A review of the English school meal: ‘Progress or a recipe for disaster?’

This paper examines the discourse on school meals as evidence suggests that political agendas feed into policy making. The paper fills a void by proposing new insights into how school meals could be reformed following reflections from a doctoral study and a review of the changing narrative on school food in England. Recommendations include rethinking the coverage on school meals by taking into account this multifaceted area of inquiry by recognising the importance of the physical context of the meals and the subjects of school mealtime.

Keywords: School meals, history, food provision, education

Introduction

The history suggests school meals are political and driven by contemporary discourse and that policy changes have not enhanced the health and wellbeing of eaters. Paying attention to the physical context of the meals and the subjects of those (school pupils) alongside nutrition offers an important contribution to the growing interest on this topic. I would like to unpack the discourse as outlined above in finer detail. School meals provide significant benefits to healthy dietary behaviour, at a crucial time in children’s lives when eating habits and food preferences are being shaped (Lucas et al. 2017). The establishment of the school meal service represented a significant development in the history of public health and this marks a period often regarded as the first building block in the creation of the welfare state (Harris, 1995). It is discouraging to read about the recurring theme on the justification for and effects of administrative structures and policies surrounding school meal provision from its inception and Harris (1995) talks at length about the separation of school meal provision with mainstream public health.

The English system is varied and Universal Infant Free School Meals (UIFSM) mean
children have access to school meals up until the end of Year 2 (age 7). From this point, school meals cost approximately £2.30 per day and on average (Holford and Rabe, 2020). Free School Meals (FSM) are available to disadvantaged pupils throughout their school lives. There is an increasing interest in policies, particularly aimed at establishing healthy school meals in an English context (DfE, 2013). Very little research explores the history of school mealtime and the work of Andrews (1972), is the last known paper which provides a review of school meal provision from the perspective of an educationalist. Evans & Harper (2009) provided a historical review of English school meals from the perspective of nutrition and more recently, Rose et al. (2019) debate school food provision in England and focus on 1940 onwards and highlight lessons learned as well as possible solutions for future school food reform. So, eleven years on from the work of Evans & Harper (2009), how have school meals changed and which key historical events have shaped school meal provision? This paper aims to provide a review of the school meal which outlines key historical periods to the present day and has been structured with two key sections, (1) English school meals: past to present (2) Experiences of school mealtime. The first half of the paper focuses on the English school meal by presenting a context followed by a historical account of events. The second part of the paper draws on the experience and context of eating school meals and the subjects themselves by addressing key questions and the ‘current thinking’ on the school dining environment.

1. English School Meals: Past to present

This section is split into three parts, which include i) the first hundred years: 1870 – 1979 ii) 1980 – 1999 iii) 2000 to the present day. However, it is important to provide a context to the issues before delving into chronological periods. School food in England
has consistently been associated with controversial decision making over time yet the importance on the health of future generations has gained considerable momentum in both historical accounts (Cook et al. 1975) and recent years (Taylor, 2017). In 1944, the National Schools Meals Policy was introduced which required school meals to provide a balanced and appropriate level of protein, fat and calories. Nutritional standards were then abolished in 1980 and it was not until 2001 in which these standards were re-introduced. In terms of the focus on obesity, it is through an increase in childhood poverty that has led to the governmental drive to closely monitor school meals and more recently form holiday hunger working groups (Thompson et al. 2018).

For the first time in almost two decades, childhood poverty has risen in absolute terms as opposed to the growing measure of relative poverty (Wickham et al. 2016). For Wickham et al. (2016) poor health associated to children limits their development and decreases life chances in and outside of the confines of school. Furthermore, when schools in England were locked down in March 2020 following a global pandemic, the government would have to make significant efforts to respond to those families who were socio-economically disadvantaged (Thompson, 2020). We also know food poverty has an adverse impact on children’s lives both in relation to health and engagement in education (Gooseman et al. 2020). This significant increase in childhood obesity (Pike & Colquihoun, 2012) has led to a policy response from the government. Following a report in 2012 from 152 Local Authorities (LAs) in England uptake of school lunches was recorded at 61% in the primary schooling sector, down from 78% in 2010-2011 and 38% in the secondary education sector, down from 54% in 2010-2011 (Nelson et al. 2012). Uptake of Free School Meals (FSMs) for primary school in the year 2017-2018 consisted of 14.1% pupils who are known to be eligible for claiming school meals (DfE, 2017). In secondary schools, for the same year, it was 12.9%. Overall, uptake of FSMs
declined compared with previous years. Therefore, uptake of school meals and uptake of FSMs has consistently decreased over the last 10 years and continues to do so. It is estimated that 1.9 million children are currently in receipt of FSMs (Farquharson, 2020). This paper begins to review the first 100 years of school meals in England, dating from 1870 to 1979 in order to review key movements during this period before moving onto the final two significant phases; 1980 to 1999 and 2000 to the present day.

1870 – 1979

There appears to be a growing number of review papers which address the history of school meals in England in particular which includes work by Evans & Harper (2009), Atkins (2007), Welshman (1997) & Harris (1995). However, very little has been written about the pedagogical function of school mealt ime and how recent reforms shape school leadership thinking on school meals. The writings on school meal history appear in a more anecdotal form in which the perspectives of dinner staff and their lived experiences are presented. Therefore, it is useful to return to the review by Evans & Harper (2009) and consider a further review extending beyond 2009. Moreover, the history of school food reform in England could be presented in two parallel forms, either as a history of welfare in which the primary concern being the health and wellbeing of children or as a history of warfare (Morgan & Sonnino, 2013). Although, this paper seeks to intertwine both positions of welfare and warfare in order to illustrate how they affected school food policy reform alongside the social and economic influences.

The 1906 Education (Provision of Meals) Act marked an important historical moment in legislation although it was since 1879, that school meals were being provided, particularly in Manchester, England which became the first city to provide school meals
for poor and badly nourished children (Evans & Harper, 2009). School meals were first
to support malnourishment and to develop healthy citizens, but one of the reasons was
also to raise a strong workforce (Rose et al. 2019). More importantly, school meals
became marked as a key period which contributed to the modern welfare state:

‘The passage of the Education (Provision of Meals) Act 1906, and the
Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907, establishing medical
inspection in state schools, marked the beginning of the construction of the
welfare state. For the historian, feeding was the more important measure, not
because it was wider in scope or more beneficial but simply because it
occurred first’ (Gilbert, 1966, p. 102).

Following a successful campaign in Bradford, England, the Education provision of
meals act was passed which enabled local authorities to provide free school meals and
this was led by Margaret McMillan and Fred Jowett, members of the School Board and
whilst this was an illegal activity, they became known as the pioneers as they made an
attempt to persuade Parliament to promote all education authorities to provide meals for
children (Conkbayir & Pascal, 2015). The basis for providing free school dinners was
based on views of both educators and politicians who thought if hungry children are to
learn, they need to be fed first (Marshall, 2017).

The influence of warfare during the late 19th Century and early 20th Century was
instrumental in the decision to provide school food provision. In the late 19th Century,
it became evident that poor home conditions of many children affected the physical
state and although voluntary bodies made every effort to provide a meal service, this
was not sustainable (Andrews, 1972). During the Second World War, school meal
provision was distributed further and over 1.6 million free and subsidised meals were
served daily, which made up one third of the school population at that time (Marshall, 2017). A more practical approach to education was adopted in order for children to benefit from education reforms and it was the liberal government at that time who were involved in steering this provision. 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). This particular legislation was a state welfare approach which was universalist which prioritised school meals as a crucial part for children’s daily consumption (UNISON, 2005). During the Labour government (1945-1951), the proposal to provide all school meals free of charge was disregarded as it was deemed unrealistic in terms of spending (Gillard, 2003). In 1951, 84% (Smith, 1997) of children consumed school milk and the typical daily diet consisted of cereal or eggs with bread and butter for breakfast, meat, potatoes, a vegetable and a pudding for lunch, biscuits and jam for tea. The work of Atkins (2007) is most notable in relation to school milk as he identified how milk was not attractive at the beginning of the twentieth century due to having image problems, being expensive and potentially infected. This suggests that whilst nutritional standards were introduced as early as 1941, they were based on energy, fat and protein consumption. This was also cheap so up until the early 1970s, England had a comprehensive school meals service which provided children from disadvantaged backgrounds the opportunity to access FSM. The introduction of the conservative government in 1979 saw a complete change in attitude towards school meals at a time where nearly two-thirds of pupils in England ate school meals. At a time of austerity, Conservative Education Minister, Mark Carlisle, highlighted three key reasons for the neglect of school meal reform, 1) savings in public expenditure 2) to ensure the burden cuts fell on school meal service and not education itself 3) to provide parents and children more freedom of choice (Morgan & Sonnino, 2010). This period of
history marked as being a controversial time in which nutritional standards of meals were abolished following the Education Act of 1980.

1980 – 1999

In 1980, the UK entered a recession which led to a huge impact on the economy (Crafts, 1991). Unfortunately this led to financial pressures which also affected school budgets and school meals became a burden to government budgets and public spending, the obligation of LEAs to provide meals were stopped in 1980 under Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government (Marshall, 2017). Through the reduction of public expenditure, schools became restricted and food choices driven by costs. Consequently, schools begun to use convenience foods which became problematic due to the processed foods available and this resulted in the introduction of Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT), which meant local authorities began to place school meal service out to tender (Morgan, 2006). The marketization of school meals meant that school lunches in secondary schools became consumer driven with less popular foods phased out. The costs were driving the food choices as opposed to options being up for debate and there was no sign of a national survey (Nicholas et al. 2006).

Ultimately, the guiding principle was the ‘lowest bid wins’ and this placed economy above quality in terms of the provision of the service which led to the introduction of CCT (Evans & Harper, 2009). The Social Security Act (1986) placed a limit on FSMs to children whose parents received additional benefit (Evans & Harper, 2009). This Local Government Act (1988) had an adverse effect on trying to improve the health of children and schools approaches to school meals as the workforce became deskilled, consequently leading to a loss of kitchens in schools and (von Hinke, 2011). Furthermore, the 1988 Act was not merely introduced as a tendering regime but also a system of enforcing sanctions on local authorities who failed to abide with the
provisions (McShane, 1995). Whilst no statutory nutritional standards were in place during this period, statistical analysis was conducted in order to monitor the nutrient content of food, based on pupil food choices by the Food Standards Agency (FSA). Therefore, this suggests the concept of nutrient-based guidelines did not completely disappear and in 1992 The Caroline Walker Trust published guidelines for the first time in order to help the government establish food standards (Rees et al. 2008). This was later used by the School Meals Review Panel (SMRP) in establishing government standards.

2000 to the present day

Following a Nutrition Survey, published in 2000 based on young people aged 4-18 years, the severe extent of health concerns were exposed (Gregory et al. 2000). More specifically, the survey highlighted how for many children, intakes of saturated fats and sugars were considerably high, with intakes of vitamin A, zinc, magnesium, calcium, potassium and iodine being significantly lower (Crawley, 2005, p. 9). In addition, findings suggested how children were consuming less than half the recommended five portions of fruit and vegetables daily, with approximately 20% of 4-18 year-olds consuming no fruit at all in the average week (Crawley, 2005). The report by Crawley (2005) found how an improvement of the nutritional quality of school food supported cross-government policies in enhancing the health and wellbeing in children as well as improving education whilst reducing inequalities through the tackling of chronic disease. At this time, reducing diet-related health problems such as obesity, cancer, coronary heart disease and diabetes were estimated to cost the NHS (National Health Service) in the region of £4 billion each year (Morgan, 2004). In 1999 the national Healthy Schools Programme was launched by the Department for Education and Skills.
(DfES) in collaboration with the Department of Health (DoH) to reduce health inequalities in school.

The push from both the DfES and DoH led to school food reforms and most notably, the re-introduction of minimum Nutritional Standards, under the Education (Nutrition Standards for School Lunches) Regulations in 2000. On 1st April 2001, statutory nutritional standards for school meals were reintroduced (Evans & Harper, 2009). Ultimately, this led to the launch of the Food in Schools Programme which involved helping schools to implement a whole-school approach to healthy eating and drinking and the Education Act 2002 led to the reform of free lunch eligibility, meaning the number of children in receipt of FSMs increased (Evans & Harper, 2009).

In February 2005, school meals were pushed further into political discourse by food chef Jamie Oliver, in the television series ‘Jamie’s School Dinner’s. Essentially, the television programme caused uproar based on evidence presented, suggesting pupils were consuming a quarter of a ton of chips every week and this was a case study based on food consumption at Kidbrooke School in Greenwich, England (Conlan, 2005). This led to the setting up of the School Food Trust (SFT) in 2005 which aimed to advise parents and schools whilst providing governors with advice on their responsibilities regarding school food (Crawley, 2005). The impact of this exposure on school meals led to the then Labour Government in announcing a number of measures in May 2006, most notably a new set of nutritional standards for school meals.

In April 2012, former education secretary Michael Gove requested the services of John Vincent and Henry Dimbleby (founder of Leon restaurants) to carry out an independent review of school food (Long, 2018). This led to the publication of the School Food Plan.
Recommendations from the School Food Plan (DfE, 2013, p. 10) were targeted at head teachers, as those who could influence the vision of schools in adopting a more forward-thinking mentality. In light of these reforms, it is timely to debate the idea of a utopian school meal in line with recommendations made by the government. Furthermore, the second part of this paper introduces current debates on school meals including reference to school food pedagogies alongside the policing of school food and potential implications.

Holiday hunger has also become a priority area, particularly through which a growing bank of research evidence presents us with accounts of the stark reality of food poverty on families (Gooseman et al. 2020). To provide a context, holiday hunger refers to food insecurity during school holidays. Approximately 10% of children in the UK are said to live in households experiencing severe food insecurity. We have also learned hunger in childhood has been linked with chronic health conditions and internalising problems such as anxiety and depression (Ke and Ford-Jones, 2015). It was found that holiday hunger forms part of a broader, year-round experience of deprivation alongside poor dietary habits.

One solution in response is to adopt a multi-agency approach in order to address such complex and inter-related needs. We need to reduce food poverty and holiday hunger in order to reduce the injustice and reliance on food banks. To do so, we need to provide evidence to heighten the profile of such issues and find ways to reduce the number of children going hungry. We need to devise sustainable policies to address these issues and engagement with schools, activists and young people is crucial in this. Following a campaign led by England and Manchester United footballer Marcus Rashford, the Government committed to providing free school meals to children in England during
the 2020 summer holidays (Keith, 2020). This example shows the potential positive effects of influencing opinion, here through research. We also know that more recently, in November 2020 Marcus Rashford led a campaign forcing Boris Johnson into a second U-turn on child food poverty (Guardian, 2020). The aim of the campaign was to extend FSMs to children from low-income families during school during holiday periods in England.

2. Experiences of school mealtime

How do the subjects themselves experience school mealtime? How do power relations shape children’s mealtime experiences? Can school meals act as a sustainable tool for improving the health of children’s food consumption? What about the relationship between food and poverty? Ultimately, it is argued that school meals can act as a platform to promote healthy and sustainable food behaviour as school meals rest at the heart of public interest in being able to improve the health and wellbeing of future citizens. Therefore, social engineering of school meal policy is imperative and with the recent introduction of the National Food Strategy (Defra, 2019), plans for a review of the food systems will involve examining the Childhood Obesity Plan (DoH, 2016) and the release of an independent review ‘Time to solve Childhood Obesity’ (DoH, 2019) has also called for recommendations to the sector. FSMs are used as a proxy for measuring poverty in England and Wales. It was found, from the proportion of pupils eligible for FSMs in each local authority, more than 70% of FSM pupils did not meet the expected standards of attaining at least five A*–C grades at GCSE level at the end of Key Stage 4 (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2015). Policy responses on the Citizens UK campaign entitled ‘Just Change’ highlights the stark reality and impact of poverty on children’s lives. Free School Meals provide an essential lifeline to children and young people who may not otherwise be able to afford a nutritious meal (Joseph
Rowntree Foundation, 2019). With the increase in families being trapped in poverty due to low pay, the rising cost of living and an ineffective social security system means more attention needs to be prioritised. Therefore, at this point it is important to highlight policy narratives which are shaping the school meal on both a local and national level.

*School lunch surveillance*

As interest in school food policy increases, international government efforts to address the ‘obesity epidemic’ also continues, although the delivery of such policies are not necessarily being governed appropriately (Pike & Colquihoun, 2012). The management of the school site has been riddled with school food policy objectives which aim to produce young people as ‘healthy subjects’ (Pike & Colquihoun, 2012). This suggests that in the modern day school, the management of mealtime needs to be given careful attention to ensure children are able to access not only a nutritious meal but to be able to have the space to interact with both peers and teachers (Lalli, 2020, Earl and Lalli, 2020, 2020b, 2019a, 2019b).

The policing of school lunch has become commonplace (Pike, 2010; 2008) due to the pressures of improving school meals and whilst rigorous nutritional guidelines have been put in place across schools in England, much of the evaluation of mealtime has focused on nutritional quality and little evidence on how children are said to experience such changes (Addis & Murphy, 2018). It is interesting to highlight how school meal reform can impact heavily upon children’s uptake. More specifically, *consumption* and *identity* are identified as reoccurring themes which impact upon uptake of school food, namely due to the desire to conform to peer group norms (Addis & Murphy, 2018). As the school environment is said to be highly regimented (Pike & Colquihoun, 2012), it can be argued that thinking of children’s agency could help support future policy
initiatives. Ultimately, such studies highlight tensions between decision making on diet and it is often said that reform should take place by addressing individual behaviour. Children and particularly teenagers eating habits are embedded within the context in which they occur (Lucas et al. 2017). Therefore, thinking about school mealtime involves thinking beyond enforcing certain behaviours upon children in schools, it is about thinking holistically, taking the views of children into account, but the policing of this space and crucial part of the school day (Lalli, 2019a) often warrants much debate on the perceived notion of a ‘healthy subject’ (Pike & Colquihoun, 2012), rather than preparing a good citizen.

However, the implications of an authoritarian system mean that the voices of those in schools including senior leadership, teachers, pupils and parents will need to contribute in ensuring policy is being enacted, but more importantly that it is appropriate. In relation to wellbeing then, it is appropriate to think about the work of Sen (1985), who argues for a capability approach in striving for freedom in enhancing one’s quality of life. In turn, children’s agency needs to be given consideration alongside policy intervention (Hart & Brando, 2018).

School food choices

School meals have been identified as a platform for promoting decision making in leading a healthy life and developing positive eating behaviours (Oostindjer et el, 2017). The role of the food and eating environment are crucial in school meal reform. The food environment specifically includes all factors directly relating to the way food is provided, i.e. portion sizes, presentation and visual appeal (Oostindjer et al. 2017, p. 3949). It has been found that small changes in the food environment such as the order of food in a school lunch queue can potentially influence food choices (Oostindjer et al.
The eating environment is referred to as a space for social learning (Lalli, 2019a; 2019b) and the benefits of eating together mean that the space in which such eating is taking place needs careful attention as sociability plays a crucial role (Andersen et al. 2015) in enriching children’s wellbeing. With these ideas in mind, it is useful to consider the impact of overcrowded dining halls and shortened eating time, which is said to create time pressure on children (Moore, Murphy, Tapper & Moore, 2010). Consequently, this is said to be destructive for children’s eating experience and reduces any opportunity for social learning during mealtime (Lalli, 2019a; 2019b).

Policy Implications

Robust measures are needed in which school policies place focus on healthy eating in order to help with establishing healthy behaviours (Rose et al. 2019). The growing interest in creating school environments that are said to help facilitate healthy and sustainable food behaviours (Oostindjer et al. 2017) mean that policy reform is being enacted, specifically to address this very concern. Examples of current thinking around such reforms include the mandate of nutritional standards and guidelines, the restricting of marketing near schools and in wider spaces such as public transport alongside the eliminating of unhealthy foods often found in school vending machines (Godin et al. 2018). The implications of imposing such forms of policy are being occupied by the continuous society pressures in which individuals have become accustomed to eating ‘on the go’ in spaces where agile working is not feasible at a time where food choices are being governed (Leahy & Wright, 2016). The wider aspects of health and wellbeing in society cannot go ignored as food poverty continues to become associated with conditions such as obesity and malnutrition and further exacerbating reliance on the third sector to fill the void (Thompson et al. 2018). The implications for school meal
reform are three fold, firstly that the enforcement of policy is required for any improvements to take shape, secondly, any improvement is dependent upon uptake of school meals and finally the monitoring of such phenomena needs to be given close attention (Lucas et al. 2017). The recommendations are summarised below and include 10 actions for the government and 6 actions for the public.

**For the government (DfE, 2013)**

Firstly, to ensure cooking is embedded within the curriculum and to integrate into Key Stages 1 to 3. In response to this, the DfE incorporated this into the latest national curriculum as of 8th July 2013. Secondly, to introduce food-based standards for all schools and in response to this the DfE aim to test and introduce revised food based standards, based on a nutritional framework. Third, to encourage uptake of good school food, fourth to ensure breakfast clubs become self-sufficient and five, to set up flagship boroughs in order to highlight the impact of improving school food which will help provide a positive model. The sixth recommendation involves investigating the case for extending FSM entitlement, seven to provide adequate training for head teachers which will involve incorporating these ideas into head teacher training. Eight, to work closely with Public Health England in order to promote policy which aims to improve children’s diets in schools and nine, for Ofsted inspectors to take school meal provision and the priority of promoting healthy lifestyles into account when inspecting schools. The tenth recommendation was to measure success of ways in which the School Food Plan is supporting the health and wellbeing of children in schools.

**For the public (DfE, 2013, p. 11)**

In order to help implement the School Food Plan, the government together with schools and charities will need to address the following, (1) to share best practice and present
ideas on the School Food Plan website (www.schoolfoodplan.com), (2) to develop the image of school food and promote positive images of school lunches in different media outlets, (3) to allow opportunities for school cooks to work closely with industry with the rest of the catering sector so that school cooks are included in high-profile events around the country, (4) to develop the skills of the workforce, (5) for caterers, kitchen designers and manufacturers to work together to provide good food for small schools, (6) to work towards ensuring schools are fairly funded throughout the country.

Conclusion

A number of questions emerge as I reach this point. Firstly, we know that eligibility for meals has been problematic and a key question moving forward is to ask who is eligible and why? How do we ensure those most vulnerable have access to food but also evaluate whether families are taking up FSM. If they are not, then why? Historically then, school food provision has been inconsistent, so what does this mean for provision in the 21st Century? With almost a third of children aged 2-15 overweight or obese (DoH, 2016), tackling childhood obesity requires working closely towards taking action (ONS, 2014) and one of the ways in which this could be done is to follow the School Food Plan (DfE, 2013). What about the impact of food poverty and access to nutritious food? There is more to consider then merely what is presented on the dinner plate both at school and in the home environment? It is as important for existing academic research to highlight key ideas and evidence within a school meal setting and Wickramasinghe et al. (2017) measures outcomes based on nutritional impact and Hart (2016) explores the complex social context of food practices and how they influence the roles of food in primary schools in England. These studies illustrate the multidisciplinary context in which school food resides and it is crucial that more
examples of success stories are published in both academia as well as media discourse to support schools in moving forward and developing suitable techniques in school food reform. For example, one of the ways in which school meals can be reformed is through prioritising more space and time for mealtime. Whilst more attention needs to be given to school mealtime, the opportunity for ensuring meals served is nutritious and help the whole child in terms of their wellbeing are potentially problematic. For this reason, a conscientious approach needs to be adopted to ensure a multi-agency approach is adopted in such reforms. Most notably, the work of Harris (1995) still reflects the tensions which prevent school meals from undergoing consistent reform, which is by and large due to growing administrative structures, which impinge upon school meal provision. Measuring the success of this activity is also problematic and cannot be merely translated through statistical government reports, but through observing the day to day interactions during mealtime and further studies can showcase such phenomena.

**Recommendations for policy making practice**

The School Food Plan (DfE, 2013) is the most recent and comprehensive document which details seventeen recommendations for improving school food provision and this plan is yet to be evaluated in greater detail. Although, a new study is due to commence in 2019, funded by the National Institute of Health Research (NIHR) which will involve an evaluation of the plan and it will be interesting to learn about emergent issues. Historically, when cross-government initiatives have been implemented, the profile of school food has been raised. For example, the National Healthy Schools Programme (1999) through which the DfES and the DoH worked together, helped to build a healthy environment in schools which ultimately led to the re-introduction of Nutritional Standards in 2001 and this became a key movement leading to greater improvement of school food provision. However, with the marketization of school meal provision, it is

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inevitable that on the basis of the ‘lowest bid wins’, quality of provision is lost and such approaches need managing carefully if school meals are to work well for shaping the whole child.

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