills back on to that.*

> *Miss B: we're encouraged to sit down; we're not allowed to eat hot food anywhere else, in the school. We can have sandwiches in the staff room, but everything else, eaten in the restaurant*

- Community involvement

There was also reference to ways in which the local community has benefited from the restaurant at the school. For example:

> *Miss B: "Some of them don't necessarily get nutritious breakfast in the morning, parents who may have difficulty getting their children to school, they get here for 8 o'clock, sit down and have a free cup of tea and children can have toast".*

Observations and Documentary Evidence

I recorded field notes on what I observed around the school. These notes simply recorded some activity around the school, where teachers continuously approached pupils and one another to ensure there was a consistent level of support throughout the school day. The majority of the time was spent around the restaurant where I kept a watchful eye on any behavioural issues, whilst trying to maintain my distance as a visitor in the school. Having worked with pupils who suffered from learning difficulties and disabilities alongside challenging behaviour, it was in my nature to ensure that I gave off positive energy through my body language and regular eye contact and greeting pupils as they passed me by. Again, I understood the need to develop some type of systematic coded version of events as they occurred. Having reflected on the pilot, I have created a set of charts detailing set situations from which I aim to record data in the school.

The documentary evidence came from one of the respondents, who e-mailed me with a document written by the IQM (Inclusion Quality Mark) team, who are located in Hampshire, UK. There was an important message which was put forward by one of the Directors of IQM, who openly shared his views on the school. The director spent a couple of days at the school in order to provide a detailed assessment as part of the IQM assessment process. As this is quite an extensive document, I wish to analyse this further and draw on some of the

things said about the school. To provide just a snapshot at this point, one pupil voiced that 'our teachers go the extra mile for us'.

Data Collection Method	No.
Interviews	54 (26 staff, 16 pupils, 12 parents)
Observations	80 hours (Structured)

Data Collection Type		Description
Pilot study data	Period:	Tuesday 6th November 2012 – Wednesday 28th November 2012
	Research Method:	4 Interviews with staff
Main Data Collection		
Interviews	Period:	Tuesday 1st October 2013 – Thursday 31st July 2014
Staff	Research Method:	26 interviews
	Sample type:	Opportunity sample
	Duration:	5 – 30 minutes
	Method of collection:	Electronic recording device
Pupils	Research Method:	16 interviews
	Sample type:	Opportunity sample
	Duration:	2 – 10 minutes
	Method of collection:	Electronic recording device
Parents	Research Method:	12 interviews
	Sample type:	Opportunity sample
	Duration:	5 – 30 minutes
	Method of collection:	Electronic recording device
Observation	Period:	Tuesday 1st October 2013 – Thursday 31st July 2014
	Research Method:	Structured and unstructured observations
	Method of collection:	Hand-written field notes

Appendix 5 – Observation chart

Information	Description
Date	
Time	
Duration	

Period/ Situation	Who (Year group)	What I have observed	Why I think this has happened	Further thoughts

<u>Appendix 6 – Interview questions for staff</u>

<u>School Staff</u>

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research project on the impact of food. All the responses from the interview will be treated as confidential and all names will remain anonymous. Any information gathered through this process will be used solely for the purposes of this study.

Personal Information:

Name	
Age	
Position	

Questions:

1. What influenced your decision to join the school and how long have you been teaching or working at the school?

2. Outside of the classroom, how are pupils' able to develop their social skills?

3. What's your experience of dining halls in schools? What makes this different?

4. What's the school regulation on school food in the classroom? Do they eat in your lessons? Do you think that helps them concentrate on what they're doing? What do you allow? Is this a rule?

5. What extra activities does the school provide that have a positive impact on learning? For example, during break and lunch times.

6. How does the breakfast club help pupils?

7. In what ways do children continue to learn during the time in the restaurant? What sort of things are they learning? How is that happening?

8. Do you spend much time in the restaurant? If yes, what do you do?

Pupils

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research project on the impact of food. All the responses from the interview will be treated as confidential and all names will remain anonymous. Any information gathered through this process will be used solely for the purposes of this study.

Personal Information:

Name	
Age	
Year Group	

Questions:

1. What is your favourite school meal?

2. What is your favourite school drink?

3. What do you think about the school restaurant?

4. Where do you eat dinner at home?

5. Do you have school breakfast?

6. Apart from eating food, what do you do like/dislike in the restaurant?

Parents

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research project on the impact of food. All the responses from the interview will be treated as confidential and all names will remain anonymous. Any information gathered through this process will be used solely for the purposes of this study.

Personal Information:

Name	
Age	
Children's name/s	
Occupation	

Questions:

1. What influenced your decision to send your child/children to the school?

2. What do you think about the school restaurant?

3. Do you make use of the school restaurant? If yes, how?

4. Do you think it matters what your children eat in the restaurant? Why?

University of Leicester
School of Education
21 University Road
Leicester
LE1 7RF

Tel: 0116 252 2522

1st September 2013

Ref: Research Project on the impact of food on learning

Dear Parent/Carer

I am writing to inform you that your child will be taking part in a study which will involve interviews that will be carried out to find out about the relationship between food and the impact it has on learning. The study has been jointly funded by Peartree Academy and University of Leicester.

This study will not disrupt learning for pupils in any way and all interviews will be carried out from **March 2014 – July 2014**. Strict confidentiality will be exercised and all the research will remain anonymous.

Enclosed is an information sheet which outlines the overall aims of the study.

(*Please delete below as appropriate*)

I **would like/would not like** ………………………………………….. (Name) to participate in the study.

Should you wish to discuss any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours faithfully,

Gurpinder Singh Lalli

PhD Student
University of Leicester
gl94@le.ac.uk
Telephone: 07590 037 060

Title of project: An Ethnographic Case Study of the impact of food upon the learning environment at Peartree Academy
Gurpinder Singh Lalli, PhD Student, School of Education, University of Leicester

- I am a PhD student based at the University of Leicester and my research project will aim to address the ways in which food impacts on learning in terms of social skills development.

- I am a qualified teacher with 8 years of classroom experience, who recently completed an MA degree in Social and Cultural studies. I have mainly taught disaffected students aged 14 – 18 in further education across the Midlands. Currently I work as a Visiting Lecturer, teaching Education, Inclusion and Disability Studies. My research interests are in the teaching and learning area within sociology of education.

- The research project will involve conducting interviews at Peartree Academy, with staff, pupils and parents and also carrying out observations around the school. As this is the preliminary stage, a select few interviews will be carried out with teachers at the school.

- All the interviews will last between 5 – 15 minutes and will be audio recorded and later transcribed. The recordings will be kept confidential and used anonymously in any writing. The recordings will only be available to the researcher, researcher's supervisor and the participant being interviewed.

- Observations will be carried out around the school, including the restaurant and in Food lessons. Looking at Food as the subject area will help narrow down the research focus and this is also an area in which I have gained teaching experience. More importantly, this subject is part of the core curriculum. The aim of this is to establish the context of the school and engage with the ways in which individuals behave.

- Should you have any concerns during the study, please do not hesitate to discuss them with the researcher or supervisor who will be happy to help.

Gurpinder Singh Lalli – Researcher
gl94@le.ac.uk
07590 037 060
Professor Hilary Burgess – Supervisor
hb144@le.ac.uk
0116 252 3661

I have created the visual representation of the restaurant in order to identify the whole layout.
A bird's-eye view of the restaurant

Main Corridor leading to classrooms
Learning Resource Centre directly above

Staffroom

Principals PA

Food Technology Classrooms

Leads to the younger year groups 1 & 2 Also has an additional entrance

Sky light

Sky light

Kitchen

Main School entrance

Reception

My position
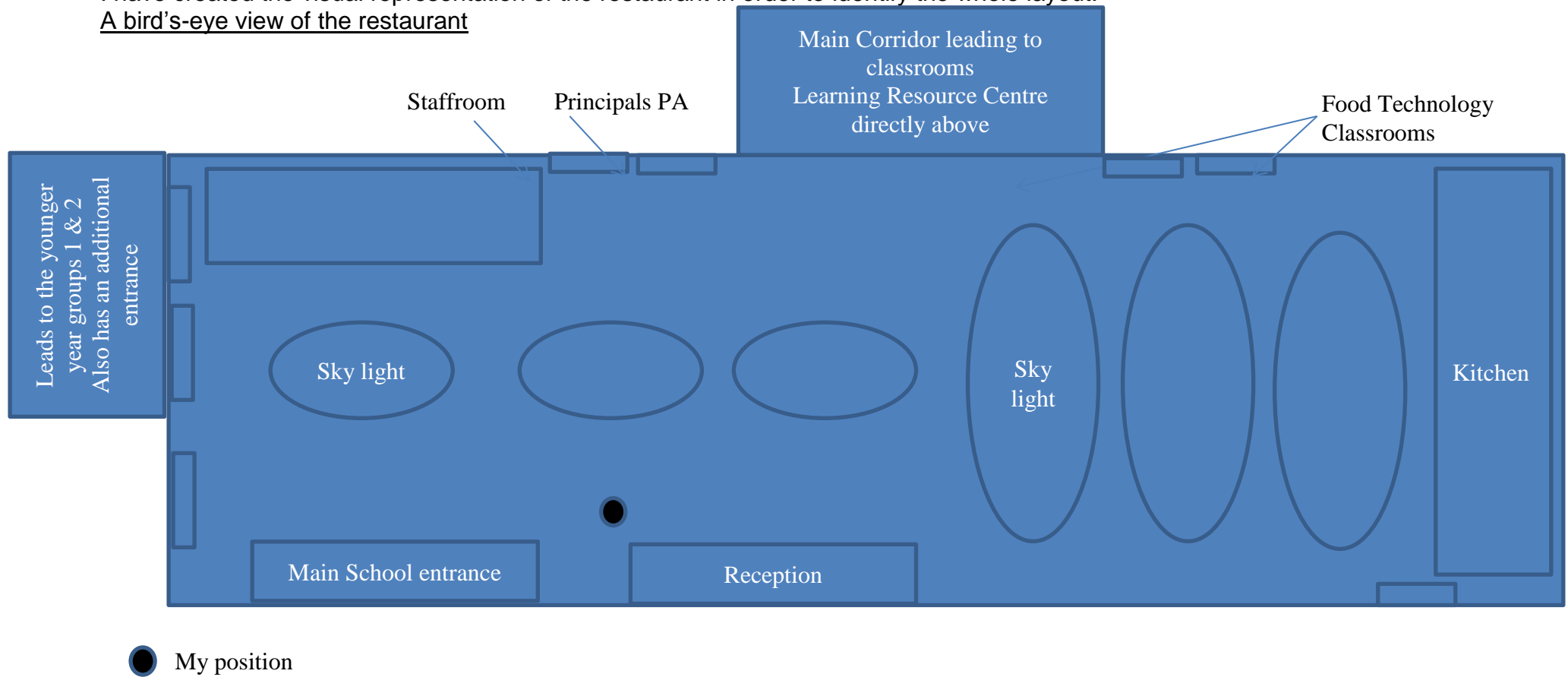
A view of the restaurant layout

Interview 1: Lana Masey, Catering Manager, 44
File Name: DW_B0105
GL – Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research project on the impact of food. All the responses from the interview will be treated as confidential and all names will remain anonymous. Any information gathered through this process will be used solely for the purposes of this study.
GL – First question, what influenced your decision to join the school and how long have you been working at the school?
LM – I came in 2007, I started in June as the School was getting ready in September. I started out in a mobile out the back of the kitchen, so the school wasn't even ready. I've always been in catering but never done school meals, so basically when I saw the advert, what I liked about it was the ethos of healthy mind, body and spirit. The business side of the school, all the different things encouraged me to come, being around children, because we're focusing on healthy eating, children having a big part, the healthy eating award, we're very big on that from what they learn in classrooms, about food, where it comes from, in the past we've grown vegetables out in the kitchen. So children from 3 years old all the way through, so that's a really good thing.
GL – Ok, great, thank you for very much. No. 2 Outside of the classroom, how are pupils' able to develop their social skills?
LM – The social skills, I think from our point of view basically, in the dining room, we're from the word go, we wanted it to make it homely, we wanted to put flowers on the tables, we wanted to make it bright and open to encourage people to come into it, to do meetings, which was the main focus. Basically, as well the children, a lot of the children not aware of how to use knife and fork. For the first week I started, I went around schools seeing what they actually do in schools, and I noticed that they did the flight trays and I thought, no I don't want to go down that route. I want crockery…
GL –Flights trays?
LM – Flight trays, which were like plastic trays they have, it's like the food divided up into sections. Even from 3 years old, we decided, that plates would get broken, but then their learning on a plate from the word go, you know and it was a good thing. And the little ones, well I thought, they'd be able to carry food…but yes they can, they'd line up just like everyone else to go to a separate hall, place. It's worked really well to be honest.
GL – Ok, thank you very much, third question, what's your experience of dining halls in schools? What makes this different?
LM – Well I haven't experienced working in schools before, so it was an eye opener for me. When I came, what I liked about the school, it was going to be fresh ingredients; I always worked in catering, from 15 years old sort of thing. Always in the industry, that's all I've ever known sort of thing.
GL – So who were your typical clients?
LM – Uh, I worked for the healthcare, um University of Leicester, I worked in restaurants, I worked in hotels, every single variety, this was something different. Well three quarters of my time was big scale catering, so I'm used to doing that side of it. I'm used to doing functions; we do functions here as

well. What I liked is at the beginning I went to see other schools, see what they did, there was a school closing around here, called the Nerry and I went to see what the food was like there. That was a catering group who had taken that on, so I liked to see that, some of the governors of other schools and they told me to go over to see what it was like. So I saw all different age ranges really and what they did. And I just wanted totally fresh ingredients, all the chefs in here are trained, so it was everything from the word go, from making fresh bread, fresh cakes, as long as it's healthy.
GL – So what do you think makes the dining hall here different? From what you've seen in other schools?
LM – I think they're a little bit institutionalised, I think we do a lot more of a variety of what we actually put on for the children, more choice for them, I think really it's all about sitting together with the teachers and it's a nice impact on the children. You know the younger ones which are in phase 1 through the double doors.
GL –Separate…
LM – Yeah, they didn't do that at the beginning, at the beginning they sat with the older children at the top of the dining hall, it was a case of them being pushed out the way, so let's keep them separate. The teaching assistants and teachers come in and have meals with them to make sure they eat their food, so it's like a community, they all sit together.
GL – So is there a separate kitchen for the Phase 1…
LM – No the kitchen's all done in here, foods all produced here. Plus we cater food for another school as well, so it's quite a big operation.
GL – What's the schools regulation on school food in the classroom? I know it may be difficult for you to answer, what are the rules? Do you think that helps them concentrate on what they're doing?
LM – We give free toast to every child, the ones little ones phase one we deliver toast, we give free toast to the phase 2 and 3 they come to the servery in the morning and also to the parents because we do a coffee morning to get the parents to come in, encourage them to speak with the teachers.
GL – When you say coffee mornings, is that every day?
LM – Every day, from 8 – 10am
GL – Right…
LM – So they can come and get a free cup of coffee and get toast
GL – So you know school food in classrooms, is there a regulation around that? Is it a no-no, is it ok?
LM – In classroom, we provide free fruit to them, and in break time every child is entitled to free fruit, as for we do a packed lunch policy, increase of fruit to ensure they have packed lunches, to make sure they have carbohydrates, we do exactly same in the restaurant. The only food in the classroom is toast or fruit.
GL – Do you think that helps them concentrate on what they're doing?
LM – I think it makes a lot of different to do with concentration, I think a lot of the children sometimes, say they got difficulties adapting to weird places and all that, but I actually think encouraging them to have the food makes all the difference.
GL – What extra activities do the school provide that have a positive impact

on learning during break and lunch time?
LM – We do after school clubs, makes a difference on the learning side of it, we do that.
GL – Is the restaurant used to facilitate some of that?
LM – We do after school clubs, the little ones obviously have to do it in this sort of area, I actually did after school clubs for a long while, before we got really busy in the kitchen area and we had little ones we could reach the cookers in there. So we used to make things on the tables out here. Yeah, we do use this area as well.
GL – Brilliant, thank you very much, so how does the breakfast club help pupils?
LM – I think they do that in a lot of skills, where they do breakfast clubs, we do find here obviously, three quarters of ours are free school meals. So we have to provide free toast and that's the way we work it. We obviously sell things like bacon rolls and sausage baguettes but it is good because obviously mums dropping the children off, they come in early in the morning, they get their toys out, they do crayoning, it gives them a chance to go off to work and somebody here, you know staff to actually watch their children.
GL – Ok, so, in what ways do children continue to learn during the time in the restaurant?
LM – Continue to learn? Uh, well the other day, I tell what we do, uh I do every first term where I have the children come in and they all learn about our job. And last week was my job. So, basically they come in, I used to talk to in the classroom, but I found they wanted to see what was going on, so what they do now is they come in, one in the morning, one class, this is the 5 year olds, it was really successful, they see the food production, I introduce them to everybody, show the children what they're making and then in the afternoon we do cakes, and then we show them that and we go to the table with little questions and then we have a sample of what we made, then we made flapjack, cookies and they love doing that. I also do another one where they're learning about the story goldilocks and 3 bears, so I make them porridge and then we talk about the story of goldilocks and how it works. You know the sort of things to introduce different things.
GL – What sort of things are they learning and that time?
LM – That time, very big, they have the food technology teachers, they have vegetables and fruit, they go down there and say where the foods come from and then we have a taster day, they do that down there as well. That's a good thing that they learn about different bits and pieces.
GL – How's that happening exactly, do you think?
LM – How's it happening? It's working really well because they like the teachers, it's always been a big thing from the word go to the little ones because they're not aware of what the food we are serving always and it's a good way of introducing them to different things. You know even in here we change the menus quite regularly, a lot of the times they're not sure what it is, so we do like tasting, so they know what foods taste like, they're unsure, they'll try things sometimes, sometimes they like it sometimes they don't.
GL – Ok, thank you very much for your time, I know you have a busy schedule.

Appendix 14 – Interview: Coded interviews

No.	**Interview 1: Lana Masey**, Catering Manager, 44	**Open Coding**
	File Name: DW_B0105	
1.0	GL – Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research project on the impact of food. All the responses from the interview will be treated as confidential and all names will remain anonymous. Any information gathered through this process will be used solely for the purposes of this study.	
1.1	GL – First question, what influenced your decision to join the school and how long have you been working at the school?	
1.2	LM – I came in 2007, I started in June as the School was getting ready in September. I started out in a mobile out the back of the kitchen, so the school wasn't even ready. I've always been in catering but never done school meals, so basically when I saw the advert, what I liked about it was the ethos of healthy mind, body and spirit. The business side of the school, all the different things encouraged me to come, being around children, because we're focusing on healthy eating, children having a big part, the healthy eating award, we're very big on that from what they learn in classrooms, about food, where it comes from, in the past we've grown vegetables out in the kitchen. So children from 3 years old all the way through, so that's a really good thing.	Creating the restaurant Past employment Healthy eating
1.3	GL – Ok, great, thank you for very much. No. 2 Outside of the classroom, how are pupils' able to develop their social skills?	
1.4	LM – The social skills, I think from our point of view basically, in the dining room, we're from the word go, we wanted it to make it homely, we wanted to put flowers on the tables, we wanted to make it bright and open to encourage people to come into it, to do meetings, which was the main focus. Basically, as well the children, a lot of the children not aware of how to use knife and fork. For the first week I started, I went around schools seeing what they actually do in schools, and I noticed that they did the flight trays and I thought, no I don't want to go down that route. I want crockery…	Social skills use in the restaurant Basic skills Other school canteens
1.5	GL –Flights trays?	

1.6	LM – Flight trays, which were like plastic trays they have, it's like the food divided up into sections. Even from 3 years old, we decided, that plates would get broken, but then their learning on a plate from the word go, you know and it was a good thing. And the little ones, well I thought, they'd be able to carry food…but yes they can, they'd line up just like everyone else to go to a separate hall, place. It's worked really well to be honest.	Flight trays Learning basic skills in the restaurant
1.7	GL – Ok, thank you very much, third question, what's your experience of dining halls in schools? What makes this different?	
1.8	LM – Well I haven't experienced working in schools before, so it was an eye opener for me. When I came, what I liked about the school, it was going to be fresh ingredients; I always worked in catering, from 15 years old sort of thing. Always in the industry, that's all I've ever known sort of thing.	School food Creating the restaurant
1.9	GL – So who were your typical clients?	
2.0	LM – Uh, I worked for the healthcare, um University of Leicester, I worked in restaurants, I worked in hotels, every single variety, this was something different. Well three quarters of my time was big scale catering, so I'm used to doing that side of it. I'm used to doing functions; we do functions here as well. What I liked is at the beginning I went to see other schools, see what they did, there was a school closing around here, called the Nerry and I went to see what the food was like there. That was a catering group who had taken that on, so I liked to see that, some of the governors of other schools and they told me to go over to see what it was like. So I saw all different age ranges really and what they did. And I just wanted totally fresh ingredients, all the chefs in here are trained, so it was everything from the word go, from making fresh bread, fresh cakes, as long as it's healthy.	Past employment Catering industry Other school canteens Healthy food
2.1	GL – So what do you think makes the dining hall here different? From what you've seen in other schools?	
2.2	LM – I think they're a little bit institutionalised, I think we do a lot more of a variety of what we actually put on for the children, more choice for them, I think really it's all about sitting together with the teachers and it's a nice impact on the	Institutionalization Sitting together in the restaurant

	children. You know the younger ones which are in phase 1 through the double doors.	
2.3	GL –Separate…	
2.4	LM – Yeah, they didn't do that at the beginning, at the beginning they sat with the older children at the top of the dining hall, it was a case of them being pushed out the way, so let's keep them separate. The teaching assistants and teachers come in and have meals with them to make sure they eat their food, so it's like a community, they all sit together.	The previous school Eating together Community
2.5	GL – So is there a separate kitchen for the Phase 1…	
2.6	LM – No the kitchen's all done in here, foods all produced here. Plus we cater food for another school as well, so it's quite a big operation.	Catering for other school
2.7	GL – What's the schools regulation on school food in the classroom? I know it may be difficult for you to answer, what are the rules? Do you think that helps them concentrate on what they're doing?	
2.8	LM – We give free toast to every child, the ones little ones phase one we deliver toast, we give free toast to the phase 2 and 3 they come to the server in the morning and also to the parents because we do a coffee morning to get the parents to come in, encourage them to speak with the teachers.	Toast for pupils and parents Coffee morning
2.9	GL – When you say coffee mornings, is that every day?	
3.0	LM – Every day, from 8 – 10am	Timings of breakfast
3.1	GL – Right…	
3.2	LM – So they can come and get a free cup of coffee and get toast	Free coffee and toast
3.3	GL – So you know school food in classrooms, is there a regulation around that? Is it a no-no, is it ok?	
3.4	LM – In classroom, we provide free fruit to them, and in break time every child is entitled to free fruit, as for we do a packed lunch policy, increase of fruit to ensure they have packed lunches, to make sure they have carbohydrates, we do exactly same in the restaurant. The only food in the classroom is toast or fruit.	Free fruit Packed lunch Only food in the classroom is toast or fruit

3.5	GL – Do you think that helps them concentrate on what they're doing?	
3.6	LM – I think it makes a lot of difference to do with concentration, I think a lot of the children sometimes, say they got difficulties adapting to weird places and all that, but I actually think encouraging them to have the food makes all the difference.	Food helps concentration
3.7	GL – What extra activities do the school provide that have a positive impact on learning during break and lunch time?	
3.8	LM – We do after school clubs, makes a difference on the learning side of it, we do that.	After school club
3.9	GL – Is the restaurant used to facilitate some of that?	
4.0	LM – We do after school clubs, the little ones obviously have to do it in this sort of area, I actually did after school clubs for a long while, before we got really busy in the kitchen area and we had little ones we could reach the cookers in there. So we used to make things on the tables out here. Yeah, we do use this area as well.	After school club Kitchen area Cooking
4.1	GL – Brilliant, thank you very much, so how does the breakfast club help pupils?	
4.2	LM – I think they do that in a lot of skills, where they do breakfast clubs, we do find here obviously, three quarters of ours are free school meals. So we have to provide free toast and that's the way we work it. We obviously sell things like bacon rolls and sausage baguettes but it is good because obviously mums dropping the children off, they come in early in the morning, they get their toys out, they do crayoning, it gives them a chance to go off to work and somebody here, you know staff to actually watch their children.	Free school meals Free toast Early start for pupils Staff watching pupils Parents busy with working life
4.3	GL – Ok, so, in what ways do children continue to learn during the time in the restaurant?	
4.4	LM – Continue to learn? Uh, well the other day, I tell what we do, uh I do every first term where I have the children come in and they all learn about our job. And last week was my job. So, basically they come in, I used to talk to in the classroom, but I found they wanted to see what was going on, so what they do now is they come in, one in the morning, one class, this is the 5 year olds, it was really successful, they see the food production, I introduce them	Pupils learn about catering staff Food production Cooking Goldilocks and the 3 bears story

	to everybody, show the children what they're making and then in the afternoon we do cakes, and then we show them that and we go to the table with little questions and then we have a sample of what we made, then we made flapjack, cookies and they love doing that. I also do another one where they're learning about the story goldilocks and 3 bears, so I make them porridge and then we talk about the story of goldilocks and how it works. You know the sort of things to introduce different things.	
4.5	GL – What sort of things are they learning and that time?	
4.6	LM – That time, very big, they have the food technology teachers, they have vegetables and fruit, they go down there and say where the foods come from and then we have a taster day, they do that down there as well. That's a good thing that they learn about different bits and pieces.	Food technology teachers Learning about food
4.7	GL – How's that happening exactly, do you think?	
4.8	LM – How's it happening? It's working really well because they like the teachers, it's always been a big thing from the word go to the little ones because they're not aware of what the food we are serving always and it's a good way of introducing them to different things. You know even in here we change the menus quite regularly, a lot of the times they're not sure what it is, so we do like tasting, so they know what foods taste like, they're unsure, they'll try things sometimes, sometimes they like it sometimes they don't.	Type of food being served Change of menus Food taste
4.9	GL – Ok, thank you very much for your time, I know you have a busy schedule.	

Int. No.	Open Codes	Grouping Codes
1	Creating the restaurant	Creating the restaurant
	Past employment	
	Healthy eating	
	Social skills use in the restaurant	Social skills use in the restaurant
	Basic skills	
	Other school canteens	Other school canteens
	Flight trays	
	Learning basic skills in the restaurant	Learning basic skills in the restaurant
	School food	
	Catering industry	
	Healthy food	Healthy food
	Institutionalization	
	Sitting together in the restaurant	
	Eating together	
	The previous school	
	Community	
	Catering for other school	
	Toast for pupils and parents	
	Coffee morning	
	Timings of breakfast	
	Free coffee and toast	
	Free fruit	
	Packed lunch	
	Only food in the classroom is toast or fruit	
	Food helps concentration	
	After school club	After school club
	Kitchen area	
	Cooking	
	Free school meals	Free school meals
	Early start for pupils	
	Staff watching pupils	Staff watching pupils
	Parents busy with working life	
	Pupils learn about catering staff	
	Food production	
	Cooking	
	Goldilocks and the 3 bears story	
	Food technology teachers Learning about food	Learning about food
	Type of food being served	
	Change of menus	

Int. No.	Grouped codes	Refining conceptual codes	Themes
		Staff	
1	Creating the restaurant	Creating the restaurant	Recreating the restaurant
	Social skills use in the restaurant	Social skills use in the restaurant	Social skills in the restaurant
	Other school canteens	Other school canteens	Basic skills in the restaurant
	Learning basic skills in the restaurant	Learning basic skills in the restaurant	Comparison of school canteens
	Healthy food	Healthy food	Observation
	Staff watching pupils	Staff observing pupils	Food
	After school club	Food education	Education
	Healthy meals		
	Learning about foods		
2	Past employment	Past employment	Employment background
	Enjoying food together	Socialisation	Socialisation
	Sit together	Eating together	Social deprivation
	Healthy food	Social deprivation	Commensality
	Socially deprived area		
3	Past employment	Past employment	Employment background
	Pupils who are not socializing.	Socialisation	Socialisation
	Blaming the parents	Red ties and power relations	Power relationships through uniform
	School improved with staff changes	Restaurant as a learning space	Restaurant as a learning space
	Previous assistant Principal not bothered.		
	Fresh cooked food		
	Senior management identified as those who wear red ties.		
	After school clubs.		
	Little time, big school.		
	Breakfast club		
	Tea and Coffee for parents		
	Parents able to sit in the restaurant once the kids have started school too.		

	Pupils using restaurant for colouring pictures		
4	Past employment.	Past employment Developing social skills Mentoring Position Observing elder pupils Expectations in the restaurant Staff duty Setting standards Breakfast club	Employment background Social skills development Peer observation Behaviour in the restaurant Managing behaviour in the restaurant School breakfast

Int. No.	Themes	Reoccurring themes
Staff		
1	Recreating the restaurant	Learning spaces in the restaurant
	Social skills in the restaurant	Social skills development
	Basic skills in the restaurant	Comparison with other school canteens
	Comparison of school canteens	Food education
	Observation	Basic skills
	Food Education	
2	Employment background	Learning spaces in the restaurant
	Socialisation	Socialisation
	Social deprivation	Social deprivation
	Commensality	Commensality
3	Employment background	Recreating the restaurant
	Socialisation	Socialisation
	Power relationships through uniform	Power relationships through uniform
	Restaurant as a learning space	Learning spaces in the restaurant
4	Employment background	Recreating the restaurant
	Social skills development	Social skills development
	Peer observation	Managing behaviour in the restaurant
	Behaviour in the restaurant	School breakfast
	Managing behaviour in the restaurant	
	School breakfast	
5	Employment background	Recreating the restaurant
	Managing behaviour	Managing behaviour in the restaurant
	Role modelling in the restaurant	Modelling behaviour in the restaurant
	Social behaviour	Socialisation
	Pupil leaders	Food choice
	Socialisation	Cutlery
	Basic skills	
	Using cutlery	
	Food choices	
	Modelling behaviour	

6	Employment background	Recreating the restaurant
	Food choice	Food choice
	School breakfast	School breakfast
	Commensality	Commensality
	Table manners	

Appendix 18 – Interview: Major themes by group

No.	Staff	Parents	Pupils	Major Themes	Key Themes	Potential Chapters
1	Social skills development	School breakfast	Socialisation	Socialisation	Social skills development	Chapter – Social skills development
2	Recreating the restaurant	Food choice	Food choice	Recreating the restaurant	Basic skills development	
3	Basic skills	Socialisation	Restaurant aesthetics	Managing behaviour in the restaurant		
4	Use of the restaurant	Meeting in the restaurant	School breakfast	Rules and regulations	Recreating the restaurant	Chapter – Recreating and use of the restaurant
5	Meeting in the restaurant	Recreating the restaurant	Managing the restaurant	Restaurant aesthetics	Use of the restaurant	
6	Managing behaviour in the restaurant	Restaurant aesthetics	Rules and regulations	Comparing to other school canteens		Chapter – Managing behaviour in the restaurant
7	Restaurant aesthetics	Social skills development		Learning spaces in the restaurant	Rules and regulations Modelling behaviour in the restaurant Managing behaviour in the restaurant	
8	Rules and regulations			Modelling behaviour in the restaurant		Chapter – Modelling in the restaurant
9	School breakfast			Basic skill		
10	Commensality			Social skills development		
11	Food choice					Chapter – Pupil perceptions

12	Cutlery			Social deprivation	Social Justice and school meals	Social Justice and the school meal
13	Comparing to other school canteens			Comparing to other school canteens		
14	Learning spaces in the restaurant			Commensality		
15	Social deprivation				School Food	School Food
16	Modelling behaviour in the restaurant			School breakfast		
17	Socialisation			Food choice		
18	Power relationships through uniform			Cutlery		

Appendix 19 – Observation: Field notes open codes

No.	Wednesday 25th September 2013	Open Codes
	Day 1	
	Field Notes	
	8.25am	
	A father talks to his child whilst dropping him off.	
1.0	'Go on, have your breakfast here then because you didn't eat it at home….there's no excuse now, I know your hungry son!'	Parent recognising child hungry School breakfast
	'Oh, there's my mates'	
	'See, they're eating!'	
	'Alright, bye dad!!'	
	9.20am	

Appendix 20 Observation: Refined codes

No.	Open Codes
1.0	Parent recognising child hungry School breakfast
1.2	Familiarisation with staff Seating position in the school Meetings between staff. Staff sitting and chatting in one space
1.3	Pupils walking alongside sports hall in restaurant
1.4	Chat with the principal
1.5	Principal talks about reason for coming to the school Two key words used – 'Food and behaviour'
1.6	Staff keeping on top of behavioural issues Staff facilitating pupils movements Fresh flowers on the table
1.6	Staff modelling food choices
1.8	Increase in noise level Staff members sat next to pupils having their lunch Staff making regular eye contact with other staff. Like they're being watched. Table positioning
1.9	Member of police force present. Staff seated on circular tables in the middle of the restaurant. Brings about a level of presence. Catering staff wiping tables ready for next batch of pupils.
2.0	Younger year group staff supervisors very animated
2.1	Wall display description
2.2	Noise levels decrease Pupils frustrated
2.3	Staff turnaround Use of cutlery Explicit language by pupils
2.4	Carrying plates of food Pupil asks me a question regarding my position.
2.5	Staff talking to pupil regarding new science class. Asking for any support regarding reading.
2.6	Pupils not allowed to leave the school premises for lunch Catering staff interested in research area.

No.	Open Codes	Refined Codes
1.0	Parent recognising child hungry School breakfast	School breakfast
1.2	Familiarisation with staff Seating position in the school Meetings between staff. Staff sitting and chatting in one space	Meetings in the school restaurant Interaction Socialisation
1.3	Pupils walking alongside sports hall in restaurant	
1.4	Chat with the principal	
1.5	Principal talks about reason for coming to the school Two key words used – 'Food and behaviour'	Food and behaviour
1.6	Staff keeping on top of behavioural issues Staff facilitating pupils movements Fresh flowers on the table	Managing behaviour
1.6	Staff modelling food choices	Modelling behaviour Food choice
1.8	Increase in noise level Staff members sat next to pupils having their lunch Staff making regular eye contact with other staff. Like they're being watched. Table positioning	School lunch Table manners Restaurant aesthetics
1.9	Member of police force present. Staff seated on circular tables in the middle of the restaurant. Brings about a level of presence. Catering staff wiping tables ready for next batch of pupils.	Power relationships

Appendix 22 – Observation: Key themes

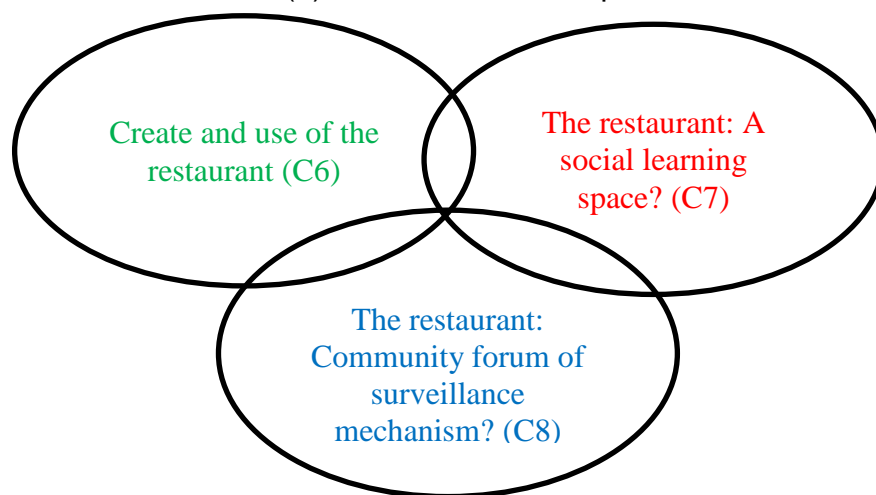| No.	Major Themes	Key Themes	Potential Chapters
1	Socialisation	Socialisation	Chapter – Social skills development
2	School restaurant as a learning space	School restaurant as a learning space	
3	Social skills and basic skills	Social skills and basic skills	
4	Food and behaviour		
5	Power relationships		Chapter – Recreating and use of the restaurant
6	Food choice	Food and behaviour	
7	Restaurant aesthetics	Power relationships	
8	Managing behaviour	Food choice	
9	Modelling behaviours	Restaurant aesthetics	
10	Rules and regulations	Managing behaviour	Chapter – Managing behaviour in the restaurant
11	Food choice	Modelling behaviours	
12	School lunch	Rules and regulations	
13	School breakfast		
		Food choice	
			School Food

Main research question
What is the impact of the food environment upon leaning social learning?

Subsidiary research questions

   (1) How do eating behaviours of staff and pupils impact on social learning
   (2) How do teaching staff promote social learning opportunities within a
       food environment?

Overview of the major themes
The grouping of the open codes and categories led to the development of
three key themes; (1) Recreating and use of the restaurant (2) Managing
behaviour in the restaurant (3) Social skills development in the restaurant

Create and use of the
restaurant (C6)

The restaurant: A
social learning
space? (C7)

The restaurant:
Community forum of
surveillance
mechanism? (C8)

Chapter 6: Creation of the school restaurant
   (1) Creation of the restaurant
   (2) Use of the restaurant

Chapter 7: The restaurant: A Social Learning Space?
   (1) What perceptions do teaching staff and non-teaching staff have of the
       restaurant?
   (2) What social learning occurred in the restaurant

**Chapter 8: The restaurant: Community Forum or Surveillance
Mechanism?**
   (1) Managing the school restaurant
   (2) Environmental impact of the restaurant
   (3) Modelling behaviour in the restaurant

Figures

Fig. 2 – Description of sample: Staff

Staff Group	Staff Type	Total
Administrative Staff	1 Administrative Receptionist; 1 Attendance Leader; 1 Exams Officer	3
Restaurant Staff	1 Catering Manager 1 Dinner Lady	2
Support Staff	1 Assistant Phase Leader; 1 Phase One Inclusion Leader; 1 LRC Leader; 2 Pupil Guidance Leaders; 1 Senior Behaviour Leader for whole school; 1 Phase Three Mentor; 1 Teaching Assistant; 1 Academic Maths Coach; 1 Phase Three Mentor,	10
Teaching Staff	2 English Teachers; 1 Science Teacher; 4 Year 7 Nurture Teachers	7
Senior Management	1 Phase One Assistant Principal	1
Leadership Team	1 Principal and 2 Deputy Principals	3
Total		26

Fig. 3 – Description of sample: Pupils

Number of Pupils	Age	Year Group	Key Stage Level	Number of pupils
2 male, 2 female	One aged 8 and three aged 9	4	KS2	4
1 male, 1 female	10	5	KS2	2
1 male, 1 female	11	6	KS2	2
1 male, 1 female	11 and 12	7	KS3	2
1 male, 1 female	12 and 13	9	KS3	2
1 male, 1 female	13	10	KS4	2
1 male, 1 female	15	11	KS4	2
Total				16

Fig. 4 – Description of sample: Parents

| Parent Gender	Occupation	Link to the school
Female	Full-time mother	Parent to pupil in Foundation 2 and Year 3
Female	Full-time mother	Parent to pupil in Year 3 and 1 child in crèche
Female	Student TA	children in Foundation 1, Year 2, Year 6
Female	Full-time mother	Parent to a 2 year old child
Female	Full-time mother	Children in Year 4 and 6
Female	Parent and Teaching Assistant	Parent to pupils in Foundation Year 1, Year 4 and Year 11
Female	Midday supervisor	Parent to Year 1, 8 and 11 pupils
Female	Midday supervisor	Parent to Year 10 and Year 7 pupils
Female	Midday supervisor	Year 9 pupil
Female	Intervention TA	Parent to Year 3, 11 and 1 Year 11 who left last year
Female	Midday supervisor	Parent to Year 7 pupil
Male	Midday supervisor/cleaner	Parent to one Year 5 pupil
Total	12	

Fig. 5 - Notes on staff roles
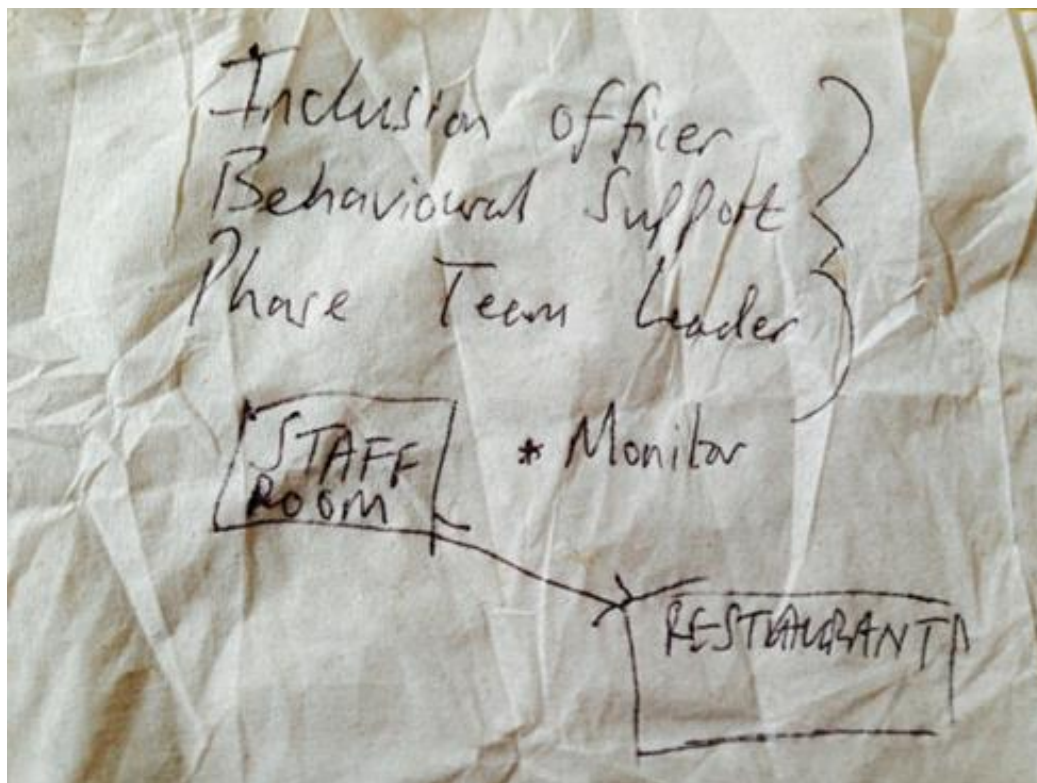
Fig. 6 – Example of triangulation

Field Note

Wednesday 25th September 2013

8.32am

colleagues and pupils before lunch. Although meetings were brief, the restaurant seemed to be utilised constantly. There are a line of Year 8 students who have just walked by, behind me alongside the wall, past reception towards what seems to be labelled the sports hall.

Interview 1:

Wednesday 19th February 2014

wanted to make it bright and open to encourage people to come into it, to do meetings, which was the main focus. Basically, as well the children, a lot of the children not aware of

Fig. 7 - Example of observation annotation

The handwritten observation table contains:

Date: 13.11.13

Key: Green = Staff, Pink = Pupils

Period/Situation	Who (Year group)	What I have observed	What I heard	Further thoughts
Post Breakfast	Year 9	A pupil walks into school late, as he acknowledges a member of staff as he walks in. The staff member seems to be aware of the reason for his lateness.	Staff – "You ok?" Pupil – "Yep"	A way of monitoring pupils as they walk in.
Post Breakfast	Younger Year Pupils	A group of teachers evenly spaced walking in a single file with the younger year groups, walking on out of the school for an excursion.	General pupil chatter of excitement.	A very structured and controlled environment, which I was able to see from the restaurant.
Break time	Year 7/8	The restaurant is now full of pupils, who are mostly stood around tables and some are seated, wearing coats and sipping on bottled drinks of what looks like squash. One pupil zooms past the restaurant, as they run back and forth. There is one single member of staff in the area, who is supervising, a lot less than the usual numbers of staffing during the lunch hour. Clearly, there is a lot of excitement and not as much control, where pupils are roaming freely.	Pupils seem (very lively). Generally comments included – "Where you going?" Staff member wearing blue hoody – "Ladies, ladies, ladies, ladies, right, let's get together and start making our way to the next lesson". All the pupils surround this one teacher who says "Hang on, hang on, one at a time" Pupils – "Miss, miss….me, me…" Pupils – "Miss ▓▓▓"	A positive discussion between a group of pupils who seem engaged with this staff member. They are listening well regardless of the loud environment during break time. Managing? Potential Surveillance Theme! Name anonymised!

Handwritten notes in left margin: "Busy period"

Staff member – "Ok, you got it? See you later"

272

Fig. 8 – Example of interview annotation
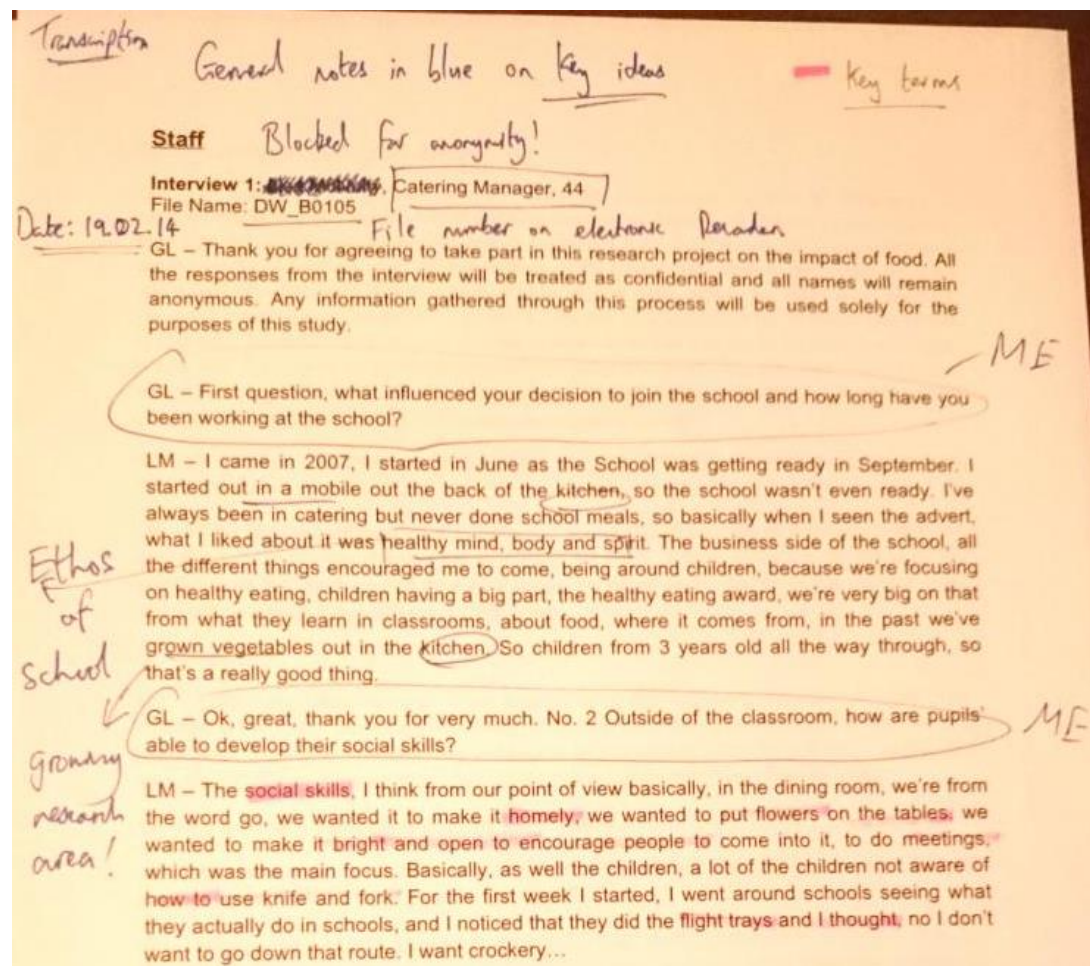
Fig. 9 – Example of field notes

Restaurant familiarity

→ Staff
→ Pupils
→ Description
Record interaction?

Day 1

Wednesday 25th September 2013

Field Notes

8:32am

On the first day of the observations, I made myself familiar with some staff and also was approached by pupils, who welcomed me to the school. I positioned myself in the corner of the restaurant, next to the dustbin, buffet stand, where I had a view of the whole restaurant. I can see the staff room, situated diagonally from my position, reception area to my left. Although lunch has not started, I thought it would be a good idea to settle in, whilst trying not to look like a member of the OFSTED team. In my favour, there were staff members who sat in the restaurant with colleagues and pupils before lunch. Although meetings were brief, the restaurant seemed to be utilised constantly. There are a line of Year 8 students who have just walked by, behind me alongside the wall, past reception towards what seems to be labelled the sports hall.

12.09pm

Fig. 12 – PhD Tutorial

Tutorial : PhD   10.30am   4TH Feb 2014

1. Struggling to find what I'm looking for!
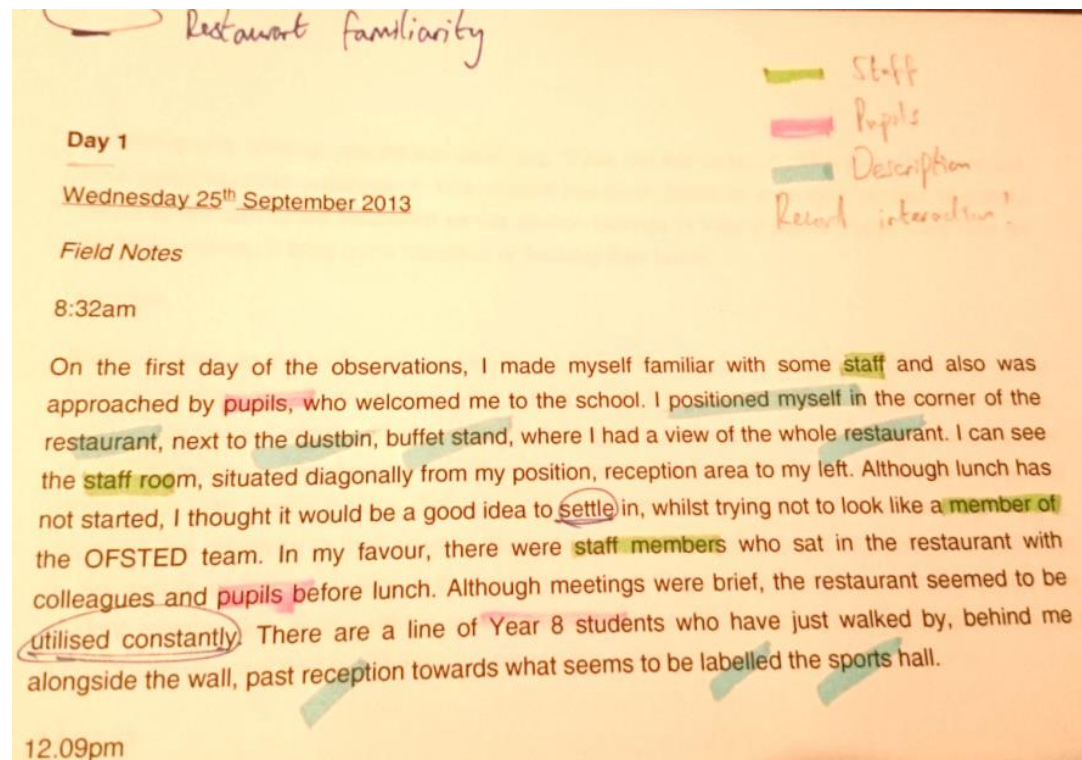2. Should I go into the restaurant to look for something?
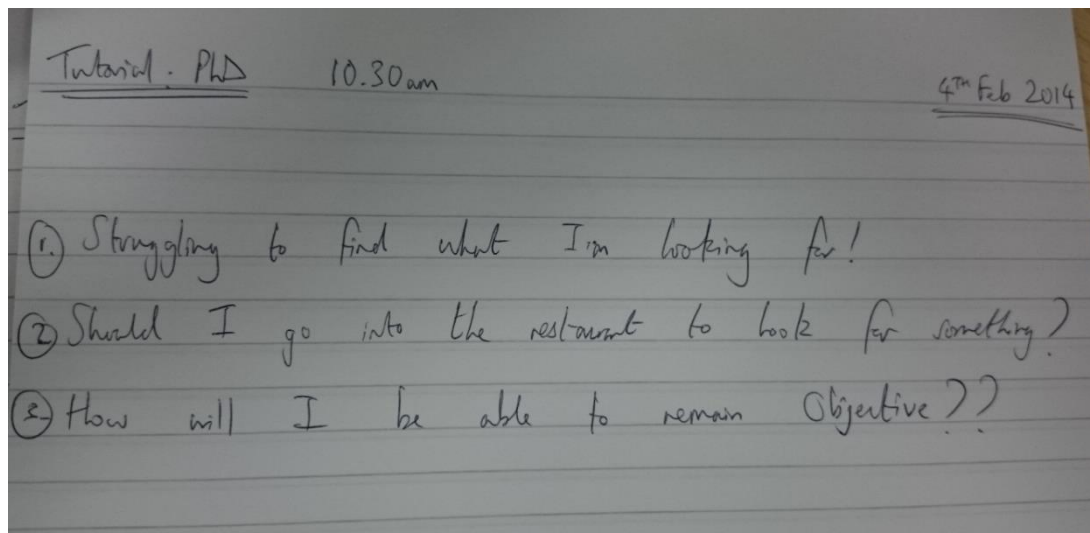3. How will I be able to remain Objective??

Fig. 14 – Image of the restaurant

Fig. 15 – Outside view of the school

References

Acker, S. (1999) *Realities of Teachers' Work: Never a Dull Moment.* London: Continuum.

Adelman, S., Alderman, H. Gilligan, D. O., Lehrer, K. (2008) 'The Impact of Alternative Food for Education programs on school participation and education attainment in Northern Uganda', *International Food Policy Research Institute,* Washington DC.

Adler, P. A. and Adler, P. (1987) *Membership roles in Field Research.* Newbury Park: CA: Sage Publications.

Agerholm, H. (2017) 'Queen's Speech: All the policies Theresa May has been forced to drop, from school meals to the dementia tax', *The Independent.* Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/queens-speech-today-latest-updates-theresa-may-conservative-policies-dropped-dementia-tax-scrapping-a7800031.html (Accessed: 23 June 2017)

Ahmed, A. U. (2004) 'Impact of feeding children in school: Evidence from Bangladesh, *International Food Policy Research Institute,* Washington DC.

Ahmed, A. U. (2006) 'Do crowded classrooms crowd out learning? Evidence from the Food for Education Program in Bangladesh', World Development, 34 (4), pp. 665-684.

Andersen, S. S. (2015) *School meals in children's social life: A study of contrasting meal arrangements.* PhD Thesis. University of Copenhagen.

Andersen, S. S., Holm, L., Baarts, C. (2015) School meal sociality or lunch pack individualism? Using an intervention study to compare the social impacts of school meals and packed lunches from home, *Social Science Information,* pp. 1-23.

Andersen, S. S., Vassard, D. Havn, L. N., Damsgaard, C. T., Biltoft-Jensen, A., Holm, L. (2016) 'Measuring the impact of classmates on children's liking of school meals' *Food Quality and Preference,* 52, pp. 82-95.

Andrews, R. (2003) *Research Questions.* London: Continuum.

Aspin, D. N. and Chapman, J. D. (2007) *Values education and lifelong learning: Principles, policies, programmes.* London: Springer.

Atkinson, P. Coffey, A. Delamont, S., Lofland, J., Lofland, L. H. (2007) *Handbook of Ethnography.* London: Sage Publications.

Arnoff, J., Wilson, J. P. (2014) *Personality in the social process.* London: Routledge.

Ayers, S. Baum, A., McManus, C., Newman, S., Wallston, K., Weinman, J., West, R. eds. (2007) *Cambridge handbook of Psychology, Health and Medicine.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baker, S. and Edwards, R. (2012) 'How many qualitative interviews is enough? Expert voices and early career reflections on sampling and cases in qualitative research', ESRC, National Centre for Research Methods: University of Southampton.

Ball, S. J. (1981) *Beachside Comprehensive: A case-study of secondary schooling.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ball, S. J. (2013) *Foucault, Power and Education.* London: Routledge.

Bandura, A. (1977) Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioural change, *Psychological Review,* 84 (2), pp. 191-215.

Banerjee, R. (2010) Social and emotional aspects of learning in schools: Contributions to improving attainment, behaviour and attendance, *National Strategies Tracker School Project,* University of Sussex.

Baraban, R. S. and Durocher, J. F. (2010) *Successful Restaurant Design,* 3rd edn. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Basit, T.N. (2010) *Conducting research in educational contexts.* London: Continuum.

Bauer, K.W., Yang, Y. W., Austin, S. B. (2004) 'How can we stay healthy when you're throwing all of this in front of us? Findings from focus groups and interventions in middle schools on environmental influences on nutrition and physical activity', *Health Education and Behaviour,* 31 (1), pp. 34-46.

Bauer, K. W., Hearst, M. O., Escoto, K., Berge, J.M., Neymark-Sztainer, D. (2012) 'Parental employment and work-family stress: Associations with family food environments', *Social Science and Medicine,* 75 (3), pp. 496-504.

BBC News (2006) 'Junk food banned in school meals', 19 May. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/4995268.stm (Accessed: 10 August 2015).

BBC News (2007) 'Jamie's top dinner lady to quit', 3 April. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/6521213.stm (Accessed: June 2015).

BBC News (2013) 'All infants in England to get free school lunches', 17 September. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-24132416 (Accessed: 10 July 2015).

Beardsworth, A. and Keil, T. (1996) *Sociology on the menu: An invitation to the study of food and society.* London: Routledge.

Bedell, J. R. and Lennox, S. S. (1996) *Handbook for communication and problem-solving skills training.* John Wiley & Sons: London.

Bellack, A. S., Agresta, J., Gingerich, S., Mueser, K. T. (2004) *Social skills training for schizophrenia: A step-by-step guide,* Guilford Press: New York.

Bellisle, F. (2004) 'Effects of diet on behaviour and cognition in children', *British Journal of Nutrition,* 92, pp. S227-S232.

Benn, J. and Carlsson, M. (2014) 'Learning through school meals' *Appetite,* 78, pp. 23-31.

Belot, M. and James, J. (2011) Health school meals and educational outcomes*, Journal of Health Economics*, 30, pp. 489 – 504.

Bentham, S. (2012) *A teaching assistant's guide to child development and psychology in the classroom,* 2nd edn. London: Routledge.

BERA (2011) 'Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research', *British Educational Research Association.* Available at: http://content.yudu.com/Library/A1t9gr/BERAEthicalGuideline/resources/index .htm?referrerUrl=http%25253A%25252F%25252Fwww.yudu.com%25252Fite m%25252Fdetails%25252F375952%25252FBERA-Ethical-Guidelines-2011 (Accessed: 10 March 2017).

Bergh, A. (2014) *Sweden and the revival of the capitalist welfare state.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Birch, L. L. (1980) Effects of peer models' food choices and eating behaviours on pre-schoolers' food preferences, *Child Development,* 51, pp. 489 – 496.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998) *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development.* London: Sage Publications.

Branigan, T. Lawrence, F. Taylor, M. (2005) 'Kelly passes school dinner test', *The Guardian.* Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/society/2005/mar/31/schools.politics2 (Accessed: 10 March 2014).

Brewer, J. D. (2000) *Ethnography.* Buckingham: Open University press.

Brown, F., Hunter, R. C., Donahoo, S. (2012) *School governance.* London: Sage Publications.

Brown, V., Crawford, C., Dearden, L., Greaves, E., Kitchen, S., Payne, C., Purdon, S., Tanner, E. (2012) 'Evaluation of the Free School Meals Pilot: Impact Report', Department for Education, Research report DFE RR227. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/184047/DFE-RR227.pdf (Accessed: 26 May 2017).

Bruhn, J. G. (2008) *The Sociology of Community Connections.* London: Springer.

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods.* 4th edn. Oxford: University Press.

Burgess, R. (1983) *A study of Bishop McGregor School – Experiencing Comprehensive Education.* London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Burgess, H., Sieminski, S., Arthur, L. (2006) *Achieving your doctorate in education.* London: Sage Publications.

Burke, L. (2002) 'Healthy eating in the school environment – a holistic approach', *International Journal of Consumer Studies,* 26 (2), pp. 159-163.

Burke, C. and Grosvenor, I. (2003) *The School I'd Like: Children's and Young People's Reflections on an Education for the 21st Century,* London: Routledge Falmer.

Burke, C. (2005) Contested desires: The edible landscape of school, *Paedogoica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education,* 41 (4), pp. 571-587.

Cabinet Office (2017) 'Queens Speech 2017', Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/queens-speech-2017 (Accessed: 23 June 2017).

Calvert, M. and Henderson, J. (1998) *Managing Pastoral Care.* London: Continuum.

Campbell, D. (2012) 'Gove's school food inquiry gets roasting from Jamie Oliver', *The Guardian,* 4th July, p. 1-4.

Carter, B. and Burgess, H. (1992) 'Bringing out the best in people': Teacher training and the 'real' teacher, *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 13 (3), pp. 349-359.

Carter, B. and Burgess, H. (1993) 'Testing, Regulation and Control: Shifting education narratives', *Curriculum Studies,* 1 (2), pp. 233-244.

Clay, E. and Stokke, O. (2000) *Food aid and human security book.* London: Frank Cass.

Cohen, J. F. W., Jahn, J. L., Richardson, S., Cluggish, S. A. Parker, E., Rimm, E. B. (2015) 'Amount of Time to Eat Lunch Is Associated with Children's Selection and Consumption of School Meal Entrée, Fruits, Vegetables, and Milk', *Journal of the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics,* Research Brief, pp. 1 – 6, Available at:

http://www.andjrnl.org/pb/assets/raw/Health%20Advance/journals/jand/jand_p c_115_9.pdf (Accessed: 14 April 2017).

Cohen, L. Manion, L. Morrison, K. (2007) *Research Methods in Education.* London: Routledge.

Conlan, T. (2005) 'Channel 4 asks for more school dinners'*, The Telegraph.* Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/aug/19/schools.channel4 (Accessed: 12 July 2016).

Correria, J. and Sakkal, A. (2015) 'A study of school meals: How cafeteria culture and role models shape eating habits of students', *Food Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal,* 6 (1), pp. 1-16.

Corsaro, W. A. (2005) *The Sociology of Childhood.* 2nd edn. California. United States: Pine Forge Press Thousand Oaks.

Corvo, P. (2016) *Food culture, consumption and society,* London: Springer.

Creswell, J. W. (1994) *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* California: Sage Publications.

Cross, M. and MacDonald, B. (2009) *Nutrition in Institutions.* London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Crozier, G. (2012) 'Researching parent-school relationships, British Educational Research Association. Available at: http://www.bera.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Researching-parent-school-relationships.pdf (Accessed: 1 October 2016).

Curtis, P. (2007) 'Children find Jamie Oliver's school food hard to swallow, say inspectors', *The Guardian,* 3 October. Available at:

https://www.theguardian.com/society/2007/oct/03/2 (Accessed: 20 September 2015).

Dalton, T. A. (2004) *The food and Beveridge handbook.* Cape Town: Juta Academic.

Damay, C., Ezan, P., Gollety, M., Nicolas-Hemar, V. (2010) 'Social interactions as support for learning about food: the case of the French school cafeteria', *Young Consumers,* 12 (2), pp. 110-120.

Damsgaard, C. T., Dalskov, S. M., Petersen, R. A., Sorensen, L.B., Molgaard, C., Biltoft-Jensen A., Andersen, R., Thorsen, A.V., Tetens, I., Sjodin, A., Hjorthm M. F. Vassard, D., Jensen, J, D., Egelund, N., Dyssegaard, C. B., Skovgaard,, I.B., Astrup, A., Michaelsen, K. F. (2012) 'Design of the OPUS School Meal Study: A randomised controlled trial assessing the impact of serving school meals based on the New Nordic Diet', *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 40, pp. 693-703.

Danaher, G., Schirato, T., Webb, J. (2002) *Understanding Foucault.* New Delhi: Motilal Benarsidass.

Daniels, H., Visser, J., Cole, T., Reybekill, N. (1999) Emotional and behavioural difficulties in mainstream schools, *Research Brief no. 90, Department for Education and Employment,* University of Birmingham.

Dare, A. and O'Donovan, M. (2002) *A practical guide to child nutrition.* Cheltenham: Nelson Thornes.

Delormier, T., Frohlick, K., Potvin, L. (2009) Food and eating as social practice – an approach for understanding eating patterns as social phenomena and implications for public health, *Sociology of Health and Illness,* 31 (2), pp. 215-228.

De Laine, M. (1997) *Ethnography: Theory and applications in health research.* Sydney: MacLennan and Petty.

Delamont, S. 'For lust of knowing – observation in educational ethnography', Ch. 3 in Walford, G. (2008) *How to do educational ethnography,* London: Tufnell Press.

Delamont, S. (2012) *Handbook of qualitative research in education.* London: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (1994) *Handbook of qualitative research.* California: Sage Publications.

Department for Education (2006) 'Nutritional standards for school lunches and other school food: Final decisions on the report of the school meals review panel on school lunches and the advice of the school food trust on other school food', Department for Education: School meals Review Panel (SMRP). Available at: https://www.education.gov.uk/consultations/downloadableDocs/Government%20response%20FINAL%20VERSION.pdf (Accessed: 26 May 2017).

Department for Education (2007) Learning environments for pupil referral units, London: Stationary Office.

Department for Education (2013) The school food plan: How to improve school food and schoolchildren's diets. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-school-food-plan (Accessed: 12 August 2016).

Department for Education (2014) Universal infant free school meals, Departmental advice for local authorities, maintained schools, academies and free schools. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/359774/Universal_infant_free_school_meals_departmental_advice_30092014.pdf (Accessed: 10 August 2016).

Department for Education (2017) Peartree Academy, Available at: http://www.education.gov.uk/cgi-bin/schools/performance (Accessed: 28 February 2017).

Department for Children, Schools and Families (2009) Deprivation and Education: The evidence on pupils in England, Foundation Stage to Key Stage 4. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/222172/DCSF-RTP-09-01.pdf (Accessed: 17 November 2016).

Department of Health (2014) 'Think Autism: An update to the government adult autism strategy', Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/think-autism-an-update-to-the-government-adult-autism-strategy (Accessed 10 January 2016).

Desforges, C. (2003) 'The impact of parental involvement, parental support and family education on pupil achievements and adjustment: A literature review, Department for Education, Research Report RR433.

Devi, A., Surender, R., Rayner M. (2010) Improving the food environment in UK schools: Policy opportunities and challenges, *Journal of Public Health Policy,* 31 (2), pp. 212 – 226, Available at: http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy4.lib.le.ac.uk/stable/pdfplus/40802312.pdf?acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true (Accessed: 13 October 2016).

Dewey, P. (2014) *War and Progress: Britain 1914 – 1945.* London: Routledge.

Dimbleby, H. and Vincent, J. (2013) The School Food Plan, *Department for Education.* Available at: http://www.schoolfoodplan.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/School-Food-Plan-2013.pdf (Accessed: 10 September 2016).

Dobbert, M. L. (1982) *Ethnographic research: Theory and Application for Modern Schools and Societies.* New York: Praeger Publishers.

DuCharme, R. and Gullotta, T. P. (2012) *Asperger syndrome: A guide for professionals and families.* London: Springer.

Dudek, M. (2005) *Children's Spaces.* London: Routledge.

Durlak, J. A. and Weissberg, R. P. (2007) The impact of after-school programs that promote personal and social skills, *Centre for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL).* Available at: http://www.lions-quest.org/pdfs/AfterSchoolProgramsStudy2007.pdf (Accessed: 2 October 2016).

Edmonds, G. and Beardon, L. (2008) *Asperger syndrome and social relationships: Adults speak out about Asperger syndrome.* London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Education Act (1906) Available at: http://legislation.data.gov.uk/cy/ukpga/1906/57/section/1/enacted/data.htm?wrap=true (Accessed 10 June 2016).

Education Act (1944) Available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/7-8/31/contents/enacted (Accessed 8 March 2016).

Education Act (1980) Available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1981/60/enacted (Accessed 10 March 2016).

Ekins, A. (2013) *Understanding and tackling underachievement.* London: Optimus Education.

Elementary Education Act (1870) The 1870 Education Act, Available at: http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/school/overview/1870educationact/ (Accessed 20 June 2017).

Eliassen, R. K. (2011) 'The impact of teachers and families on young children's eating behaviours'. Available at: http://www.naeyc.org/files/naeyc/Eliassen_0.pdf (Accessed: 10 April 2017).

Filho, W. L. and Kovaleva, M. (2014) *Food waste and sustainable food waste management in the Baltic sea region.* London: Springer.

Fisher, P. (1987) 'History of school meals in Great Britain, *Nutrition and Health,* 4, pp. 189-194.

Fjellstrom, C. (2004) 'Mealtime and meal patterns from a cultural perspective', *Scandinavian Journal of Nutrition,* 48 (4), pp. 161-164.

Florian, L., Black-Hawkings, K., Rouse, M. (2016) *Achievement and inclusion in schools,* London: Routledge.

Flowers, R. and Swan, E. (2015) *Food Pedagogies: Critical Food Studies.* Surrey: Ashgate Publishing.

Flutter, J. and Rudduck, J. (2004) *Consulting pupils: What's in it for Schools?* London: Psychology Press.

Food Research and Action Centre (FRAC) (2011) 'Breakfast for learning: Scientific research on the link between children's nutrition and academic performance, 1 – 4. Available at: http://frac.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/breakfastforhealth.pdf (Accessed: 18 February 2017).

Forsey, M. 'Ethnographic interviewing: from conversation to published text', Ch. 4 in Walford, G. (2008) *How to do educational ethnography.* London: Tufnell Press.

Fosnot, C. T. (2005) *Constructivism: Theory, Perspective and Practice,* 2nd edn. New York: Teachers College Press.

Foucault, M. and Sheridan, A. (1991) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* London: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1980) The eye of power. In C. Gordon (ed.) *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977 by Michel Foucault.* Sussex: Harvester Press.

Foucault, M. (1982) The subject and power: afterword to Dreyfus, H. and Rabinow, P. in Dreyfus and Rabinow, P. *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics,* Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.

Furedi, F. (2009) *Socialisation as behaviour management and the ascendancy of expert authority.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Furness, H. (2015) 'Jamie Oliver admits school dinners campaign failed because eating well is a middle class preserve', *The Telegraph.* Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/11821747/Jamie-Oliver-admits-school-dinners-campaign-failed-because-eating-well-is-a-middle-class-preserve.html (Accessed 23 June 2016).

Garner, P. (2011) Promoting the conditions for positive behaviour, to help every child succeed, *National College for School Leadership: Schools and Academies.* Available at: http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/12538/1/download%3Fid%D158591%26filename%3Dpromoting-the-conditions-positive-behaviour-to-help-every-child-succeed.pdf (Accessed: 12 October 2016).

Garvis, S. and Pendergast, D. (2014) *Health and wellbeing in childhood.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Garvis, S. and Pendergast, D. (2017) *health and wellbeing in childhood.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gillard, D. (2003) 'Food for thought: child nutrition, the school dinner and the food industry', *Forum,* 45 (3), pp. 111-118.

Gillard, D. (2011) 'Education in England: A brief history', Available at: http://www.educationengland.org.uk/history/chapter04.html (Accessed 30 June 2016).

Gillmore, G., Gossrau-Breen, D., MacDonald, L., Taylor, L., McGowan, L. (2010) 'School food: Top marks – A summary report on food in schools research in Northern Ireland', *Public Health Agency*. Available at: http://www.publichealth.hscni.net/sites/default/files/Top%20marks%20summary%20report.pdf (Accessed: 1 January 2017).

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory.* Chicago: Aldine.

Glaser, B. (1992) *Emergence Versus Forcing: Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis.* Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

Golley, R. Baines, E. Bassett, P. Wood, L. Pearce, J. Nelson, M. (2010) 'School lunch and learning behaviour in primary schools: an intervention study'. *European Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 64 (11), pp. 1280-1288.

Gooch, J. (2013) *The Boer War: Direction, Experience and Image.* London: Routledge.

Gorard, S. (2003) *Qualitative methods in social sciences*. London: Continuum.

Gorard, B., See, H., Davies, P. (2012) 'The impact of attitudes and aspirations on educational attainment and participation', Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Graham, J. (2014) *School dictionary,* Oxford: Nelson Thornes.

Greaves, E., Crawford, C., Edwards, A., Farquharson, C., Trevelyan, G., Wallace, E., White, C. (2016) Magic Breakfast: Evaluation report and executive summary, Education Endowment Foundation: Institute of Fiscal

Studies. Available at:
https://educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/pdf/generate/?u=https://educati
onendowmentfoundation.org.uk/pdf/content/?id=963&e=963&t=Breakfast%20
clubs%20found%20to%20boost%20primary%20pupils%E2%80%99%20readi
ng%20writing%20and%20maths%20results&s=&mode=embed (Accessed: 11
February 2017).

Grundy, W. and Blandford, S. (1999) Developing a culture for positive
behaviour management, *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties,* 4 (3), pp. 5 –
9.

Hamilton, J. (2008) *Dress code in schools,* Michigan: Greenhaven Press.

Hamilton-Ekeke, J. T. and Thomas, M. (2007) 'Primary children's choice of
food and their knowledge of balanced diet and healthy eating'*, British Food
Journal,* 109, pp. 457-468.

Hammersley, M. (1993) *Educational Research: Current Issues.* London: Open
University Press.

Hammersley, M. (2007) *E891 Study Guide for Open University.* Milton
Keynes: Open University Press.

Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (2007) *Ethnography: Principles in Practice.*
London: Routledge.

Hannah, M. (1997) 'Space and the structuring of disciplinary power: an
interpretive review', *Geografiska Annaler,* 79B, pp. 171-180.

Hanushek E. (2002) 'The failure of Input-based Schooling Policies', working
paper 9040 *National Bureau of Economic Research,* Cambridge,
Massachusetts. Available at: http://www.nber.org/papers/w9040.pdf
(Accessed: 10 March 2017).

Hargie, O. (1986) *Social skills training and psychiatric nursing.* Croom Helm: London.

Hargie, O., Dickson, D., Saunders, C. (1994) *Social skills in interpersonal communication.* Routledge: London.

Harris, A. and Goodall, J. (2007) 'Engaging parents in raising achievement. Do parents know they matter?' *Research Report, DCSF-RW004, Department for Children, Schools and Families.* Available at: http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/6639/1/DCSF-RW004.pdf (Accessed: 10 February 2017).

Harrop, D. and Turpin, B. (2013) 'A study exploring learners' informal learning space behaviours, attitudes and preferences' *New Review of Academic Librarianship,* 19 (1), pp. 58-77.

Hart, C. (2005) *Doing your Masters Dissertation.* London: Sage Publications.

Hart, C. S. (2016) The school food plan and the social context of food in schools, *Cambridge Journal of Education,* 46 (2) pp. 211 – 231, Available at: http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/96751/22/5-18-2016_The%20School.pdf (Accessed: 10 January 2017).

Health and Wellbeing Review Committee (2011) *School Meals: Current take-up in Primary and Secondary Schools, and a review of secondary school nutrition, including the environmental factors impacting on secondary school meal take-up*, London Borough of Islington. Available at: http://moderngov.southwarksites.com/(S(ubcqgt45u3vkwp55m3eziojf))/mgConvert2PDF.aspx?ID=26214 (Accessed: 10 June 2017).

Hegelund, A. (2005) Objectivity and subjectivity in the ethnographic method, *Qualitative Health Research,* 15 (5), pp. 647-668.

Hellawell, D. (2006) 'Inside-out: analysis of the insider-outsider concepts as a heuristic device to develop reflexivity in students doing qualitative research', *Teaching in Higher Education,* 11 (4), pp. 483 – 494.

Hendy, H. M. and Raudenbush, B. (2000) 'Effectiveness of teacher modelling to encourage food acceptance in preschool children', *Appetite,* 34 (1), pp. 61-76.

Henze, R., Norte, E., Sather, S. E., Walker, E., Katz, A. (2002) *Leading for diversity: How school leaders promote positive interethnic relations,* California: Corwin Press.

Hodkinson and Macleod (2009) 'Contrasting concepts of learning and contrasting research methodologies: affinities and bias', *British Educational Research Journal,* 36 (2), pp. 173-189.

Honeybourne, V. (2017) *Educating and supporting girls with Asperger's and autism: A resource for education and health professionals,* London: Routledge.

House, E. R. (1993) *Professional evaluation: Social impact and political consequences.* California: Sage Publications.

Hornby, G. (2000) *Improving parental involvement.* London: Bloomsbury.

Islington Council (2014) *Fairness for families: Tackling Child Poverty in Islington, Islington's Child Poverty Strategy*. Islington Council. Available at: https://www.islington.gov.uk/~/media/sharepoint-lists/public-records/democracy/information/guidance/20142015/20140502childpovertystrategymarch2014.pdf?la=en (Accessed: 15 June 2016).

Jeffrey, B. (2002) 'Performativity and primary teacher relations', *Journal of Education Policy,* 17 (5), pp. 531-546.

Janhonen, K., Benn J., Fjellstrom, C., Makela, J., Palojoki, P. (2013) Company and meal choices considered by Nordic adolescents, *International Journal of Consumer Studies,* ISSN 1470 – 6423, pp. 1-9.

Johnson, R. B. and Christensen, L. B. (2014) *Educational Research: Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Approaches.* London: Sage Publications.

Jyoti, D. F., Frongillo, E. A., Jones, S. J. (2005) Food Insecurity Affects School Children's Academic Performance, Weight Gain and Social Skills, *American Society for Nutrition,* pp. 2831-2839.

Kaklamanou, D. Pearce J. Nelson, M. (2012) 'Food and academies: a qualitative study', Research Report, *School Food Trust, Department for Education.* Available at: https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/Food%20and%20Academies%20-%20a%20qualitative%20study.pdf (Accessed: 17 February 2017).

Karrebaek, M. S. (2011) 'Understanding the value of milk, juice and water: The interactional construction and use of healthy beverages in a multi-ethnic classroom', *Working papers in Urban Language and Literacies,* 83, pp. 1-21.

Karrebaek, M. S. (2012) "What's in your lunch box today?": Health, Respectability and Ethnicity in the primary classroom, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology,* 22 (1), pp. 1-22.
Kelly, J. A. (1982) *Social skills training: A practical guide for interventions.* New York: Springer.

Khan, U. (2009) 'Jamie Oliver's school dinners improve exam results, report finds', *The Telegraph.* Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/4423132/Jamie-Olivers-school-dinners-improve-exam-results-report-finds.html (Accessed: 1 February 2017).

Kirk, J. and Miller, M. L. (1986) *Reliability and validity in qualitative research,* Beverley Hills. CA: Sage Publications.

Kleinman, R. E., Hall, S., Green, H., Korcez-Ramirez, D., Patton, K., Pagano, M. E., Murphy, J. M. (2002) 'Diet, Breakfast and Academic Performance in Children', *Annals of Nutrition Metabolism,* 46 (1), pp. 24-30.

Klesges, R. C., Stein, R. J., Eck, L. H., Isbell, T. R., Klesges, L. M. (1991) Parental influence on food selection in young children and its relationships to childhood obesity, American Journal of Clinical Nutrition, 53 (4), pp. 859-864.

Knudsen, D. C., Metro-Roland, M. M., Soper, A. K., Greer, C. E. (2008) *Landscape, Tourism and Meaning.* Ashgate: Surrey.

Kounali, D. Robinson, T. Goldstein, H. Lauder, H. (2008) The probity of free school meals as a proxy measure for disadvantage, University of Bath Press. Available at:
http://www.bath.ac.uk/research/harps/Resources/The%20probity%20of%20F SM%20revised%2014.7.08.pdf (Accessed: 10 June 2017).

Koskela, H. (2003) *Surveillance and Society,* 1 (3), pp. 292 – 313, Available at: http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/camera.pdf (Accessed 8 June 2017).

Kuuskorpi, M. and Gonzalez, N. C. (2011) The future of the physical learning environment: school facilities that support the user, *Centre for Effective Learning Environments CELE Exchange, 2011/11.* Available at:
http://www.oecd.org/edu/innovationeducation/centreforeffectivelearningenviro nmentscele/49167890.pdf (Accessed: 3 November 2016).

Krueger, A. B. (1999) 'Experimental estimates of education production functions', *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* 114, pp. 497-532.

Kvale, S. (1996) *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing.* London: Sage Publications.

Lalli, G. and Burgess, H. (2012) 'Research into restaurant culture in schools'. *Behavioural and Pastoral Update.* Issue 88, June 2012.

Lalli, G. (2014a) 'A literature review on an ethnographic case study in a UK school: Exploring the Sociology of the Food Environment, *The Bridge: Journal of Educational Research-Informed Practice,* 1 (2), pp. 57-65.

Lalli, G. (2014b) 'The Pedagogic Meal at Peartree Academy' *Every Child Update*, Issue 32, October 2014, Teaching Times Publications.

Lalli, G. (2015) 'A Case Study on Peartree Academy: Methodological considerations 'insider versus outsider', *The Bridge: Journal of Educational Research-Informed Practice,* 2 (1), pp. 66-73.

Lalli, G. (2017a) Commensality and the 'School Restaurant', British Education Studies Association: Educational Futures, 2 (8).

Lalli, G. (2017b) Ethnographic Tales from the School Restaurant, SAGE Research Methods Cases Online, Sage Publications.

Laws, C. and Davies, B. (2011) *Poststructuralism at work with marginalised children.* Sharjah: Bentham Science Publishing.

Lepkowska, D. (2012) 'Come dine with us: [Peartree Academy's] restaurant is more than just somewhere to serve lunch', *The Independent.* Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk (Accessed: 23 March 2017).

Lerner, R. M. and Jovanovic, K. (1999) *Cognitive and moral development, academic achievement in adolescence,* London: Routledge.

Littlecott, H. J., Moore, G. F., Moore, L., Lyons, R. A., Murphy, S. (2015) 'Associations between breakfast consumption and educational outcomes in 9-11 year old children, *Public Health Nutrition Journal,* 19 (9), pp. 1-8 Available at:

http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPHN%2FS136898001500 2669a.pdf&code=233a346775bc5d0681bc6fe8a66d382c (Accessed: 12 April 2017).

LeCompte, M. D., Schensul, S. L. Schensul, J. J. (1999) *Essential Ethnographic Methods: Observations, Interviews and Questionnaires: 2.* London: Sage Publications.

Lichtman, M. (2009) *Qualitative Research in Education: A User's Guide.* London: Sage Publications.

Lightfoot, L. (2007) 'Where's my lunch?' *The Guardian.* Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2007/nov/13/schools.uk2 (Accessed: 23 November 2016).

Lomax, P. (1991) *Managing better school and colleges: The action research way (BERA Dialogues).* Bristol: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Madison, D. S. (2011) *Critical Ethnography: Methods, Ethics and Performance.* 2nd edn. London: Sage Publications.

Marshall, J. D. (1996) *Michel Foucault: Personal Autonomy and Education.* London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Martin, D. J. (2011) *Elementary Science Methods: A Constructivist Approach.* 6th edn. London: CENGAGE Learning Custom Publishing.

Mavrovounioti, T. (2010) *Democratic education in Sweden.* MA thesis... Lund University, Sweden. Available at: http://lup.lub.lu.se/student-papers/record/1600949/file/1612853.pdf (Accessed: 26 July 2016).

McCullough, M. B. and Hardin, J. A. (2013) *Reconstructing obesity: The meaning of measures and the measure of meanings,* Oxford: Berghahn Books.

McCulloch, G. and Crook, D. (eds.) (2008) *The Routledge International Encyclopedia of Education.* London: Routledge.

McEwan, P. J. (2013) 'The impact of Chile's school feeding program on education outcomes', *Economics of Education Review,* 32, pp. 122 – 139, Available at:
http://academics.wellesley.edu/Economics/mcewan/PDF/meals.pdf
(Accessed: 20 May 2016).

Mckee, A. M. (2011) *A story of high school inclusion: an ethnographic case study.* PhD thesis. University of Iowa.

McMurray, A. J., Wayne Pace, R. Scott, D. (2004) *Research: A Common-sense Approach.* Victoria: Thomas Nelson Australia.

McNeely, C. A., Nonnemaker, J. M., Blum, R. W. (2002) Promoting school connectedness: Evidence from the National longitudinal study of adolescent health, *Journal of School Health,* 72 (4), pp. 138-146.

Mead, G. H. (1967) *Mind, self and society.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Miguel-Alfonso, R. and Caporale-Bizzini, S. (1994) *Reconstructing Foucault: Essays in the Wake of the 80s (Postmodern Studies),* Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi.

Mikkelsen, B. E. (2011) Images of foodscapes: Introduction to foodscape studies and their application in the study of healthy eating out-of-home environments, *Perspectives in Public Health,* 131 (5), pp. 209-216.

Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook.* 3rd edn. London: Sage Publications.

Milliken, J. and Schreiber, R. (2012) 'Examining the nexus between grounded theory and symbolic interactionism', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 11 (5), pp. 684-693.

Mills, D. and Morton, M. (2013) *Ethnography in Education.* London: Sage Publications.

Mills, A. J., Durepos, G., Wiebe, E. (2009) *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*, London: Sage Publications.

Mills, S. (2003) *Michel Foucault.* New York: Routledge.

Moffatt, G. K. (2004) *The parenting journey: From conception through the teen years,* Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Moore, S. (2011) *Improving the eating behaviours of primary school children*. PhD thesis. Cardiff University.

Moore, S. Murphy, S., Tapper, K., Moore, L. (2010) 'The social, physical and temporal characteristics of primary school dining halls and their implications for children's eating behaviours, *Health Education,* 110 (5), p. 399-411.

Morgan, K. and Sonnino, R. (2010) The Urban Foodscape: World Cities and New Food Equation, *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society,* Oxford University Press.

Morrison, (1996) 'Sharing food at home and school: perspective on commensality', *Sociological Review,* 44 (4), pp. 648-674.

Mosley, J. (2015) *How to create calm dining halls.* Trowbridge: Positive Press

Murcott, A. ed. (1983) The Sociology of Food and Eating. Aldershot: Gower.

Murcott, A. (2011) The BSA and the emergence of a 'Sociology of Food': A personal view, *Sociological Research*. Available at: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/16/3/14.html (Accessed: 5 November 2016).

Murcott, A., Belasco, W., Jackson, P. (2013) *The Handbook of Food Research.* London: Bloomsbury.

Murphy, J. M. (2007) 'Breakfast and Learning', *Current Nutrition and Food Science,* 3 (1), pp. 3-36.

Nair, P. and Gehling, A. (2008) Democratic school architecture, *Voices in Urban Education,* Annenberg Institute for School Reform, 34, Available at: http://vue.annenberginstitute.org/sites/default/files/issuePDF/VUE19.pdf (Accessed: 3 November 2016).

Nasirian, Y. (2013) How children in Cape Verde experience school meals: an ethnographic study, Food Service Management Report VT12-71. Available at: https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/2077/33092/1/gupea_2077_33092_1.pdf (Accessed: 10 May 2017).

Nelson, M., Nicholas, J., Riley, K., Wood, L. (2012) 'Seventh annual survey of take up of school lunches in England, Children's Food Trust. Available at: (Accessed 7 May 2017).

Nicholson, E. (2005) The school building as third teacher, Ch. 4 in Dudek, M. ed. (2006) *Children's Spaces.* London: Routledge, pp. 44-65.

Niesche, R. (2011) *Foucault and Educational Leadership: Disciplining the Principal.* London: Routledge.

Niiniluoto, I. Sintonen, M. Wolenski, J. (eds.) (2004) *Handbook of Epistemology.* London: Springer.

Nudzor, H. P. (2009) 'A critical commentary on combined methods approach to researching educational and social issues', *Issues in Educational Research, 19 (2),* pp. 114-127.

O'Dea, J. A. and Eriksen, M. P. (2010) *Childhood obesity prevention,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

OECD (2006) CELE Organising Framework on Evaluating Quality in Educational Spaces, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/education/innovation-education/evaluatingqualityineducationalfacilities.htm (Accessed: 4 November 2016).
O'Farrell, C. (2005) *Michel Foucault.* London: Sage Publications.

OfSTED, Office for Standards in Education (2007) Food in schools: Encouraging healthier eating, London: OfSTED. Available at: http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/7083/2/index.html%3Ffile%3Ddocuments%252Fsurveys-and-good-practice%252Ff%252FFood%20in%20schools-%20encouraging%20healthier%20eating%20(PDF%20format)_0.pdf%26refer%3D0 (Accessed: 20 March 2015).

Osowski, C. P., Goranzon, H., Fjellstrom, C. (2013) 'Teachers' interaction with children in the school meal situation: The example of pedagogic meals in Sweden', *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behaviour,* 45 (5), pp. 420-427.

Osowski, C. P., Goranzon, H., Fjellstrom, C. (2012) Children's understanding of food and meals in the Foodscape at school, *International Journal of Consumer Studies,* 36 (1), pp. 54-60.

O'Sullivan, J. (2015) *Successful leadership in the early years.* London: Featherstone Education.

Passmore, S., and Harris, G. (2004) Education, health and school meals: A review of policy changes in England and Wales over the last century', 29 (3),

Nutrition Bulletin, pp. 221 – 227, Available at: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-3010.2004.00430.x/full (Accessed: 25 May 2016).

Pelletier, D. L., Denee, K., Kidane, Y., Haile, B., Negussie, F. (1995) 'The Food-first bias and nutrition policy: Lessons from Ethiopia, *Food Policy,* 20 (4), pp. 279-298.

Peterson, D. S. and Vergara, V. (2016) 'Thriving in school leadership: Latina/o leaders speak out', *National Forum of Educational Administration and Supervision Journal,* 34 (4), pp. 2 – 15.

Piercy, N. (2008) *Market-led strategic change.* London: Routledge.
Pike, J. (2010) *An ethnographic study of lunchtime experiences in primary school dining rooms,* PhD thesis, University of Hull.

Pike, J. and Leahy, D. (2012) 'School food and pedagogies of parenting', *Australian Journal of Adult Learning,* 52 (3), pp. 435-459.

Pike, J. and Kelly, P. (2014) *The moral geographies of children, young people and food.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Pollard, A. and Tann, S. (1987) *Reflective Teaching in the Primary School: A Handbook for the Classroom.* London: Continuum International Publishing.

Pollard, A. (1990) 'Towards a Sociology of Learning in Primary Schools, *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 11 (3), pp. 241-256.

Pollit, E. (1990) 'Malnutrition and infection in the classroom: Summary and conclusions', *Food and Nutrition Bulletin,* 12 (3).

Powell, C., Walker, S. P., Grantham-McGregor, S., M. (1998) 'A randomised trial of the effects of breakfast in rural primary school children, *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition,* 68 (4), pp. 873-879.

Pring, R. (2004) *Philosophy of Educational Research.* 2nd edn. London: Continuum.

Punch, S., McIntosh, I., Emond, R. (2013) *Children's food practices in families and institutions.* London: Routledge.

Punch, K. F. (2009) *Introduction to research methods in education,* London: Sage Publications.

Pylypa, J. (1998) 'Power and Bodily Practice: Applying the work of Foucault to an Anthropology of the Body', *Arizona Anthropologist,* 13, pp. 21-36.

Raffo, C. (2013) *Improving educational equity in urban contexts.* London: Routledge.

Rahim, N., Kotecha, M., Callan, M., White, C., Tanner, E. (2012) 'Implementing the Free School Meals Pilot', RR228, *Department for Education.* Available at: https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/DFE-RR228.pdf (Accessed: 10 March 2017).

Richards, R. and Smith, C. (2007) 'Environmental, parental, and personal influences on food choice, access and overweight status among homeless children, *Social Science and Medicine,* 65 (8), pp. 1572-1583.

Ridgwell, J. (1996) Examining Food & Nutrition. London: Heinemann.

Roberts, K. and Marvin, K. (2011) 'Knowledge and attitudes towards healthy eating and physical activity: What the data tell us', Oxford: National Obesity Observatory.

Rollins, J. (1985) *Between women: Domestics and their employers.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Rorty, R. (1980) *Philosophy and the mirror of nature,* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Rowe, F., Stewart, D., Somerset, S. (2010) 'Nutrition education: towards a whole-school approach', *Health Education,* 110 (3), pp. 197-208.

Rudd, P., Reed, F., Smith, P. (2008) The effects of the school environment on young people's attitudes towards education and learning, Summary Report, *National Foundation for Educational Research.*

Sacks, S. and Wolffe, K. E. (2006) *Teaching social skills to students with visual impairments: From theory to practice.* United States: AFB Press.

Saldana, J. (2013) 'Power and conformity in today's schools', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science,* 3 (1), pp. 228-232.

School Food Trust (2007) 'A fresh look at the school meal experience'. Available at: https://www.school-portal.co.uk/GroupDownloadFile.asp?GroupId=1007950&ResourceId=3301370 (Accessed: 23 November 2016).

Scott, D. and Morrison, M. (2007) *Key ideas in educational research.* London: Bloomsbury.

Seaman, C. and Moss, J. (2006) 'Generating effective change in school meals: a case study', *Nutrition and Food Science,* 36 (5), pp. 305-314.
Seidel, J. V. (1998) Qualitative Data Analysis, The Ethnograph v5.0: A users guide, Colorado: Colorado Springs, Available at: ftp://ftp.qualisresearch.com/pub/qda.pdf (Accessed 14 April 2017).

Sepp, H., Abrahamsson, L., Fjellstrom, C. (2006) 'Pre-school staffs' attitudes toward foods in relation to the pedagogic meal', *International Journal of Consumer Studies,* 30 (2), pp. 224-232.

Sherman Heyl, B. 'Ethnographic Interviewing', Ch. 25 in Atkinson, P. Coffey, A. Delamont, S., Lofland, J., Lofland, L. H. (2001) *Handbook of Ethnography,* London: Sage Publications.

Shimmon, K. (2010) 'What is an academy?' *The Guardian.* 26th May, Available at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2010/may/26/what-is-an-academy (Accessed 22 October 2016).

Simmel, G. (1950) *The Sociology of Georg Simmel.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Simeon, D. T. and Grantham-McGregor, S. (1989) 'Effects of missing breakfast on the cognitive functions of school children of differing nutritional status, *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition,* 49 (4) pp. 646-653.

Smith, R. (2010) 'How Margaret Thatcher became known as 'Milk Snatcher', *The Telegraph.* Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/7932963/How-Margaret-Thatcher-became-known-as-Milk-Snatcher.html (Accessed: 28 November 2016).

Smith, D. (1996) *Nutrition in Britain: Science, scientists and politics in the twentieth century (Routledge Studies in the social history of medicine),* London: Routledge.

Spence, L. A., Cifelli, C. J., Miller, G. D. (2011) 'The role of dairy products in healthy weight and body composition in children and adolescents' *Current Nutrition and Food Science,* 7 (1), pp. 40-49.

Spradley, J. P. (1979) *The Ethnographic Interview.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Stake, R. E. (1995) *The Art of Case Study.* London: Sage Publications.

Stephen, M. (2010) *Pencils, paper and prayer: Christian devotions for educators.* London: Tate Publishing.

Stevens, L. Oldfield, N. Wood, L. Nelson, M. (2008) 'The impact of primary school breakfast clubs in deprived areas of London', School Food Trust, Eat Better Do Better.

Stone, L. (ed.) (2002) *New directions in Anthropological kinship,* Rowman and Maryland. USA: Littlefield Publishers.

Storey, H.C., Pearce, J., Ashfield-Watt, P.A., Wood, L., Baines, E., Nelson, M. (2011) 'A randomized controlled trial of the effect of school food and dining room modifications on classroom behaviour in secondary school children', *European Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 65, pp. 32–38.

Storey, P. and Chamberlain, R. (2001) 'Improving the take up of free school meals' Research Brief 270, London: DfE.

Tassoni, P. (2004) *Diploma in pre-school practice.* Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Taylor, N., Quinn, F., Littledyke, M., Coll, R. K. (2012) *Health education in context: An international perspective on health education in schools and local communities.* London: Springer.

Ten Have, P. (2004) *Understanding Qualitative Research and Ethnomethodology.* London: Sage Publications.

Thomas, R. M. (1998) *Conducting Educational Research: A comparative view.* Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Thorpe, P. (2004) *Understanding difficulties at break time and lunchtime,* London: National Autistic Society.

Tikkanen, I. (2009) 'Pupils' school meal diet behaviour in Finland: two clusters', *British Food Journal,* 111 (3), p. 223-234.

Torralba, J. A. and Guidalli, B. A. (2014) Developing a conceptual framework for understanding children' eating practices at school, *International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food*, 21 (3), pp. 223-234.

Torralba, J. A. and Guidalli, B. A. (2015) Examining children food heritage as a process of learning to become an eater-in-context, *Anthropology approaches: Children's food heritage,* Special Issue.

Tracey, D. H. and Morrow, L. M. (2012) *Lenses on Reading: An Introduction to Theories and Models.* 2nd edn. London: Guildford Press.

Turiace, B. (2015) *Restaurant adventures: Think or sink – Do you have what it takes?* Staten Island: Page Publications.

Vygotsky, L. (1978) *Mind in Society: The development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Walford, G. (ed.) (2008) *How to do educational ethnography.* London: Tufnell Press.

Warin, M. (2011) 'Foucault's progeny: Jamie Oliver and the art of governing obesity', *Social Theory and Health,* 9, pp. 24-40.
Weaver-Hightower, M. B. (2011) 'Why education researchers should take food seriously' *Educational Researcher,* 40 (1), pp. 15-21.

Webster, C. (1985) 'Health, welfare and unemployment during the depression', *Past and Present*, 109 (1), pp. 204-230.

Weir, C. J. (2008) Caterers' experiences and perceptions of implementing the 2006 school meal standards, *Journal of Human Nutrition and Dietetics,* 21 (5), pp. 373-406.

Welbourne, P. (2012) *Social work with children and families: Developing advanced practice,* London: Routledge.

Wellington, J. (2015) *Educational Research: Issues and Practical Approaches.* London: Bloomsbury.

Welshman, J. (1997) 'School meals and milk in England and Wales, 1906 – 45', *Medical History,* 41 (1), pp. 6 – 29, Available at: https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/e3c6/b2b6eb371e663f7a7b856d74eb81f99e4df5.pdf (Accessed: 20 April 2015).

Whitehead, L. (2004) 'What is ethnography? Methodological, ontological and epistemological attributes', *Cultural Ecology of health change,* CEHC, Maryland: University of Maryland.

Wilford, G. (2017) 'Almost one million families to be hit by Theresa May's plan to end free school lunches, think tank warns', *The Independent.* Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/theresa-may-conservatives-free-school-lunches-cuts-poverty-a7747066.html (Accessed 1 June 2017).

Wilkins, C., Busher, H., Kakos, M., Mohamed, C., Smith, J. (2012) 'Crossing borders: new teachers co-constructing professional identity in performative times', *Professional Development in Education,* 38 (1), pp. 65 – 78.

Williamson, K. (2006) 'Research in constructivist frameworks using ethnographic techniques', *Library Trends,* 55 (1), pp. 83 – 101.

Wills, W., Draper, A., Gustafsson, U. (2015) *Food and public health: Contemporary issues and future directions.* London: Routledge.

Winchell, M. K. (2008) *Good girls, good food, good fun: The Story of USO hostesses during World War II,* University of North Carolina: University Press

Wolcott, H. F. (1999) *Ethnography: A way of seeing,* London: Sage Publications.

Wolcott, H. F. (1990) *Writing up Qualitative Research.* London: Sage Publications.

Woods, P. (1996) *Researching the art of teaching: Ethnography for educational use.* London: Routledge.

Wood, P. and Smith, J. (2016) *Educational Research: Taking the Plunge,* Carmarthen: Independent Thinking Press.

Wragg, T. (2002) Interview. In Marianne, M. C. Briggs, A. R. J. (eds.) *Research Methods in Educational Leadership and Management,* London: Paul Chapman Publishing.

Yin, R. K. (2014) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods.* London: Sage Publications.

Young, M. and Gamble, J. (2006) *Knowledge, Curriculum and Qualifications for South African Further Education.* Cape Town: HSRC Publishing.

Yudkin, J. and McKenzie, J. (1964) *Changing Food Habits.* London: McGibbon and Kee.

Zandian, M., Ioakimdis, I., Bergstrom, J., Brodin, C., Leon, M., Shield, J., Sodersten, P. (2012) 'Children eat their school lunch too quickly: an exploratory study of the effect on food intake' *BMC Public Health,* 12 (351), pp. 1 – 8.