THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

An Ethnographic Study of Lunchtime Experiences in Primary School
Dining Rooms

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by

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Abstract

The issue of school meals has recently come to the fore of UK government policy with reforms to school food occupying a pivotal position in ameliorating public health and educational concerns, from tackling the 'obesity epidemic' to improving children's academic attainment, performance and behaviour. Amidst the media generated obsession and the hype surrounding Jamie Oliver's *Feed Me Better* campaign, school dining rooms became the forum through which a variety of policy objectives and government targets were directed. School dining rooms became political sites and the practices that occurred within them became subject to unprecedented scrutiny and were rendered accountable for ensuring the nation's future health. This thesis draws on an ethnographic study in four primary school dining rooms in Kingston-upon-Hull to explore the culture of school dining using Foucault's governmentality thesis as an analytical framework. The introduction sets the scene for the study providing a historical account of the emergence of school meals in the UK. A review of the literature pertinent to this study is conducted in two parts in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 provides a detailed overview of Foucault's writing on power and governmentality while Chapter 3 discusses the literature pertaining to dominant discourses around school meals; the family meal, nutrition and obesity, and lastly celebrity and media. Chapter 4 discusses the methods used in the study. The remainder of the thesis deals with the data generated through the study with Chapter 5 providing an account of the dining spaces involved in the study and exploring this in relation to geographic literature dealing with spatiality and educational spaces. Chapter 6 focuses upon the logistical organisation of lunchtimes with reference to time, space and the queuing system which I suggest can be regarded as a governmental technology. In Chapter 7 I focus upon the acculturation of table manners and etiquette in relation to Foucauldian concepts of technologies of the self. Chapter 8 continues this theme with an examination of practices that support the constitution of the healthy subject and Chapter 9 deals with discipline, punishment and resistance. Chapter 10 attempts to synthesise this material and argues that Foucault's work on governmentality is a useful analytical framework through which to explore the cultures and practices of school dining and the resulting subjective positions which are accepted, modified and resisted by actors within the space.

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Preface

> This is all down to Jamie Oliver. I just don't like what he stands for. He's forcing our kids to become more picky with their food…Who does he think he is all high and mighty? He can feed whatever he wants to his kids but he should realise that other parents think differently (Perrie, The Sun Newspaper, 16/09/06).

The above quotation in The Sun daily newspaper is from Sam Walker, one of the infamous 'Junk Food Mums' who were discovered passing what was commonly regarded as junk food to their children at a comprehensive school in Rawmarsh, South Yorkshire, UK. Following the introduction of a new 'healthy' lunch menu in September 2006, the women decided to deliver food from nearby catering outlets to children at the school, taking orders and passing deliveries through the school railings. During what was dubbed 'The Battle of Rawmarsh' in the popular press, tensions escalated as parents' rights to determine what their children should and should not eat, were brought into conflict with the views of the head teacher at the school along with a raft of nutritional experts and health campaigners who had advocated school meals reform and the removal of 'unhealthy' items from school lunch menus for some time. The 'Junk Food Mums' were branded 'scrubbers' by Jamie Oliver and the popular press alluded to their notable deficiencies in terms of their morals, taste, intelligence and mothering abilities among other things. They had illicitly breached the school boundary, they had undermined all rational efforts to improve their children's health, they had protested in the wrong way, they were providing the wrong food, they were overweight and according to the head teacher, the worst of all their crimes, they were standing in a graveyard while they were doing all of this! The 'Battle of Rawmarsh' represented a critical point in the transformation of school meals over the last decade. It exposed the many complex issues associated with school meals, which despite the obvious dominance of concerns with nutrition, indicates that school meals are about

so much more than what our children eat. The Battle of Rawmarsh offers a window into the different discourses which circulated around school meals at the time, of what it was possible to do, say and think about school meals and consequently, what kinds of actions, speech and thought were deemed irrational, unsayable and undoable. At a time when the issue of school meals was receiving an unprecedented degree of attention from the media through the *Jamie's School Dinners* (Channel 4) series, from policy makers and government through successive rafts of legislation, local strategies and policies, the issue of school meals became a significant feature of a cultural landscape in which healthy eating was associated with particular types of subjects; subjects who were successful, self regulating, rational and moral.

This event occurred a year after I commenced the study which informs this thesis. And while it did not provide the impetus for this study, it did seem to articulate much of what I wanted to question about school meals policy and practice. When I commenced the study in September 2005, I was working as a research assistant on the 'Eat Well Do Well'[1] project in Kingston upon Hull. This project was an evaluation of a programme which provided free healthy school lunches, breakfasts and after school snacks to all of the primary school children in the city. At the time, this was a groundbreaking scheme, which required the local authority to apply for special permissions from the Secretary of State for Education in order to implement it. The government were introducing a range of measures which would improve the quality of school meals and consequently, there was a great deal of interest both nationally and internationally in the outcomes of the programme. It was against this backdrop of

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[1] 'Eat Well Do Well' was a 3 year pilot programme in Kingston-upon-Hull that offered free and healthy breakfasts, lunches and after school snacks to every child in primary or special schools. The scheme was funded by Hull City Council and was the first of its kind anywhere in the UK. This scheme is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 4.

interest, which appeared at the time to be characterised by an almost evangelical zeal, that the study was undertaken. I had begun to wonder whether school meals were indeed the answer to the 'obesity epidemic' and whether more nutritionally balanced school meals would improve children's behaviour, attainment, concentration and attendance at school, as was claimed by the popular press. Further, I wondered what the effects of all this would be on the children that ate school meals and the school communities that were tasked with implementing school meals policy and ultimately delivering the expected outcomes. I began to question what kinds of subjects these nutritionally balanced school meals were intended to produce, and what kinds of subjects they were in fact producing.

My own experiences of school meals as a primary school child were not entirely positive. My recollections feature the humiliation of being reprimanded on several occasions by my headmaster for failing to use my spoon and fork correctly when eating my pudding, and also for referring to my dessert as my pudding. My memories of school dining were fraught with anxieties about the complex rules that were applied to mealtimes at school but not at home and the shame endured when I failed to 'perform' the necessary etiquette required for school dining. Even at primary school I believe I was aware of the class differences between others and myself that were mobilised during school lunchtimes, although these may have been felt more acutely as a distinction between the 'posh' modes of dining espoused by my headmaster and the 'common' consumption of a steelworker's daughter. My son also had negative experiences of school dining to the extent that we sacrificed entitlement to free school meals in order for him to take a packed lunch from home instead. This decision was motivated by nutritional concerns as the quality of the food served at

school was woefully inadequate, a desire for greater control and awareness about what kind of food he was eating and the need to provide food tailored to his individual preferences so that he actually ate his packed lunch rather than wasted his free school meal. While this decision detrimentally affected our financial position, this was more than compensated for by the knowledge that he was eating at least something during the day and did not return from school feeling hungry.

These memories were powerfully evoked when observing children in school dining rooms as a research assistant evaluating the 'Eat Well Do Well' project that provided free healthy school meals to primary school children in Kingston-upon-Hull. The ways that children negotiated, what appeared to me often, to be a confusing and chaotic environment, demonstrated a high level of social competence and awareness. I began to think about how children felt about their school lunches, their school dining rooms and the 'performance' of lunchtime and whether they shared my own or my son's experiences of school dining. I also noted that during the course of the evaluation of the 'Eat Well So Well' project, children's perspectives on school meals were often overlooked in favour of more 'rigorous' investigations of health and educational outcomes. As Mauthner, Mayall and Turner (1993) point out, children tend to be regarded as "the objects of the process of providing school dinners, rather than having any active part in the process;" (1993: 36). Therefore, one of the underpinning aims of the thesis was to rectify this omission.

This thesis is not intended to provide a nutritional analysis of school meals or to recommend best practice in terms of what kinds of food could and should be provided during the school lunch break. Over the last decade I have worked within the

fields of public health and within the dietetic department of a primary care trust. As the lead for the 5 A DAY project in my local area, my work involved promoting the benefits of eating fruit and vegetables to local communities, schools and workplaces in the most deprived communities across two local authorities in the north of England.

The emphasis behind the national government campaign, which commenced in 2000 was to make fruit and vegetables accessible, affordable and acceptable to the population with the aim of increasing fruit and vegetable consumption in a bid to reduce the incidence of cancer and coronary heart disease. I had felt this to be a very positive campaign which was backed by substantial funding to support increased access to fresh fruit and vegetables in some of the poorest communities. However, as time passed and the government agenda changed from one of disease prevention and supporting active healthy living to one of preventing obesity, I felt that the tone of many of the healthy eating campaigns had changed. The advent of a plethora of television programmes including *Celebrity Fit Club* (ITV) and *You Are What You Eat* (Channel 4) together with an increasing media obsession with the obese body had often led to a blaming of parents for their inability to provide their own children with healthy food. I began to question my own place within this professional practice and started to think more critically about the effects of such blaming and shaming of parents and overweight individuals. Throughout the course of this study, my professional practice has changed significantly in an attempt to encourage individuals who are the 'targets' of health promotion activities to think more critically about what they are being asked to do and why they are being asked to do it. My recent interest and involvement with the Health at Every Size (Pike, 2010a) and Fat Acceptance movements has been something of a turning point for me. Consequently, this thesis is

not attempting to answer questions such as how school meals might be used to address the so-called 'obesity epidemic' or how we might encourage children to eat more school meals. Rather, it takes a critical view of school meals policy and attempts to suggest how individuals are made subjects by the practices associated with school food within the school dining room

The overall aim of this thesis is to illustrate the particular types of subject positions that exist within the field of school meals and in particular those that are offered within the school dining room and the ways in which these are taken up, modified and resisted by the people that use the dining room space. Whilst my intention is to contribute to an overall understanding of school dining rooms as a site of complex interaction between subjects, space and discourse, a site in which specific subjective positions are privileged, the thesis is also motivated by a strong desire to emphasise children's perspectives on their school dining experiences. It is clear that a relationship with food and eating constitutes a universal component of human experience, although the precise nature of this experience is subjective, fluid and socially and historically contingent. Nevertheless, for those of us growing up within the UK state education system, a relationship with school meals may feature as a significant element of childhood experience. The reader may therefore recognise elements of their own school meals experiences reflected in this thesis.

This thesis represents the culmination of a body of work undertaken in the field of school meals since March 2004 when I began working at the University of Hull. As this work has progressed I have had the opportunity to present findings at conferences and seminars all over the world, to meet and discuss my work with

respected colleagues and to publish 3 papers in peer reviewed academic journals (Pike, 2008a; Pike and Colquhoun, 2009 and Pike, 2010b). These papers are listed in the references at the end of the thesis.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Over the last decade the issue of school dining became something of a national obsession reaching a critical mass between the years 2004 – 2006, around the time of the general election. During this period, school meals underwent a radical transformation with legislation introduced to regulate what could and could not be served at school throughout the day and an unprecedented level of media interest from the broadsheets and the tabloid press in addition to television programmes such as *Jamie's School Dinners* (Channel 4) and other associated food and health programmes. The study undertaken for this thesis occurred within a vibrant policy context and this heightened level of interest and activity providing an impetus for the research questions that I attempted to pursue. Thus, initially it is important to describe in some detail, both the national and local policy context for the study and to situate myself professionally and personally within this policy context. Prior to this however, I want to discuss the history of school meals in England from its inception, together with a critical analysis of school meals policy at the time the study was conducted. Throughout this discussion I suggest that the social dimension of school dining while often alluded to in the policy documentation, is often an overlooked element of school lunchtimes that is overshadowed by nutritional concerns. Subsequent changes to school meals policy that have occurred since the study was undertaken are also briefly discussed. Finally in this chapter, I wish to introduce the concept of governmentality as a potentially useful vantage point from which to explore some of the issues associated with school meals and the school dining room.

If properly provided, school meals, whether given at a school canteen or at a feeding centre outside the school premises can have an educational value for the child as great as the medical. If a properly balanced meal be well cooked and well served under attractive conditions and with a happy discipline, its nutritional value is enhanced, and its educational value incalculable. The elder children learn to wait on others and to serve them first. All learn good table manners, the importance of eating with clean hands, and of unhurried mastication, and become accustomed to a varied and wholesome dinner.

(Scottish Executive, 2002: 21)

The quotation above is taken from a Department of Education Circular issued in 1939 and is cited in 2002 in Hungry for Success, Scotland's key policy document relating to school meals. The report concedes, "[A]lthough our society and the nature of the school day have changed dramatically since that was written, it does serve as a reminder that there is a social dimension to the provision of school meals and that this has to be actively managed as an integral part of the school day" (Scottish Executive, 2002: 21). The social dimension of school meals appears to be almost axiomatic. It is a taken for granted assumption that proximity of adults' and children's bodies within the space of the school dining room provides the opportunity for positive inter and intra generational social interaction. The implicit assumption within this document is that this social interaction is both beneficial and desirable. Social interaction within the dining room is acknowledged as socially productive but the notion of school meals as a means through which hegemonic values are articulated, produced and reproduced is not commented upon and the quotation appears to have been uncritically appropriated within this contemporary policy document. Therefore, the inclusion of this quotation has much to say, not only about the provision of school meals historically, but about the ready acceptance by current policymakers of the role that the school meal plays in (re)constructing particular types of subjects within the school dining room and the kinds of social interactions which occur within the space.

In essence, it was the unproblematic appropriation of this quotation within contemporary policy that provided much of the initial impetus for my doctoral study.

The History of School Meals and the Emergence of School Meals as a Public Health Intervention

It is commonly asserted that the emergence of the school meals service can be traced back to the Boer War where, as a result of the state of chronic under nutrition of potential army recruits - between 40 and 60% of recruits were physically unfit for service (Gelbier and Randall, 1982; Sibley, 2004) - an Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration was established to investigate the causes (Welshman, 1997; Gustafsson, 2002; Passmore and Harris, 2004; Morgan, 2006). The committee also had a remit to advise on the collection of public health data pertaining to the state of the nation's health. Among its recommendations the committee suggested that by a combination of municipal and voluntary effort, arrangements should be made to feed habitually underfed school children.

This was achieved with the introduction of the Education Act 1906 which was to enable children to take advantage of the education offered to them. The provision of state education was only beneficial if children were sufficiently nourished to be able to "benefit fully from their education" (Passmore and Harris, 2004: 221). Hendrick notes that the school meals service developed in tandem along with a number of other measures designed to improve children's health at a time when issues of national efficiency preoccupied a significant proportion of policy making and legislation (Hendrick, 1992). Indeed, one of the most significant of these measures was the establishment of a school medical service, administered by a newly

professionalised body of school medical officers, in order to monitor the health of the nation's children. Anthropometric measurements were taken to monitor children's growth and development and Hendrick suggests that this new army of medical professionals were pivotal in providing evidence to garner support for campaigns to abolish child labour.

Morgan (2006) considers 3 eras of school meals policy, the welfare era, the neo-liberal era and the emerging ecological era. The welfare era encompasses policy from the Education Act of 1906 up until the Thatcher government's reforms in the 1980's and was characterised by an emphasis on collective provision. Morgan suggests that the welfare era, which saw the emergence of the school meals system, represents a comparatively golden era, in light of the policies that followed. However, this view fails to acknowledge a number of contextual issues. First, as Harris states the condition of recruits to the Boer War provided a focal point through which a number of concerns were articulated; Britain's declining international dominance, the efficiency of the nation, for example (Harris, 1995). Improving the health of the nation therefore, had a strong eugenic undercurrent coupled with an emphasis on the physical, moral and sexual health of the nation (Pilcher, 2007). Second, the extension of compulsory education to the children of the working class forced malnourished working class children's bodies into the public arena for scrutiny (Mayall, 1996; Pilcher, 2007). The school meals service was implemented with a requirement to collect data on children's nutritional status with children initially categorised as 'good', 'normal', 'below normal' and 'bad' (Welshman, 1997). Thus, for the emerging public health profession, the subjection of working class children's bodies to the medical gaze became a legitimating practice and was accompanied by

judgements on working class mother's parenting abilities (Mayall, 1996; Welshman, 1997; Pilcher, 2007). Third, there was by no means consensus that the provision of school meals was a good thing. There were concerns that the provision of meals at school would undermine parental responsibility ultimately leading to a destabilisation of the family. Instead, money would be better spent on teaching mothers, or more specifically working class mothers, how to cook properly (Welshman, 1997) or on other health measures in school such as physical activity and fresh air. Indeed, current debates around targeted provision and universality are redolent of this period. Finally, as Pilcher argues, during the latter decades of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century, "environmental discourses of health and disease (exemplified in the public sanitation campaigns of Edwin Chadwick) were gradually replaced by discourses that targeted the individual as the key agent in the maintenance of bodily health and the prevention of disease" (Pilcher, 2007: 217). This would seem to be at odds with Morgan's notion of the golden era of collective provision.

Inter and Post War Policy on School Meals

The Education Act of 1906 enabled Local Authorities to provide meals on a paying basis for those children whose parents could afford to pay and free to malnourished children whose parents were unable to pay. However, this was not obligatory and legislation did not stipulate the time of day food should be served. This led to variations in provision throughout the country (Harris, 1995; Welshman, 1997; Gustafsson, 2002). Some local authorities provided breakfasts, some provided lunches, others snacks and some simply provided milk (Harris, 1995). In the interwar years although spending on school meals increased overall, there was widespread disparity between individual local authorities in terms of spending on school meals

(Harris, 1995). Additionally, as Gustafsson (2002) notes, there were indications that spending on school meals was higher in those areas where parents could afford to pay and that free school meals were frequently of lower nutritional quality. Consequently, there were calls for a more standardised service that represented "a shift from a system providing the most basic nutrients to the poor, to a regime offering a meal to all school children" (Gustafsson, 2002: 687). This, coupled with advances in nutritional science and greater understanding of the role of vitamins in the diet, was the context in which the 1944 Education Act was introduced (Harris, 1995; Passmore and Harris, 2004). This Act placed a statutory duty on Local Education Authorities to provide both school meals and milk for the first time (Passmore and Harris, 2004). Basic nutritional standards had been laid down in 1941 although, in practice these were not adhered to or standardised until 1965 (Sharp, 1992; Gustafsson, 2002; Morgan, 2006). Free school meals were now provided on the basis of financial hardship rather than medical need although the eventual but unrealised aim of the 1944 Act was universal free school meal provision (Welshman, 1997; Gustafsson, 2002; Morgan, 2006). This period saw a standardisation of the school meals service together with shift in emphasis from alleviating hunger, towards the provision of a balanced meal in order to prevent nutritional deficiency.

The Thatcher Era

The election of the Conservative government in 1979 heralded a new deregulated approach to school meals policy. The universal provision of free school milk was gradually being eroded by the removal of entitlement for secondary school children in 1968 and children over 7 years in mainstream education in 1971

(Passmore and Harris, 2004). However, with the 1980 Education Act came the elimination of free school milk entitlement altogether. This Act revolutionised school meals policy with a set of sweeping reforms which included; removing the duty on Local Education Authorities to provide school lunches at all, except to those children entitled to a free school meal; removing the fixed pricing system and removing nutritional standards (Gustafsson, 2002; Passmore and Harris, 2004; Morgan, 2006). Subsequently, legislation was introduced in the form of the Social Security Act 1986 which according to White, Cole-Hamilton and Dibb, (1992) reformed the welfare benefit system and removed free school meals entitlement from some 400,000 children. Instead, the price of a school meal was incorporated into family credit payments, and only those families in receipt of Income Support were entitled to free school meals. The introduction of compulsive competitive tendering (CCT) through the Local Government Act 1988 meant that many school catering services were removed from Local Authority control and outsourced to private catering contractors. As Passmore and Harris note:

> The effect of CCT was to shift attitudes about school meals. Instead of being a service provided for the child's benefit, it was now seen as a commercial service (Passmore and Harris, 2004: 223).

The effects of these reforms were various. The advent of CCT meant that many school kitchens closed and the introduction of more processed food items into school menus resulted in a deskilled workforce unaccustomed to preparing meals from scratch (Morgan, 2006). It is also acknowledged that children's diets worsened during this period with increased consumption of fat and sugar and decreased consumption of fruit and vegetables (Gustafsson, 2002). The proportion of children staying for school lunches fell from an average of 64% in 1979 to 47% in 1988,

(White *et al.*, 1992). While the explicit rationale behind much of this policy was economic, the cost to the present public purse in public health terms has lead Morgan to label this period of school meals policy a "monstrously myopic mistake" (2006: 381).

School Meals Policy under the Blair Government

Up until the general election of 2005, school meals had been subject to the nutritional guidelines set out in 2001. These were based on the five food groups (Buttriss, 2005; DfEE[2], 2001) and stipulated for example the number of portions of fruit and vegetables to be served every day, that fish should be served once a week and red meat should be served twice a week, and placed limits on the availability of fried foods and the availability of table salt. In practice, compliance with these guidelines was inconsistent with only 15% of schools restricting access to table salt and chips and potatoes cooked in oil were available on at least 4 days a week in 76% of schools (Nelson, Bradbury, Poulter, McGee, Msebele and Jarvis, 2004).

Consequently, the issue of poor quality food of low nutritional value and high in fat and salt continued to trouble nutritionists and public health professionals. However, it was during the months preceding the general election 2005 that the issue of school meals really dominated the political agenda. In February 2005, the television programme *Jamie's School Dinners* (Channel 4) was broadcast with the aim of drawing the public's attention to the poor quality food that was being served in

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[2] The government department responsible for schools has been relabelled the Department for Education and Employment, the Department for Education and Skills, The Department for Children, Schools and Families and under the present government is now the Department for Education

schools. The topic attracted a great deal of media interest focussing attention on the 'turkey twizzler' (Revill and Hill, Observer, 06/03/05; Plunkett, Guardian, 23/03/05) an item that became synonymous with cheap processed food served at school lunches. The Labour government produced its election manifesto with promises to review school meals policy and to increase spending on ingredients for school meals. This review led to the implementation of stricter standards for school lunches based on nutritional composition in line with the Caroline Walker Trust[3] guidelines rather than on food groups. These standards were effective in primary schools from September 2008 and in secondary schools from September 2009. There was no commitment to universal free school meals provision, which remained an entitlement of the very poorest children only. Nutritional standards similar to those set out by the Caroline Walker Trust were already in place in Scotland with the implementation of Hungry for Success in 2002. Additionally, a campaign for the universal provision of free school meals was launched by Tommy Sheridan, MSP in 2002 (BBC, 20/06/2002). An amendment to the School Food and Nutrition (Scotland) Bill was proposed by Frances Curran, MSP in 2007, which aimed to provide free school lunches for primary school children in Scotland. However, the amendment was defeated and consequently, Scottish children were able to access free breakfasts, fruit and milk but not lunches. Research presented in this thesis informed the debate in the Scottish Parliament (Official Report, 14th March, Col 33049).

As part of its commitment to reform school meals the Labour government established the School Food Trust in 2005 with £15 million of funding. The School

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[3] The Caroline Walker Trust is a charitable body that advises and campaigns on nutritional issues particularly those affecting children and the elderly. The CWT produced a series of nutritional guidelines recommending the minimum nutritional composition of school meals in 1992. These were revised in 2005.

Food Trust was a non-departmental public body with a remit to advise on all issues relating to school food including implementing government policy on food standards. In 2007 the School Food Trust became a registered charity. According to its website the School Food Trust's board and staff;

> …believe that eating well during the school day is crucial to a number of government, societal and parental objectives, including improving the health, well being and academic performance of children and young people. (www.schoolfoodtrust.org.uk/about-us/about-the-trust Accessed 15th September 2010)

The School Food Trust conducts research into school meals and provides a variety of resources to assist schools to become compliant with the nutritional standards. They advise on a range of issues including marketing, procurement, menu analysis and parental involvement. Additionally they established the school FEAST (Food Excellence and Skills Training) network, which provides training for school cooks and catering staff in preparing and serving healthy school meals.

Contemporary School Meals Policy

Following the introduction of food-based standards in 2006, the Labour government implemented the introduction of nutrient based standards governing school lunches set out by the Caroline Walker Trust. These were introduced in primary schools in September 2008 and in secondary and special schools in September 2009. Under these standards school lunches must contain a minimum amount of nutrients such as zinc, iron, calcium and folate and must not exceed the maximum amount of salt, saturated fat, fat and non-milk extrinsic sugars. Schools are legally obliged to comply with 14 nutrient based standards. Under the new Ofsted inspection framework, schools may be asked to demonstrate that their lunches are

compliant with the nutrient standards. For those schools with meals provided by the local authority or by a private contractor this is a relatively simple process and compliance can be demonstrated using dietetic software such as Saffron or Nutmeg. However, for those schools with in-house catering, access to this software and the dietetic expertise to use it may be something of an issue.

In 2008 the Labour government also announced the introduction of a pilot scheme to assess the benefits of extending entitlement to free school meals for primary school children. The pilot scheme was implemented in September 2009 and saw two local authorities, Durham and Newham trialling a universal free school meals model while Wolverhampton extended entitlement to free school meals. Each of these local authorities was matched with a 'control' local authority in which entitlement to free school meals remained the same. The pilots investigated whether the scheme was effective in reducing obesity, improving school standards, impacting on behaviour, changing eating habits at home and improving health and well being (DCSF Press notice 24th September 2008). Results from these pilots are yet to be published but plans to extend the scheme to other regions have been abandoned by the current coalition government as the scheme is felt to be too expensive. However, at the time of writing the current government has not yet issued a statement regarding either the school lunch nutrient standards or the future of the School Food Trust.

Healthy Eating and the School Curriculum: Personal, Social and Health Education

The topic of healthy eating falls primarily under the auspices of Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education (PSHE) within the school curriculum. PSHE

covers topics such as leading healthier lifestyles, body image and health issues, along with areas such as avoiding harm from alcohol and drugs, sex and relationships managing personal finance and careers education. This is a currently a non-statutory curriculum area which following the recent independent review by Sir Alasdair MacDonald was intended to become statutory in 2011 (MacDonald, 2009). However, following negotiations between the coalition government and opposition parties on the Children, Schools and Families Bill, there is no longer provision under this Bill to make PSHE a statutory subject. According to the MacDonald review

> Personal Social Education (PSE) was first identified as a cross-curricular 'dimension' in 1990. It was underpinned by five cross-curricular 'themes': economic and industrial understanding, careers education and guidance, health education, education for Citizenship and environmental education (MacDonald, 2009:10)

Personal, Social and Health Education became a non-statutory framework for schools in 2000 and while this framework linked PSHE with the statutory curriculum, schools were able to deliver PSHE using a range of different methods and approaches at their own discretion. These included PSHE lessons, teaching PSHE through other curriculum areas, through pastoral support and guidance and through specific activities and school events. Schools were therefore able to link a variety of extra-curricular support activities to the PSHE framework. These might include activities such as 'health weeks' or 'health fairs', which were an annual feature in all of the primary schools that took part in this study. During these health weeks, activities included cookery demonstrations, talks by external partners, physical activities, massage for example.   In Key Stage 1 and 2 pupils learn about the process of growing and "that taking exercise and eating the right types and amounts of food help humans to keep healthy" (http://curriculum.qcda.gov.uk/key-stages-1-and-

2/subjects/personal_social_and_health_education/keystage1/index.aspx). Thus, by the end of Key Stage 2 pupils should be able to make healthy choices about how to develop healthy lifestyles in relation to diet and exercise. The PSHE curriculum is part of current attempts to deliver better health outcomes for children and young people using a whole school approach and as such, makes explicit links to the aims of the National Healthy School Programme.

School Meals and the National Healthy Schools Programme

The reforms to school meals policy were part of an overall drive to encourage schools to support the health of children and young people. In 1999 the Department of Health and the Department of Education (then Department of Education and Skills, DfES) launched the National Healthy Schools Programme. This national programme identified schools as a key setting in achieving improved health outcomes for children and young people initially with respect to three strategic aims; tackling health inequalities, promoting social inclusion, and raising attainment, (Health Development Agency, 2002). The fourth aim of promoting multi agency working between health promotion providers and education institutions was added in line with the Every Child Matters outcome framework in 2004 (http://resources.healthyschools.gov.uk). The National Healthy Schools programme initially comprised of a number of thematic areas that schools were required to cover in order to gain National Healthy Schools Status. These were later revised in 2005 (Department for Health, 2009) to include the following core themes:

- Healthy Eating;

- Personal, Social and Health Education (including sex and relationships education and drug education);

- Physical Activity;

- Emotional Health and Wellbeing (including bullying).

In order to achieve National Healthy Schools Status, schools need to demonstrate that they are meeting the standards in each of these four areas and that they have appropriate policies and procedures in place to foster healthy behaviours. At the time of the study, the government had set a target that half of schools would achieve national healthy school status by 2006 (http://nationalstrategies.standards.dcsf.gov.uk/node/194751).

Further to this the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) launched the *Healthy Living Blueprint for Schools* in 2004 as an additional resource to enable schools to contribute to the achievement of key policy objectives such as reducing childhood obesity and tackling health inequalities. This document aimed to support the National Healthy Schools Programme and offer guidance "to support schools in becoming healthier" (DfES, 2004: 3). This document outlines 5 priorities which are: to promote a school ethos and environment which encourages a healthy lifestyle; to use the full capacity and flexibility of the curriculum to achieve a healthy lifestyle; to ensure the food and drink available across the school day reinforces the healthy lifestyle message; to provide high quality physical education and school sport and promote physical activity as part of a lifelong healthy lifestyle and finally, to promote an understanding of the full range of issues and behaviours which impact upon

lifelong health. Within this document school food is identified as a key area for improvement and includes a government pledge to review nutritional standards for primary and secondary schools and encouraging schools to make cross-curricula links to reinforce healthy eating messages. The document also highlights the importance of creating a dining room environment that is fit for purpose and that encourages children and young people to choose a school meal.

> Managing the lunch hour and good quality canteen facilities are both crucial in persuading pupils to eat in school and behave well. The dining room environment should be attractive to children and staff – a place they want to go and eat in, with sufficient time allocated to the lunch period. Many schools have queuing problems, insufficient seating and do not allow adequate time for children to participate in lunchtime activities and eat lunch. Some schools have tackled these problems by reorganising their lunch hour, and making cosmetic improvements to their dining facilities, usually with advice from the School Council. We hope that many more will take a close look at changing their arrangements to provide a better lunchtime experience for all pupils. (DfES, 2004: 17)

Here, there is an emphasis upon improving the lunchtime experience for pupils, but this is regarded as a means to 'persuade pupils to eat in school and behave well' rather than as an end in itself. There is little mention of the importance of creating social opportunities for children and young people or to allow them chance to relax with friends and staff, for example. The overall aim of such improvements is to encourage school lunch take up and by inference, improve the nutrition of children and young people.

Local School Meals Policy and Professional Experiences of School Dining Rooms

My professional experiences of school dining rooms are largely a result of local policy relating to school meals and my work on the 'Eat Well Do Well' project

in Kingston-upon-Hull. This project transformed the provision of school meals locally and was the first of its kind anywhere in the UK. In a bid to tackle health inequalities and poor academic attainment the City Council funded the universal provision of school meals for every child at primary and special schools within the city. From 2004 until 2007 Hull City Council made free breakfasts, lunches, after school snacks available to some 25,000 children and young people. Additionally, they extended the provision of free fruit already supplied nationally to children up to the age of seven years, to include all primary aged children up until 11 years. Prior to the introduction of the nutrient standards nationally, the 'Eat Well Do Well' scheme ensured that all lunches met the Caroline Walker Trust standards for school lunches. This project was a massive undertaking, such that the council had to apply for permission from the Secretary of State for Education using the Powers to Innovate, a provision which allows the Secretary of State to temporarily suspend education legislation so that local authorities, schools and colleges can pilot solutions to local issues. This three year project started in 8 schools in 2004 and was rolled out to all 75 primary schools and 3 special schools by September 2005. All of the meals across the city were provided by the council run Three Crowns Catering Services, which perhaps made the implementation of the scheme slightly easier than if schools were contracted to a range of different providers. Over the course of the scheme, take up of school lunches rose from an annual average of 36% prior to the introduction of the free school meals to an annual average of 64% at the end of the scheme (Colquhoun, Wright, Pike and Gatenby, 2008). This increase in uptake meant that the scheme overall, was regarded as successful by the Labour controlled local council. However, in 2007 the Liberal Democrats took control of the council and the scheme was abolished after the pilot study ended.

As a research assistant working on the evaluation of this project, I was involved in conducting research across a number of school sites and undertook surveys of pupils, teachers, parents, and interviews with teachers, head teachers, PSHE co-ordinators, education welfare officers, school cooks, pupils and other key stakeholders. I worked alongside another research assistant who undertook the nutritional analysis for the evaluation. This work involved estimating the nutritional content of the meals served and the nutritional content of what a sample of children actually ate. While this work was undoubtedly important for the evaluation, as the project progressed, I felt that the emphasis given to the nutritive element of the evaluation occluded other important areas of enquiry, for example, around the social aspects of dining, the effects of the scheme upon social relationships and dynamics within the school, and an unpicking of the messages that were being communicated to children through the discourses and practices of school meals. It became clear to me that the sudden increase in numbers of children consuming a hot meal at lunchtime had brought numerous logistical problems and that this inevitably created tensions within the dining space. I was interested to see how these tensions played out within the space.

Whilst observing a young boy at the serving counter   I was fascinated by his ability to decide what he wanted for lunch amid what felt to me like a great deal of noise, chaos and confusion. He was being shouted at by other children in the queue while being asked what he wanted to eat by the kitchen staff, and encouraged to make a decision quickly. He then negotiated a crowded room to collect a drink and cutlery while balancing his plate full of food. But it was the moment that he turned around to look across the dining room to find a space to sit, that was the interesting moment

from my perspective. For having accomplished what appeared to me to be a difficult and stressful set of tasks, he was now faced with the daunting prospect of having to find a seat next to someone he liked in order to eat his lunch. The expression on his face was one of utter panic. It occurred to me that, for the children who were the intended targets of the school meals scheme, priorities around school dining may not have been nutritional at all, but social. In spite of the acknowledgement of the social dimension of school meals in policy documents such as Hungry for Success, (2002), there has been relatively little research undertaken in this area. Mauthner, Mayall and Turner's (1993) study which investigated the reasons for children's food choices at primary school and their knowledge of health care issues suggested that children experience school dining primarily as a social activity. This was certainly the case with my own research participants who talked frequently of the importance of sitting next to friends and of the opportunities that the dining room environment provided for social interaction beyond the confines of the classroom. However, regardless of the emphasis given to the social, Mauthner, Mayall and Turner's (1993) recommendations for future research areas positions the social dimensions of school dining as significant only in relation to children's eating behaviours, rather than as an important area of study in its own right. While educational researchers generally have focused on other aspects of schooling rather than the dining room experience, such as curriculum, assessment, pedagogy and school leadership, research into school meals has continued to focus upon the health implications of school dining and the reasons for children's food choices and preferences. Burgess and Morrison (1998) aimed to "advance understandings about the complex issues that underlie food choices as they are understood and mediated through the practice of schooling" (1998: 209). This involved an understanding of teaching and learning about food within the school

curriculum. Wills, Backett-Milburn, Gregory and Lawton (2005) explore the secondary school environment and its impact upon the eating habits of pupils. While the social context of where pupils eat, how and who with is referred to in both of these works, it is once again regarded as a backdrop to the activity of eating, healthily or otherwise, impacting on pupils' capacity to select and consume food rather than as an active element through which both children and adults construct and mediate a variety of subjective positions. Lupton states:

> Food and eating are central to our subjectivity, or sense of self, and our experience of embodiment, or the ways that we live in and through our bodies, which itself is inextricably linked with subjectivity. (Lupton, 1996:1)

Given the centrality of food and eating to our sense of self, it is in some ways rather surprising that school meals have not been explored in this regard. However, I would suggest that this omission is perhaps to be expected given both the contemporary and historical positioning of school meals as part of the public health agenda and the focus of education researchers on more formal aspects of schooling.

As a research assistant working on the 'Eat Well Do Well' project I gained access to a number of primary school dining rooms, and each seemed to have a particular feel to it. Different atmospheres, practices, actors and modes of behaviour from individuals within the space and I began to wonder how we might begin to understand these spaces, which despite serving the same fundamental purpose, had very different cultures and practices going on within them. I started to question how these particular practices had come about and what purposes they served. How did the different actors within the setting understand these practices and how did they feel about them? I also wondered how we might think about the space of the dining room

as a distinct geography that might play a part in the formulation of the peculiar cultures that had developed within the space. Thus the school dining room was a place of interest as a space which, like other spaces within the schools, appeared to invoke particular rules, and to generate practices and behaviours that produced sets of social relations and particular types of subjects and this is what I wanted to explore further.

An Introduction to Governmentality

The school dining room appeared to me as a space in which a range of different issues were being played out and I began to search for an analytical framework that might allow me to think about the ways in which the cultures of school dining operated within the space. Here I briefly outline some of the key concepts which underpin Foucault's ideas around governmentality as this seemed to offer the most potential for understanding the practices and behaviours which occurred within the school dining room. I do not attempt to provide a full discussion of governmentality within this introduction, as this is further explicated in the subsequent Chapter 2. Instead I provide a cursory overview.

Foucault developed the term 'governmentality' during his lectures at the Collège de France, most notably in the 1978 lecture series entitled *Security, Territory and Population* (Foucault, 2009a). Foucault uses the term to refer to the practices of government through which individuals are made subjects but, in using the term government, Foucault eschews the traditional definitions of government as synonymous with *the* government or *the* state. Instead the term government refers to the myriad of ways in which individuals are encouraged, cajoled or overtly disciplined to become particular types of citizens, for example through institutions

such as schools, hospitals, prisons or by acting on themselves and others to regulate behaviour. Foucault's assertion is that these practices and technologies of government can be understood as located within particular rationalities of rule. That is to say, the practices of government are supported by particular ways of thinking about government that justify their existence.

> An analysis of governmentalities then, is one that seeks to identify these different styles of thought, their conditions of formation, the principles and knowledges that they borrow from and generate, the practices that they consist of, how they are carried out, their contestations and alliances with other arts of governing (Rose, O'Malley and Valverde, 2009: 3).

In the case of school dining rooms, the concept of governmentality appeared to offer an analytical framework for thinking, not only about the ways in which individuals within them were governed, that is to say encouraged or disciplined to behave in certain ways, to choose a healthy school meal, to queue in a specific area, to encourage children to eat more food for example. But additionally, it also offered the potential to understand the ways that particular kinds of knowledge shored up these practices, for example, knowledge of nutrition, child development and behavioural psychology. For Rose *et al.:*

> Every practice for the conduct of conduct involves authorities, aspirations, programmatic thinking, the invention or redeployment of techniques and technologies (Rose *et al*., 2009: 26)

Chapter Summary

Throughout this introductory chapter I have aimed to demonstrate that contemporary school meals policy is firmly embedded within the public health agenda, despite its initial emergence as a means through which greater numbers of children and young people could access education. I have outlined the history of

school meals policy in England and have discussed the position of successive governments in relation to free school meals provision, with a particular emphasis on the local school meals programme that operated in Hull while the study was conducted. These local and national policies are located within the broader context of healthy eating in schools in relation to PSHE curriculum and the National Healthy Schools Programme. I have argued that culmination of fervent media interest, the introduction of stringent nutrient standards and successive rafts of initiatives and interventions relating to schools and health has resulted in an almost obsessive preoccupation with the food that children are eating in schools at lunchtime. While the social aspects of dining and children's experiences of lunchtime have tended to be marginalised within policy documentation and overlooked by academics. I suggested that school dining rooms represent a site that is worthy of investigation since the conflation of this emergent set of rationalities around school dining, the dominant discourses and the particular technologies that are used to govern individuals within school dining rooms are productive of particular types of citizens and that as a project of government, school dining has a particular objective. I have briefly outlined the ways in which Foucault's governmentality thesis might be useful in helping us to understand the practices of school dining and the rationalities that underpin them.

Thesis Outline

The subsequent chapters of this thesis are set out as follows. The literature review is divided into two parts. In the first part of the literature review in Chapter 2 I provide a detailed discussion of Foucault's work on power, which recasts traditional conceptions of power as an oppressive force that can be possessed by groups or individuals. Here I outline the development of Foucault's governmentality thesis in

greater depth with specific reference to health and to school dining rooms. I proceed to consider the ways in which geographers have engaged with Foucault's ideas of governmentality. In the second part of the literature review in Chapter 3 I outline the specific rationalities that provide a justification for the practices that occur in relation to school meals and school dining. This section details the ways in which 'the meal' has been conceptualised across a variety of different disciplines from sociology to anthropology and offers a ways of thinking about the meal as embedded within social relations. I proceed to discuss the dominant discourses that circulate about the health of school meals, arguing that these discourses are imbued with a set of profoundly moral assumptions around what it means to be healthy, and the responsibility of the individual to maintain her own health. Finally, I suggest that the influence of celebrities such as Jamie Oliver had a profound effect upon policy relating to school meals and that his 'expert' opinion provided a rationale for many of the significant events that subsequently occurred. The methodology for the study is presented in Chapter 4. Here I outline the methods used throughout the study together with a discussion of the ethical and philosophical implications of undertaking this research.

Next, I proceed to turn to an analysis of the data. Initially in Chapter 5 I provide an analysis of the school dining room as a 'space'. This enables the reader to contextualise the discussion of practice in the subsequent chapters. In so doing I commence by outlining some of the geographic concepts that enable us to think spatially about the school dining room and to explore the extent to which school dining rooms can be considered as discrete educational spaces. This is discussed within the parameters of the emerging sub-disciplinary field of the geography of education which while drawing attention to the ways in which school spaces construct

children and young people as subjects, have largely ignored the geographies of school dining rooms as an 'educational' space. I then provide a descriptive account of the dining spaces within the study, taken from field notes. Here particular attention is paid to the ways in which primary school dining rooms within the study are organised, the spatial techniques that are employed and how they attempt to construct particular types of subjects. This chapter attempts to illustrate the porous nature of the boundaries of school dining room highlighting particular rationalities of government and how these manifest within school dining room spaces.

Each of the remaining data chapters focuses upon technologies of government and attempts to explore the ways in which these particular technologies might be understood as governmental practices that are productive of particular kinds of subjects and of particular sets of social relations. Initially a vignette is provided that is taken from field notes in each school. The vignettes are representative of typical practices that occurred in particular schools and demonstrate a range of governmental techniques. Chapter 6 focuses upon time, queuing and spatiality and the production of the ordered subject. Chapter 7 examines the production of the civilised subject through the acculturation of table manners and etiquette. Chapter 8 explores the healthy subject and Chapter 9 focuses upon overt practices of discipline punishment and resistance in relation to the disciplined subject. The tenth and final chapter reviews the discussions in the previous chapters and attempts to highlight the theoretical implications of the work presented throughout the thesis. I return to discuss how this study relates to the wider literature in the field before discussing the practical and policy implications of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review Part 1 – Foucault and Power

In Chapter 1 I introduced the concept of governmentality arguing that this presents a potentially useful way of exploring the school dining room as a governable space. In this Chapter I pursue this argument, suggesting that a closer engagement with Foucault's theoretical descriptions of the nature and uses of power might yield important insights for a critical examination of the cultures of primary school dining rooms. I commence by providing an outline of some of the key elements of Foucault's work on power and how this has been taken up within educational settings. I proceed to consider the ways in which Foucault's understandings of power and knowledge might shed light on contemporary discourses around children's health and how in particular, this relates to school dining rooms. I suggest some of the limitations of the existing literature, in particular the ways in which children's geographers have engaged with Foucauldian ideas around space. I argue that a Foucauldian notion of power might provide a useful account which enables us to think critically about the relationship between theory and policy in relation to the cultures of children's school dining.

Introduction to Foucault

It is widely acknowledged by many critics and commentators that Foucault's work does not represent a coherent theory of power (Moss, 1998; Mills, 2003). Indeed, Foucault's corpus of work is characterised by contradictions and any scholar

looking for a consistent account is likely to be disappointed. Rather his earlier work tended to focus upon the exercise of power within institutions such as asylums (2009b) and the clinic (Foucault, 2010) and the production of 'docile bodies' through the use of surveillance and other governmental technologies (Foucault, 1991). Foucault's theorisations of power proceeded along a different trajectory following the publication of *Discipline and Punish*, as he became interested in what Lemke suggests are seemingly disparate projects of the "genealogy of the state" and the "genealogy of the subject" (Lemke, 2001). Foucault brushed aside accusations of inconsistencies seeing these changes as a crucial component of critical thinking with his famous retort, "Well, do you think I've worked [like a dog] all those years to say the same thing and not be changed?" (Foucault, cited in Mills, 2003: 3). However, despite this robust dismissal of such allegations, Foucault was very clear about the focus of his writings, which he suggests preoccupied him for much of his career.

> I would like to say, first of all, what has been the goal of my work during the last twenty years. It has not been to analyze the phenomena of power, nor 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 (Foucault, 2002a: 326 *The Subject and Power*)

Therefore Foucault sees the study of power less as the objective of his research, but rather as an area of analysis that enables him to understand the different ways in which human beings are constituted as subjects. For the purposes of this chapter and the substantive chapters of this thesis, it is worth defining what Foucault meant when he used the term 'the subject'.

The Subject

When Foucault uses the term the subject he rejects any notion of a predetermined, pre-existing universal subject arguing "that there is no sovereign, founding subject, a universal form of subject to be found everywhere. I am very sceptical of this view of the subject and very hostile to it." (Foucault, 1988a: 50, *An Aesthetics of Existence*) There is no essential view of human nature, rather Foucault suggests that the very idea of the human subject is a relatively recent invention. For Foucault, we are not born subjects; we are made subjects through a range of governmental techniques and practices that necessarily involve the enactment of power. Foucault states that;

> There are two meanings of the word *subject*: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to. (Foucault, 2002a: 351, *The Subject and Power*)

Foucault identifies three ways in which individuals are made subjects

1. Through the modes of enquiry that try to give themselves the status of sciences

2. Through the objectivising of the subject through dividing practices

3. Through the ways a human being acts upon him or herself to turn themselves into a subject

In the first instance Foucault is alluding to the knowledge practices or rationalities of rule that support and legitimise particular practices of government, for example, the influence of developmental psychology on practices of schooling. Second, the dividing practices refer to specific techniques through which human beings are categorised and differentiated. These practices can be fairly abstract and

achieved by applying an arbitrary framework to classify individuals or populations, for example in the ways individuals might be deemed underweight, healthy weight, overweight or obese. Or they may be specifically spatial practices, for example the spatial segregation of pupils who are behaving well and those who need to be punished. Third, Foucault refers to the self-regulating practices that human beings perform on themselves to create themselves as particular kinds of subjects, for example, the specific routines that I have employed whilst writing this thesis can be viewed as governmental practices through which I have disciplined myself in order to reconstitute myself as a scholarly subject. These elements may be regarded as the rationalities and technologies of government. I return to discuss these elements towards the end of this chapter.

In relation to this thesis, if we are to understand the cultures of primary school dining rooms and how subjects are (re)constituted within that space, we must necessarily explore the nature and functions of power that circulates throughout the space and between the actors within. It is therefore important to outline some of the key aspects of Foucault's thinking about power which represent a radical departure from what might be regarded as traditional views of power.

Foucault and Power

Lemke (2001) argues that Foucault differentiated between 3 forms of power; strategic games between liberties, governance and domination. Domination refers to relations between unequal parties where the will of one is imposed on the other with no possibility of resistance. Government is regarded as a systematic form of regulating conduct through the deployment of specific technologies via instruments of

government, and strategic games between liberties which are defined as interactions between free subjects, in which the field of action is limited by one party. Thus, where the field of action is limited there is always the possibility of resistance. Indeed, Foucault's assertion that "where there is power, there is resistance" (Foucault, 1998: 95, *The History of Sexuality Volume 1*) implies that freedom is a fundamental prerequisite for the exercise of power, since without there would only be compliance. Resistance is an important and much debated element of Foucault's thinking about power. For Foucault, resistance is an integral part of power, there is no power without the possibility of resistance. In this way, Foucault regarded power as something that cannot be possessed by individuals; rather it is something which individuals exercise and is made visible through this process.

> Power exists only as exercised by some on others, only when it is put into action, even though, of course, it is inscribed in a field of sparse available possibilities underpinned by permanent structures. (Foucault, 2002a: 340 *The Subject and Power)*

Importantly for the purposes of this thesis, Foucault also maintained that power was not always a negative force but could be used to empower, to create subjects capable of making decisions within the field of action and as a productive force, producing particular types of subjects for example. He states "if power was never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but say no, do you really believe that we should manage to obey it." (Foucault, 2002b: 120, *Truth and Power*)

By redefining power as something not always coercive and negative, Foucault enables us to take account of the circularity of power and the contextual and fluid nature of power relations in order to conceive of subjects that are at once active and capable of resistance in a myriad of creative ways. Additionally, his insistence upon

the diffuse rather than centrally located nature of power opens up the potential for multiple sites of resistance.

To summarise, Foucault's conceptions of power differ from traditional accounts of power in that power cannot be possessed by individuals, groups or institutions. Rather it is something which is used, to influence the actions of others. And it is only when it is used to influence the field of action that it is made visible. Consequently, when power is used in this way, there is always the possibility of resistance since the exercise of power is dependent on there being a number of possible actions available. Where there is no alternative course of action, this can be thought of as domination. In Foucault's account, power should not be thought of as a negative force, although it certainly may elicit fairly negative outcomes for individual subjects. Nevertheless, power is a productive force in that it creates particular kinds of subjects.

Discipline and Punish

In *Discipline and Punish* (1991a) first published in 1977 Foucault is concerned with providing an historical analysis of the changing ways in which society punishes criminals. The opening passage of the book describes in some detail the gruesome public execution of a prisoner in 18th Century France. This is then contrasted with an excerpt from Léon Faucher's rules for the house of young prisoners in Paris (1991a: 6), which consists of a detailed schedule of prisoners' activities at each hour of the day. The aim of this juxtaposition is to demonstrate the transformation in the way that society deals with its criminals from one where punishment was directed towards the body in a very visceral sense and where

punishment was carried out as a public spectacle, to a concern with directing punishment towards the soul and where attention focused more upon the conviction of the criminal and the dramas played out within the courts, as punishment ceased to be a spectacle. The deterrent for members of the public in the former instance was the horror and the extreme nature of the punishment, while in the latter, it is the certainty of being caught that discourages any potential criminal activity.

Foucault presents the book as a "correlative history of the modern soul and of a new power to judge" (1991a: 22), and essentially the book is concerned with the disciplinary techniques and practices that constitute individuals as subjects. While using the penal system as a lens to focus upon these techniques and practices, Foucault also refers to religion, the military and significantly for the purposes of this thesis, to schools and educational institutions and the ways in which they encourage compliance with particular disciplinary regimes. In the chapter 'Docile Bodies' Foucault describes a wide range of what he terms 'disciplines' that emerged within various institutions during the 17th and 18th centuries to manipulate and train individual bodies to conform with expected norms of behaviour for the purpose of increasing their productivity, obedience and usefulness. By using the term discipline Foucault is referring to "those methods, which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility" (1991a: 137). Discipline he argues, "'makes' individuals" (1991a: 170). Foucault suggests that pedagogy is replete with disciplinary techniques and practices, which produce such docile bodies including: the organisation of space for example, enclosure and partitioning, and time, for example timetabling; the classifying of individuals against particular benchmarks using

examinations and ranking; and 'seriation' or rather the organisation of activities of increasing difficulty that necessitates the intervention of power at each stage to judge the individual's success and competence. While these disciplinary techniques are explored in further detail in subsequent chapters throughout this thesis, most notably in Chapter 9, it is worth noting that Foucault's descriptive account has proved helpful to many educationists seeking to explore the potential for more equitable pedagogical relations. Gore (1998) for example, identifies 8 ways in which techniques of power are deployed in pedagogy across four different educational sites. These are: surveillance; normalisation; exclusion; classification; distribution; individualisation; totalisation; and, regulation. In line with Foucault's own thinking on the subject, Gore suggests that power is a feature of all human interactions and relationships thus, any attempts to do away with power relations within educational institutions are doomed to failure. Nevertheless, citing Ewald (1992) she argues that "We have a responsibility with regard to the way we exercise power: we must not lose the idea that we could exercise it differently" (1998: 334). Therefore, those attempting to generate more equitable pedagogical relationships need to be wary of practices, which purport to be devoid of power and seek instead to distribute power more equally, ensuring that students and teachers enjoy more equitable access to power and its deployment.

Gore applies the major disciplinary techniques outlined in *Discipline and Punish* (1991a) to her empirical research however, although she alludes to the complex and contradictory nature of Foucault's writing on power and the production of the subject, she does not pursue this within her chapter. Her discussion of Foucault on power is somewhat limited and refers predominantly to his discussion of the panopticon. Foucault's consideration of panopticism is perhaps one of the most

renowned elements of his work and has been taken up enthusiastically by scholars from a diverse range of disciplines (Murakami Wood, 2007). Yet, in order to fully explore its significance we must attend to the preceding discussion within *Discipline and Punish,* which outlines a range of methods that are deployed to ensure the success of disciplinary power. Within this discussion, Foucault refers to hierarchical observation, normalizing judgements and the examination.

Hierarchical observation refers to the architecture and organisation of spaces, for example, military camps that are designed to maximise the potential for continuous surveillance of people within. This surveillance is intrinsic to pedagogy and is "inscribed at the heart of the practice of teaching, not as an additional or adjacent part, but as a mechanism that is inherent to it and which increases its efficiency" (1991a: 176). Nevertheless, its functioning requires the co-operation of a number of individuals to act as monitors, supervisors, foremen who are themselves monitored, supervised and subject to surveillance. Thus, Foucault conceives of a "network of relations from top to bottom, but also from bottom to top and laterally; this network 'holds' the whole together and traverses it in its entirety with effects of power that derive from one another; supervisors, perpetually supervised" (1991a: 177).

Normalising judgements derive from the essentially corrective nature of disciplinary punishments. In an attempt to instruct their pupils, teachers devise punishments and rewards for pupils who achieve particular standards of academic success or behaviour for example. Pupils are graded and ranked according to their capabilities and aptitudes and values are ascribed to different qualities so that pupils

might be instructed in the development of desirable attributes and the eradication of less desirable ones. The normalising judgement makes a comparison between the individual and the rest of the field and thus differentiates pupils from one another. It measures and ascribes value and in so doing demonstrates what is desirable and appropriate resulting in a "constant pressure to conform to some model" (1991a: 182).

The examination brings together both of the above methods using surveillance and what Foucault terms a 'normalising gaze' to judge individuals against a particular benchmark. Here Foucault uses the examples of medical examinations and school examinations arguing that their ritualistic nature hints that these are instances where disciplinary power is being invoked. Examinations are accompanied by volumes of documentation, including case histories and notes, which provide a background to the individual. Thus, examinations perform an individualizing function which he argues helps to "constitute the individual as effect and object of power, as effect and object of knowledge" (1991a: 192).

It is within the context of these disciplinary methods that Foucault discusses the concept of the 'panopticon', a disciplinary structure par excellence. The panopticon was originally proposed by Bentham as an architectural structure which might be used to keep prisoners under surveillance within penal institutions. It is comprised of a circular shaped building with individual prisoner cells arranged around the perimeter. In the centre is an observation tower for the guard or supervisor, which is capable of seeing into all of the individual cells. From their cells, individual prisoners are incapable of seeing into the tower to determine whether or not they are being observed. Thus, they must behave at all times as though they *are* being

observed in order to avoid punishment. The effects of this spatial organisation are that individuals become self-governing subjects in the sense that they must regulate their own behaviour, regardless of whether they are being observed or not. Interestingly, Foucault argues that this panoptic arrangement is the direct inverse of 'the spectacle' described at the outset of the book, where the multitudes gather to witness punishment being carried out upon an individual. Rather the individual observer in the panoptic arrangement observes the punishment of the many.

One of the issues with Foucault's discussion of the panopticon is that while he terms it an experiment in discipline, a "laboratory of power" (1991a: 204), the tone of his argument is far less tentative, expressing with a high degree of certainty as to the effects of this disciplinary structure. At the time of *Discipline and Punish*, the panopticon had never actually been built and so Foucault's assertions are not drawn from empirical observations. His description of the effects of introducing the panopticon into schools and other institutions equally, should be read as speculative rather than factual. Nevertheless, as Mills (2003) states "even if over-enthusiastic Foucauldian analyses have traced the figure of the Panopticon as a disciplinary structure excessively, the notion that architectural arrangements lead to certain configurations of power is important." (2003: 47). It is this theme that is taken up throughout this thesis.

Biopower

Foucault's later work on biopower marks a reworking of his ideas of power and the subject, which in some ways attempted to address previous criticisms that Foucault had neglected an analysis of the subject, in particular, the capacity for

subjects to resist disciplinary practices. In this respect, Philo notes that Foucault's later works "appear to grant the human subject a shade more wiggle-room than before" (2004:127). While Moss (1998) acknowledges a shift in Foucault's thinking in the later works he argues that this signals a development of existing themes which are already prefigured in earlier works.

Health, medicine and the practices that are associated with them represent significant themes throughout much of Foucault's work. In *Madness and Civilisation,* (Foucault, 2009b) first published in 1965 Foucault traces the transformation in the ways that society deals with madness and mental illness tracing the emergence of particular types of medical knowledge about mental illness, particularly psychiatry and the corresponding treatment of the insane through spatial practices of exclusion, isolation and confinement. In *The Birth of the Clinic* published in 1976 (Foucault, 2010) Foucault's attention turns to the exercise of medical power with the emergence of institutions established to deal with disease in the eighteenth century.

In *The Birth of Social Medicine* (2002c) Foucault discusses the history of medicalisation, defined as the set of processes "involving not only the extension and improvement of medical services and health institutions, but also the spread of a "somatic culture", shaped and controlled by an increasingly powerful medical culture" (Cooter, 1992: 12), suggesting that the formation of social medicine occurred in three stages: state medicine; urban medicine and labour force medicine. State medicine emerged in Germany and was characterised by the standardisation of doctors, in terms of training and practice and the development of state led officers who were primarily concerned with the observation and reporting of disease, not for

the purposes of supplying the labour force, but as individuals comprising the state. Urban medicine has its origins in the potential for the urban environment to generate revolt among the peasants and contagion during the plague. Emergency plans to deal with epidemics saw urban areas partitioned into sub areas and precincts overseen by various monitoring bodies responsible for monitoring quarantine plans. Urban medicine was concerned with spaces, monitoring the incidence and spread of disease, assessing the danger in particular areas and ensuring the efficient organisation of water, fountains and sewers. It was during this stage that the notion of 'salubrity' the health promoting properties of spaces, emerged and also that Doctors were brought into contact with other related sciences such as chemistry.

Labour force medicine emerged in England where the state, then the city, then the poor became the targets of medicalisation. With the introduction of the Poor Law, the poor became targets of welfare provision and as such it became obligatory to subject the poor to a variety of medical controls. In the English system of the workhouses, medical assistance afforded to the poor was intended to increase their productivity and usefulness in terms of their fitness for labour. Three coexisting and overlapping medical systems emerged at this time which included "a welfare medicine designed for the poorest people; an administrative medicine responsible for general problems such as vaccination, epidemics, and so on; and a private medicine benefiting those who could afford it" (Foucault, 2002c:155 *The Birth of Social Medicine*). In a similar way to his earlier argument in *Discipline and Punish* (1991a) Foucault suggests that it is the body that is the target of these medical practices with the aim of rendering bodies more useful and docile. This, he suggests, was pivotal to the capitalist project

> For capitalist society, it was biopolitics, the biological, the somatic, the corporal, that mattered more than anything else. The body is a biopolitical reality; medicine is a biopolitical strategy. (Foucault, 2002c:137 *The Birth of Social Medicine*)

Foucault returns to and extends this notion of biopolitics in his lectures at the College de France in 1976, published under the title *Society Must be Defended* (2003) where he suggests that the emergence of 'biopolitics' can be traced back to the second half of the eighteenth century which witnessed a transformation in the way that power was deployed in relation to the body. Prior to this transformation, techniques of power were largely centred upon individual bodies and included disciplinary techniques for their spatial distribution, for example, their isolation and surveillance, and the organisation of a whole field of visibility around those bodies. He suggests that at this time, techniques of power also included attempts to increase the productive capacity of bodies. However, in the latter half of the eighteenth century a new kind of power emerged which was not disciplinary in the same way.

> Unlike discipline which is addressed to bodies, the new nondisciplinary power is applied not to man-as-body but to the living man, to man-as-living-being; ultimately, if you like to man-as-species. (Foucault, 2003: 242, *Society Must be Defended)*

What Foucault suggests here is that the eighteenth century saw a move from a concern over the rule of individual beings, to a concern with the rule of a multiplicity of beings. While acknowledging that the rule over the many necessarily involves the control, surveillance and punishment of individuals, Foucault's argument relates to a shift in ways in which power was directed "not at man-as-body but at man-as-species" (Foucault, 2003: 243). It is this concern with man-as-species that Foucault terms

biopolitics. Biopolitics thus represents a departure from disciplinary power that is directed at the individual to a power that is directed at the 'population'[4]. But Foucault also suggests that the mechanisms that biopolitics introduces, function very differently from disciplinary mechanisms. While these mechanisms may be enacted at the individual level, they are designed to intervene at a population level and can be defined as "the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy" (Foucault, 2009a: 1 *Security, Territory and Population*) Such mechanisms include epidemiological techniques of forecasting, statistical estimation and overall measures such as mortality rates, birth rates and life expectancy. Foucault suggests that while disciplinary power is concerned with the training of individual bodies, biopower is concerned with the *regularization* of the population, through such mechanisms.

Using the example of working class housing estates in the nineteenth century, Foucault shows how it is possible for both of these mechanisms of power to operate contemporaneously, since they are applied at different levels. In this example he argues that the layout of the estates, which ensures maximum visibility of individuals for the purpose of surveillance and monitoring functions as a disciplinary mechanism, while rules governing rental agreements, health-insurance systems, old age pensions, hygiene, childcare and education function as regulatory mechanism. So the two mechanisms are by no means mutually exclusive. Foucault makes a further connection between the two forms of power suggesting that what connects them both is the use of what he terms 'the norm'. In *Discipline and Punish* (1991a) he argues that the normalising judgement is essentially a way of disciplining individuals by

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[4] Foucault is careful to define the target of biopower as population, which unlike the term society conveys a sense of a new body, comprised of individuals, "a multiple body, a body with so many heads that, while they might not be infinite in number, cannot easily be counted." (2003:245)

placing them in relation to a comparative field. In *Society Must be Defended* (2003), he extends this argument by suggesting that 'the norm' can be applied at both the individual level to discipline bodies and the population level to regularise. The normalising society therefore succeeds in "covering the whole surface that lies between the organic and the biological, between body and population" (2003:253).

Governmentality

Foucault's work on governmentality emerges alongside his work on biopolitics and has been remarkably influential having been applied across an extensive and diverse range of disciplines, including education (Ball, 1990; Hunter, 1994; Gore, 1998; Popkewitz and Brennan 1998), the 'psy' sciences, (Rose, 1999), health (Kearns, 2007, Thompson, 2008), law (Hunt and Wickham, 1994). Foucault's impact on geography has been slower to emerge with many geographers remaining ambivalent towards what has been perceived as Foucault's reluctance to adequately theorise space. However, his writings on governmentality have proved more fertile theoretical ground in recent years (Elden, 2007; Huxley, 2007; Rose–redwood, 2006; Rutherford, 2007). I discuss the ways in which geographers have taken up Foucault's work towards the end of this chapter.

Although his initial use of the term governmentality occurs in his 1978 lecture at the College de France, (published in English in the journal *Ideology and Consciousness,* in 1979 and translated as *On Governmentality* in Gordon, 1980[5]) some suggest that Foucault developed his governmentality thesis throughout the

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[5] This paper appears in a number of collected works and references given here are taken from 2002 edition of *Michel Foucault, Essential Works of Foucault 1954 – 1984 Vol 3, Power* edited by James D. Faubion

course of his writing (Huxley, 2007). While others suggest that Foucault's writing at this time, represented a hiatus in his thinking about power and became vague and almost apologetic (Gane, 2003). As stated at the beginning of this chapter, his use of the term is radically different from the monolithic views of power and traditional definitions of government as the exclusive concern of the state, and instead includes all of the ways that individuals are both acted upon and act upon themselves and others so that they are 'made subjects'. Using Machiavelli's *The Prince,* Foucault demonstrates how issues of government, "how to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept being governed, how to become the best possible governor" (2002d:202) preoccupied 16th century thinkers. He suggests that in Machiavelli's text the notion of government was linked to sovereign power, which posited territory as the object of government. Since there was no pre-existing, natural link between the prince and his principality, and thus, no rationale for his ruling status, the objective of power at this time was to reinforce and maintain the fragile link between the prince, his territory and his subjects.

However, Foucault contrasts this view of government with a text from La Mothe Le Vayer in the following century which suggests that there are three fundamental forms of government which correspond with particular forms of knowledge:

> the art of self-government, connected with morality; the art of properly governing a family, which belongs to economy; and, finally, the science of ruling the state, which concerns politics. (Foucault, 2002d: 206 G*overnmentality*)

Foucault argues that in the former view of government, a distinction must be made between sovereign power and other forms of power in order to justify the position of the prince. However, in the latter view there must be continuity between these three forms of government in both an upward and a downward direction. In this latter conception, government is not simply something that is done to individuals by the state or the sovereign, rather government operates at a number of levels in a myriad of ways. As Dean suggests:

> Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes (Dean, 1999:11).

Significantly for Foucault, this conception of government with its continuities between the art of governing the self, the family and the state, allows him to address not only the "microphysics of power", but also how power is operationalised at the level of the state in order to govern populations, particularly as indicated above in the discussion of biopolitical strategies which act upon individual bodies and upon the social body. Foucault suggests that this type of government is characterised by the simultaneous functions of "individualization and totalization" (Foucault, 2002a: 336 *The Subject and Power*) which act together to shape subjects and their actions. Thus, a crucial aspect to any analytics of power is to tease out the relationships between the ways that individuals are governed and the ways that populations are governed.

In recasting his definition of government from the traditional equation of the term with *the* government or the state, to a more inclusive view which incorporates the art of self government, Foucault conceives of government as an ethical project in

which subjects are required to work upon themselves towards a particular moral goal. This ethical practice has its roots in the Catholic Church and marks the emergence of a new form of power which Foucault termed 'pastoral power'. This form of power was preoccupied with "the salvation of everyone in 'the flock' on an individual level" (Moss, 1998: 2) in both this and the next world and involved an intimate understanding of the mind and soul of individuals, often achieved through practices of confession. In short, "it implies a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it." (Foucault, 2002a: 333, *The Subject and Power*). Therefore, the art of self-government and its relationship with pastoral power signals a shift from previous conceptualisations of disciplinary power which were directed towards the body, to a new form of pastoral power, capillary in nature and capable of extending into the terrain of the soul.

Governmental Rationalities, Technologies and Discourse

For the purpose of clarity it is worth briefly summing up some of the key concepts that will be used to provide a theoretical framework for this thesis, referring in particular to Foucault's own definition of governmentality, which is outlined below. Foucault suggested that the term governmentality refers to three things:

1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means, apparatuses of security.
2. The tendency that, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led to the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, and so on) of this type of power – which may be termed "government" – resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of knowledges [*savoirs*].

3. The process or, rather, the result of the processes through which the state of justice in the Middle Ages transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and gradually becomes "governmentalized". (Foucault, 2002d: 220 *Governmentality*)

Therefore, governmentality is aimed at individuals and populations, is supported by a particular set of knowledges and includes a range of practices and tactics which have led to the gradual overtaking of this form of power over other forms such as disciplinary and sovereign power, to such an extent that the state has become governmentalised. It is interested in the techniques through which particular regimes of government seek to shape the actions of individuals and populations and correspondingly how individuals govern their own and other's behaviour together with a concern for the underpinning rationalities that normalise these practices. Central to this notion is the idea that subjects are constituted through discourse and act upon themselves and each other drawing on various governmental technologies through which they conduct their own conduct (Dean, 1999). Technologies of government can be described as "those technologies imbued with aspirations for the shaping of conduct in the hope of producing certain desired effects and averting certain undesired events" (Rose, 1999: 52). Further, as Rose *et al*. continue to suggest, "Every practice for the conduct of conduct involves authorities, aspirations, programmatic thinking, the invention or redeployment of techniques and technologies." (Rose *et al*., 2006: 26). These can be understood as rationalities, instrumentalities and technologies of government. These terms are defined briefly below.

Rationalities

Allen (1998) suggests that " 'Governmentality' is a neologism Foucault introduced to combine the idea of *government,* or the power to direct conduct, with the idea of a peculiar *mentality* with which the activity of government has been approached in modern times" (Allen, 1998: 179). This rationality comprises of the ways in which we think about government together with what it is possible to think and say about governing. Dean suggests that the 'mentalities of government' (1999: 16) implicit in the term governmentality, are derived from the human sciences such as psychology, economy and medicine, and as such are generally supported by taken for granted assumptions about government which are generally not open to questioning by its practitioners. Rather, he suggests that governmentality includes both the practices through which we are governed and the supporting rationales behind those practices, rationales which are constituted by and constitutive of particular truths. Rose (1999) identifies three elements of political rationalities; 1) they have a distinctively moral form that guide the principles of government, for example, justice, citizenship, freedom, equality etc. 2) they have an epistemological character which is articulated in relation to a specific understanding of the objects of government, 3) they have a distinctive idiom, or language. Rationalities therefore, represent a system of thought which underpins the programmatic aims of government. Foucault's suggestion is that the rationalities that underpin the ways in which we are able to speak and think about issues such as health, school meals and school dining for example, are historically and socially contingent. In relation to practices of school dining, we can think about these rationalities as being framed by a neo-liberal moral agenda which gives primacy to the moral principles of freedom and citizenship. They are supported by epistemologies which privilege bio-medicine, nutritional science and

developmental psychology to justify such interventions, and they operate a distinctive language which deploys scientific terminology, categorising individuals in new ways, for example as 'above or below a healthy weight' as 'obese', or 'morbidly obese'.

Instrumentalities

The rationalities of government require a range of experts, authorities and instruments of the state in order to govern effectively. These individuals, groups and organisations include a range of agencies and experts that deploy specific technologies of government. In relation to school meals these might include individuals such as healthy schools co-ordinators, PSHE teachers, lunchtime supervisors, school cooks and catering managers, nutritionists, health promoters and Jamie Oliver for example. They might also include those organisations that are formed as a result of a particular expertise, for example, The School Food Trust, Catering Companies, Food Standards Agency, the Food For Life Partnership, British Dietetic Association, The British Nutrition Foundation, The British Heart Foundation, The National Obesity Forum all of whom are involved in the regulation of school food. Other instrumentalities include the media, the health service, the local education authority and agencies of the state that operate discursively to construct particular ways of thinking about school meals that exclude other understandings and systems of knowledge that might inform our understanding of school dining. The recent obsession with school meals has witnessed an exponential rise in the numbers of instrumentalities associated with school meals as different agencies compete to determine who has the authority and legitimacy to speak the truth about school meals.

Technologies

The term 'technology' is taken from the Greek techne which means art or craft. For the Ancient Greeks, techne was not an abstract concept, it was rooted in practice and involved the mobilisation of a particular knowledge into a routine practice. Foucault suggests that a technology is 'a practical rationality governed by a conscious goal' (Foucault, 1991b:255, *Space, Knowledge and Power*). Foucault distinguishes between four different types of technology:

> As a context, we must understand that there are four major types of these "technologies," each a matrix of practical reason: (1) technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols, or signification; (3) technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivising of the subject; (4) technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means , or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies, souls, thoughts, conduct and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. (Foucault, 1988b:18 *Technologies of the Self*)

Foucault suggests that these technologies seldom function in isolation and maintains that it is a preoccupation with the technologies of power and technologies of the self that has characterised much of his work and it is the point at which these latter two technologies converge that can be termed 'governmentality'. Acknowledging that his earlier work had afforded primacy to the technologies of power and domination, Foucault's emphasis shifted towards the end of his life to consider the interaction between the self and others and the ways that individuals act upon themselves through the technologies of the self. In order to pursue this interest Foucault turned to the Ancient Greeks to trace the development of the hermeneutics of the self. He suggested that for the Ancient Greeks, 'care of the self' [souci de soi]

was one of the main principles governing social and personal conduct and the art of life since care of the self involved not only one's relationship to oneself, but also one's relationship with the city. Care for the self involved looking after one's health and material possessions, but only insofar as this permitted one take care of the soul which is "the principal activity of caring for the self" (Foucault, 1988b: 25, *Technologies of the Self*). Care for the soul involved a certain degree of self knowledge which allowed one to determine the best way to care for oneself. This knowledge of the self was brought about by reflection, contemplation and an examination of the soul. Foucault suggests that the Ancient Greek principle of care for the self has gradually been replaced by a Christian aesthetic which privileges knowledge of the self over care of the self. This knowledge of the self is governed by principles of self examination and confession: the requirement to disclose oneself, to recognise oneself as a sinner and to verbalise the hidden parts of one's soul in order to obtain absolution. Foucault suggests that such an act requires the renunciation of the self. However, it is the element of confession, of verbalising one's thoughts and desires that remains salient for modern subject.

> From the eighteenth century to the present, the techniques of verbalization have been reinserted in a different context by the so-called human sciences in order to use them without renunciation of the self but to constitute, positively, a new self. (Foucault, 1988b: 49, *Technologies of the Self*)

The Christian notion of confession and absolution then, is evident in the practices of the 'psy'sciences (Rose, 1999) and frames the ways in which modern subjectivity and the relations of the self to the self are formed. Technologies of the self involve not only the ways in which individuals regulate their own conduct, but all of the ways in which individuals come to know themselves and are persuaded to speak the truth about themselves.

Foucault, Geography and Governmentality

While the impact of Foucault's work was felt across a diverse range of academic disciplines during the latter part of the 20th Century, geographers have by and large remained a little more ambivalent in their engagement with Foucauldian theory. This is particularly true of Francophone geography where as Fall notes, despite a general resurgence of interest in his work across other disciplines, Foucault continues to shine by his absence (Fall, 2005). Although his work has been taken up to a comparatively greater extent by Anglophone geographers, Foucault's inconsistent approach to space may account for his limited appeal. Often his terminology is imprecise and there are issues with scale. He has been criticised for recognising the devaluation of space in intellectual discourse and subsequently failing to address this in his own work by dealing only in perfunctory spatial metaphors (Smith and Katz, 1993). Foucault himself acknowledged a lack of theoretical cohesion in this regard, admitting that,

> Where geography itself was concerned, I either left the question hanging or established a series of arbitrary connections (Foucault, 1980a: 77 *Questions on Geography*)

His subsequent assertion that "geography must indeed necessarily lie at the heart of my concerns." did not wholly materialise (Foucault, 1980a:77). Nevertheless, it remains the case that Foucault's preoccupation with spatiality constitutes a substantial theme throughout his project and notwithstanding the above critiques, there have been calls for greater engagement with Foucault's ideas within the discipline (Elden, 2007; Huxley, 2007; Parr, 2002; Philo, 2000a).

Given the subject matter of Foucault's earlier work, from the treatment of mental illness and the emergence of the asylum, in *Madness and Civilisation,* (Foucault, 2009b), to the treatment of illness and disease in *The Birth of the Clinic* (Foucault, 2010), and the development of biomedical knowledge in *The Order of Things* (Foucault, 2005), first published in 1970, it is perhaps unsurprising that this invitation has been most enthusiastically pursued by medical geographers. Since Philo noted in 2000 that *The Birth of the Clinic* represents a remarkable and yet overlooked work of medical geography, (Philo, 2000b) others have subsequently pointed to the potential of a "Foucauldian-inspired critical geography of public health" (Brown and Duncan, 2002: 367). Parr suggests that in relation to geographies of health and risk Foucault's notions of care of the self (Foucault, 1990) can be applied to current trends of self-diagnosis (Parr, 2002), while Kearns advocates medical geography's continued engagement with Foucault's writings, (Kearns, 2007) in particular, he suggests notions of 'corporeal spatiality' (2010), subjectivation and governmentality support a more critical analysis of medical knowledge and practice. While the confluence between Foucault's work on biopolitics (Foucault, 2004) and the epidemiological aspects of medical geography are almost axiomatic, for medical geographers seeking to negotiate between the discursive and material accounts of the body, Foucault retains his appeal (Grosz, 1994).

Foucault's impact on geography has been felt more recently through a renewed engagement with his writings on governmentality (Elden, 2007; Huxley, 2007; Rose–redwood, 2006; Rutherford, 2007; Rydin, 2007). Huxley suggests that while geographers have engaged with Foucault to explore the history of institutions they have overlooked both the rationalities and technologies of government and "the

spatial as an element of governmental thought" (Huxley, 2007:199). Huxley attempts to redress this paucity of research suggesting that space is not simply arranged for surveillance and control, but is implicated in the production of subjects. By exploring space as a rationality of government she advances three models or 'diagrams' of spatial rationality (dispositional, generative and vitalist) which generate geographies that produce political subjectivities and self-forming subjects.

Elden (2007) attends to the notion of territory in Foucault's work, with particular reference to the 1977-78 lectures, *Security, Territory and Population*. He argues that the issue of territory has been repeatedly marginalised by the term 'government' and a preoccupation with the government of population, suggesting that Foucault's notion of the politics of calculation might be usefully applied to territory. Such calculative strategies include, for example, mapping, measurement and the demarcation of boundaries and suggest that "[t]erritory is more than merely land, but a rendering of the emergent concept of `space' as a political category (Elden, 2007: 578).

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to provide a critical overview of some of the key Foucauldian concepts of power, government, discipline and biopolitics along with a discussion of governmentality. Many of these concepts overlap and flow into one another, yet as I have demonstrated, the concept of governmentality allows us to think in new ways about how our school communities are governed within school dining spaces and the kinds of subjects that these practices produce. I have highlighted the ways in which Foucault's concern with not only the technologies of government, but

with its instrumentalities and the mentalities of rule provides a framework for empirical research into school dining rooms.

While the substantive chapters of this thesis, Chapters 6 - 9 attempt to outline the ways in which rationalities, instrumentalities and technologies of government manifest themselves in the microphysics of power within the school dining room, it is worth initially providing a preliminary overview of the competing discourses which surrounded school meals at the time of the study.   This is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Literature Review Part 2

In Chapter 1 I provided a detailed description of the history of school meals since its inception in 1906, together with a contextual account of the current debates around school meals policy both locally and nationally in order to contextualise the discussion in subsequent chapters. I argued that school meals policy pays lip service to ensuring that children and young people have enjoyable and social lunchtime experiences, but that these concerns tend to be occluded by a preoccupation with the nutritional aspects of school dining in an attempt to secure better health and educational outcomes for children and young people. In this chapter I return to discuss the dominant discourses associated with school meals, discourses that circulated around school dining rooms whilst this study was undertaken. It is important to note that there are number of other discourses which were evident at the time of the study, particularly those of parental responsibility, families and welfare. However, here I have limited myself to a discussion of those discourses which seemed to dominate at the time and therefore I explore the discourses of the family meal, celebrity, obesity and public health; discourses which, as Lupton states in reference to the latter "are not value-free or neutral, but rather are highly political and socially contextual, changing in time and space" (Lupton, 1996:2). Throughout this thesis I argue that while these discourses are indeed historically and culturally contingent, it is possible to trace the continuity of such discourses that permeate contemporary school dining rooms and inform the day-to-day lived experiences of children and adults within the space. And while I suggest that discourses of public health had perhaps the most profound effect upon the culture of school dining rooms and the lived experiences of those within it, it is clear that discourses surrounding the family meal were also of significant concern

for the actors within the setting. The concern over children's lack of 'table manners' and knowledge of food was based on assumptions of inadequate parenting and the perceived decline of family mealtimes. In what follows, I briefly examine a selection of the literature pertaining to meals and family meals outlining the ways in which mealtimes have been linked to subjective positions through relations of power, before considering some of the key points related to concerns over the demise of the family meal. I then proceed to consider the nature of discourses of obesity and public health, which I argue are rooted in an approach that seeks to discipline individuals towards regulating their own bodies through a range of practices of the self. Lastly I consider the part played by celebrities in perpetuating expert knowledges of food, eating and school dining and how these expert knowledges find their way into the popular vocabulary.

Defining the Meal

Defining a meal is a deceptively simple task. On a very practical level, I found some variation in the use of terms such as lunch, dinner and tea among my participants for example, the terms school dinners or hot dinners were used rather than school lunches and the evening meal was referred to as tea.

School dining rooms are saturated with the discourse of the 'proper meal' and the importance of children receiving a 'proper meal' at lunchtime. Yet, it is evident that this notion is based on taken-for-granted assumptions embedded within shared cultural understandings and which therefore, appear to require no further explanation. It is assumed that everyone knows what is meant by a proper meal. However,

terminology is loose and what Murcott's participants refer to as a 'cooked dinner' (Murcott, 1982) is referred to by Charles and Kerr's participants as a 'proper meal' (Charles and Kerr, 1986) and by Mitchell as a 'main meal' (Mitchell, 1999). Fulkerson, Neumark-Sztainer and Story suggest there are many benefits to consuming 'family meals' including health benefits conferred upon individuals and the cohesion of the family unit(Fulkerson, Neumark-Sztainer and Story, 2006) but do not define what is meant by a 'family meal'. Their use of the term is ethnocentric and underpinned by heteronormative views of the family and of assumptions that a 'family meal' is a home cooked meal (as opposed to a take away or pre-prepared convenience food which all of the family eat together). All of this points to an interesting relationship between 'meal-as-object' and 'meal-as-event' (Lalonde, 1991). In response to the question, 'What is a meal?' Lalonde discerns four possible interpretations, the first two relating to the meal-as-object and the last two relating to the meal-as-event;

> First, we can understand the meal in its most basic sense as a timely repast. Second, we can objectify the meal in order to discern its structure. Here the meal is perceived as the sum of its parts. Third, the meal may be comprehended as a purposive action, one which follows a "script" so as to achieve an intended effect. Finally, a meal may be thought of as a social event that creates meaning for the participants. (Lalonde, 1991:70)

Certainly, school meals have been thought about in all of these ways, but I would suggest that greater emphasis has been placed upon the understanding of school meals as object rather than school meals as event as I argue elsewhere (Pike, 2008a). The challenge in thinking about school meals, is not so much to add an analysis of the meal-as-event to the existing understanding of meal-as-object, but to understand the relationship between the two.

Perspectives on the Meal

Marshall states that "food is extraordinary in its ordinariness, exceptional in the extent to which we treat it as mundane, and outstanding as a focus for the study of consumption" (Marshall, 2005:69). Indeed, food offers a way of gaining insight not only into patterns and methods of consumption, but also of understanding the broader social structures that influence this consumption. Although, ironically, it is the mundane and ordinary nature of food and eating that may have precluded it, at least until relatively recently, from sociological enquiry (Burgoyne and Clarke, 1983) while its position within anthropological study has a much longer tradition (Mennell, Murcott and van Otterloo, 1992). Leaving aside biological and nutritional accounts of the meal, here I focus upon two approaches to studying the meal; the anthropological and the sociological.

Anthropological Perspectives on the Meal

Anthropologists such as Douglas and Levi-Strauss have regarded food in much the same way as a language, with rules and conventions that allow us to uncover hidden meanings. In *The Raw and the Cooked* which was first translated into English in 1969, Levi-Strauss argues that the cuisine of a given society represents a "triangular semantic field whose three points correspond respectively to the categories of the raw, the cooked and the rotted" (Levi-Strauss, 1997:29). He suggests that the transformation of food from raw to cooked represents a transition from one binary opposite to another and relates to the fundamental binary opposition upon which society is based, namely nature/culture. Thus, as Lupton points out "[T]he ways in

which this transformation is carried out as part of everyday life serve to define cultures." (Lupton, 1996:9)

In *Deciphering a Meal*, Douglas (1972) criticises Levi-Strauss' reliance on binary oppositions, which fails to account for the relative value of food within an overall system and for his insistence on universal meanings of food that ignore the social context under which these meanings are produced. However, Douglas maintains a structuralist approach, suggesting that meals conform to a set of rules and structures which determine the relative values attached to specific units, such as meals, food items and helpings. These values, she suggests are attributed according to the position of these units within an overall system. So that for example, meals served earlier in the day are afforded less status than those served later, Sunday lunch has a greater value than weekday lunches and the offering of drinks is appropriate for strangers or acquaintances while the offering of a meal is reserved for close friends and family members. A meal is comprised of various courses which are either stressed, the main course, or unstressed, the dessert course or entrée, for example. Each course also contains distinct elements, which she terms joint (flesh), staple (cereal), or adjunct (vegetable). The tripartite structure of the meal reflects the organisation of meals throughout the day, week and year:

> Here we have the principle we are seeking, the intensifier of meaning, the selection principle. A meal stays in the category of meal only insofar as it carries this structure which allows the part to recall the whole. Hence the outcry against allowing soup and pudding to be called a meal (Douglas, 1972:67)

Douglas suggests that food constitutes an ordered and stable system, which reflects the wider social structure. However, this view regards society as somewhat static and homogeneous and fails to adequately account for the variable, fluid and

changeable nature of social structures. The work of structural anthropologists such as Levi-Strauss and Douglas has been criticised for being ethnocentric (Mennell, Murcott and van Otterloo, 1992) and for ignoring the broader context of social relations in which food meanings are produced (Lupton, 1996). Nevertheless, some commentators feel that structuralism still has much to offer the study of food and eating, particularly with respect to ritual, routine and habits of consumption (Marshall, 2005). Marshall suggests that rituals and routines are an important feature of the ways in which we consume food and through the performance of these rituals, individuals are able to link with the wider community. This important element of consumption, he argues also provides continuities with the past through adherence to particular traditions associated with eating practices. Marshall therefore, points to some of the ways in which individual identities may be reinforced and rearticulated through shared patterns of consumption.

Another area in which anthropologists have made significant contributions has been to our understanding of the categorisation of foods as edible or inedible. These distinctions are culturally constructed and the categorisation of foods as taboo relates directly to our position as subject. Food crosses a boundary into the body and thus is literally 'incorporated' (Fischler, 1988). As Lupton states "At the simplest, biological level, by the act of eating and absorption of food, we become what we eat" (Lupton, 1996:16). Falk illustrates this point by examining cultures in which specific foods are considered taboo for men owing to their perceived resemblance to women's anatomy. The *dguripa* mushroom for example is taboo for young Hua men as its resemblance to a woman's breast is felt to threaten the transition into male adulthood. Similarly,

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foods that resemble female genitals are to be avoided by men as they are thought to be dangerous, polluting and disgusting. (Meigs, 1988 cited in Falk, 1991)

Falk also points to other explanations for taboos around food including the prohibition of eating animals that defy particular forms of classification. For example, things that live both on the land and in the water in the case of reptiles, "as ambiguous beings they are symbolically and hence practically, 'out of control'" (Falk, 1991:75). These beings corrupt the social order and thus, their consumption would have a polluting effect upon the body. These taboos around what may be eaten and what may not, serve to maintain a particular social order and relate strongly to our sense of self.

Sociological Perspectives on the Meal

Sociologists have also suggested that both the practices of eating and food itself have a strong relationship to social order and ideas around subjectivity. Charles and Kerr maintain that:

> Food practices can be regarded as one of the ways in which important social relations and divisions are symbolised, reinforced and reproduced on a daily basis (Charles and Kerr, 1988:2)

With an emphasis on the ways in which social relations are reproduced, sociological enquiry has tended to focus upon food practices within the private sphere rather than the public. Exceptions include eating out (Martens and Warde, 1997) and holiday food (Williams, 1997). The home and women's work within it had traditionally attracted little critical interest from sociologists until feminist scholars began to redress this omission (Oakley, 1974). Sociological concerns around food and

eating build on a body of work by feminist academics and consequently address the issue of gender and class relations and how these are reproduced through eating practices.

The responsibility for feeding a family, preparing, cooking and serving food is generally accepted as women's work (Murcott, 1982; Charles and Kerr, 1986; Devault, 1991; Lupton, 1996). Murcott suggests that although men can and do prepare food this is done in a "firmly circumscribed fashion" (Murcott, 1983). Devault characterises the preparation of food as caring work and argues that it "signals a central element in our culture's sense of what a woman should be; it represents the appealing, wholesome best in womanliness" (Devault, 1991:1). While Devault is careful to avoid an essentialist position by avoiding suggestions that women are somehow inherently predisposed towards this caring role, her reappraisal of women's work is considered in the context of the wider social forces that draw women into participating in this unequal distribution of labour. Murcott suggests that many women simply resign themselves to this position and get on with things. The division of labour as the male breadwinner and the female homemaker is accepted as a matter of "their mutual responsibility to each other as marriage partners" (Murcott, 1995:93). Women's work of preparing and serving food is therefore symptomatic of wider divisions of labour based on gender.

One of the ways in which women are drawn into participating in this inequality is through narratives of care and self-sacrifice (Devault, 1991). Both Murcott and Charles and Kerr suggest that women often go without food in order to ensure their husbands and children are adequately fed and also suppress their own particular preferences in favour of their husband's. When husbands are not

particularly difficult to please in this regard, women consider themselves lucky (Charles, 1995:105). Murcott also suggests that some women feel that preparing a cooked dinner to be served upon their husband's return from work, "lets him know that I am thinking about him" (Murcott, 1995:89). Clearly, the preparation of food is loaded with emotional significance. This point is reiterated by Allison, who suggests that the level of intricacy in the assembly of Japanese lunchboxes (obentos) is regarded as symbolic of a high degree of maternal care. The schoolchild is then obliged to eat every item contained within and if they do, this signifies success as a mother (Allison, 1997).

The preparation of a proper cooked family meal as central to the effective functioning of the family unit is noted by participants in studies by Murcott and by Charles and Kerr (Murcott, 1982; Charles and Kerr, 1986). In Burgoyne and Clarke's study of step-families in Sheffield, mealtimes were regarded as an important way of 'getting things back to normal' following divorce or separation (Burgoyne and Clarke, 1983). The perceived centrality of the family meal to normal family life is an important issue, reflecting a construction of the family meal as an enjoyable time when all members of the family can socialise together over a wholesome nutritious meal. However, as many commentators note, the family mealtime can be a stressful time for all family members and can be a catalyst in incidents of domestic violence (Burgoyne and Clarke, 1983; Ellis, 1983; Charles and Kerr, 1986). This may be brought about by the 'failure' of women to provide what their husbands or partners believe to be the correct type of food at the correct time of day. In some cases this resentment is also directed at children as the following quote from Dobash and Dobash (1980) illustrates:

my mother came out and she said, 'Go get his plate and give him his pudding'. I'll never forget it because it was apple pie and custard. And I went in and I said 'Oh I need the toilet', and I gave him it. I just gave it to him like that and I ran up the stairs to the toilet....
Her father called her back and:
he took that plate of boiling hot custard and apple tart and smashed it right in my head...because I didn't hand it to him right. (Dobash and Dobash, 1980 cited in Ellis, 1983:165)

It is with this point in mind that I proceed to consider the ways in which discourses of the perceived decline of the family meal have been framed.

The Decline of the Family Meal

In his speech to the National Parenting Institute on 25th July 2006 Alan Johnson, the then Secretary of State for Education at the time illustrates the centrality of mealtimes to notions of the family:

When we discuss the trends affecting our home lives, the highly charged, polarised terms "traditional family" or "modern family" are often used. One creates an image of some bygone era, captured by Katy and the Oxo ads, or those illustrations from 1950s magazines where the men wore a shirt and tie as they sat down to Sunday lunch and mother wore high heels with a frilly pinny over a full pleated skirt. The other suggests something colder: exhausted parents both working shifts, microwave meal perched on their laps for a TV dinner on one of the few occasions when they're at home together. (Johnson, 2006)

The contrasting styles of mealtimes illustrated in this quotation draw upon stereotypical representations of particular forms of family structure linking the provision of food through the family meal with family cohesion and maternal care. The position of the male in these contrasting narratives shifts from "men" in the traditional family, to 'parent' in the modern family while the female position remains

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that of parent in both families, although she is also depicted as working shifts in the modern family. Thus, it is the re-organisation of domestic labour in light of women's increasing presence in the paid labour market that is associated with microwaved dinners in front of the TV. Sunday lunch therefore symbolises maternal care, domestic harmony, distinct gender roles and family cohesion. What Johnson illustrates here is the symbolic power of the family meal as an indicator of the stability of the family and the associated fear that the demise of the former corresponds to the demise of the latter.

Indeed, the fear that 'traditional' family mealtimes with children and parents sitting around the table are disappearing is apparent in the popular press:

> New research claims that in 15 years the traditional family meal with all the members gathered around the table will be history. Children will eat in front of the TV, workers will grab a meal out and others will eat with friends. Daily Express 31/3/2005

Such is the fear that family mealtimes are on the wane that campaigns have been established to ensure its resurgence, such as the Back to the Table campaign www.raisingkids.co.uk. However, as Murcott (1997) argues, concerns over the demise of the family meal are not a recent occurrence. Using data from Lynd and Lynd's *Middletown* (1929) she concludes that efforts to preserve the family meal at this time would date "the existence of an established anxiety about the decline of the family meal, in at least one small American town, not so long after the end of the first world war" (Murcott, 1997). Welshman also argues that the introduction of school meals in 1906 provoked opposition on the grounds that they would undermine the function of the family meal in strengthening family values and thus destroy family life. (Welshman, 1997) Therefore, if anxieties around the erosion of family mealtimes

have been circulating for over a century, it would seem logical to question the grounds on which current concerns are based.

Murcott suggests that one of the problems with the family meal in decline position is that there is a lack of available trend data from which to draw conclusions about the organisation of mealtimes within the family (Murcott, 1997). In her study of the British main meal, Mitchell also acknowledges the difficulties in accessing data stating that large-scale surveys such as The National Food Survey are mainly interested in computing food consumption, expenditure and nutrient intake (Mitchell, 1999). Fulkerston, Neumark-Sztainer and Story (2006) also concede that research regarding family meals is relatively sparse. Given this lack of data, and the problems of definition, how are we to know whether family meals are in decline or not?

It would seem likely that concerns over the demise of the family meal are symbolic of far wider concerns around the family:

> Moreover, the development of family unity through family meals is important during adolescence and may provide the structure and sense of unity and connectedness young children need to feel safe and secure. (Fulkerson and Neumark-Sztainer and Story, 2006:526)

In this study the authors maintain that family meals are an important site for the socialisation of children and young people and speculate that their emotional wellbeing is dependent upon its continuation.

Family meals are invested with a wide range of beneficial attributes, which are placed within a strongly moral discourse. Within health literature and popular

discourse the family meal has been invested with the potential to prevent drug and alcohol abuse, anti-social behaviour, obesity, disordered eating and poor communication skills. (Weinstein, 2005) Similarly, on the Back to the Table website (www.raisingkids.co.uk last accessed 14/09/07) the reader may access advice on family meals from a parenting expert and register support for the campaign by taking the Back to the Table Pledge. The benefits of family meals are listed here and include the reduced risk of children drinking, smoking and using illegal substances, better family relationships and improved communication, better nutrition and table manners and finally, improvements to academic performance. Evidence to support these claims is rather spurious and points to the symbolic importance of family mealtimes rather than their capacity to prevent particular social problems. Significantly, their potential to create family tension and disharmony is not discussed.

School meals discourse is permeated with concerns over the demise of the family meal, which masks far broader preoccupations with the role of the family, the condition of youth and the accompanying threat to social order. Indeed, fears that the family meal has been undermined stem, not from the intrinsic value ascribed to the family meal per se, but to its potential for the transmission and reproduction of social values. Where these values are not reinforced and reproduced, the social fabric of society is at risk.

Discourses of Health and Obesity

The influence of the public health agenda was a significant element of my research, particularly when generating data. I was aware that participants sometimes acted as though they themselves, were under surveillance during the course of my

observations and consequently adopted roles that conformed to current public health thinking. They regarded me as the 'health police' and the presence of 'unhealthy' food in staff rooms and school offices was frequently justified as a one off occurrence or hidden away from me. On returning to one of my schools following my work in the field, one of the lunchtime staff commented to me that she had felt a little as though I was checking up on her.

Particular beliefs around health and healthy eating promoted through the school health curriculum, popular discourse and government initiatives were also evident in school dining rooms with posters promoting health eating being a common feature. It was usual for children to comment spontaneously on the perceived healthiness or otherwise of the food served at school and the packed lunches which children brought into school from home. In contrast to other studies which indicated that health was not always a significant factor in children's experiences of food within the school setting (Mauthner, Mayall and Turner, 1993; Burgess and Morrison, 1997), my data indicates the increasing influence of the public health agenda upon children's experiences of food within contemporary school dining rooms.

While the television chef, Jamie Oliver credited himself with forcing the government to take action on school meals through his television series *Jamie's School Dinners*, in fact the ubiquity of school meals on the political agenda was the result of particular concerns around children's health. Morgan suggests that public and media interest in school meals and the subsequent raft of government legislation can be located within the broader context of concerns over, childhood obesity, diet related illness, sustainable development, and devolution. He argues that Jamie Oliver

was able to mobilise public opinion in support of a cause that was already being championed by an increasing number of public health professionals (see also Butriss, 2005). Indeed, this would seem to be the case. In November 2004, the government published Choosing Health (Department of Health, 2004) the most significant public health White Paper for 25 years. This signalled the government's intention to implement stricter nutritional standards for school lunches, to extend standards to other school food, to establish a school meals review panel to examine standards based on nutrients rather than food groups and to provide a mechanism for inspection of school lunches through Ofsted. This clearly pre-dates Jamie Oliver's *Feed Me Better* campaign. Furthermore, the Choosing Health White paper was located within a broader policy context which had already prioritised children's health and wellbeing through the Every Child Matters (DfES, 2004) agenda and the government's Public Service Agreement (PSA) target which aimed to halt the year on year rise in childhood obesity in under 11 year olds (HM Treasury, 2007). Initiatives such as the 5 A DAY project, the National Fruit and Vegetable Scheme, the Food in Schools Scheme and the National Healthy School Standard were already in place by the time of the national election in 2005. However, it is the issue of childhood obesity that ensured school meals remained at the heart of the government's public health agenda as Tony Blair illustrated in his *Our Nation's Future,* speech given in Nottingham, 2006:

> But in respect of obesity, the issues are really quite stark. For Type 2 diabetics, around half of whose condition is attributable to obesity, life expectancy is reduced by as much as 10 years. Amongst children obesity is growing at a rapid, indeed alarming, rate. This is the reason why campaigns like those run by Jamie Oliver on School Dinners are not a passing fad, they are central to the nation's future health. (Blair, 26th July, 2006)

The rising prevalence of obesity and in particular, childhood obesity is felt to be a burden on the public purse, both in terms of diet related disease and in non-productive life years. The Caroline Walker Trust guidelines maintain that school food could help to reduce "diet related health problems such as obesity, cancer, coronary heart disease and diabetes - diseases which are estimated to cost the NHS 4 billion annually" (Crawley, 2005:9). The conflation of diseases such as cancer and coronary heart disease with obesity, which is not in itself a disease, remains problematic. However, the potential of current public health policy to lessen future impact upon the public purse together with an emphasis on individual lifestyle 'choices' as the cause of disease remain recurrent themes within government discourse as Tony Blair outlines in his *Our Nation's Future,* Speech given in Nottingham:

> Today I focus on what we call "public health" but which is really about "healthy living". In this lecture I will set out the challenge this issue poses for us: in respect of the increasing strain unhealthy living will put on the NHS; in respect of our quality of life; and in relation to reducing inequality in our society. (Blair, 26th July, 2006)

The Department of Health estimates that 13.7% of children in the UK are obese and that by the year 2010, 19% of girls and 22% of boys will be obese (HSE, 2004). In view of these predictions and the estimated cost of treating diet related disease, the Government stated a commitment to halting the year on year rise in obesity for under 11 year olds (HM Treasury, 2007). Despite the problems of defining and measuring obesity and the tendency to conflate overweight and obesity (Courtnay Botterill, 2006), these statistics fuelled a public health campaign to address childhood obesity. While it is clear that concern over childhood obesity was one of the key drivers behind school meals policy at the time of the general election, it remains the case that Jamie Oliver's *Feed Me Better* campaign highlighted the issue of school

meals and ensured that it remained a significant presence within the public consciousness.

Across Europe and much of the developed world, obesity has emerged as one of the most significant issues for public health policy in a generation. Globally, an estimated 1.2 billion people are classified as overweight, of whom 300 million are categorised as obese (Butland *et al*., 2007). It is predicted that by 2050 around 25 per cent of people under 20 years could be obese while 50 per cent of adult women and 60 per cent of adult men could also be classified as obese (Butland *et al*., 2007). These trends are consistent across Europe and such is the level of concern over the associated detrimental health effects of childhood obesity that the European Commission has responded with alacrity to attempt to avert an emerging public health crisis, launching the EU platform on Diet, Physical Activity and Health in 2005 (European Commission, 2005). The increase in childhood obesity is concomitant with a rapid proliferation of policies and interventions aimed at halting the year-on-year rise in childhood obesity. Consequently, the medical and policy gaze has been firmly directed towards the measurement, assessment and scrutiny of children's bodies in an almost unprecedented way.

This upsurge in interest has not escaped the attention of academics, some of whom have questioned the extent of the 'obesity epidemic' (Gard and Wright, 2005; Evans, 2006; Cole, 2007) or 'obesity hysteria' *(*Pike and Colquhoun, 2007) and challenged the use of the body mass index (BMI, weight in kilograms divided by height in metres squared) as a monitoring/surveillance/diagnostic tool (Campos, 2004; Ross, 2005). Others have noted the tendency to equate overweight with obesity in

public health literature (Courtnay Botterill, 2006). The issue of measurement is not uncontroversial, and while a full discussion of this debate is beyond the scope of this chapter, suffice to say that the issue becomes increasingly complex in relation to the assessment of childhood obesity and the ability to compare rates of prevalence across international borders. In spite of an acknowledged difficulty in the classification and monitoring of childhood obesity (Flegal, Tabak and Ogden, 2006; Butland *et al*., 2007), anti-obesity initiatives remain a priority for many governments, for whom the existence of an obesity pandemic (Lake and Townsend, 2006) is regarded as axiomatic.

There has been an exponential rise in the number of public health initiatives that attempt to treat and prevent childhood obesity. These initiatives can be loosely categorised as falling under the auspices of health education or health promotion, although some programmes attempt to combine elements of both. Health education programmes inform the public of the detrimental or positive health effects associated with particular lifestyle choices in the hope that the public will choose to modify their behaviour accordingly. The term lifestyle is generally taken to mean the behaviours and practices which individuals engage in, which are connected to particular health outcomes. Thus, teaching children about the causal link between the consumption of saturated fat and heart disease has the ultimate aim of discouraging them from consuming foods high in saturated fat. Significantly, health education programmes aimed at children are also believed to be effective at preventing the onset of disease in adulthood, although there is little robust evidence to support this (Flegal *et al*., 2006). Health promotion programmes are underpinned by a desire to empower individuals to be able to change the determinants of health. Thus, individuals gain knowledge and

skills to be able to take action collectively to influence those factors that contribute to particular health outcomes (WHO, 1986). This approach has been criticised for its essentially linear association between knowledge, attitudes and behaviour (Lupton, 1995).

In relation to childhood obesity, the health education approach continues to dominate public health thinking in spite of numerous criticisms. Over 20 years ago Robert Crawford (1986) alerted us to the problems with the prevailing orthodoxy of lifestyle modification in determining our own health. His words remain pertinent within our current societal health consciousness. He suggested that:

> we experienced a pre-occupation with personal health as a primary − often *the* primary − focus for the definition and achievement of personal well being; a goal which is attained primarily through the modification of lifestyles ... the aetiology of disease may be seen as complex, but healthism treats individual behaviour, attitudes and emotions as the relevant symptoms needing attention.
>
> (Crawford 1986: 368; original emphasis)

Here Crawford identifies a focus on individuals and their health behaviours as problematic, suggesting that while the causes of disease are complex, the prescribed solutions are too simplistic. There are several things we can comment on in this statement in relation to childhood obesity. First, perhaps because of the burgeoning influence of the medical profession on more and more areas of life, obesity is now defined as a medical problem, especially in its more 'extreme' cases, with medical intervention considered the only way to address the 'problem' of obesity. Second, obesity is seen as a cause of other health problems, including type 2 diabetes, cancer and heart disease. Obese children therefore represent a potential drain on the public purse in terms of future expenditure on the NHS. Third, a focus on obesity as a

product of an individual's choice of 'lifestyle' is that it – or its associated health problems – is easily 'measured', with obesity, for example, the most common and technically easy indicator to measure, using the BMI (Evans, 2004). Fourth, despite recent suggestions that obesity is 'socially contagious' (Christakis, 2007; Blanchflower, Oswald and Landeghem, 2008) one cannot 'catch' obesity and therefore the reason why people become obese, and a public spectacle according the prevailing healthist discourse, is because of an inappropriate lifestyle or moral failing (Naidoo, 1986; Lupton, 1996; Evans, 2004; Leahy, 2009). Fifth, a focus on individual lifestyle in relation to childhood obesity and a preoccupation with the individual as a major determinant of personal health sees us largely concerned with behaviour change and often neglects other avenues for improving health, such as upgrading the conditions in which we live, work and play. Sixth, the debate around obesity and health in general centres on the notion of the rational choices of autonomous individuals. This implies that individuals elect to be obese through their lifestyle and behavioural choices and thus, must exert greater control and responsibility in order to stay healthy. Of course, if individuals do not appear to exert self-control and willpower, then they are blamed for being unhealthy. This is what is often termed a victim-blaming approach (Naidoo 1986). The focus of blame for childhood obesity is often the parents and family of the individual child, particularly where children are deemed incapable of making rational choices (Colls and Evans, 2007). Seventh, a healthy lifestyle is presented as simply a matter of 'balance'. Nowhere is this more pertinent than with obese bodies, which are produced by an imbalance between calorie intake and calories used. Eighth, as a discourse, healthism serves to depoliticise other attempts to improve health – it appears 'natural' and 'given' that individuals should take responsibility for their own health. Finally, health messages

aimed at preventing and reducing obesity are reinforced in a number of ways: through schools, workplace initiatives, media campaigns and in supermarkets. According to Zola (1978), obesity is an omnipresent disorder, pervading all aspects of our lives.

School Meals and Discourses of Celebrity

Jamie Oliver remained a pervasive presence throughout much of my research and his influence on school meals was tangible within the dining rooms that I studied. Many of my participants situated my research project within the broader context of the 'Jamie Oliver effect' indicating their belief that researchers would not be interested in school meals at all had it not become a political topic. The Jamie Oliver effect was generated through the TV series *Jamie's School Dinners* (Channel 4) aired on UK television in February 2005. In this series Oliver exposed the poor quality of school meals in England by demonstrating to secondary school pupils how a 'turkey twizzler' is produced. This graphic display involved pulping the skins and organs of the turkeys in a blender before adding various chemical constituents and forming these into shapes before covering in chemically enhanced breadcrumbs and deep-frying in saturated fat. This affective display was successful in producing the visceral sense of disgust and revulsion in the pupils that was initially intended[6]. Indeed the general public reacted with the same shock and disgust resulting in the turkey twizzler becoming "the most talked about food in Britain" (Shooter, 2005) and subsequently its removal from school lunch menus by three major school catering companies. Oliver worked with a secondary school in Greenwich, South London to transform school meals pre-processed junk to freshly prepared school meals. Working alongside

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[6] See Pike 2008b, presentation at Royal Geographical Society conference where the animation Food Most Fowl was discussed in the context of affective responses and the 'Battle of Rawmarsh' http://www.channel4.com/life/microsites/J/jamies_school_dinners/fowl/index.html

the school's flamboyant head cook Nora Sands, Oliver encountered resistance from parents, pupils and from school cooks who as Kelly and Harrison (2009) state, "rebelled against the extra work involved in *preparing* meals rather than *opening* packets of pre-prepared and processed food" (p.34). This rebellion was also centred on very real concerns that children would not actually eat the food, a concern which was borne out as pupils initially rejected the school meals and demand plummeted.

Oliver launched the *Feed Me Better* campaign in 2005, which included a web based petition that, according to Oliver's website received over 25,000 signatures in the first week. He succeeded in mobilising public support for school meals reform and met with the Prime Minister and Ruth Kelly the then Secretary of State for Education and skills (succeeded by Alan Johnson following the labour election victory in May 2005). Despite his assertions that "without your support for the *Feed Me Better* campaign Tony Blair wouldn't have committed to new school meals standards and to spending £280 million for sorting out the problem" (www.jamieoliver.com/media/jo_sd_manifesto.pdf?) not only was this part of the Choosing Health White Paper in 2004 as stated earlier, but Ruth Kelly was already signalling her intention to reform school meals with significant funding in an interview with the New Statesman (14th Feb 2005, John Kampfner) and with Radio 4 *Today Programme* (30th March 2005). Nevertheless, the impression that Oliver's campaign led to school meals reform remains pervasive.

Oliver's ability to generate interest in school meals was partly due to the public fascination with food, health and eating. Morgan Spurlock's controversial film *Supersize Me* was released in the UK in September 2004 and showed the effects of

living solely on food purchased at McDonalds for a month. During this time he gained around 25 lbs in weight and suffered headaches, fatigue and lethargy. This was followed in 2006 with a film adaptation of Eric Schlosser's book *Fast Food Nation* (2001) in which the social, environmental and economic impact of the fast food industry is explored. On the small screen programmes such as *You Are What You Eat (2004-2007), Celebrity Fit Club (initially celebrity fat club in 2002 – 2004-2005) Fat Nation - the Big Challenge 9th Sept 2004 (Ian Burrell Independent 28th July 2004)* fuelled the fascination with food and health. Using what is now a familiar narrative format whereby an individual or group are transformed from a self which is ignorant, unhealthy and overweight to an educated, rational self which knows what to eat, how much to eat, when to eat it, how to cook it and what to avoid, expert knowledges are deployed by the show presenters to frame these transformations. In *You Are What You Eat* it is common for the object of this transformation to protest, to justify her previous decisions around food, to argue with the expert. But this is fairly short lived when she is presented with a table full of the food she has eaten over the last week as McKeith talks her through it with descriptors such as "disgusting", "fat" and "vile". She is told that she is killing herself and possibly her family as well and then confronted with the equivalent amount of fat or sugar she consumes in a week measured out in blocks of lard, or bags of sugar. It is suggested that she is at immanent risk of death and disease and it usual for her to break down into tears at this point. With reference to other 'makeover' type programmes McRobbie (2004) suggests that this kind of programme constitutes symbolic violence usually upon working class "victims" by middle class "experts" via public denigration and humiliation. In *You Are What You Eat,* the transformation of the self only occurs after the total annihilation of the old self through this ritual humiliation in which the

'victim' totally submits to McKeith's expertise and superior knowledge. Without this comprehensive destruction of the old self, the new self cannot be brought into being. Following McNay (1999) McRobbie suggests that these programmes would not work without the complicity of the individual in need of transformation and that

> she will instinctively, and unconsciously, know her place in regard to the experts, hence the tears, the gratitude and the deference to those who know so much better than she does, and who are willing (temporarily) to share this knowledge and expertise (McRobbie, 2004:103).

But in demonstrating this complicity and deference, the opinion of the presenter is simultaneously constructed as 'expertise' since it elicits this kind of response from the 'victim'. As viewers we too are encouraged to sympathise with the victim, and to value the opinion of the 'expert' even when as with Gillian McKeith, her nutritional background and qualifications are called into question.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to outline and to problematise some of the dominant discourses which surround the school meal. The notion of the family meal, which despite the difficulties in defining what is meant by the term, remains a pervasive ideal within the context of school dining. Representing positive attributes around normative constructions of the family, for example, togetherness, intimacy, cohesion and the intergenerational transmission of particular social values, this idealised notion of the family meal is one which school meals seek to replicate. The idea that family meals are a thing of the past is emblematic of far wider concerns around childhood, young people and risk. This notion of youth at risk is also one which permeates contemporary public health discourse particularly in relation to

obesity. Obesity represents a threat to "our future nation" one in which we can envisage stark increases in diabetes, heart disease and cancer. And yet obesity is not just talked about in relation to its association with increased risk of disease. It is talked about *as though it is* a disease, using epidemiological terminology such as epidemic and pandemic. School meals policy is firmly located within this policy area, which has been critiqued as overly individualistic and victim-blaming in its approach. It is a policy area that is supported by rationalities comprised of expert nutritional and medical knowledge that is irrefutable, undeniable and self-evident. So self-evident are these types of knowledges that those who don't defer to them are positioned as deficient and in need of transformation by experts. Indeed as Jamie Oliver suggests

> if you're giving your young children fizzy drinks, you're an a*******, you're a tosser… Red Bull gives you wings. You may as well give them a line of coke. (Jamie Oliver in The Sun, 8th September, 2006. Jennifer Bradly)

School meals become conflated with a range of other social issues through their proximal location in discourse. School meals prevent obesity, the future ill health of the nation and promote the moral fibre of the nation through family meal models. Supporting school meals demonstrates good parenting and sound nutritional knowledge. School meals have the potential to create healthier, better citizens.

Chapter 4: Methods

Introduction

This chapter sets out the methodological assumptions underpinning this study and also makes explicit the methods that were used throughout the research. The various considerations needed throughout the research design, data generation and analysis will also be highlighted. While this chapter provides an account of all the data generation methods used with research participants throughout the study, particular attention is paid to the sensitivities of researching within schools. Of significance when researching with school communities, is an awareness and understanding of the power relationships between adults, including head teachers lunchtime supervisors, teachers and support staff, and children within the setting and how this power is constantly contested, negotiated and renegotiated.

This chapter will initially contextualise the current research study locating it within an overall research and evaluation framework before proceeding to highlight the various methodological issues encountered while conducting the research in the different schools. These issues will include epistemological considerations of the research, access to the field, the role of the researcher and data generation, ethical issues, data analysis, leaving the field, and finally data dissemination, publishing and knowledge transfer.

Background to the Study

The methods that I elected to use for this study formed part of a wider research project which aimed to evaluate the impact of the 'Eat Well Do Well' programme in Kingston-upon-Hull. This programme provided free healthy breakfasts, school dinners and after school snacks to all primary school children in the city (about 25,000 children) and to all children and young people attending special schools. In addition, the programme extended the provision of free fruit and vegetables available to all children up to the age of 7 years under the National School Fruit and Vegetable Scheme, to include all primary school children up to 11 years of age. 'Eat Well Do Well' ran for approximately three years from September 2004 until July 2007 and was the first scheme of its kind anywhere in the UK. Funded by Hull City Council, the programme sought to impact upon health inequalities and educational attainment (Colquhoun, Wright, Pike and Gatenby, 2008; Pike and Colquhoun, 2009). The University of Hull was commissioned to evaluate the programme and did so using a range of methodologies including an annual pupil survey (years 4, 5 and 6), annual class teacher questionnaires on pupils' readiness to learn (for the children in years 4, 5 and 6), nutritional analysis of the school meals and in particular the actual food consumed by children, measuring children's height and weight, class concentration tests, focus groups with parents, parent questionnaires, focus groups with school cooks, interviews with head teachers and Three Crowns Catering, the school meals suppliers (see Colquhoun *et al*., 2008 for the final evaluation report). The scope of the evaluation was city wide and included quantitative surveys/questionnaires but the majority of the qualitative data collected was undertaken in 9 schools. The evaluation team also had unrestricted use of data from Three Crowns Catering and the City

Council Data Manager (for such data as attainment, attendance, uptake of school dinners and so on).

As a research assistant on this evaluation I was responsible for conducting qualitative research in four of these schools and for co-ordinating the pupil, parent and class teacher surveys. Undertaking this research assistant role enabled me to frame my research questions for this doctoral study and to explore the areas that I felt had been overlooked by the commissioners of the evaluation. While the evaluation concentrated on the nutritional quality of the dinners, the relationship between nutrition and learning, and also issues related to implementation and the extent of school meal uptake, it was becoming clear to me that the social aspects of school dining had been excluded from the enquiry. I wondered what the impact of the programme might be on the ways that relationships between pupils, lunchtime staff and teaching staff were constructed and how individual subject positions were influenced as a result of the relationships within the dining rooms. Throughout my prolonged visits to the schools it became apparent that the dining experience was about much more than simply providing children with free, healthy (nutritious) dinners.

'Eat Well Do Well' and its related evaluation were internationally significant as other countries began to focus on the relationship between food provided at school and childhood obesity and the final evaluation report (Colquhoun *et al*., 2008) had a significant impact in relation to school food policy development in the UK. The evaluation team were invited to present on two occasions to the School Food Trust as well as to the Secretary of State for Health and for Children, Schools and Families.

However, for the purpose of this thesis I will report only on data generated through my own study and where appropriate will refer the reader to the final evaluation of 'Eat Well Do Well'. My own doctoral study formed a separate but complementary research project undertaken alongside the evaluation of 'Eat Well Do Well'. Schools involved in my study were aware of the nuances this entailed.

Considerations Underpinning the Research

The overarching evaluation of 'Eat Well Do Well' was based on the Realistic Evaluation approach of Pawson and Tilley (1997). This approach provides an evaluation framework which centres on the questions, what works, for whom and under what circumstances? Thus it departs from traditional scientific 'randomised control trial' style evaluations and instead provides a means of accounting for the range of different contextual factors that influence the outcome of particular interventions. This approach was adopted in recognition of the evaluation team's frustration with traditional scientific approaches to researching *on* schools and the way in which this positioned the researcher in relation to the *researched*, the nature of knowledge produced through the research and the implications this had for improving practice in schools. Often, research on schools was simplistic, sanitised and frequently failed to account for the position of the researcher. This frustration was also experienced by the evaluation team who at the same time were attempting to examine the usefulness of applying complex adaptive systems research to their work in the area of health promoting schools (see Colquhoun, 2005). As a consequence of this overarching ontological and epistemological position which I shared, I wanted to

explore an alternative way of thinking about, and conducting, my own research in schools.

To further explore these considerations I drew upon Kincheloe and Berry (2004) and specifically *Rigour and complexity in educational research: conceptualising the bricolage* which offered a different perspective from traditional research methodologies. Kincheloe and Berry articulate what I was experiencing on a day-to-day level both as a member of the 'Eat Well Do Well' evaluation team and as a researcher 'camped' for many hours in four complex school environments talking with different participants and observing their practices and routines. This rather lengthy quote from Kincheloe and Berry (2004) articulates to certain extent, many of the experiences I encountered:

> As one labours to expose the various structures that covertly shape our own and other scholars' research narratives, the bricolage highlights the relationship between a researcher's ways of seeing and the social location of his or her personal history. Appreciating research as a power-driven act, the researcher-as-bricoleur abandons the quest for some naïve concept of realism, focusing instead on the clarification of his or her position in the web of reality and the social locations of other researchers and the way they shape the production and interpretation of knowledge (Kincheloe and Berry, 2004: 2)

Indeed I eschewed the quest for one singular truth and instead opted for an approach which made explicit my position as a researcher embedded within particular social relationships and with a specific biography (as a pupil, mother and researcher), and one which would provide me with the licence to go beyond 'traditional' research that was, at the time, being produced by for example, the School Food Trust. Sibley (1995) acknowledges that an analytics of power is central to any understanding of children's space. From my own experience as a research assistant I developed an

understanding of the power dynamics within the school dining rooms and the concept of power became a significant element of my thinking and explorations. I also wanted a research epistemology that allowed me to go beyond simple, sanitised research designs and that recognised the complexity of school environments:

> In this context bricoleurs move into the domain of complexity. The bricolage exists out of respect for the complexity of the lived world. Indeed, it is grounded on an epistemology of complexity…the task of the bricoleur is to attack this complexity, uncovering the invisible artefacts of power and culture, and documenting the nature of their influence not only on their own scholarship but also on scholarship in general. In this process bricoleurs act upon the concept that theory is not an explanation of the world – it is more an explanation of our relation to the world. (2004: 2)

This resonated with my experiences in the field and provided a means through which I could explore the complex world of the school dining room, an unexplored space within most schools; it would also take account of my own personal social and cultural experiences, eschewing claims to objectivity and generalisability; and, it allowed me to focus on relationships that existed within the school dining room.

As I mention elsewhere in the thesis knowledge about children's eating practices has been 'owned' by nutritionists and dieticians. This 'monologic knowledge' (Kincheloe and Berry, 2004) dominates our understanding of children's eating practices, so much so that there is a dearth of studies on how children eat at school (see Chapter 1). I wanted to challenge this and as a researcher-as-bricoleur I wanted to bring to bear different theoretical approaches to understanding the chaotic and noisy school dining room as well as recognise that knowledge about school dining rooms is not fixed but transient and there is no one 'truth' about relationships in the dining room. This changing, transient, and impermanent world (with what I later call 'porous

boundaries') was what I really wanted to examine and to do so meant I had to draw on various disciplines including, geography, children's geography, sociology, education, nutrition and health promotion/public health, and cultural studies. Following Kincheloe and Berry (2004) allowed me to gain a foothold into the complex world of the school dining room and begin to understand the structures and processes impacting on the relationships inherent within them. Being a 'researcher-as-bricoleur' is indeed, according to Kincheloe and Berry (2004), a lifetime's work and I can only briefly touch upon it here.

One of the underpinning considerations of this research was a desire to represent and take seriously the views of all the actors within the school dining room, including children and the often disenfranchised adults in the dining rooms such as lunchtime supervisors. Because of this I wanted a methodological approach that attempted to destabilise the asymmetrical power relationships within the school dining room. With this in mind, I turned towards a form of 'Critical Ethnography' (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland and Lofland, 2010). According to Atkinson *et al*. "the aim (of critical ethnography) is to theorize social structural constraints and human agency, as well as the interrelationship between structure and agency in order to consider paths towards empowerment of the researched" (2010:193). I found the term empowerment to be theoretically problematic and I do not make any claims towards empowering the individual research participants within this study. Indeed some interpretations of critical ethnography had a limited understanding of power (see Anderson, 1989), and I would therefore hesitate to label myself as a Critical Ethnographer viewing children as 'the oppressed' or the adults in the dining room as 'the dominators'. However, it served a purpose in that I was able to delve further into what the dining room

experience 'meant' for those individuals who experienced it day in and day out. Critical ethnography then was both about hermeneutics (what the dining room experience *meant* to the different actors within in) and it could offer some emancipatory insights (May, 1997: cited in Atkinson *et al*, 2010:193). I was able to draw on my study where an understanding of the dining room practices within a small number of schools could be combined with an insight into wider structures and processes (e.g. the upsurge of interest in school food and its possible relationship to obesity and unhealthy children). To paraphrase Kincheloe and Berry, I was able to 'walk the line' between "the decontextualization of the idiosyncracy of the personal from the unreflective, authoritarian voice of truth of the reductionistic researcher" (2004:84). Indeed "bricoleurs informed by hermeneutics become rigorous researchers of context, perspective and discourse" (2004:89). I acknowledged, of course, that practices in contexts (such as school dining rooms) are socially constructed and the outcomes of "processes wherein interests and powers are protected and suppressed" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2010: 28).

As previously stated I wasn't searching for a singular universal truth that would explain the myriad practices being displayed in every school dining room. My role in the four schools essentially became one of participant observer where I sat in each of the four dining rooms taking field notes and observing the practices, behaviours and interactions between the adults and children. The nature of this role is explored later in this chapter however I chose a role that allowed me to provide a richer insight into school dining rooms than had been written before and the vignettes that will become apparent throughout each of the data chapters illustrate an interconnected cohesiveness of school dining rooms. In addition, I wanted to open up

new understandings of what the dining room experience meant for the different actors within them as well as adhering to my drive to give voice to the marginalised groups and individuals in the dining rooms.

The data gathered in this role allowed me to gain insight to recognise the 'dialectic of particularity and generalization, or wholes and parts' (Kincheloe and Berry, 2004: 101). Moving between schools I was able to witness the broader social and cultural forces operating within each school as well as generate data with the various actors engaged in school dining rooms and who were from diverse social locations across the city of Hull.

The schools selected as part of the overall evaluation of 'Eat Well Do Well' were chosen on a matrix of criteria that fulfilled the purposes of the evaluation team and the commissioners of the evaluation. These criteria included a consideration of school location (east, west or north Hull), school size, free school meal eligibility (high, medium, low) and free school meal uptake (the main indicator for the success of all free school meals projects in the UK as I mention elsewhere in the thesis), ease of access and whether or not the schools were engaged in any related activities. At the time of the fieldwork Hull City Council was ranked the 9th most deprived out of 354 local authorities, and out of 32,482 wards nationally Crosby ranked 121, Lavender Road 714, Cleveland 8087 and Rose Hill 21,533 (IMD, 2004). More detail on these four schools will emerge throughout the thesis but suffice to say at this stage they provided a diverse set of cultural and socio-demographic contexts within which I could research. It is important to say at this point that the schools were not case study schools for the purpose of this research. The schools didn't necessarily exemplify any

particular characteristic or profile of good or bad practice or relationships – the nearest point of contact with a 'typical case study design' could be with what Yin (1991) terms 'revelatory case study' where I was hoping to generate new ideas and have fresh access to traditional school dining room practices. It was tempting to describe each of the four schools in this study as 'case studies' however, I felt it inappropriate to label the schools as being a case study of 'X' or 'Y'.

Access to the Field

As a research assistant working on the evaluation of 'Eat Well Do Well' I selected and negotiated access with the four case study schools that would be studied as part of the evaluation and that would form the basis for data generation in my doctoral study. Initially, some of the schools were reluctant to participate; in particular the head teacher at Lavender Road felt that the school's involvement in such a study needed to provide a tangible benefit to the students. To this end I felt it necessary to develop a code of conduct that enabled me to outline the ethical principles that my research practices would adhere to. This document outlined my expectations of the school, and the kind of practices that they might expect from me. From my perspective I expected the school to allow me to conduct observations within their dining room wherever practicable and to facilitate the other methods of data generation given advance notice. I committed to allowing the head teacher sight and input into any material produced as a result of the school's participation. I endeavoured to make my research practices as unobtrusive as possible and to support the pupils and the schools in whatever way I could. The extent of, and support gained from, these good relationships cannot be stressed enough. My relationship with the

schools led me later in the study to deliver healthier eating activities for classes, providing supportive statements regarding partnership working as part of the Ofsted self evaluation framework needed by each school, I cleaned out cupboards, sorted PE kits and facilitated schools accessing other departments within the University by recruiting sport science students to supervise lunchtime sport activities. I invited my research participants to the University for guided tours, involved lunchtime staff in conferences and development opportunities and introduced head teachers to other projects which might benefit the school. Given the asymmetrical power relations involved with research, it was important to me that the schools that I worked with felt that they were receiving something in return for their participation and that they viewed the research process as a positive experience.

I met with each head teacher outlining my desire to research their dining rooms. They all allowed me access to their dining rooms and all those within them. On subsequent visits to each school I followed Stake's (1988) advice and negotiated a plan of action, arranged the regularity of my visits, discussed the costs to the schools and importantly, the processes for ensuring confidentiality (especially when using photographs of children). Subsequent visits to each school were determined by telephone call either with each school head teacher or receptionist. As Punch notes, researching with children often necessitates building a relationship with the adults that work with them and this is vital when researching with children: "the researcher needs to able to build rapport not only with the children but also with the adult gatekeepers, such as parents or teachers" (2002:329). On many occasions, I was frustrated by the territorial attitude of staff working within the school office. Despite negotiating access with the head teacher and my best efforts to work positively with the schools, all my

organisation and telephoning ahead, it was not uncommon to arrive at a school only to be told that a teacher was no longer available for interview, or the class that I was observing was on a day trip. I felt that this reflected some of the organisational challenges which schools face, in particular the communication of information to the overloaded receptionists and administration staff. On other occasions I felt that some staff members took a certain delight in relaying this information to me and it served to underscore my position as 'outsider' within the school. It must be noted that the power relationships that emerge during the research process are by no means unilateral.

The Role of the Researcher

Baszanger and Dodier (2004) allude to the implications of this insider/outsider position for the researcher

> The observer has to enter into the group and find the right distance between him/herself and the group. There is a close relationship here between the observer's presentation of him/herself (to enter the field and throughout the study) and the place accorded to the observer by the other. (Baszanger and Dodier, 2004: 14)

For ethnographers, the way that one presents oneself to the group is significant since this influences the ways that research participants will perceive them. Children were aware that I wasn't a teacher, and that I would not repeat anything that they said to me unless, someone's safety was at risk. This issue of confidentiality was more salient in group work with children than in dining room observations. More often than not I was able to 'blend in' with the other adults in the dining room and even on some occasions children saw me 'on the side of' the lunchtime supervisors and even called me 'Miss', especially to 'report' another child's behaviour or an infraction of the dining room rules. This tendency for others to recruit the researcher to their side is

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something that researchers such as Holt (2004) have noted. I shared with her the uneasy experience of teachers' exasperation that I hadn't intervened in occurrences of misbehaviour or that I was not acting as a teacher would. In one instance I was asked if one of my research participants was 'supposed to be doing cartwheels on the floor' after we had finished our research session. He wasn't, but this wasn't a problem to me. Therefore, while I was not perceived as a teacher by children or by other teachers, there was a certain expectation that I would act 'as a teacher would' in particular situations.

The main source of data for this ethnographic study involved my extensive use of field notes. There can be no doubt that throughout the extended field work in each school I could be classed as a participant observer:

> Participant observation is data collection over a sustained period be means of watching, listening to, and asking questions of people as they follow their day-to-day activities, while the researcher adopts a role from their setting and partially becomes a member of the group in question, as in doing ethnography (Payne and Payne, 2004: 166)

After telephoning the school and arranging my visit I would arrive at each school before lunch time so I could position myself on a chair in a corner of the dining room. My presence was not obviously a problem for the actors within any of the dining rooms. Nearly all schools received frequent visitors because of the high profile of the 'Eat Well Do Well' programme (in fact some schools complained that it was costing them a lot of money to 'pay' for the school dinners for all their visitors). This is something I was acutely aware of, and conscious about, throughout my school field work, especially in the more disadvantaged schools. On many occasions, discussed throughout this thesis, I was able to observe the children arriving at the queue. Because of the noisy and sometimes chaotic environment within some of the

school dining rooms I used a simple pencil and paper to record my observations and notes. I developed my own form of shorthand which allowed me to capture a large amount of data and which made my notes virtually unintelligible to everyone else. I draw very heavily on these notes throughout this thesis and the data generated through the notes add significantly to the thesis.

Even though I've stressed that my presence appeared 'normal' to the children and adults within the dining rooms there were occasions, especially early in my field work, when I felt the lunchtime supervisors saw me as the 'health police' checking up on them. Sometimes when this occurred I felt I had to be 'on my guard' so I didn't unduly or deliberately impact on the practices and behaviours of the adults and children in the dining rooms but this tended to occur less the longer I was in the field. I made deliberate attempts to discourage this view, I brought cakes into the staff room to share and made clear my intention was not to monitor the healthiness of the meal. As stated earlier, this presentation of the self was important to maintain the integrity of the study. This reflexive stance was something that I became better at the longer I was in the field work phase of the research.

Data Generation

In order to augment my field notes and gain different perspectives I elected to undertake a variety of additional data generation methods including photographs of dining room practices and environments taken by myself and by children, semi-structured interviews with, teachers, and, lunchtime supervisors, and focus groups with Key Stage 1 and 2 children.

It goes without saying that semi-structured interviews are the main source of data for most qualitative studies in schools. As Walford suggests (2001), an interview is an event that is constructed by both the interviewer and the interviewee. This was certainly the case where the interviews with teachers were more akin to 'professional conversations' rather than formal events. Being conscious of teachers' time, interviews lasted no more than one hour. Because of the extended fieldwork I interviewed teachers on more than one occasion. The interviews were digitally recorded on a small Sony Digital IC Recorder (ICD-SX20 VOR) and later transcribed for use in the study. As with the other stakeholders in this study, occasional 'off the cuff' conversations were recorded in my field notes. The head teachers were asked to nominate teachers who they thought it would be useful for me to interview as a form of 'snowball sampling' (Lee, 1993). I ensured that the teachers that I interviewed were regular visitors to the dining room and verified this through the observational data. Where possible, interviews were returned to the interviewee for their editing and approval. I saw this as a form of verification but very rarely were any interviews changed or edited.

In each school teachers were asked if I could conduct a focus group with Key Stage 1 and 2 children in their class. Although I was aware that there would be some difficulties in accessing the views of younger children I felt that children are key actors in the defining and redefining of roles, practices and relationships within school dining rooms and I wanted to hear their voices and their experiences of lunchtime in an authentic manner as possible:

> Setting out to research children's experience implies a respect for each child as a unique and valued experiencer of his or her world. It also demands the use of methods that can capture the nature of children's lives as lived, rather than those

that rely on taking children out of their everyday lives into a professional's office or lab. (Greene and Hogan, 2005: 3)

The group work with children involved 24 sessions in the each of the schools. 12 Key Stage 1 sessions and 12 Key Stage 2 sessions. Each group consisted of four children. The sessions were designed to elicit the views of children by providing activities for them to complete that would enable us to discuss various different aspects of school meals. These methods included mapping the school dining room, walking tours, taking pictures and videos of the school dining room, creating ideal school meals and home meals from plasticine, role play and draw and write activities. During the final session we decorated cookies and simply chatted. I gained the impression that children looked forward to these activities as many expressed disappointment when I was simply observing and not undertaking additional group work. These data were video recorded, in order to capture some of the non-verbal communication strategies used by younger children. However, data were still analysed in the same way as the other interviews using Nvivo 8 qualitative software.

Throughout the field work I was engaged in what Atkinson called "a double process of textual production and reproduction" (1992: 5) whereby during the observations I took fastidious notes contemporaneously (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2010) of the mundane, events, actions, the spoken word and relationships within the dining rooms. Later, in a less frenetic environment (usually the office at the University or at home) I re-wrote these field notes to reproduce an integrated, coherent account of the day's observations. This process seemed at the time to be the best approach to gathering data in what can be fraught, tension fuelled dining rooms.

On one occasion I attempted to use a video camera to capture the full range of activities underway in the dining rooms but this proved distracting for the children.

As the field work period extended throughout the different terms across the school year I was able to witness and record practices which in many ways could be seen to be independent of, or unencumbered by, the different foods on offer to the children (e.g. hot puddings, lighter salads and so on). As time went on I found I was conducting my own 'theoretical sampling' of the data that I was recording (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967). For example, it soon became clear that 'the queue' would feature significantly in the thesis as would 'resistance' by the children to the lunchtime supervisors' attempts to make them eat their healthy dinners. It also became clear that photographs were to be an important source of data gathered while I was conducting the field work.

As Pink suggests, even though pictures have been used by ethnographers for many years, pictures or images are not in themselves inherently ethnographic "but will be defined as such through interpretation and context" (2009:23). Of course there are many interpretations available for any given picture. Later in the thesis I illustrate how children can have quite particular interpretations of photographs of school dining rooms – often very different to adults' interpretations! The power of the photograph according to Pink is "how it is situated, interpreted and used to invoke meanings and knowledge that are of ethnographic interest"(2009: 23). I took the digital camera with me whenever I visited any of my four schools. This aided my reproduction of my field notes later but also allowed me to gainer deeper insight into events, practices and phenomena within the busy dining rooms. I was particularly conscious of avoiding

taking pictures of 'bad things' in the dining rooms or what Brandes (1997) has called 'primitivizing tendencies' of anthropologist ethnographers. Many of the pictures, as will become apparent later, are of what could be seen as the mundane, the ordinary and everyday practice (such as children queuing for their school dinner or children sitting eating their packed lunch). The power of the image to depict practices within dining rooms was identified as important by the evaluation team for 'Eat Well Do Well'. On several occasions I gave children a video camera and asked them to make a video to represent their experiences of the dining room and these videos were shown to conference delegates by the children as part of the dissemination of the interim and final evaluation reports. These were important events but had to be carefully managed to avoid claims of tokenism over the participation of children in the research process (Hart, 1992). Nevertheless, I felt that because children had expressed some criticisms of their school meals and dining experiences that it was important to let policy makers know about this. With the consent of the children and their schools, children were able to voice their discontent to conference delegates that were in a position to address them. I felt that this was an important part of the research process and wanted to avoid raising awareness of less than ideal circumstances of school dining without offering the possibility of changing things.

The digital data gathered from the interviews and focus groups were transcribed and using a form of the 'constant comparison method' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) were integrated with my field notes and then coded, written into working notes then analytic memos and eventually written into a form which interrogated the data with the literature. It was through this process that I was able to examine the different practices and relationships within each school dining room. The 'queue' for example,

became an obvious point of interest for the study in each school as it had appeared significantly in my field notes and observations (on many occasions), in the interviews with the head teachers (as a source of behavioural problems) and with the lunchtime supervisors (as a source of noise and often chaos which needed to be managed) and as a source of frustration for the children in the focus groups. The queue was also an important 'technical' and practical point for Three Crowns Catering as it was an opportunity to inform children of the day's food servings. Thus, the 'queue' became a focus for a chapter within the thesis and allowed me to apply Foucault's ideas in a way which has not been applied by any other researcher in relation to school dining room practices.

Ethical Issues

Discussions of the ethical implications of social research often emphasise the processes used and extent to which researchers obtain informed consent from their research participants. This kind of discussion features prominently in the new social studies of childhood literature (Punch 2002) which, in foregrounding children's competence as social actors, stresses children's rights to withhold their data and not to participate in research projects if they so choose. While clearly children should have the same rights as adults in determining the extent of their participation and laying down conditions on how their data may be used, the ways in which adults and children understand the research aims and objectives and the potential impact of such research may differ greatly. The consent of research participants in this study was obtained in several ways. First, each case study school was required to opt in to the study using a permission form signed by the head teacher. Here the research aims and objectives were explained, together with the types of methods that might be used to

generate data. I chose to include a wide variety of methods that could potentially be used, so that I might investigate areas that might arise but were not anticipated in the original research design. Second I informed all research participants taking part in interviews, focus groups and other group work of the aims of the study, I ensured they were aware that their data would be confidential and made anonymous in any publications and that they were able to withdraw their data at any point during the study, or indeed to feel free not to answer particular questions if they preferred not to. This was done at the start of every interview and active consent forms were signed. Active consent was also sought from children who participated in small group work. Finally, parental consent was sought passively for all children in the school, but active parental consent was sought for those children that took part in small group work. No passive consent forms were returned to any of the schools.

While all of these measures fulfilled the criteria outlined by the ethics committee that gave approval for the study, a number of issues became apparent regarding the ways in which I explained the research objectives to participants. For instance, I found myself having to constantly reiterate the research objectives to children. During the small group work I started each session by outlining what we would be doing and why and explaining that the session would be video recorded. Children were free not to participate if they wished, but no-one withdrew from any of the sessions. Punch (2002) notes the unequal power relationship between adult research and child participant often generates compliance from children who are accustomed to having to please adults. Nevertheless, the methods that I elected to use with children were specifically selected to hold children's attention and make the research process enjoyable for participants (see Morrow, 2001). Thus it is likely that

children preferred to participate in the research rather than remain in their lessons. However, I felt that while children understood the aims of the research, they struggled to comprehend its significance or why it was being done. For example, when I explained to Molly that I was interested in what happened in school dining rooms she put her chin on her chest and looked at me with raised eyebrows saying "and you're interested in that?" This did not appear to be lack of understanding, just disbelief that this was of interest at all. I became aware that my research participants did not share by my research objectives and had they been able to design their own research projects, it is certain that their agenda would have been totally different. But more significantly, this raised issues regarding consent. Consent given at the beginning of the research project does not indicate shared objectives nor may it indicate an understanding of the research aims and methods to be used. It may not even persuade participants of the intentions of the researcher. But what it does indicate is a willingness to embark upon a journey with the researcher to develop shared understandings of social worlds. A journey in which the research participant is free to disembark at any point. However, it must be noted that children may feel a greater pressure to embark upon this journey than adults.

It is important at this juncture to mention that ethical approval had been obtained for this research study as part of the approval for the overarching evaluation of the 'Eat Well Do Well' programme. The four schools in my study had also secured blanket photographic permissions from parents. This is important to stress as in some of the pictures used throughout the study children's faces are clearly identifiable.

Even though the schools gave me free access to their dining rooms and allowed me to take notes and pictures I was acutely conscious of not depicting the schools in a bad light. 'Eat Well Do Well' was almost daily in the local media and also featured on national breakfast television as well as BBC World, national and international radio and of course, the internet. The profile of Hull schools had never been higher and I had to be careful to make sure the nuanced difference between my research study and the overall evaluation of 'Eat Well Do Well' was clear for all to see in the four study schools. This difference was discussed on several occasions with the head teachers of the four schools and key stakeholders such as head cooks and lunchtime supervisors. It would also be fair to say that some of these didn't mind if there had been a conflation of my research with the overall evaluation: for them, their role was the same no matter who was collecting data or for what purpose.

Dissemination

It is important to note that no social research exists in isolation. Hull City Council's 'Eat Well Do Well' was a world first intervention in providing a full range of free, healthy school meals and as I mentioned above was constantly in the media. As a result there were many opportunities to present my findings at workshops, seminars and conferences at other universities in the UK and overseas. There are too many of these presentations to mention individually. However and significantly, I did present my research to the School Food Trust, the Scottish Executive, members of the Scottish Socialist Party at Holyrood in Edinburgh, held discussions with politicians who came to the University to discover what was happening in relation to research on school meals in Hull. Importantly, I have made a deliberate effort to translate my research into what is now called 'knowledge transfer'. As will become apparent

throughout the thesis, the role of the lunchtime supervisor in encouraging children to eat their school dinners cannot be overestimated. Because of this, I developed a training programme for lunchtime supervisors called 'Getting the most out of lunchtimes' which has been delivered in partnership with the School Food Trust up and down England and has now been licensed to the Association of Public Service Excellence (APSE) who are now delivering the training programme more extensively than I could being based in the university setting. Because of this on-going nature of the work that I am currently undertaking there is no one moment or event which signifies me 'leaving the field'. In a city such as Hull with its relatively small number of primary schools, there are always opportunities to be working in partnership with schools. One of the schools for example (Lavender Road) has since been involved in another externally funded project 'Shape Up' that I have been managing for the last two years. This is quite comforting: even though the PhD data generation is over I still feel a moral obligation to work with and support the four study schools.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have presented the major methodological considerations I encountered during the conduct of this research study. In particular, I wanted to stress the sensitivities of conducting research in schools as complex social environments, paying attention to the need for rapport and good relationships with research participants. I located my study within the broader evaluation of 'Eat Well Do Well' and stressed the nuanced difference between the two. Most importantly, I located my study within my preferred epistemological standpoint which has been heavily influenced by the work of Kincheloe and Berry (2004) who put forward the idea of

the 'researcher-as-bricoleur'. This appealed to me and encouraged me to abandon any quest for a naive realism in my attempt to explain the practices inherent within the four school dining rooms.

Throughout the rest of the chapter I introduced some of the methodological issues related to conducting the research. This chapter was not meant to be an exhaustive 'technical' account of how to conduct ethnographic research, rather, I wanted to illustrate the methodological issues I encountered focusing on accessing the field, my role as a researcher, research ethics and a brief excursion into some of the issues related to data gathering and analysis. Finally, I wanted to stress that research is also about dissemination and what we now call 'knowledge transfer' and show how these have been important within the context of this study.

The next chapter introduces the reader to the spatiality of school dining rooms and examines how I have utilised 'space' as an analytic device to interrogate the data from the dining rooms. I also introduce the reader to more information on the four study schools.

Chapter 5: The Spatiality of School Dining Rooms

In Chapter 2 I outlined some of the ways in which geographers have engaged with Foucault's ideas, and in particular how they relate to the ways in which we might think spatially. Here I suggested that while Foucault's work was initially limited in its appeal for scholars of geography, other disciplines appeared more willing to engage with Foucault's ideas and methods and utilise them to advance our understanding of areas as diverse as mental health, literary criticism, criminality, deviance and sexuality, for example. And yet, while geographers were initially slow to engage with Foucault's ideas, he currently appears to be enjoying something of a resurgence with an increasing body of work that begins to look beyond Foucault's spatial metaphors (Smith and Katz, 1993) and begins to engage with and apply his ideas more substantially to inform empirical research.

In Chapter 2 I also provided a detailed description of Foucault's work on power, governmentality and biopolitics. In this chapter I return to the main aim of the thesis, to explore the nature of primary school dining rooms and the ways in which a complex range of subjects are constructed and reconstructed within them. This chapter will focus upon the space of the school dining room, which throughout this thesis is conceived of as an active and constitutive element in the production and reproduction of subjects rather than as a "passive container for action". Initially, I will outline some of the key ways of thinking about space that will underpin a discussion of the empirical material presented throughout the thesis. I will provide a descriptive account of the school dining rooms emerging from the empirical data and suggest that

the spatial elements of the school dining room impact upon and influence the kinds of subjects and subjective relationships that are produced and reproduced within the setting. Essentially, I argue that the school dining room can be conceived of as a 'governable' space (Rose, 1999) in which subjects are produced and reproduced in accordance with specific rationalities of health and youth.

Spatiality and School Dining Rooms

> The history of human beings is a history of the arrangement of spaces and places. It is found in the most minute and mundane aspect of daily living: for example, places of education with their lecture halls indicate the relationship of teacher and taught; the three-bedroomed family house which embodies the idea of the nuclear family; the front and back gardens around many houses indicate the English idea of privacy, property and attachment to the land. (Stimson, 1986:652)

It is almost axiomatic to suggest that a concern with space, its organisation, effects and usage has traditionally been the predominant concern of geographic enquiry. But this concern has, over more recent years also begun to influence both the empirical and theoretical work of scholars in other social scientific disciplines. Stimson's call for a reconsideration of the social significance of space and place in the face of sociological logocentricity was part of a wider appeal to acknowledge the ways in which space and place are both productive and restrictive of social relations (Stimson, 1986). This refocusing upon space in the social sciences occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990's and has become known as 'the spatial turn' (Massey, 2004) although May and Thrift argue that there is little evidence to suggest that this interest amounts to anything more than a one dimensional flirtation with spatial metaphors (2001). During this period, social scientists began to question the role that space played in shaping human behaviour, believing that human behaviour was profoundly influenced by the social and environmental conditions under which it was produced.

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In health promotion and the behavioural health sciences, academics began to suggest that health behaviour cannot be divorced from social context and began to criticise those health sciences that studied health behaviour as though it occurred within a vacuum. However, what geographers sought to emphasise was that, while it is important to consider the social and environmental context of human behaviour as many social and health scientists were beginning to do, a geographic conception of space involved not just a consideration of space as a backdrop to the action, or rather, the arena in which human behaviour takes place, but a view of space as an active component which influences, impacts upon and reacts to human behaviour. Keith and Pile (1993) employ the term 'spatiality' to explore the interrelationship between the subject and the spatial, with its implicit recognition of the mutually constitutive nature of both of these elements. This term is one that has been widely taken up not only among geographers, but also among those social scientists seeking to establish a more nuanced understanding of the relationships between space and subjects. It is perhaps as a consequence of such widespread multidisciplinary usage that the term has been applied in a less than consistent manner. Gregson and Lowe acknowledge that the term is variously employed but outline the following points of consensus:

> That space is no passive arena on which things happen; that space needs to be accorded a dynamic part in conceptualisations of time-space relations; and that spatiality is both a means of capturing the social-spatial duality and of challenging the social-spatial dualism. (Gregson and Lowe 1995:224)

The challenging of the social-spatial dualism in the above quotation implies a rejection of the traditional distinction between the social, i.e. human subjects and their relationships, and the spatial, i.e. their environment. Instead, the concept of spatiality

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suggests no such distinction can be made and that the relationship between human subjects and their environment is mutually constitutive (McGregor, 2004).

The term spatiality necessarily implies a concern with the aesthetic, temporal and social dimensions of space and this will be discussed throughout this chapter in relation to the school dining room. However, it is the emphasis on the inherently spatial constitution of social relationships and interactions that is important for this thesis and which might help us to understand how the dining room space impacts upon the subject and social relations.

Geographies of Education

In order to investigate the spatial elements of the school dining room, one could reasonably expect to locate certain conceptual tools and ways of thinking about this space within the geographic literature concerning schools. This is an emergent field with recent sessions convened at the Royal Geographic Society conferences of 2009 and 2010, and a dedicated conference held at Loughborough University in 2009 followed by a special issue of Social and Cultural Geography in 2010. This recent interest may arise from the Blair government funded Building Schools for the Future capital investment programme, which has positioned school design and the spaces of schooling under the spotlight. Geographic interest in educational spaces has, over recent years, generated a significant and broad ranging corpus of work exploring diverse topics from educational policy (Parsons, Chalkley and Jones, 2000) to journeys to school (Pooley, Turnbull and Adams, 2005; Kearns, Collins and Neuwelt, 2003). Following calls to reconsider schools not simply as settings in which researchers might access children as research participants, but as meaningful places in

children's lives which shape collective identities (Valentine, 2000), some of this literature now reflects an increasing trend towards an examination of the socio-spatial interactions within schools and how this influences children's social relationships and subjectivity. Underpinning much of the work in this field is an acknowledgement that schools as institutions represent spaces in which children and young people's bodies are regulated through a series of socio-spatial strategies and practices which seek to (re)produce dominant identities and govern children's bodies according to a predetermined set of social norms (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998; Holloway and Valentine, 2000;). Many commentators have noted the capacity of schools to constrain children's embodied activity using spatial strategies within the classroom (Fielding, 2000; Kershner, 2000; Catling, 2005) within the informal spaces of learning such as the playground (Gagen, 2001; Tranter and Malone, 2004; Thomson, 2005) and the school dining room (Pike, 2008a; Pike, 2010b). Much of this work owes a great deal to Foucauldian understandings of schools as places of discipline in which individuals are regulated and trained to conduct themselves as rational autonomous beings so that "the school became a machine for learning" (Foucault, 1991a: 165). I will return to discuss Foucault's contribution to our understanding of school spaces in more detail towards the end of the chapter.

Significant critical attention has been also directed towards gaining a more thorough understanding of the ways in which children resist these spatialised strategies of power (Thomson, 2005; Smith and Barker, 2000) in an attempt to reposition children not simply as 'docile' and passive bodies in space, but as active social agents with the potential to construct meaning and to deploy their own spatialised strategies of resistance, albeit within the limitations of wider social

structures. Smith and Barker (2000) discuss some of the ways that children colonise micro-spaces by making dens and denying adults access to these spaces in after school clubs.

However, the point that I wish to make is that within the geographic literature on educational and school spaces, it is almost impossible to find any work concerning school dining rooms. This is an interesting omission, which may tell us something about the ways in which educational spaces generally and school dining rooms specifically have previously been thought about. It may indicate that school dining rooms have been conceived of potentially as non-educational spaces that are primarily concerned with the physical wellbeing of children through school feeding. This view may be partially exacerbated by the industrial disputes among the teaching profession during the 1980's which resulted in teachers refusing to supervise children over the lunch period (Fredmann and Morris, 1987). The scarcity of teaching staff present within the school dining room may exacerbate the perception of this space as non-educational. And yet the lack of attention to school dining rooms within the geographies of education literature seems to overlook the educational flavour of current school meals policy, which emphasises the opportunities that school lunchtimes offer to reinforce healthy eating messages communicated through Personal, Social and Health Education, (PSHE) along with various other aspects of the informal curriculum as discussed in Chapter 1.

This thesis draws upon and extends existing geographic literature by examining the ways in which social relationships are produced and reproduced in schools and by seeking to recast existing conceptions of schools simply as

institutional spaces "through which young people are both controlled and disciplined by adults" (Collins and Coleman, 2008: 285). However, it is necessary to provide a descriptive account of four schools that participated in this doctoral project and a detailed account of the dining spaces within them in order to contextualise the study. In what follows, I attempt to describe these schools and their dining rooms before proceeding to discuss the ways in which we might think about these spaces in relation to other educational spaces within the schools, in relation to each other and in relation to the dominant discourses surrounding school meals. Here I draw upon Schatzki's (2002) notion of site ontology to elucidate this discussion.

Four Primary Schools

In Chapter 4 I briefly outlined some of the characteristics of the four schools and I will expand upon this description here. As part of this descriptive account it is important to acknowledge some of the sensory aspects of the dining rooms spaces that may also contribute to one's experience and understanding of the space. As previously mentioned, the names for these schools have been changed in order to maintain their anonymity. Also, as previously stated in Chapter 4, four schools were selected through an association with the 'Eat Well Do Well' project and represented different levels of affluence, deprivation and engagement with the 'Eat Well Do Well' project. All of the schools are located within close proximity to each other with only three and a half miles distance between the two furthest schools. Nevertheless, the neighbourhoods in which they are located are vastly different in terms of their levels of affluence and deprivation. Using the 2004 Indices of Multiple Deprivation (ODPM), which were the latest release statistics at the time of the study, we can see

that one school was located in a super output area that was classed in the top 0.5% deprived in England. While another was classed in the 91st centile.

Table 1 Four Primary Schools and Ranks of Deprivation

	Rank (out of 32,482)	Percentile
Lavender Road	714	2%
Crosby	121	0.3%
Rose Hill	21, 533	91%
Cleveland	8087	25%

So despite their apparent geographic proximity, the schools were vastly different in terms of the demographic characteristics of their catchment areas.

Lavender Road Primary School

Lavender Road School was built in 1954 and is located within the heart of the Lavender Road estate in East Hull. While the school is located on a main road running through the estate, the actual building is situated some way back in extensive grounds and accessed by a long approach road. The grounds are surrounded by a perimeter fence and situated immediately to the right upon entering the gates is a derelict building with boarded up windows and graffiti covering the outside walls. This building is surrounded by tall grass and wasteland which creates a negative impression upon first entering the school gates. This building has since been demolished and replaced by a health centre, but at the time of the study the derelict building and the impression it conveyed of the school, was very much a cause for concern for the head teacher.

The school building itself is largely a two storey building with some parts, such as the dining room comprising one storey only. It has a newly built sports hall towards the rear of the building, a hall with excellent facilities for drama, and also houses a nursery unit for younger children. The nursery is part of the main school building but accessed via a separate entrance. The school building and grounds are surrounded by another metal perimeter fence approximately 8 feet high and painted green and accessed via a huge gate with sliding lock. The entrance to the building is a few feet from the gate, which is largely comprised of a tarmac area with small areas of grass towards the perimeter and directly in front of the main part of the school building. There are two well established trees on the grass area in front of the building. While the school itself appears more appealing and in better condition than initially expected when one enters the gates, it still looks a little dated and bare.

On entering the school, the décor is bright and airy. There is a reception office to the left, dining room to the right and the hall immediately in front. The interior of the school building is covered with children's work displayed attractively on the walls and the small waiting area in front of the reception has a book full of photos of children's activities and projects. The immediate impression of this school is warm, friendly, clean and bright.

Lavender Road School Dining Room

Figure 1 Lavender Road Dining Room

In Lavender Road the dining room is a sole purpose dining room meaning it is not used for other purposes such as assemblies or PE. There are windows on three sides of the room, one facing out to the playground, the opposite side facing out to a high, grey brick wall and the third facing into the reception area of the school building. This allows plenty of natural light into the area, but on a dull day the room is lit by harsh florescent strip lighting. The remaining wall has two serving hatches with stainless steel counters. Down the centre of the room is a row of painted metal support pillars. Although, these do not form a solid wall, they have the effect of bisecting the room and creating a partition between one serving hatch and another. They also mark the division between the packed lunch area on one side of the room, and the larger school dinner area on the other side of the room. The pillars are painted

a fairly lurid shade of turquoise, which looks a little dated. The walls are painted in a mid shade turquoise colour and the chairs are made of moulded dark blue plastic. The tables are solid with metal legs and a wooden effect top. On entering this room from the reception area there is an EatWell plate poster illustrating the correct balance of foods that one should eat, on the glass door. To the left there is another poster also showing vegetables. Above the counter there are attractive pictures of healthy food with the names of the items written underneath and decorating the walls throughout the space are children's posters illustrating 'healthy food'.

Crosby Primary School

This school is a large impressive looking building mainly of two storeys with some parts extending to three storeys and others with one storey. The school was opened in 1928 and has period architectural features, such as two chimneys at either end of the main part of the building and original black painted down pipes for drainage. The school is situated in one of Hull's most deprived council housing estates and some of the surrounding properties are in a poor state of repair with boarded up windows and doors. The school sits opposite a large open area of wasteland, which is not unattractive on a sunny day. Access to the school is gained via a road through the estate. As one approaches the school about half way down the road, there is a fence with very high metal gates that are opened and closed during the school run to reduce traffic around the school. This fence continues to enclose the school playground around the perimeter and is about 8 foot high and painted green. The school building itself is built of red brick with the main part of the building rendered and painted white with a sloping red roof. From the outside the building

looks very attractive. The school is surrounded by tarmac playground on three sides with a grassed playing area to the rear of the school. This is not visible from the front. The entrance to the school is through a set of metal gates in the perimeter fence and across the tarmac playground. A ramp with white railings leads up to the dark blue painted double doors at the front of the school. There is an intercom on the front doors, but they are generally left slightly ajar so that one can enter without using the intercom.

On entering the school there is a large area like a T junction, with corridors across and downwards. At the intersection of these corridors is a staircase immediately in front and slightly to the right of you. Underneath the staircase is a small seated area where pupils and visitors can sit. The walls are painted magnolia with very high ceilings and the floors are dark. There are information posters on the walls with details of local community initiatives and school policies. To the left of the corridor is the reception desk. There is a window with a sliding pane of glass and a visitor book left open on the shelf under the window. Immediately behind you on the wall opposite the reception window is a display entitled 'head teacher's stars of the week'. There are various postcard sized notes with children's names on and what they have done to deserve a head teacher's award. The space appears slightly chaotic as boxes are stacked in the corridor and the school office looks a little messy.

The school has a separate area for PE and nursery unit for younger children which is accessed through the main school building. The building is warm and quite welcoming but one of the first things that one notices in this building is the really strange smell of rancid food. It's quite unpleasant.

Crosby School Dining Room

Figure 2 Crosby Primary Dining Room

The dining room in Crosby school was initially intended to be used as a gymnasium according to the head teacher. Located just off the main corridor at the front of the school, the dining room is a very large rectangular room with high ceilings and dark parquet wood flooring. The walls are painted pale blue with darker blue skirting boards and water pipes. On the exterior wall of the room are a number of floor to ceiling length windows which would allow lots of natural light into the space. However, the windows are covered by floor length navy blue curtains which, are almost always drawn together, making the space feel dark and gloomy. The room is lit by florescent strip lighting giving a harsh and institutional feel to the space.

The dining room is separated from the kitchen and serving counter by a corridor which bisects the two spaces and accessed via two doors at either end of the room. Children queue in this corridor to select lunch, collect cutlery and enter the dining room by a door at the top of the room.

Around the room there is little decoration on the walls. There is an anti-bullying display board, and a board of achievement underneath a projector screen which can be rolled up when not in use. In the exterior bottom corner of the room is a piano and a very small desk. The tables and chairs are tatty looking and with the chairs made of moulded plastic. Many of them are dirty and damaged and some are different colours blue, brown, black and red. There is a small red table that stands out from the others which have a wooden effect top.

The room smells of rancid food. It's difficult to describe, but it makes me feel quite ill when I enter the room and it seems to be fairly persistent, no matter whether or not food is being cooked, served or eaten within the space.

Rose Hill Primary School

Rose Hill school is located on a newly built estate of private housing in one of the more affluent areas of the city. Anecdotally, this area is known to attract many professional workers from overseas that come to work for one or two years before moving on. Built in 2001 as one of the first private finance initiative schools in the country, this school has a reputation for being very well equipped and one of the better schools in the city. The school is a medium sized primary situated in grounds comprising a large playing field with an outdoor adventure playground and a hard

play area in at the front of the school. The school is surrounded by an 8 foot high yellow metal fence and is situated on a quiet road on the estate. The school gate is equipped with an intercom and visitors are 'buzzed in' by the reception staff. There are areas of planting around the entrance to the school and planted containers at various points on the playground. The reception door is a few yards away from the entrance gate and one must walk through the playground to access it. The playground is painted with different playground games including hopscotch and various others. Around the corner towards the rear of the school the playground is marked out for football and netball.

The school's facilities include a 'time out' room equipped with mood lighting, soft cushions, a water feature and facilities for playing music. Pupils are encouraged to use this room when they feel they need to calm down and can also be sent to this room by school staff for input by a full time dedicated behaviour support worker.

Rose Hill School Dining Room

Figure 3 Rose Hill Dining Room

Despite its relative recent heritage, Rose Hill was built without a purpose built dining room and, according to the kitchen staff, it was initially built without a kitchen. Instead, part of the hall was annexed to become the kitchen and the main hall functions as a dining room over the lunch period. In the mornings it is used for assemblies, during the afternoons for PE and also for various dramatic productions throughout the year. The space is rectangular, with plenty of natural light from the floor to ceiling length window on one side of the room. The walls are made of exposed brick, but covered with display cabinets showing children's work. These displays are colourful, well put together and look professional. The floor is made of light durable laminated wood which reflects more light and makes the space feel airy

and clean. The floor is in good condition. There is visual consistency within the room as tables and chairs are all dark blue, and the display boards are dark blue with a yellow frame, the school uniform is blue and the lunchtime supervisors' uniform is blue. There is specific serving hatch in the far corner of the room with a yellow painted shutter which comes down when the serving hatch is not in use. This serving hatch has a glass board in front of the food, which makes it look very modern and professional.

The room is clearly used for other purposes as there is a huge climbing frame on one wall. This is brightly painted in primary colours. There is a two foot high pile of dark blue crash mats stacked up near to the serving counter and a number of benches and other gym equipment against the opposite wall. There is a yellow piano in the corner of the room and a projector screen high above the salad bar. This can be operated by remote control to move it up when not in use.

Cleveland Primary School

Cleveland primary school was opened in 1934 and is situated close to a very busy road running through the middle of a large council housing estate. The building is a two storey building of red brick and has a grassy area at the front of the building and a path through the centre of the grassed area leading up to the doors of the front entrance.

The school building is accessed via a long narrow road which, curves around to the rear of the school. This area contains a number of mature trees and behind the

school is a very large playing field backing onto residential housing. The playground at the rear of the building is divided into two by a low grey metal railing approximately 4 feet high. The playground is made of tarmac and has worn out markings painted in white paint around the playground. The playground area looks rather sparse and unappealing. The metal fence, which bisects the playground also runs around its perimeter and access to the area is through a metal gate on the left hand side of the school buildings. The entrance to the school is accessed through the playground. A set of red double doors with small panels of toughened safety glass at adult head height mark the entrance to the school. The paint is peeling on the door and looks very worn out and tired and there is an intercom on the left hand side of the door. Upon entering the school there is a small area with a window to the left and a further set of red double doors with an additional security lock immediately in front of you. The window to the left has a sliding glass pane and the school receptionists are visible behind the reception desk. This area is for signing in. Once inside the second set of doors the school building, one is confronted by the smell of damp and the building itself is quite cold. There is dark wooden parquet flooring and long narrow corridors painted bright white. The corridors are built around a central outdoor 'quad' which allows natural light into the space and perhaps is intended to allow people to view a garden outside. The outside quad space is neglected and overrun with weeds, despite having a few established plants within it. There are also a few bikes lying on the ground in the quad. The school has a separate hall for assemblies and PE and a community room with a small kitchen. This is used for breakfast clubs and parents groups. The head teacher also showed me a room with laundry facilities in. She stated that she found this a useful facility to encourage parents to come into the school, since many did not have laundry facilities at home. The impression gleaned from the initial

view of the school building is that it is very dated, cold and neglected and not very welcoming for the visitor.

Cleveland School Dining Room

Figure 4 Cleveland Primary Dining Room

The dining room in Cleveland school has many of the same features as Crosby school. However, in Cleveland, there are very large arched windows down one side of the room which lets in natural light and consequently affects the ambience of the space. The room appears bright and airy with very high ceilings and dark parquet wood flooring. The walls are painted white on three sides of the room, with pale wallpaper on the remaining side and there are old style radiators painted pale blue next to each of the arched windows. The skirting boards are also painted pale blue. The chairs and tables are red as are the doors, the salad bar, the school uniform and

the lunchtime supervisors' uniform. This creates a sense of visual coherence and an association between the dining room and the rest of the school through the use of school colours. The walls are brightened with children's work displaying vibrant images of healthier food and other types of artwork. Some of this is displayed on a climbing frame which is attached to the wall at the top of the room. One wall is taken up by a serving hatch which is accessed via a ramp with a carved wooden balustrade. At the top of the room is a long table arranged lengthways with chairs down one length of the table facing the rest of the room. This table is arranged in contrast to the other tables which are put together to form a square. This long table is where children eating a packed lunch sit. In front of the long table is another long table where the dirty plates are stacked, with a bin at one end where pupils and lunchtime staff scrape the waste food from the plates.

School Dining Rooms and School Spaces: A Site Ontology

Having described each of the dining rooms within the schools I will now proceed to discuss how we might think about these spaces in relation to other spaces within the school, in relation to each other and in relation to the dominant discourses surrounding school meals. Each of these four dining rooms is very different and there is by no means a typical school dining room in the UK. School dining rooms vary enormously from purpose built eating spaces to multi-functional sites that are used as spaces for physical education, drama and assemblies. This is an important point, which indicates that the meaning of school dining spaces may be temporally contingent and dependent upon the type of practices that occur within them at specific times of the day. The school dining room may not be understood as a dining space for example during the performance of the school Christmas play. This temporal element

will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6, but it is important to note at this point that the meaning that we attribute to spaces, and the ways in which we behave within those spaces, and consequently, the social rules that operate are constructed through practice and that this practice is temporally contingent.

As previously stated, school dining rooms represent a neglected area of academic enquiry, particularly within the emergent field of geographies of education. Thus, they may not be conceived of as a space of education and learning in the same way as the school classroom. Holloway and Valentine (2001) suggest that schools are not isolated units, they are porous spaces bound into wider sets of social relations. This raises the question of how we might think about the relationships between particular sites, both within the school and beyond its boundaries. Is it useful for example to think about the school dining room as a 'nested space' existing within the school that may have its own spatial practices, but it ultimately subsumed within the wider social structure of the school, which is subsumed within wider context of the neighbourhood, the region, the nation for example? I would suggest that this view of space, which has been termed the 'Russian doll' model in which each space fits neatly inside the other (Herod and Wright, 2002), is fundamentally problematic for reasons that Marston, Jones III and Woodward (2005) and Ansell (2009) highlight. Essentially, such spaces cannot be conceived of as discrete units that are fixed and bounded since this fails to capture their contingent nature and the way that they are lived and experienced by the people that inhabit them. The temporal nature of school dining rooms is a good illustration of this. Ansell argues that research in children's geographies has been characterised by a preoccupation with local, the proximate intimate geographies that occupy the spaces 'closest in'. And that this is of concern

for two reasons: first, it leaves the global processes that shape children's lives unchallenged; second "while research deals predominantly in empirical studies of the everyday lives of children, and not the wider processes, discourses and institutions to which these connect, children's geographies are not seen as relevant by other geographers" (Ansell, 2009: 192). Indeed Marston *et al*. (2005) suggest that one of the fundamental problems with the notion of scale and the distinction between the global and the local is that the local is always relegated to the status of other and mapped onto other binaries such as structure/agency, macro/micro, experiential/causal and culture/economy in which the former is always afforded less status and legitimacy. This hierarchical view of scale has been challenged by a more nuanced understanding of space as a series of differently connected places which are at once global and local (Massey, 2005). From this viewpoint, the global is at once experienced, constituted and produced at the local level. And yet, Marston *et al*. reject attempts to use the local as "an entry point to understanding 'broader' processes" (2005:419) since it is the very distinction between the local and the global which they suggest cannot be maintained for this distinction rests upon the vantage point from which the space is perceived. Instead, both Marston *et al*. (2005) and Ansell (2009) suggest the notion of a flat ontology as potentially useful for overcoming the problems associated with scale and nested spaces. Marston *et al.* maintain that:

> flat ontologies consist of self-organizing systems, or onto-genesis (Simondon 1964, 1989), where the dynamic properties of matter produce a multiplicity of complex relations and singularities that sometimes lead to the creation of new, unique events and entities, but more often to relatively redundant orders and practices (2005:422)

In using this notion of flat ontology, they reject the idea that space can be conceived of as a de-territorialised and endless series of flows in contrast to

traditional conceptions of space as characterised by fixity and categorisation, arguing instead that spaces do have systems, orders and relations but that these are emergent and dynamic with a range of different potentialities. Marston *et al*. advocate Schatzki's (2002) notion of 'site ontology' as a way of thinking about social sites that "illuminates dynamic contexts that allow various inhabitants to hang together in event-relations by virtue of their activities" (2005: 425). Particular sites may therefore be bounded by forces which limit particular practices but they also have the potential to create new practices and events. Sites are therefore regarded as dynamic in that their precise nature emerges through interaction between its inhabitants (human and non-human) and the characteristics of the space and its orderings. This is a particularly useful way of thinking about the school dining room, the relationships and differences between school dining rooms within the study and the relationship between school dining rooms and other spaces within the school. More importantly, it also allows us to explore the forces which limit and shape potential fields of action, for example, policies, discourses and expert knowledges, without recourse to hierarchical scalar thinking. As Marston *et al.* note.

> a site ontology provides the explanatory power to account for the ways that the layout of the built environment – a relatively slow-moving collection of objects – can come to function as an ordering force in relation to the practices of the humans arranged in conjunction with it. Particular movements and practices in social sites are both enabled and delimited by orderings in the forms of arrangements of material objects (2005:425)

I now proceed to consider the space of the school dining room and the ways this is perceived by inhabitants of the space.

Analysis of School Dining Rooms

> It's just like, a big hall, with tiled floors, but it's got like, a few tables and chairs mainly …and a bullying sign on the wall, but that's it and the school, the walls are just white and blue, but sometimes, the big 'uns, like, flick peas all over the dining room and the ladies shout, and it's very noisy in there. (Rachel, yr 6 Crosby)

While the above quote applies to Crosby school, three out of the four dining rooms were thought to be aesthetically unappealing by participants in the study. Crosby, Lavender Road and Cleveland all have dining rooms painted with very dated colours and have large expanses of bare painted walls. In Cleveland and Lavender Road the ambience of the space is considerably improved by large amounts of natural light afforded by the number of windows, but in Crosby the closed curtains and fluorescent lighting make the space feel very gloomy indeed. The décor and furniture of the spaces appear cheap in all three of these schools making the space feel a bit neglected. Everything appears transient in this space, the inexpensive moulded plastic chairs and plastic tables, plastic plates and flight trays indicate that this is not a space that is valued. Items are functional and cheap rather than decorative, durable and good quality. As Stimson notes in relation to the arrangements of objects, materials and the décor of buildings where General Medical Council hearings take place, "we know from the arrangement of this room, the objects in it, and the appearance of those present, that what goes on here must be taken seriously" (1986:644). Similarly in the case of all three dining rooms with the exception of Rose Hill, we know that these places are not afforded a great deal of value, they are not designed as places in which people would wish to stay for long periods of time and they are not particularly welcoming. This is contrasted by the appearance of Rose Hill, which despite being a multi-functional area, is bright and clean, with new furniture and equipment and a

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sense of visual coherence as all the tables, chairs, uniforms, salad bars, waste buckets, piano and wall displays are all co-ordinated in the same colours. The area is warm, which conveys a sense of welcome whereas Cleveland is often very cold as the following field notes demonstrate

> Children on the other side of the dining room queue up to go out of the fire doors. The doors are open and it is very cold. They wait with their coats on in a queue which is a bit bouncy and a bit rowdy. Cleveland

The visual arrangement of the dining room not only communicates the ambience of the space, it also communicates a set of expectations around how one is supposed to behave within the space. These signals may be more or less overt, so for example, while healthy eating posters are fairly overt reminders that one is expected to select and consume healthy items from the lunch counter, other signals such as the arrangement of tables to facilitate or hinder movement may be less overt and more taken-for-granted mundane practices. Such arrangements indicate where one is expected to queue, how one is expected to enter and leave the dining room, where one is expected to leave ones plate for example. Often these signals may be so subtle that one is unaware how one has come to engage in these particular practices as one year 6 boy suggested "no-one tells us, it's just something we know" (Lavender Road). In the next four chapters I illustrate the particular practices which occur in school dining rooms and how these link with the features within the space.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has attempted to frame the discussion for subsequent chapters by introducing the four dining rooms as governable spaces in which particular kinds of

subjects are constituted. I have argued that these spaces cannot be understood as discrete spatial units but instead should be viewed as relational spaces with connections and disparities between them and other school dining rooms, school spaces. The nature of school dining rooms is contingent upon the kinds of practice that occurs within the space and this practice is constrained and enabled by a range of factors, including the physical arrangement and ambience of the space. In introducing these concepts I have attempted to provide a framework and background context for the subsequent chapters. In the remaining data chapters specific practices will be explored to suggest how we might understand the limitations and possibilities afforded by the space and how this shapes and constrains the field of action of the actors within it.

Chapter 6: The Ordered Subject

Time

11. 30 *The choir is in the dining room with the music teacher. The piano has been pulled into the centre of the room and about 15 children of different ages are standing beside low benches practicing their performance for a choir competition. Some of the younger children move from foot to foot and gaze around the room. At the end of the song, the teacher asks the children to help move the piano back to the corner of the room and to stack the benches at the side of the room. The kitchen staff are waiting by the door to the kitchen to set the dining room up for the lunch service. Situated at the back of the room behind the children Jo (a lunchtime supervisor) looks at her watch and smoothes down her apron. As the children file out of the room, the kitchen staff swing into action, and the room fills with the sound of chairs scraping on the floor and table legs snapping into position.*

11.50 *The dining room is set up. There are 12 tables. On one side of the room, two tables are designated for packed lunches, each with 8 chairs around them. There are two tables at the top of the room set with cutlery for the youngest children. These tables are lower with smaller chairs. The eight others are bare and the remaining cutlery is in a plastic tray at the front of the serving counter. The salad bar is filled and wheeled into position next to the serving counter so that children can comfortably walk around it and help themselves to salad from both sides. The dessert table is set up at the top of the room next to the salad bar. Here there are plastic cups filled with fresh juice and spare cups with a jug of water for children to help themselves. Also at the top of the room in the opposite corner is a waste table with three buckets of hot soapy water for knives, forks and spoons respectively, and an area for stacking dirty plates and dishes. Next to this table are two dustbins with huge black bin liners for scraping plates. Lunchtime staff enter the room and the kitchen staff wait behind the counter waiting to serve the children.*

11.55 *Foundation stage children enter the room in a line accompanied by a lunchtime supervisor and a member of teaching staff. They all sit at the tables set for lunch, including those who have brought a packed lunch. The lunchtime staff bring plates of food to the children. There are a number of lunch options available but these children are given the same: cottage pie, mashed potatoes and peas. The lunchtime staff are busy around the tables, opening cartons and packets in the packed lunches, and helping children eat their meals. Some of them struggle to cope with the peas. They are distracted and chatty. A little boy asks for a drink and is told he may have one after he has eaten his main course. The lunchtime staff encourage the children to eat faster: "Come on, eat up, then you can have your pudding" and "Mmm, that looks lovely, are you going to eat it all up?" They bring puddings and drinks over for children that have finished their main courses. Plates are taken away by the lunchtime staff, scraped, stacked and cutlery slipped into the appropriate buckets. Some of the children are still eating pudding as the next sitting arrives.*

12.15   *Year 1 and 2 classes arrive in the dining room through the door at the bottom of the room. They walk hurriedly and queue up on the left hand side of the room next to the stacked gym mats. One of the lunchtime staff walks over to them. She paces up and down the queue asking the children to stand back against the wall, arms outstretched. One of the girls from the back of the queue has crept up to talk to someone at the front. The other children are protesting that the girl is trying to push in. "Miss! Miss!" they shout and they are pointing at her. Jenny walks to the very back of the queue and points to where she should stand. The girl protests a little, and Jenny points again more emphatically. The girl stamps over to the back of the queue with her shoulders slumped down. She is still trying to argue with Jenny. At the front of the queue, children collect their cutlery, select their food at the serving counter, move on to the salad bar and then sit at the table. The packed lunch eaters are sitting together on tables nearest the entrance to the dining room and furthest away from the serving counter.*

12.40   *The room is full now as the Year 3 and 4 classes have entered. Some of them are queuing, others are already seated at tables. There are very few spare seats left in the dining room, just the odd one or two at each table. The lunchtime staff encourage children to eat up quickly. "Can I go out now Miss? I've finished", asks a Year 2 boy. "Yes you can, Peter. Off you go and get your coat." Year 5 and 6 classes enter the room. They have been playing outside and are chatting excitedly. A group of girls look as though they have been running around as their hair is dishevelled and cheeks are rosy. As they talk, they are out of breath. One of the lunchtime staff shouts over: "Quieten down please girls! You're inside now."*

13.00   *The room is filled with the sound of chairs stacking up and tables being scraped across floors. The kitchen staff are in the main dining room emptying bins, wiping tables and chairs and collecting buckets of cutlery. There are three tables with diners still eating. One has a year 5 boy on his own, the other two tables have groups of year 5 or 6 girls on them. All are eating school dinners. In between the tables at intervals are towers of stacked blue chairs. One of the kitchen staff hurries back and forth with a trolley, taking these stacks into the storage cupboard on the right of the room. The lunchtime staff are encouraging the children to hurry up and eat. "Olivia is already eating her pudding look, come on Maisie!" Jenny takes one of the dirty plates over to the kitchen counter and leaves it there. Kitchen staff begin to clean one end of the table where the boy is eating. "Are we nearly done flower?" she says and the boy nods and leaves the rest of what's on his plate and pushes it towards her. "Thanks gorgeous!" she says.*

13.10   *The dining room is almost empty now. All the children have left, all the chairs and tables are put away, and the bin, cutlery trays and salad bar are stored in the kitchen. One of the kitchen staff, Cathy, is systematically mopping the floor in straight lines up and down the length of the room. Jo is waiting outside the door to the kitchen with her hand on a big yellow button on the wall. At the opposite end of the room a class of children line up outside the door. They are wearing black shorts, plimsolls and white t shirts. The teacher tells them to wait quietly and to line up nicely. As the last of the mopping is finished, Cathy picks up the bucket of water and darts back through the kitchen door. Jo presses the button on the wall and metal shutters clatter down over the*

counter and kitchen door. She ducks under the closing shutter and disappears into the kitchen. The floor is barely dry.

The above is a vignette of a typical lunchtime in Rose Hill Primary school. It is not intended to be a reflection of a specific set of events that actually occurred within this school. Rather it is intended as a representative event compiled from a series of observed practices. And while all of these practices were observed within this particular dining room during the course of the fieldwork, they may not have actually occurred on the same day. They are assembled in this way from field notes, observations, interviews and focus groups in order to provide an account which is both typical and illustrative of a range of practices and interactions that occurred within this space over the course of this ethnographic study. This vignette provides a means to discuss the typical temporal and spatial organisation of primary school dining rooms. As previously discussed in Chapter 5, the ordering of material artefacts within this space, and the practices and interactions that occur within and are produced by and through them, may be specific to particular sites. However, these sites have relations with other sites in a network of spatial relations; they both resonate with other sites and form discontinuities. Throughout the discussion that follows I will indicate the kinds of relations that exist between this and other school sites in the study. So let us now proceed to discuss the specific nature of the organisation of school lunchtimes portrayed in this vignette.

The Temporal Organisation of Lunchtimes

One of the first elements that may strike the reader as significant in this vignette is the segmentation of the lunch period into distinct 'sittings'. This is typical of many schools, although the precise nature of this organisation will vary from school to school. Lunch hours may be longer or shorter; rotas for sittings may change

weekly or daily for example. However, in all four schools, the youngest children in the foundation stages ate before the older children in the rest of the school. Many commentators have noted the tendency of schools to segregate children according to age groups and the resulting stratification that occurs as a consequence of this chronological ordering, (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998; Smith and Barker, 2000; Thomson, 2005). Thus, age is acknowledged as significant in structuring children's understandings and experiences of place and space. As noted in Chapter 5, many schools have separate units for their foundation stage pupils which are distinct from other areas of the school. The explicit rationale for this segregation is premised upon the assumption that younger children need to be protected from and eased into the school environment in incremental stages. In Crosby, Lavender Road and Rose Hill, there was an explicit attempt to acclimatise foundation stage children to the school environment through gradually increased exposure to the school dining room. Consequently, in the early parts of the academic year, the foundation stage pupils initially ate lunch within their classrooms in the foundation unit. As the year progressed, they were gradually introduced to the school dining room in an attempt to make the transition from early years to year 1 less traumatic. The dining room was perceived as too noisy, hazardous and threatening for younger children and sudden exposure to this environment was deemed to be detrimental to their wellbeing.

In many schools it is common for a rota system to be employed which is structured around year groups. This rota regulates access to the dining room and ensures that no one year group is permanently the last to come in for lunch and consequently has fewer choices regarding lunch options. In all four of the schools the rota system was embedded in the culture of the dining room and pupils were expected

to know when they could enter the dining room and to adhere to this rota with their cohorts. The following extract from field notes illustrates the effect of disrupting this rota.

> 2 girls rush into the dining room and Jenny shouts "there's 2 late ones!" Jan rushes back behind the counter. I figure this is a good time to get my dinner as it is now very quiet in the dining room and I can see who finishes first, me or one of these girls. In front of the counter Jenny says to them, "Where on earth have you been? It's 12.45!" She stands with her hands on her hips and her head on one side, but she is smiling not telling them off. "The rest of your class were in here at 12.15!" she says. Rose Hill

In this passage the girls are compared with the rest of their class in a normalising move which is designed to highlight their lack of compliance. Although there is no overt admonishment for this lack of compliance, Jenny is smiling and 'performing' the disciplinary routine in a self-consciously stylised way, the comparison between practice and expectations results in the girls being found wanting. They are labelled as 'late ones' in a way that objectivises them and differentiates them from the rest of their class.

Throughout their school careers pupils are subject to a range of different temporal rhythms. For example, the school year is segmented into three terms with a half term break in the middle. Exam weeks are held in May every year, sports days in July, harvest festivals in October. The annual cycle is repeated every year. There is a weekly timetable of lessons with topics and themes that change every term or half term. On a daily basis, the register is always taken at the same time each day, assemblies occur in the mornings followed by literacy and numeracy. Afternoons are for 'lighter' 'softer' activities: topic work, PE, drama etc. In the playground pupils may use a weekly rota to take turns to play football or use play equipment for

example. Pupils become accustomed to expecting particular events at particular times as they adjust to the rhythms of school life. They become accustomed to expecting lunch at a particular time each day and many are aware of what is on the menu on any specific day. The menu runs on a two weekly cycle and many children know that Monday is sausages day and Friday is fish and chips day. For example:

Holly: I never have the pudding on Wednesday or Friday 'cos it's rice pudding on Friday and its (.) rhubarb flapjack on the erm, Wednesday

Rebecca: And what I don't like is the week two Friday pudding 'cos it's bread and butter pudding. (KS2, Crosby)

James, Jenks and Prout (1998) note that from the earliest moments of life, children are acculturated into adult routines of waking, sleeping and feeding. They must discipline their bodies to attune to adult temporal rhythms particularly in schools where access to water, food and toilets is strictly controlled by adults. Nevertheless they argue that:

At home, for example, care for the body is encouraged by parents, with decisions over washing and teeth-cleaning gradually becoming the responsibility of the child; at school that same child will be denied the opportunity to watch over his or her body, its use and forms of expression being strictly regulated by the demands of schooling for 'docile' and well-ordered bodies (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998: 98).

While undoubtedly, there may be more room for manoeuvre and negotiation at home with responsibility for bodily maintenance and order, gradually passing to children, in many ways the same could be said for children at school. Arguably, the aim of producing docile and well ordered bodies is not to render them totally pliable and devoid of agency, but to produce bodies which are receptive to discipline and capable of self regulation. One of the objectives of the education system is to produce

autonomous self governing subjects (Hunter, 1996) and we might assume that taking responsibility for bodily maintenance might be one of the ways that children govern themselves. This discussion will be taken up at the end of this chapter, but suffice to say that children's bodies within school are subject to a range of temporal regulations that do not exist in the home.

The pressure to comply with these timetables means that lunchtimes are often rushed as lunchtime supervisors try to ensure that all children are able to eat their lunch and go out to play within the allotted time. While conducting observations within the dining rooms, I noticed that there were usually a few children left eating on their own at the end of the lunch break. In Rose Hill this was particularly noticeable as tables and chairs were often cleared away while children were still eating. In order to experience this from a diner's perspective I contrived to eat my lunch at the same time as the last diners into the dining room in Rose Hill. The following field notes are an example of this.

> My dinner is really hot! And I'm trying to eat the edges first but still burn my mouth. The other two girls are sitting next to each other and waving their hands in front of their faces to indicate how hot it is. They blow hot air from their mouths to cool down.
> Chairs are being put away all around me and tables wiped. My chair is the only chair on the table. All around adults of the dining room are wiping, encouraging children to eat faster, moving chairs and tables, and I'm starting to get stressed. I'm really hungry but this is hot and I feel like I'm holding everyone up in the dining room. One of the girls gets up to clear her plate. As she walks past I look at what she's left - about 75% of what she has been given. She takes a scone back to her table. The other girl gets up about 2 minutes later. There is still lots of food on her plate. I look at my dinner, there's virtually nothing gone. I realise that it is going to be really difficult to leave this because then Jan will see and she'll think I don't like it. The 2nd little girl takes a scone, without the bowl and goes back to her chair only to find her friend has disappeared and her chair has been taken by cook 3. Cook 3 says you can go and sit over there. She does and a minute later gets up and takes her scone with her. The lunchtime supervisor shouts, come on it's nearly

one o'clock. I'm racing against time. I'm eating as fast as I can, my mouth is burnt and I'm getting stomach ache from eating so fast after being hungry. Jan shouts over to a girl who is helping to wipe the tables, "Atlanta, can you wipe the empty tables for me then I can put them away. Thanks". I have to give up with the dinner (which was very nice!) and I go to the bin. Rose Hill

The field notes illustrate the intense difficulty of having to eat very hot food very quickly. The pressure comes from witnessing the lunchtime supervisors and kitchen staff cleaning the area and preparing it for afternoon lessons and activities. The verbal reminders intensify the pressure, no matter how nicely they are phrased. Furthermore, there was an additional pressure of having to eat sufficient quantities so that the school cook was not offended, since she took a degree of professional pride in receiving clean plates. In Rose Hill, Lavender Road and Crosby lunchtime was characterised by the need to maintain efficient service, in order for children to start their lessons on time. This resulted in a busy, sometimes frenetic level of activity and the intensification of experiences within a short time scale. The lunchtime experience in school dining rooms may be contrasted with other styles of dining such as 'eating out' where customers may object to the feeling of being hurried by restaurant staff.

In Cleveland school, a new system was introduced over the course of the study and this affected the temporal organisation of lunchtime. Lunchtime was to be regarded as an integral part of the school day, rather than a break from the serious business of schooling. Under this system, teachers were required to eat in the school dining room with the children in their class and take their break at other times in the school day. From the head teacher's perspective, the supervision of children at lunchtime was to be regarded as part of the teachers' normal area of responsibility. From the teachers' perspective, they were happy to receive a free meal which was provided to those teachers who were seen to be performing a supervisory duty and to

still take their entitled break later in the day. This enabled them to mix socially with the children, something which was not always possible during classroom interactions:

> Well, when I'm having lunch with the kids, if I'm sitting with them, erm, it's nice, 'cos I ask them what they're doing at the weekend or if they did anything nice at the weekend or if it's a Monday, erm, what their plans are, what was the best thing about the day they had yesterday or something like that. I just chat to them like, just a bit more friendly I suppose. (Teacher, Cleveland)

From the children's perspective, sitting next to one's teacher was often seen as a positive thing, making them feel special.

> Q: And do you like it when your teachers sit next to you?
> Phoebe: Yes
> Q: What do you like about it?
> Phoebe: 'Cos it's nice. It's nice when they choose you, an' you can talk to your teacher. (KS1, Cleveland)

The lunch break in Cleveland school was slightly less intense owing to the presence of a high number of adults within the dining room and the integration of the school lunch break into the school day, providing a consistent set of rules and expectations around behaviour which applied across the whole of the school day.

Space as a Strategy of Government

As mentioned in the previous chapter, one of the most significant facts about school dining rooms in this study is that all but Lavender Road dining room were not built for the purpose of school dining, but were intended as multifunctional spaces. The vignette illustrates some of the range of activities that occur within them, from PE lessons to choir practice, assemblies, to school plays. Thus, many school dining rooms are cluttered with additional items of gym equipment, stages, and musical

instruments, for example. Crabtree (2000) suggests that the ways that we understand the social rules of particular spaces is to a large degree contingent upon the material organisation of artefacts within them.

> The visibility or observability of spatial arrangements is a precondition of their sociality. For the ordinary member of society matters to do with spatiality - walking, shopping, displaying intimacy, driving, finding the bathroom etc. - are not deep mysteries only open to adepts, but practical matters consisting of 'what anyone knows' about the organisation of the world in which they live. That is, the ordinary, spatially distributed world *of* members is an intelligible world *for* members; a world that is encountered as recognisable, observable, reportable, publicly available and accountable, a world in which spatial arrangements exhibit a *mutual* intelligibility. Thus, in everyday life we can recognise places where we can catch buses or trains, places where we can eat, places where we can report crime, buy groceries, go without invitation, drive, not drive (etc.), and perform a huge variety of social activities with which a sense of space and spatial arrangement is intimately connected, and interwoven, as a readable feature of the settings those arrangements make observable. (Crabtree, 2000:3)

The readability of school dining rooms is not static and changes in synchrony with different temporal rhythms. Thus, our understanding of the stage being constructed within Rose Hill dining room would differ depending upon whether it was Autumn, (indicating harvest festival school production), Winter, (indicating Christmas play) or Summer, (indicating school leavers' presentation ceremony) and depending on whether one was a member of the school community and cognisant of the meaning of these visual signals. For some children in this study it was difficult to read the visual signals and spatial arrangements of other school dining rooms. For example, when asked to look at the picture below, children from other schools were confused about the rules governing access to play equipment.

Figure 5 Climbing Frame in Rose Hill

In response to this picture, younger children asked about the rules governing the climbing frame and whether one could eat one's lunch and then climb up it.

> Louis: Aw! Look at them! They got a climbing frame in theirs!
> Chloe: Can they use it though Miss?
> Q: What do you think?
> Louis: I reckon they can. They eat their pack up and then climb up to the top
> (KS1 Cleveland)

It is not surprising that this piece of equipment immediately grabbed the attention of children in other schools. The climbing frame is brightly coloured and is one of the more significant features in the room. Everything about it invites children's interaction. Thus comprehension of the rules governing conduct within the dining room is not reducible merely to a set of universal visual clues which are communicated through the spatial organisation of the dining room. One must be aware of the socio-cultural practices that occur within it in order to be able to understand and comply with these rules. These rules are complex and fluid, and children are required to be aware that they may talk during the lunch break, but not

during assembly. They may run around in PE, but not at lunchtime. They may sit on the floor in assembly, but must sit at a table during lunchtime. They must put their hands up to speak to adults in assembly and during PE lessons, but this is not necessary at lunch time and so on.

One of the ways that these complex rules are communicated and reinforced is through the spatial practice of 'zoning' (Titman, 1992, cited in Thomson, 2005). Within the school dining room there are a variety of different zones for different activities. For example, in all the dining rooms in the study there is a queuing area, a counter, a waste area, a dining area and in all four dining rooms an area for eating packed lunches[7]. In their study of out of school clubs, Smith and Barker (2000) suggest that children drew upon three distinct geographical spaces to make sense of their experiences, the indoor environment, the outdoor environment and the offsite environment. These three areas were discussed primarily in relation to what one could do in them, defining them primarily through the activities that took place within them. In her study of school playgrounds Thomson (2005) argues that the division of areas into distinct zones of activity or 'territorial sub-units' (Sack, 1986) was a strategy used by teachers in response to lack of space and poor design in order to maximise the functionality of particular spaces. Nevertheless, she argues that access to these fragmented spaces was a constant negotiation within the playground in an iterative process of territorialisation and re-territorialisation. Certainly, within the context of the school dining room we can see that each territorial sub unit or zone, corresponded to a particular activity and what one could do within it. Access to these spaces was facilitated largely by the lunchtime supervisors who directed children back and forth

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[7] The packed lunch area is enforced differently in each school and this is discussed further in Chapter 8

from the waste area, towards particular tables to eat their lunch, and granted access and exit from the dining room.

> The big boy who eats pack up on his own has gone to sit on the farthest school dinner table away from the pack ups. A lunchtime supervisor says Joe, go sit over there with the pack ups. She points at the pack up tables. He gets up with his pack up box which he hasn't had chance to open yet and moves to the pack up tables. He looks very uncomfortable with this enforced seating arrangement and perches on the small red table instead of sitting at one of the main tables. The main tables are crowded with other children of the same age. He sits down alone. Crosby

However, despite access being granted or denied by lunchtime supervisors, children themselves were aware of the rules governing these spaces and of the sanctions of trespass without prior permission. James, Jenks and Prout (1998) note that children are peculiarly visible when they trespass in the territorial sub-units:

> ...children either occupy designated spaces, that is they are placed, as in nurseries or schools, or they are conspicuous by their inappropriate or precocious invasion of adult territory: the parental bedroom, Daddy's chair, the public house, or even crossing the busy road. (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998:37)

In Lavender Road for example, children expressed their reluctance to venture behind the serving counter as this was regarded as private territory for the kitchen staff. They rationalised this with a health and safety discourse and a variety of imagined dangers which did not exist in reality as the food was not cooked in this kitchen but transported from a school nearby:

> Q: So, are the children normally allowed to go in the school kitchen
> All: No
> Q: how come?
> Jordan: 'Cos it's a erm, kitchen for the dinner ladies and it's a private kitchen
> Matty: It's a private kitchen cos they clean up the pots, everything's hot behind there
> Jordan: Yeah, and there's slippery stuff, like washing up liquid and (.)
> Q: Did someone tell you you couldn't go in the kitchen or
> Jordan :Yeah, Mrs (head teacher) warns us, she warns us

Matty: the very first time that I found out that was, when I first arrived in year 2, 'cos I saw *no-one* go in the kitchen, so I just knew. (KS2 Lavender Road)

This is an interesting example as Matty explains he is not quite sure how he knows that he is not supposed to go behind the counter, he just knows that he shouldn't because of the practices he has witnessed, or more accurately those that he has not witnessed. This belief of the kitchen as a prohibited area may have been reinforced by the segregation of lunchtime supervisors and kitchen staff. Lunchtime supervisors set the rules in front of the counter and kitchen staff set rules behind the counter. Kitchen staff granted access to the space and did not always welcome the encroachment of lunchtime staff into their territory:

Q: I notice that the lunchtime supervisors don't go into the kitchen very much
A: No, we're not supposed to, you're not allowed to go into the kitchen, erm. No, that's the area for them. Sometimes I might go in there for some reason if I have to, but not very often. I can't really remember why we're not allowed in, but I mean, once upon a time it was cos they were sterilising in there, all the stuff, erm, staff would wear a uniform and we had to wear a uniform to go in there. (Lunchtime supervisor, Cleveland)

We're not supposed to. There's a notice actually on the door that says 'no unauthorised people', but we are allowed to go get beakers or cutlery, if there's no cutlery, that sort of thing. If there's a shortage, we take them out the tray and the kitchen staff will wash them and then take them out again, and you take the trolley and the salad trolley goes back in there. (Lunchtime Supervisor, Lavender Road)

Therefore, access to territorial sub-units cannot be reduced to a function of adult child/relations. It is more closely aligned with membership of a particular community of interest, kitchen staff, packed lunch eaters, teachers. Power can be used to grant or deny access to space and to determine what precisely one can do within that space, and enforce punishments for trespass and non-compliance.

Queuing as a Technology of Government

Access to school dining rooms is generally facilitated by the queue which functions as a governmental technology par excellence. The queue is a ubiquitous feature in all school dining rooms but its operation varies from site to site. In Crosby the queue is separated from the main dining room by a wall. Children must queue along a main corridor and collect their cutlery and their lunch from the serving counter before entering the main dining room. In Lavender Road the queue physically bisects the room, separating those that eat packed lunches from those that eat school lunches. The effects of this are discussed at length in Chapter 8. In Cleveland the queue is regulated in a very specific way and deliberately kept short as a way of managing behaviour. In this school children queue within their classroom and are brought down to lunch by the teacher. They queue outside in the corridor before entering the dining room and they queue once they are inside in order to select their lunch. This is discussed in Chapter 7 when we explore how particular dining room practices produce civilised subjects. Despite the omnipresence of queues in the day to day experiences of school children, these experiences differ according to the particular practices that occur within the site. Lee and Watson (1999, cited in Laurier, Whyte and Buckner, 2000) explore the ways that the queue operates and its minimum requirements:

> They show how the queue although apparently having static categories (such as head of the queue, second in the queue, tail end of the queue) nevertheless *moves* members through its order from one category to the next. Each member of a queue has a 'moral requirement' to be aware of their changing place in the order of the queue and to take their turn promptly or they will be susceptible to justified complaints from people further down the line. (Laurier, Whyte and Buckner 2000:205)

However, in the vignette presented at the start of this chapter while these practices do indeed depend upon each member of the queue understanding what is required of them at each stage in the queue, they are also reinforced by adult supervision and enforcement of disciplinary practices to regulate the queue.

> A   But that's it, really, I think it runs really well, you know, the way that we run it at the moment, it just runs really well, you know, the kids know where they're going and where they're supposed to be, you know, they get to the door and they line up anyway, cos they know which order they're coming in, you know what I mean, cos it's a set thing which way they come in so they're already lined up ready. (Lunchtime supervisor, Rose Hill)

Therefore there is an expectation that subjects within the queue will come to self regulate their behaviour so that minimum supervision will eventually be required. Children were indeed aware of the informal rules of the queue and of the risks of transgressing these rules

> Q: are there rules to the queue?
> All: yeah
> Jordan: yeah, don't talk in the queue, because if you talk, the dinner ladies, the dinner ladies say erm, "to the back of the line or out the dining hall"
> Matty: and you're not to stand next to the tables cos everyone asks you, what's pudding and you get told off for saying that, what's pudding
> Jordan Yeah
> Q: You mean you ask the people on the tables what's for pudding?
> Matty: yeah, but I always know because you can lean on the side. Or you check the list. (KS2, Lavender Road)

Schwarz (1975) notes that in order for a queue to function effectively, all its participants must balance the cost of queuing to the individual, for example, the boredom and frustration, with the perceived benefits, for example that everyone in the queue has to wait an equitable amount of time on a first come first served basis. Thus we conform to these expected norms because the benefits of such as system outweigh the costs. However, Schwarz also suggests that waiting time is an indicator of position

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within social groups and that queues reflect existing power relationships among groups. This can be witnessed in school dining rooms when teachers and other adults 'push in':

> A teaching assistant and Mrs. M enter the room and push to the front of the queue, they talk to the children at the front of the queue. The children do not seem bothered by the pushing in. Lavender Road

> Mr. D comes into the dining room and pushes to the front of the queue. He takes his cutlery and chats to some of the children in the queue. None of the children demonstrate that they are unhappy at this pushing in. He moves to the counter and a young male teacher in a track suit joins him. "How you doing?" he says to Jo. There is a bit of banter going on here- light-hearted and friendly. They wait for their dinner, it has been put aside. Rose Hill

When adults push in front of children this seems to be expected and tolerated. However, when children push in, this is not tolerated and it is common to see appeals made to adults to enforce the regulations of the queue.

> Over in the queue there appears to be a bit of an incident developing. A boy (the one who asks me if I want dinner) has pushed in front of a girl in the queue. She is not happy and is protesting about the intrusion but the boy does not move. This happens at the end of the queue and although there is a teacher in the queue, she is some way away, nearer to the front. A big boy sees this happening behind him and tries to enlist the help of the teacher in the front of the queue. She is busy talking to the children around her and so does not get involved. The girl and the boy push each other and the boy uses his plate as a shield to force the girl back. She does not rise to this, but makes her feelings clear by stamping and refusing to move. I fear this will develop into a bigger incident as neither appears to be backing down. Dawn notices this and comes over to tell them to quieten down. She puts herself physically between the children and talks to the girl. This appears to be an effective strategy as the queue calms down and the girl has not achieved reparation but she appears to feel better about it as she now gets to talk to Dawn. Cleveland

In this incident there is clearly a game of power going on. The boy has pushed in, attempting to gain the upper hand, flouting the rules of the queue and offending the sense of fair play and equitable waiting times. The girl attempts to assert authority by protesting and reminding the boy of the unwritten rules of queuing. This is witnessed and supported by another older boy who enters into the game of power of his own

volition. He in turn attempts to recruit an adult who is required to restore a state of equilibrium by enforcing the rules and ejecting the interloper. When this does not occur, the dispute becomes physical and force is used. There is a standoff. Equilibrium is restored when an adult lunchtime supervisor intervenes, but there is no way of knowing whether the outcome was deemed successful by all parties. Adults are also recruited to enforce other queuing rules even when there appears to be no benefit to the individual complainant as the following field notes demonstrate:

> A little boy in the queue tells me, Miss, she dropped her plate. He points at a girl in a pink jacket and she looks around with a sulky face. Oh I say, is it ok? Meaning the plate. No says the boy. She should go to the back. She scowls at him and I say Ok. I'm not really sure what is going on here. I suspect I'm being co-opted into disciplining the girl. Lavender Road

Interestingly, children may push in the queue if there are particular reasons for this, as was the case in Lavender Road with a year 6 boy who was diabetic. His medical condition meant that he needed to access food quickly and this was understood by other children:

> Jordan: you push to the front of the line don't you?
> Chris: Matthew gets to go to the front cos he's diabetic, so he gets to go to the front don't you?
> Matty: yeah:
> Q: how does that make you feel?
> Matty: not bothered really [laughs]
> Jordan: you just go 'oh move out my way' don't you?
> Matty: I do yeah [laughs]
> All: [laugh]
> Chris: he does it to the little kids as well – like that [sweeps arms]
> (KS2 Lavender Road)

In this interview the children express amusement at the thought of Matty being able to exercise this kind of power which is unassailable owing to his medical condition. He exploits this powerful position to the full.

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Theoretical Discussion

In the vignette presented at the start of this chapter and the ensuing exposition of the logistical organisation of lunchtimes within the four primary schools, there is much that resonates with Foucault's description of schooling within *Discipline and Punish* (1991a). In his discussion of the production of docile bodies Foucault suggests that the manipulation of time and space constitutes a disciplinary practice which aims to produce governable subjects. One of the crucial mechanisms for temporal manipulation was the emergence of the timetable which Foucault argues was initially a feature of monastic communities that eventually spread to schools, workshops and hospitals. Foucault describes the ways in which time was divided and correlated to specific activities within schools arguing that temporal regulation became increasingly more refined stipulating the precise activities that one should perform in minute detail so that "one began to count in quarter hours, in minutes, in seconds." (1991a:150). Foucault's intention here is not simply to elaborate the detail of such practices of fragmentation. Rather he aims to demonstrate how the segmentation of time into increasingly minute portions represents an endeavour to render every second useful and productive. He terms this the principle of exhaustive use and contrasts the nature of timetables which are based upon the negative principles of not wasting time with discipline which, in a positive sense, seeks to exhaust every possible use from each available moment:

> This means that one must seek to intensify the use of the slightest moment, as if time in its very fragmentation, were inexhaustible or as if, at least by ever more detailed internal arrangement, one could tend towards an ideal point at which one maintained maximum speed and maximum efficiency. (Foucault, 1991a: 154)

Within each of the school dining rooms there is a certain element of rush, of having to manage the practicalities of ensuring that around 200 pupils are fed within the allotted time. Lunchtime supervisors ensure that children do not waste time by chatting, giggling, playing instead of eating. Additionally, from the perspective of the lunchtime staff, each moment within these spaces is productive in the sense that it needs to result in a satiated child, a table cleared or a sitting finished. In order to accomplish this feat, staff need the children to be aware of the rules governing the temporal organisation of lunchtimes as Holloway and Valentine point out, "the spatial disciplining of the timetable…requires children to be in the right place, at the right time, to learn the right things." (2000: 772). Children therefore require constant and rigorous reminders to alert them to where they should be and what they should be doing at any given time. For Foucault, the division of time in this way is fundamental to pedagogical practice which demarcates the time of training from the time of mastery.

Foucault suggests that not only is the fragmentation of time into increasingly smaller units a disciplinary strategy, but we can also see the same operation in regard to disciplinary space, which he suggests is essentially cellular.

> It is spaces that provide fixed positions and permit circulation; they cover over individual segments and establish operational links; they mark places and indicate values; they guarantee the obedience of individuals, but also a better economy of time and gesture. (1991a:148)

For Foucault then, spaces are central to the governance of individuals since they determine activities and modes of behaviour. Thomson (2005) points out that this requires the active organisation of spaces and a constant effort to reinforce the rules.

In her discussion of Sack's theory of territorialisation, she identifies the following three elements; classification by area, communication by boundary and enforcement of control over access to the area and the material objects contained within (Thomson, 2005: 65). In relation to the examples presented above, we can see that the demarcation of particular zones within the dining room that correspond with particular activities can be regarded as an effect of power relations. Power is used to classify particular territories and to determine what can and can't be done within them, for example, the packed lunch area, the queuing area and the waste area. Such a move then requires a communication by boundary, to delineate the areas from each other, to create the space as 'cellular'. The kitchen counter separates the kitchen space from the dining space, the walls of the dining room mark out the lunch space from the rest of the school, for example. These boundaries are then policed by granting and denying access and governing the conduct of individuals within the space. However, despite Thomson's assertion that territorialisation requires the active organisation of space and that it does not simply emerge from sets of practices and interactions, the empirical data indicated that there appeared to be very little in the way of active policing of areas such as the kitchen boundary. Visual signals such as the notices in Lavender Road and the metal shutter in Rose Hill indicate that access is restricted, but these rules appeared to have been internalised by lunchtime staff and pupils, to the extent that they no longer required any active enforcement. This is much more closely aligned with Foucault's notion of governmentality in which individuals come to regulate or 'conduct their own conduct' through the intersection of technologies of power and technologies of the self.

As stated earlier in Chapter 2, technologies of power can be regarded as external to the subject and may be more closely associated with forms of sovereign power exercised by authoritative adults within the school dining room. Technologies of the self on the other hand are internal to the subject and may be thought of as a set of practices which individuals, sometimes with assistance from others, apply to themselves in order to affect their own conduct. Thus, since these rules have been internalised, very little enforcement is necessary. This may explain why individuals are at a loss to explain who has told them that they cannot enter the kitchen, it is something that they 'just know'.

In the empirical examples listed above, I have suggested that the queue represents a highly effective governmental technology that efficiently distributes children's bodies in a given space to ensure that each is allocated an equitable amount of waiting time before receiving their meal. Additionally I have suggested that the efficiency of the queue is dependent upon each child understanding precisely the mode of conduct that is expected of her as she progresses through from the end of the queue to the beginning. She must be aware for example that she may not express her preference of lunch choice until she is at the very front of the queue, and that her time in the queue must be spent preparing for this eventuality. More importantly she should know that if she leaves the queue, she may not be able to re-enter in the same position and that once her place has been assigned, she must not attempt to move towards the front of the queue to minimise her waiting time. Nevertheless, the queue is one of the most problematic sites in the school dining room and this is the space where power relations are frequently contested as the examples show in relation to pushing in. As such the queue can be understood as a complex negotiation or as strategic games

between liberties. Foucault suggests that power is not something that one simply possesses, but that one deploys in order to limit another's field of action. In the example of the boy pushing in the queue we see how he attempts to assert his authority by disregarding the rules of the queue. This behaviour is not tolerated as the boy is not an adult (for example a teacher) and does not have specific exemption from the rules of the queue (for example on medical grounds). His attempt to assert his authority is therefore contested by one of his peers. She attempts to limit his field of action by reiterating the rules of the queue. He is encouraged to act upon himself and amend his conduct. But he resists, thereby limiting the field of action of the girl. There are a number of options available to her, she may forcibly eject him (domination), she may continue to reason with him (appeal to self governance), or she may enlist the support of others and limit his field of action further with the threat of punishment and reprisal. While the latter strategy does not succeed in assigning the boy to his rightful place in the queue, what is evident is the various strategies that are employed in order to affect the behaviour of others.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have provided an outline of the logistical organisation of school lunchtimes including the ways in which children are managed through the spatial and temporal arrangement of school dinners. I have suggested that we can consider this spatial and temporal arrangement of lunchtimes as an attempt to discipline children to affect their conduct the ways in which they conduct themselves. Using empirical examples I have suggested that the fragmentation of time in terms of rotas and sittings represents a governmental strategy to ensure the orderly conduct of children's bodies within the dining room space and that such temporal orderings

ensure that children come to know what behaviour is acceptable within specific spaces at given times. Furthermore, I have suggested that in line with Foucault's thinking of disciplinary space as essentially cellular, we can regard the division of the dining room space into territorial sub units as a strategy which further seeks to render individual subjects, both adults and children as governable. I conclude by suggesting that the lunch queue can be regarded as a governmental technology which functions to distribute children's bodies in space. This technology requires enforcement and regulation by sovereign power, but it also seeks to co-opt individuals into regulating their own behaviour and that of others. Thus we see how individuals are encouraged to respond to technologies which seek to render their bodies as docile, but we begin to see how individuals are enlisted to act upon themselves.

In the following chapter I pursue the theme of technologies of the self in greater detail as I proceed to examine the production of the civilised subject through the inculcation of table manners.

Chapter 7: The Civilised Subject

The dining room is set out ready for the next sitting, plates are laid on tables in place settings each with a knife, fork, spoon and a plastic glass. In the centre of each table is a small clear plastic glass with colourful plastic flowers in it. In the centre of the table there is also a large white plate with freshly baked bread arranged on it and a gold metal jug full of water. The lunchtime staff patrol the area, wiping tables down, pushing seats underneath tables and generally preparing the area for the arrival of the next sitting. The scene is quiet and efficient. A group of children can be heard in the corridor outside of the dining room and a teacher can be heard telling the group to line up quietly against the wall. One of the lunchtime supervisors goes to the door and opens it. She counts six children in and points to the table where they are to sit. She places her hand on the head of each child as they file past. One, two, three, four, five, six: "Right, you go over there and sit on the next table." The children file through and walk to their allotted table and sit down. Some help themselves to water and bread. Once all the children are seated at their tables, the teacher comes and sits next to one of the children. There is an audible groan from some of the other children, who express their frustration that the teacher did not sit next to them. The senior supervisor is sending children from individual tables up to the serving counter: "You're sitting really well and really quietly, off you go." The children get up together and queue at the counter. The queue is orderly and quiet. On some of the other tables, children encourage others to sit quietly, fold their arms and sit up really straight to catch the senior supervisor's eye. Outside in the corridor, other classes are queuing up. They are counted in and seated on tables. Each class is accompanied by their teacher and teaching assistant; the administration staff and parent support workers are also present in the dining room, and are also dining with the children so that as the area fills up with children, most of the tables have an adult seated at them. On one table a teacher is asking children to pull their chairs in and sit up nicely to eat their dinner. "Let's sit up straight now and try to cut our food up with our knife and fork and chew it properly, with our mouths closed," she suggests to the children at her table. She performs this series of movements very deliberately, reiterating each stage of the process as she does this, "very good Chloe, that's beautiful table manners".

The above vignette illustrates a range of practices that occurred within Cleveland primary school. While many of these practices occurred within the other dining rooms in the study, Cleveland was by far the most systematic in its approach to the teaching of table manners and the ways in which it structured the management of lunchtimes. As mentioned in Chapter 6, Cleveland had developed ways of integrating the school lunch break into the school day. This system was known as Social Etiquette Training and this will be discussed initially before proceeding to examine more broadly, the kinds of generic practices that occurred across all schools. Throughout this chapter I wish to explore the particular practices at this school and will suggest the ways in which school dining rooms are regarded as informal learning environments in which children must be trained, disciplined and 'civilised'. In Chapter 3 I discussed the concept of the family meal as one of the prevailing discourses relating to school dining. In this chapter I wish to discuss some of the ways that notions around family mealtimes were invoked as rationalities to support specific practices that occurred in school dining rooms. I conclude this chapter by using Foucault's notion of governmentality as an analytic lens through which to explore these practices.

Social Etiquette Training

In September 2005, a group of head teachers accompanied members of the 'Eat Well Do Well' team on a visit to Sweden and Denmark to explore the practices of school dining. School meals in Malmo, Sweden, had been celebrated as among the best in the world on the Radio 4 Food programme in 2005 with a high proportion of locally sourced produce used to provide free school meals to all children and young people in education. The Swedish system at primary level involved each class dining together with their class teacher while the lunchtime staff performed a restaurant

manager role ensuring that customers were greeted as they entered and that food was displayed properly. Great attention was paid to ensuring that the dining environment was calm and welcoming and friendly. The head teacher from Cleveland primary school was the only head teacher to attend from the schools that participated in this study and following the visit, she began to implement changes to the organisation of lunchtimes at Cleveland. The dining room was rebranded as the 'school restaurant' and the pre-moulded flight trays were replaced with white plastic plates. Sittings consisted of classes rather than year groups and each teacher was expected to dine with the children. Most significantly for the purposes of this chapter, a systematic programme called social etiquette training was implemented. This was specifically designed to instruct children to conduct themselves appropriately at lunchtimes within the school dining room. The changes were implemented to create an environment conducive to the promotion of good manners and this involved reorganising the ways that children entered the room and queued up. In contrast to other schools where children queue up to select their lunch and then proceed to find a seat, in Cleveland children queue outside of the room and are allocated a seat before queuing for food at the counter:

> At the door a teacher waits with a queue of children waiting to enter the dining room. The lunchtime supervisor holds up 2 fingers and beckons to the teacher waiting at the door, pointing at a table. The teacher tells two children to go and sit at the table indicated by the lunchtime supervisor. Cleveland

Essentially this replicates a restaurant style formal dining experience where a maitre d' greets customers and escorts them to their table. The explicit rationale behind this practice was to ensure that children entered the dining room in an orderly fashion and the length of time spent queuing for lunch was kept to a minimum to avoid conflict and arguments in the queue. At Lavender Road and Rose Hill children

were accustomed to queuing up at the counter directly after entering the room. In the following extract from field notes, children at Cleveland enter the room and go straight up to the counter to queue:

> There are 7 tables laid with plates for the year 5 and 6 children. In they come. They shake rice off the chairs before they sit down. The lunchtime supervisor tells them they can go to the counter but they have only just got in and so proceed to the counter in the manner they entered the room - quite boisterously! "Sit Down" shouts Mrs. C really loudly! "You'll all have to wait until the end now before getting your dinner." The teacher comes and tells me, "You see what I mean. They all run up and they're told they have to go up properly." Cleveland

In this instance, children do not conform to the expected norms of behaviour and bodily conduct and are therefore penalised by having to wait longer for their lunch during which time the children are expected to sit upright with arms folded and quietly. Children are told when they can enter the queue and in what manner. Conversely, the ability to demonstrate compliance with the expected conventions around bodily conduct can also yield rewards by enabling children to access their lunch more quickly:

> In front of me sit Ryan and Jordan - year 1 boys who demand to know my name. I tell them it's Jo. They tell me their names and that they are best friends and they get up to all sorts of tricks together. The teacher is walking past and they are clearly trying to get her attention by being visibly good - sitting with straight backs and arms folded and not talking. They sit waiting in this exaggerated pose waiting to be told they are good enough to go and get their dinner. Eventually, they are told they can do this. They walk up to the queue. Cleveland

This contrasts with typical restaurant style dining where customers are able to enter and leave the dining area when they wish. As Laurier, Whyte and Buckner note, there is a particular routine or visual signals that indicate when a person has finished their meal:

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> As the dining progresses the people at the table will be seen to be eating and, ultimately, when they are finished the cups, bowls, plates and sundries will be left in positions which indicate they are finished (i.e. noticeably empty and no longer being touched with fingers or cutlery, with napkins on top or beside them). Customers in Britain have been trained from being children in ways of indicating they are finished their meal such as arranging their cutlery in a certain fashion, saying "I'm finished thank you", or/and demanding the bill. (Laurier, Whyte and Buckner, 2000:213)

Children in Cleveland still indicate their wish to depart from the room by pushing plates away or by verbalising their desire to leave the table. But it is ultimately lunchtime supervisors and teachers that determine when precisely they have finished their meal ('just eat a little more for me'), and when they are allowed to leave the table. Children's entrance to the room, and access to the queue is permitted by the adults. Their movement throughout the space is only permitted when approved by an adult, more specifically, a lunchtime supervisor. Significantly, their access to space is further curtailed by the enforcement of adult designated dining groups, which are usually organised around class groups:

> A teacher is showing children where to sit, excuse me! Back you come she says. She directs them to another table and I hear a boy say oh no! She moves them around a bit. She then goes over to another table to pick up a couple of plates and knives and forks and brings them over to the table where she moved the boys so that they can all eat together. (Cleveland)

These enforced seating arrangements are not always to the children's liking and generally include an adult in Cleveland. In other schools children have more freedom to choose where they would like to sit, albeit within a certain prescribed set of parameters. Thus children save places for each other, reserve places by putting coats on chairs and packed lunch boxes on tables. However, in Cleveland these enforced seating arrangements were designed with the specific intention of promoting greater social cohesion among pupils and adults within the school. Some of these

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adults include administration staff, behaviour support workers, governors and people from outside the school including visitors and local community and faith leaders. Observational data revealed that on a number of occasions when one particular faith leader arrived on a table, most of the children asked to leave fairly quickly. Valentine (2008) critiques what she refers to as the 'contact hypothesis' which posits that social cohesion is generated through increased opportunities for social interaction and notes that proximity and interaction do not always reflect the values of individuals. Thus it is possible that individuals may become more firmly entrenched in their belief that other individuals are not desirable dining companions.

In general in Cleveland the role of the adult on the table is to supervise the children while eating. This is also the role of the lunchtime supervisors who cut food up, clean, wipe, supervise the queue, pour drinks, take away plates. But in contrast to other schools, the increased adult presence allows the lunchtime supervisors to concentrate on the organisational aspects and the teachers to focus more upon communicating the key social etiquette messages.

> I do think it's part of my role if I'm eating with them, I would have good table manners and would expect the same from them, erm, and also, I don't particularly want to sit down with a group of six children who have no table manners cos I think it's rude [laughs] so. And it's not very nice for me to eat my dinner when they've just got no table manners, but at the start of this year, erm, we changed, er, the dining, it's not just supposed to be lunch time any more, it's supposed to be something called SET, which is Social, erm, Etiquette, er, Social Etiquette Training, I think it is. It just means that if you're in there having your dinner, you should be saying to them, 'this is how you leave your knife and fork', you know, 'you don't run', 'make sure you put your chair under', 'you don't eat like that'. Teacher Cleveland

The teaching of social etiquette was not something that the teachers seemed to mind in this school, while in other schools the responsibility for promoting appropriate etiquette fell to lunchtime supervisors. In part, this may have been

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because the head teacher in Cleveland allowed teachers time during the afternoon or morning to take a break from the children. Thus the timetable was organised to facilitate teachers' participation in the programme without being penalised and losing their 'break' from the children. While many of the other schools paid lip service to the informal curriculum that could be communicated in the dining room, Cleveland articulated this in a more systematic way. This resulted in far greater numbers of adults within the dining room in Cleveland and consequently, higher levels of surveillance and fewer behavioural incidents from children.

The Dining Room as a Learning Environment

In 1989 Blatchford argued that lunchtime was a forgotten part of the school day and five years later he commented along with colleagues that while up to 28% of the school day may be spent in playtimes and lunch break, this has received relatively little critical attention (Blatchford and Sharp, 1994). This is a notable omission for Blatchford and Sharp since "There can be little doubt that children are learning things at breaktime – perhaps a very different set of skills and attitudes from those that operate in the school and classroom" (1994: 2). For Blatchford and Sharp, the pertinent question is therefore, what kinds of things are children learning and how consistent is this with the formalised learning that takes place in the classroom? Indeed much of the policy documentation which now governs school lunchtimes speaks of the need to deliver consistent messages across the formal and informal curriculum, particularly in relation to nutrition and to social and emotional wellbeing which are discussed in Chapters 8 and 9 respectively. But the sentiment seems to be that children are learning all of the time, whether we like it or not, and that these informal spaces need to be controlled and filled with meaningful learning opportunities or we run the risk of undermining what is learnt in the classroom.

Indeed, this relationship between formal and informal learning does not appear to be one way traffic. Food issues and healthy eating are covered in class, for example, in Rose Hill, writing poetry about favourite foods in literacy lessons, or in Lavender Road where food was used to explore everyday life in Victorian England and school menus were produced in year 6 Design and Technology classes. While the formal curriculum is reinforced within the school dining room to support literacy for example, in Lavender Road school where pictures of food are placed above the food counter with names written underneath them to help familiarise younger children with spelling. Posters illustrating the provenance of different food items are also placed around the room, which support elements of the geography curriculum. Thus, lessons learned in the classroom are reinforced in the dining room and healthy eating messages within the dining room are supported through the formal curriculum. School lunchtimes then, can be valuable opportunities for reinforcing or creating new learning. However, it is not only the formal curriculum that is communicated through the dining room, but also skills that are deemed important for life. These are sometimes communicated in the form of children replicating or assisting with adult responsibilities in the dining room. In many of the dining rooms in this study children helped to stack chairs, serve drinks and clean tables. In Cleveland children also emptied the salad bar and swept floors. But many lunchtime supervisors admitted to me that this was often more of a hindrance than a help.

> Dawn is the only adult in the dining room now except for me. Now the other lunchtime supervisor returns, I'm not sure where from. A boy approaches her and asks if he can help clear up. No she says. Why he asks, because I don't want to have to lecture and it's just like asking my own child to do something. By this she means that it will take too much time to explain the tasks to the child and would be quicker to do it herself. Cleveland

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It is interesting in this extract how, in comparing this child to her own child, the lunchtime supervisor invokes particular kinds of familial relations in order to dismiss the boy and carry out her tasks more efficiently. This may well be a great disappointment to the boy who is unable to demonstrate his willingness to help and to gain approval from some of the adult members of staff. In other schools such as Lavender Road children have different motives for helping as they are given chocolate biscuits as a reward for stacking the chairs and wiping the tables.[8] However, in Crosby the motivation is more altruistic:

> The boy with the spiky hair approaches me to tell me Hi and that he is helping to tidy up. Do you always do this? Yes, he says I do. Do you get a biscuit or something for helping I ask him. No he says, I always do it, it's helpful. He walks away after telling me this. Crosby

Children's response to assuming an adult role within the dining room is also complex as the following field notes demonstrate.

> Jess (who has Downs Syndrome) is sitting at the other end of this table and a little girl next to her cuts up her food for her. She is no bigger than Jess but she goes behind her and cuts the food up cuddling her as she does this - just like the lunchtime supervisors do. It is a real stretch for her to get her arms round and she is not really tall enough to see over Jess to the dinner she is cutting up. Jess looks happy with this attention though. She sits back down again. After a few moments Jess gets up to cut up the little girl's dinner. Jess is slightly less elegant about the way she does this and she takes no account of the girl's presence and squashes her down as she makes cutting motions with the knife and fork. The little girl underneath her is crouched right down and looks up at the lunchtime supervisors. The lunchtime supervisor says leave her Jess. She doesn't like it. Jess shakes her head but eventually she sits down. Crosby

In this interaction Jess is happy to receive attention from another pupil even where the pupil is outwardly fulfilling a role usually assigned to adults. The pupil is

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[8] Confectionary was routinely given as reward in all schools and food as reward is still not currently subject to school food standards. Nevertheless schools are now encouraged not to give food items as rewards, but rather to use non-edible items such as pens, rubbers and stickers.

accurately mimicking the ways in which the lunchtime supervisors perform this role, using the hand-on-hand technique to demonstrate how to cut up food properly. However, when Jess attempts to reciprocate by performing the same role, her failure to do so according to the expected norms of bodily performance results in the attempt being rejected by the other pupil who signals her discomfort to the lunchtime supervisor by way of a meaningful glance. It is significant that Jess' learning disability often resulted in a disruption of the social norms around dining and the subsequent intervention of an adult. In this instance it is deemed appropriate for Jess to receive the attention of another pupil who performs an adult role, but not to assume this role herself.

While the dining room functions as a learning environment in which food can be used as a vehicle to shore up the formal learning of the classroom, children are also encouraged to replicate adult roles denoting social responsibility, helpfulness and care for others.

The Evolution of Table Manners

In *The Civilising Process* (2000) Norbert Elias describes how the practice of table manners and dining etiquette emerged in Renaissance Europe as concerns over basic matters of survival were replaced by the outward demonstration of virtue, status and refinement. Lupton notes that as life became less perilous, violent and unpredictable notions of excess and unrestraint were gradually subsumed by ways of thinking that championed the virtues of moderation, piety and social order. "A person's public behaviour came to signify his or her social standing, a means of presenting the self and of evaluating others. Thus manners and the control of the outward self were vital" (20: Lupton, 1996). Elias argues that manners distanced the

process of eating from its animalistic and primitive functions of survival. They served

to civilise the process of eating. This notion was frequently invoked in response to the

perceived chaos of the school dining environment as the following field notes

demonstrate:

> A   Well, I think if you're sitting away from it all and you're watching them, like the older ones, it tends to, you look around and you think they're like, you know, monkeys in the zoo, kind of thing, but then, if you sit down at the table with them, you do get that, that family type of feeling. (Teacher, Crosby)

Here the functional aspects of school feeding are juxtaposed with the notion of

the family meal which will be discussed presently. But it is important to note at this

point that family meals are symbolic of civilised modes of consumption in contrast to

institutional dining which is regarded as dehumanising both in its capacity to reduce

dining to its basic animal function, and in its capacity to de-individualise school meal

consumers. The epitome of this 'massification' was the pre-moulded plastic flight

tray, with its separate compartments for cutlery, main course, dessert and drink as this

interaction with a teacher illustrates:

> Q   Yeah, mm, do you eat off a flight tray?
> A   Plate. I hate those flight trays, I think they're awful. I don't think anybody should be served food on those things, awful.
> Q   Why?
> A   It's just conveyor belt mentality again. It's just like, you know, here am I, I mean those are the ones, you assume that they have 'em in prison, I mean, even in hospital, they have 'em on plates, don't they? (Teacher, Crosby)

In this interview, the teacher compares the school dining room with other

institutional dining spaces, but it is the de-individualising 'conveyor belt mentality'

that she objects to. Through the use of the flight tray, children are understood as a

collective as undifferentiated and as a mass of bodies to be fed, rather than as

individuals with different tastes, emotions and physical requirements. This 'massification' of individuals is one which elicits responses of disgust and fear (Lawler, 2002).

The ideal dining environment was felt to be one which moved away from institutional feeding and more towards family and restaurant models of dining. In Cleveland the dining room was adorned with plastic flowers and the small tables were set with place settings and the moulded flight trays had been removed by Mrs. C after her visit to Sweden. This contrasts with the dining environment in Crosby, where as one of the teachers commented the dining room fell some way short of a dining room that she had recently visited in a nearby school for children with severe learning disabilities.

> A   Northcott, Northcott, and they've got, like, a fixed dining room, I mean, I know it's only for a small number of pupils, but they've got, erm, table cloths on the tables, and the tables aren't all the same shape so, like, some square ones and some round ones, like this, and they've got like little vases with artificial flowers in the middle, you know, little things like that, that just make it a, you know, make it a dining place, whereas ours isn't, really. And I don't remember anything, I didn't think, oh, this is terrible, the, er, like ours, the slopping out trays are in the same room, oh, it just puts you off your dinner. But their room was really, really nice. They had the cutlery in a set place and it looked lovely, like, artificial flowers and stuff like that around and I think they had the water jugs on the table with the beakers. It was just little things like that that made it seem a bit more like a dining area rather than a feeding station. Teacher Crosby

In this passage the teacher makes an explicit contrast between the family style dining room given in the example and the uncivilised and animalistic 'feeding station' that she feels characterises her school dining room. In the example given and in Cleveland school, the formal place settings provide visual clues as to the type of dining experience one would expect to participate in and consequently, of the

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expected modes of behaviour and social rules. In Laurier, Whyte and Buckner's study of neighbourhood cafes they note that informality of the space is indicated by various socio-material orderings which consequently directs the action of the actors within it (2000). They note for example that in informal spaces of consumption such as the neighbourhood cafe, seating allocation is usually a process of negotiation with existing customers, or as a procedural event following departure from the queue. In formal restaurants they suggest table reservation is usually done in advance and a maitre d' shows customers to their table. Thus by attuning school dining rooms to the socio-material orderings of formal restaurants, with place settings and various other aesthetic elements, the expectation is that children will behave in civilised ways, with appropriate table manners.

Underpinning many of these initiatives is an assumption that children require 'civilising'. James, Jenks and Prout (1998) locate this view of children in what they call the pre-sociological view of the child which encompasses a variety of models of childhood, including the evil or Dionysian child, the innocent or Apollonian child and the naturally developing child.

The concept of the evil child, it is argued, suggests children "enter the world with a wilful material energy" (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998: 12). They are harbourers of dark and primal forces that if left to their own devices become anarchistic and threaten to destabilise the adult social order. This conception of childhood has been termed the "Dionysian Child", which depicts the child as pleasure seeking, self gratifying and endlessly demanding (Jenks 1996). Children therefore require discipline and correction from adults in order to keep them on the straight and

narrow and transform them into civilised beings. It is argued by theorists such as Ariès (1973) and de Mause (1974) that this conception of childhood was evident within Puritanical doctrine and resulted in the rather brutal treatment of children. Pollock (1983) argues that a more thorough examination of historical sources and analysis of the "actualities of childhood rather than attitudes to it" (cited in Cunningham, 2005: 12) suggests that this brutality was not as widespread as Ariès and de Mause propose. Through an examination of diaries and other autobiographical sources she concludes that "a large section of the population - probably most parents - were not 'battering' their children" (cited in Corsaro, 2005: 66). However, what is noteworthy here is not the extent to which this view of children manifested itself in actual physical abuse, but rather the ways in which this view of children as inherently wicked was mobilised historically and the extent to which this notion persists in modern day discourses of childhood, most notably in relation to deviant, unhealthy children.

James, Jenks and Prout (1998) argue that the innocent child requires adult protection to ensure that their state of pristine innocence is maintained and that the concept of the innocent child provides the basis for modern child-centred education, with its central premise of children as subjects with needs and rights. Jenks (1996) suggests it is this romantic view of children that is often mobilised in popular discourse, specifically in media accounts of 'unfit' motherhood where the mother may have experienced drug addiction or HIV infection, for example. Indeed the notion of unfit and unhealthy mothers creating unfit and unhealthy children is pursued to a greater extent in the following chapter.

Table Manners in Four Primary School Dining Rooms

Within all the dining rooms in the study, adults generally agreed that children's table manners were not always as good as they might be and that this was something that could and should be taught at lunchtime in school. In short, manners were important, although it was not always possible to articulate why they were important.

Q   Is that something that you think's important for children?
A   Er, yeah, to get them through life, mm.
Q   How come?
A   You need manners, don't you, for everything. You need manners when you've got a job, you need manners for everything, 'manners maketh the man' [laughs].(Teacher Rose Hill)

In this extract the teacher is fairly vague about why manners are important although her response indicates the positioning of manners as a life skill and hints at the link between the outward performance of etiquette and the role that this has in constructing individual subjects. Additionally, while it was not always possible to discern why manners were important, for this teacher it was equally difficult to ascertain why certain modes of dining were preferred over others.

And I had an interesting conversation with some child the other day, about why it's rude to put your elbows on the table, because I said, 'put your elbows down cos it's rude' and he said, 'why is it rude?' and I said, 'I'm not really sure' (.) I think it's to do with the fact that, if your elbows are on the table then your head's sort of everything goes lower and it just doesn't look very elegant, but I said, 'I'm not sure exactly', but anyway, I don't let them put their elbows on the table if I'm with that table (Teacher Cleveland)

Despite the inability to identify precisely why manners are important and why certain modes of dining are preferred above others, the generally accepted view was that children should know what good manners are and that this should be learned within the dining room. Anthropologists have highlighted the role of food rituals in

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sustaining kinship and other social groups and knowledge of cultural practices around eating is an important indicator of membership of these groups. These cultural practices of eating can be regarded as a form of cultural capital which signifies membership of a particular class for example (Bourdieu, 1989). Transgressing these cultural norms may betray working class origins, for example, by using the wrong sets of cutlery at a formal banquet although this may be read in other ways depending on the other forms of capital that one is able to mobilise. Within the context of the school dining room good manners were demonstrated by not putting elbows on the table, eating with mouths closed, saying please and thank you, sitting up straight and perhaps most significantly, by using knives and forks correctly.

Knives and Forks

Elias (2000) argues that the use of knives and forks at the dinner table is subject to a range of rituals and taboos that emerged as a way of ameliorating the affective responses of other diners. The use of forks in particular he argues evolved to prevent people from eating with their fingers. While this in itself is not a bad thing, eating with one's fingers leads to a further sequence of improper acts, for example the wiping of fingers on napkins, bread or, even more nauseating, licking one's fingers. The use of knives on the other hand is subject to a far greater range of taboos not merely because of the potential danger they pose in terms of injury, but in the affective response elicited when someone raises a knife towards their face. Thus, while knives may not always be capable of inflicting terrible damage on the individual there is a level of horror that is induced through the symbolic potential of the implement to inflict injury. This is evident through the many rules that govern the passing of knives since, regardless of one's intentions fellow diners may take offence

at having a blade thrust towards them when attempting to butter their bread. Elias argues that the origins of these rituals are seldom known and therefore not explained to children, who frequently make do with phrases such as "You must not do that, people do not do things like that" as a rationale for eating practices and customs. Within the school dining room, not only do children need to know what the customs and practices are, but they also need to perfect the art of manipulating the tools in question, which requires a great degree of dexterity and fine motor control.

> A   Really that's hard because some of 'em, they don't even eat with their knives and forks in the right hands, they don't know how to do it. And you've got to, basically, go and tell 'em how to hold the knife and fork, but as soon as you walk away, they've changed to the other side again cos they're not comfortable with the way they're supposed to do it. You know, the times we have to go to them, 'knife in right hand, fork in the left hand' and they just don't, they don't do it, you know, it's weird. (Lunchtime Supervisor, Cleveland)

Children are also required to know which foods require the use of a knife and fork and which don't.

> But the ones that are sort of aggravate us, if they've got a biscuit, they will insist on eating it with a spoon, yet they don't eat their biscuits at home with a spoon [laughs] but, cos it's on the table, they think they've got to use it [laughs]. Frantically chopping biscuits! But you've got to put the spoon there in case the child has a yogurt, cos they get the choice. (Lunchtime Supervisor, Lavender Road)

As the lunchtime supervisor at Lavender Road points out, this is sometimes tricky to work out, since the spoon is there on the table and the biscuits are given out in bowls. The visual clues in this instance signal that one should not eat the biscuits with one's fingers. There was similar confusion between teachers and lunchtime staff as to the appropriate ways to eat fruit. For example in Cleveland, where there was a high degree of involvement from the lunchtime supervisors in serving the children food, fruit was cut up, peeled and prepared.

> The lunchtime supervisor brings small plates with quarters of fruit on. Oranges and apples or pears or a mixture of these. She places them down in front of the children and the little boy near to me picks up a segment of orange and starts to chew the middle of it. He looks like he is enjoying it. Cleveland

> The little boy continues to suck the orange and one of the lunchtime supervisors (the small one with brown hair) comes to peel the fruit for the table. No one on the table has asked for this to be done, but plates of fruit are taken and pulled towards her, the quarter oranges are pulled away from their skin and she collects the peel on a plate on her tray. Cleveland

In Cleveland school it appeared to be expected that lunchtime staff were there to perform this function. In Crosby school, lunchtime staff were discouraged from cutting up food for children. This teacher, for example, goes on to give illustrations where she has witnessed individuals having fruit peeled and sliced individually, where they would normally eat them whole in class

> Like today, for example, there's a girl in Rachel's class, Rebecca, who was getting the dinner lady to peel her apple for her, and she's seven, and, and, and I think the dinner lady, I heard the dinner lady saying to another member of staff who was in there, you know, 'if you had a child who didn't like peel on their apple, you'd peel it for them, wouldn't you?' and, and, and I just looked at Rebecca and I said, 'Rebecca ( ), what're you doing?' I said, 'you wolf down apples in the classroom, skin, pips and all!' (Teacher, Crosby)

While lunchtime staff invoke notions of the family, and of care for children, generated by a concern for their physical welfare, teaching staff tended to emphasise the educational benefits of teaching children to do this for themselves.

> Q   What do you think they [lunchtime supervisors] should be doing in the dining room?
> A   Showing the children how to eat properly with their knife and fork, how to sit properly, encouraging them to eat their food, not picking the food off one person's plate and giving it to another child,
> (Teacher, Crosby)

Family Meals

As I discussed in Chapter 3, it is clear that the concept of family meals is one that elicits strong reactions from people and that it has become emblematic of far wider concerns around family break up, antisocial behaviour and all kinds of risky behaviour from young people. Within school dining rooms it was generally felt that the reason children did not possess adequate table manners was because of the demise of family mealtimes.

> No, and you get quite a lot of, erm, if the food's too big they sort of stab it and then they like chomp rather than cutting it and I say, 'you've got a knife for that' and then they do use their knife, but it's just what they can get away with, I suppose, they just push it to like the limits and I don't know if they eat like that at home but you assume, don't you, that that's come from somewhere. So, I don't know, but you have to remind them about things like that. (Teacher, Cleveland)

Without exception, teachers and lunchtime supervisors felt that table manners had become worse and that many of the children in their school did not have family meals. In Rose Hill the head teacher felt that this was because of the pressures of dual income households and the increased frequency of dining out as families in the catchment area tended to be 'time poor'. In other schools, poverty, lack of inclination and poor parenting were held accountable for TV dinners and takeaway foods. Lupton notes that from pregnancy onwards women are held responsible for children's nutrition and that the successful feeding of a child is often taken as an indicator of women's success as a mother. The family meal and the dinner table she argues "are potent symbols, even metonyms, of the family itself" (Lupton, 1996: 39). Reflections upon teachers' own experiences of family mealtimes were often invoked as a normative illustration of how family mealtimes could and should be. In the following extract the teacher discusses how she insists on proper family meals with her husband and teenage son.

Oh, he always used his knife and fork then! [laughs] yeah, no, we always have a meal, we always sit round the table, family meal, yeah, we wait 'til dad's in and we all sit down at the table. It causes some problems in my house if the television's on and you want to watch something in the other room (.) yeah, I was brought up that way, you see? Brought up, 'please may I leave the table?' you couldn't leave the table. 'til you said that, you know, so, yeah. I think that's probably from me, really, with my children. (Teacher, Rose Hill)

In this extract she nostalgically reflects upon her own upbringing, which is idealised and replicated in her own approach to family meal times. Sitting around a table rather than in front of the television or on the settee is the preferred mode of dining and each member of the family must be present. This idealised view of the family meal is one which many teachers and lunchtime staff felt could be re-created within the school dining room as parents were not equipping children with the necessary manners and life skills to adequately prepare them for the adult world.

Q   How would your ideal school lunch time be? What would it be like, if you could change it?
A   It would be nice, when they're sat at the table, to have either a teacher sat the head of the table, you know, at the side of the table, or maybe a year 6 sat, at the head, you know? Not the head, but at the side, and just interact more, you know. (Teacher, Lavender Road)

As previously illustrated in Chapter 3 it is argued that family meals reinforce and reproduce particular social relations and divisions (Charles and Kerr, 1988; Murcott, 1982; Lupton 1996). The idealised family meal model that is suggested above is a typically patriarchal in structure, with a 'head' of the table present to oversee activities and to enforce rules about table manners, and to grant permission to leave the table. Within schools it is expected that such as model will result in better behaved and more civilised children. Children's experiences of family mealtimes were frequently characterised by processes of conflict and negotiation. The following excerpt from a focus group with KS2 children in Rose Hill was an uncomfortable

illustration of this.

Me: So what are the main differences between dinner time at home and dinner time at school?

Boy 1: Because you can actually talk with your friends when you are at school

Girl 2: But you can talk wiv' your family

Boy 1: It's miles more strict at home though. I just want to eat in my room.

Me: Are you allowed to do that?

Boy 1: No, I'm not allowed to have tea in my room. Before I was allowed to eat it anywhere, but since my mum married my stepdad, it's all changed

Me: So there are different rules around the table?

Boy 1: Yeah but we have to eat in the dining room now. Before we didn't but he just made it up because he broke the kitchen table. He knocked it off

Girl 1: What do you mean he knocked it off?

Boy 1: Because it was a real expensive marble table and it wasn't joined at the top and he just went like that [smacks elbow down on the table] and knocked it off

Girl 1: Did he do it on purpose?

Boy 1: No he just went like that because I was annoying him by accident

Girl 2: Do your Mum and Dad argue?

Boy 1: [Nods] Always

(KS2, Rose Hill)

Here boy 1 describes the ways in which family meal times have changed since the arrival of his stepfather into the family. His inadvertently annoying behaviour results in an outburst from his stepfather. Interestingly, this boy prefers the social interaction afforded by the school dining room environment rather than the stricter, family meal environment in which he must conform to particular norms and conventions around eating. This creates a disjuncture between the idealised view of the family, a horror of what is imagined to be happening 'out there' and what may be happening in reality. What is imagined as the potential of family meals in school meals discourse appears to be a civilised, warm and loving event in which family members converse around a table away from the television. What is imagined as actual practice in other families is characterised by takeaway dinners in front of the TV with family members shovelling food unthinkingly into their mouths with little

social interaction. However, what may in some cases be happening, might more accurately be described as a set of practices in which games of power are played when individuals fail to live up to the idealised practices around family meals.

In summary, attempts to acculturate children into particular modes of dining that conform to normative expectations around table manners are supported by discourses which emphasise the requirement for children to be civilised and are premised on the belief that the school dining room has the potential to transform children from savage beings to civilised consumers. These ideas draw heavily upon discourses around family meal times and model practices which occur both in formal dining establishments and which are imagined to occur within the context of the ideal 'family meal' in order to govern children and produce well mannered citizens.

Theoretical Discussion

The examples presented above illustrate a range of disciplinary practices that are applied in order to produce subjects that are civilised and well mannered. In the accounts of teachers and lunchtime staff there is a clear articulation of the potential for school dining to teach children table manners that are deemed to be lacking predominantly because these are not being taught at home. The potential for the school dining room to function as a pedagogical space to train children in aspects of etiquette supports Foucault's assertion that ensuring the maximum utility from each moment is one of the aims of discipline within schools. As suggested in the previous chapter, every moment in school must be useful and no moment should be wasted. Thus the school lunch break is not regarded as a break from lessons, a chance to socialise and to relax, but it is regarded as a useful learning opportunity in which life

lessons can be taught. A time when teachers can be regarded as still 'on duty' and children should remain educable and receptive to discipline.

The data presented above illustrate specific pedagogies which operate in the dining room to encourage children to 'model' appropriate behaviour for other children and assist lunchtime staff by assuming adult roles, for example, by stacking chairs, serving food and helping to clean up. Foucault describes the recruitment of pupils in this way as necessary for the purposes of discipline and surveillance. Among the various, monitors, supervisors, officers and intendants he discerns two major kinds of role. First those that are responsible for material tasks and second those that are responsible for surveillance. While children in the dining room were not directly responsible for the surveillance of other children, it was clear that this role was assumed by many and there were frequent appeals to lunchtime supervisors about the inappropriate behaviour of other children in the dining room. But the more usual role of children was in assisting lunchtime staff so that they were able to concentrate upon other tasks of monitoring and surveillance.

The Social Etiquette Training in Cleveland school articulates a more systematic approach to the disciplining of children and yet elements of this were evident in all schools. The key features of the Cleveland approach are profoundly governmental in that they combine techniques of power with techniques of the self. Foucault suggests that government can be thought of as the intersection between those techniques of domination which are applied to individuals to limit their field of action and the techniques of the self which individuals practice upon themselves, sometimes with assistance from others, in order to construct themselves particular kinds of

subjects (See Chapter 2). In the empirical examples given above, we can discern a range of practices that can be termed technologies of power. For example, the seating arrangements are imposed by lunchtime supervisors. As previously discussed in Chapter 6, children are required to sit where they are directed by lunchtime supervisors, and do so because they fear reprisal. While individuals are free to choose to disobey these rules, their field of action is limited as the option to disobey and the ensuing punishments frequently make this course of action less attractive. Similarly, in Cleveland, teachers are required to sit with the children during the lunchtime. While many are happy to do this, the imperative comes from the sovereign power of the head teacher. Refusal to sit with the children is likely to incur the disapproval of the head teacher and thus this option becomes less attractive. Both teachers and children then are bound in this network of power and are subject to disciplinary practices.

Foucault also describes other ways of applying technologies of power and of disciplining children's bodies that are pertinent to the acculturation of manners. As discussed in Chapter 2 Foucault suggests that normalising judgements are used to differentiate certain forms of conduct from other more desirable forms of conduct. He suggests that normalising judgements are comprised of five different components; first they refer the actions of the individual to those of the whole according to a given principle or rule, second, it differentiates that individual from the field of the whole, third it measures and ascribes value to the individual, fourth by ascribing value ,it demonstrates what should be achieved, fifth it traces the limits by which that difference will be defined in relation to all other differences. Or rather it "compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it *normalizes*" [original

emphasis] (1991a: 183). In the empirical examples given throughout Chapter 7 we can see these normalizing judgements being applied to children that do not conform to the correct modes of bodily deportment in relation to table manners. Individuals are measured against particular tables of children and their inadequate deportment may be commented upon. This differentiation serves to highlight the preferred conduct that the individual must aspire to. The latter exclusionary tactic is used when children are denied a place in the queue because of their inadequate demonstration of etiquette. A frequently used strategy which directly inverts this is to invoke such comparisons by highlighting the good manners of individual in an attempt to conduct the conduct of a group. For example adults might say to a class of children, 'look how quietly John is sitting' and may confer rewards upon him for his compliance. The normalizing judgement is evident throughout the whole of the school and not simply in the dining room.

The concept of normalizing judgements can also be used to inform our understanding of discourses around family meals. In the above discussion I suggest that the notion of family meal times can be regarded as an idealised discourse against which existing practices are measured and found wanting. Although there is no way of knowing what family meal times consist of in reality within the realm of the domestic sphere, what teachers and lunchtime staff imagine to be happening is constantly measured against an idealized view and its deficiencies are quantified. School meals are therefore regarded as a corrective, as a means of addressing the deficiencies of existing family meals practices against the what might be considered the normalized family meal. Hence the use of table cloths, flowers, patriarchal seating arrangements, which represent an idealized model of family dining.

In *Discipline and Punish* (1991a) Foucault describes the ways in which children learn good handwriting and suggests that in such a disciplinary practice there is a correlation between the body and the performance of gesture that is not simply about teaching a child how to write, but about imposing "the best relation between a gesture and the overall position of the body, which is its condition of efficiency and speed." (1991a: 152). He continues to elucidate this relationship between the body and specific objects in what he calls "the body-object articulation" where "[d]iscipline defines each of the relations that the body must have with the object that it manipulates" (1991a:153). In describing the disciplinary processes involved with teaching children to position and control their bodies on order to manipulate pens and pencils, Foucault might easily be describing the processes involved in teaching children to use knives and forks. However, the social norms around the use of cutlery involve not only the correct use of implements in order to eat with efficiency and speed. Rather they involve a series of gestures and ways of conducting the body that may effectively make the operation of eating more laboured and more difficult. Thus we can conclude that the processes that are described in relation to learning to write are almost identical to those involved with using a knife and fork correctly:

> pupils must always 'hold their bodies erect, somewhat turned and free on the left side, slightly inclined, so that with the elbow placed on the table, the chin can be rested upon the hand unless this were to interfere with the view; the left leg must be somewhat more forward under the table than the right. (Foucault, 1991a: 152)

However, the aim of achieving speed and efficiency may not be the same. Rather the aim of inculcating table manners is to demonstrate mastery of one's appetites through a series of elaborate gestures that may actually make eating more difficult. This can be thought of as an intersection between a technology of power as

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an external force acting upon children to shape their field of action through the application of incentives and punishments in order for them to comply with normative modes of dining, and a technology of the self in which children are taught to discipline their bodies to overcome the desire to satisfy their hunger. Through the accounts of lunchtime supervisors and teachers we can see that such mastery is regarded as a life skill, something that is deemed fundamental to the 'art of living'.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to outline some of the ways that children are moulded into civilised subjects through the use of specific technologies of power such as the Social Etiquette Training Programme and the requirements to use knives and forks correctly. I argue that a range of techniques are evident such as the normalising judgement which is used to demonstrate and highlight good manners among children and to create a benchmark for children to aspire to. Additionally normalising judgements are made about family meals which are used to justify interventions around manners through the implementation of schemes of dining. I have demonstrated that in line with Foucault's thinking about time-space utility within schools, dining rooms can be regarded as pedagogical sites where informal learning takes place to train children in life skills. I suggest that such training can be regarded as an attempt to instil in children particular technologies of the self which require them to master their physical bodies and appetites. The theme of technologies of the self is taken up in the next chapter as I turn to discuss the production of the healthy subject.

Chapter 8: The Healthy Subject

It is almost 11.45 and the dining room is empty except for the lunchtime staff that are laying tables with knives and forks and organising the salad bar. The salad bar is wheeled out of the kitchen and placed directly next to the door where children enter the room. It is the first thing that they will see upon entering the room.

Above the salad bar are colourful photographs of fruit and vegetables and a 5 A DAY poster carrying the strap line '5 A DAY, just eat more'. On another wall the children have made posters explaining the benefits of healthy eating. These display pictures of overweight individuals looking unhappy and slender individuals looking happy. There are images of scales and pictures with unhealthy foods on one side: burgers, fries, sweets and crisps; and healthy foods on the other: fruit and vegetables, pasta and milk. All the tables are set with knives and forks, but one has a plastic coloured tablecloth on it, with blue and white checks. It has a vase with a few white flowers in it and proper china plates. There are plastic glasses with juice already on the table, it looks like diluted blackcurrant juice and stands in contrast to the other tables which are set with knives and forks only and look bare and functional. Children begin to enter the room accompanied by a teacher. Some have packed lunch boxes and go straight to the tables on the right hand side of the room. These have no plates or cutlery on them and are for the packed lunch eaters. The others have plates in their hands and queue at the serving hatch. The lunchtime staff greet them politely and one of them waits at the serving hatch with the children and she takes the plate off a little girl about year 3. The little girl is first in the queue and she moves across the counter indicating the items she wants. The cook is encouraging her to take the vegetables, "Would you like peas or sweetcorn?" she holds a spoonful of each in the air. The little girl states that she doesn't like either of these and the cooks says: "We'll just put you some peas on for you to try a few." The lunchtime supervisor carries the little girl's plate to the table with the cloth on it and places it in front of her. The little girl is joined by the teacher and the first four children from the queue. The queue is starting to get longer and it's impossible to see the packed lunch eaters from the school dinner side of the dining room. The children at the back of the queue are picking at the salad bar and some of the children in the queue are eating the cucumber on their plates while they wait to approach the serving counter. Two older boys are eating their pack up on the table next to me. One unwraps a Kit-Kat and is showing the other. He strokes it and passes his fingers over the writing as though he's reading Braille. This is done to illustrate the sensual nature of the chocolate to the other boy, with lots of "Oohs" and "Ahhs". The other boy laughs! They begin to read out the nutritional information on their chocolate biscuits. "There's lots of fat in it," says one. "You are a taxi," says another. "How am I a taxi?" "A man says, can you call me a taxi…you are a taxi - I get it!! You're a taxi! That's quite good."

The senior supervisor walks over to the table. "You're not supposed to be eating chocolate, that's not healthy for you. Tell your mum. Look what Jack's brought in his packed lunch. He's got an apple. Jack you can have a sticker for bringing an apple." She reaches into her pocket and pulls out a healthy eating sticker with a thumbs up on it and places it on his jumper.

In the previous chapter I discussed the ways in which food practices civilise the body, through the acculturation of table manners. I suggested that these practices can be thought of as governmental imperatives that connect technologies of government with technologies of the self. In this chapter I continue to explore the ways in which food practices, specifically those practices related to school dinners and packed lunches within primary school dining rooms intersect with rationalities of health and nutrition and further how this is both informed by and constructs a particular view of children's bodies as 'risky' bodies on the one hand, and bodies in need of protection on the other hand.

School Dinners and Packed Lunches

As part of the 'Eat Well Do Well' scheme all primary school children were offered a free school lunch which was nutritionally balanced to meet the nutrient standards stipulated by the Caroline Walker Trust (Crawley, 2005). Nevertheless, children could elect to bring a packed lunch from home if they so wished and many chose to do this (about 30-35% of children on average across the city). Studies have demonstrated that in general, packed lunches tend to be higher in fat, salt and sugar than school lunches, (Evans, Greenwood, Thomas and Cade, 2010) something which has since been highlighted by the School Food Trust *Little Book of Goodness* (School Food Trust, 2009). With the introduction of school food standards the School Food Trust claims that "eating a healthy school lunch is the best choice for your child. They will be healthier, more alert, focussed and able to concentrate" (School Food Trust, 2009). Thus school lunches have come to represent health and the best interests of the child in contrast to packed lunches which symbolise food that is not nutritious, is unhealthy and represents a potential threat to the growth and future development of the child. School lunch menus were rotated on a two weekly cycle and were refreshed

on a termly basis, when three or four new items would be introduced and less popular items removed. Children who opted to stay for school dinners were provided with a choice of two main meals along with a vegetarian option, a jacket potato option and a salad bar. A choice of two vegetables was offered every day. Bread was freely available as was water, with other drink options such as fresh fruit juice and semi-skimmed milk available. A school meal also included a dessert, for example, a hot pudding and custard, scone, muffin or flapjack, or a cold dessert such as jelly or mousse, depending on the season. Fruit and yoghurts were available every day.

In some schools the cooks were careful to follow all the guidelines in the recipe books provided by Three Crowns Catering, the school meals provider run by the city council. Recipe books stipulated precise amounts of ingredients, and methods of cooking and preparation and cooks were obliged to attend catering courses and to feedback their impressions and experiences of the menus. Cathy, the cook at Crosby school was very careful to follow these instructions and admitted that she did not attempt to customise any of the dishes:

> Cathy showed me the folder of recipes, each recipe in an individual plastic cover and told me that it has to be prepared exactly as it says in the book. I asked her if there was any room for manoeuvre and she said, none at all. It has to be exact adding, 'my area supervisor would string me up'. Crosby

Cathy also prepared the meals for Cleveland school and these were transported by road on the mile and a half journey. The meals at Cleveland and Crosby were therefore compliant with the recipes given by the council and consequently, with the nutrient standards.

In Lavender Road meals were transported from a nearby local school and were similar in taste and appearance to the meals at Crosby and Cleveland therefore one

could assume that they were also compliant. However, in Rose Hill, Jan, the school cook attempted to improvise with the school meals, using items that were not on the menu, but which she deemed to be healthy and to add flavour to the dishes. As part of the study I worked in the kitchens in Rose Hill and Cleveland and helped to prepare the food.

> To my right there is a bowl of pasta, one of rice, some cooked green beans, some peppers – pre-sliced, packets of fresh herbs, basil, coriander, mint, chives, some watercress, grapes, and cress! In the bowl are apples, bananas, kiwi, pears, oranges, iceberg lettuce, cucumber, celery, carrot, peppers, and tomatoes. C1 tells me that lemon juice, olive oil, salt pepper, dried herbs and spices and low fat mayonnaise are also available. She tells me to make what I feel like, to experiment! We usually make tomato and basil salad, some cucumber etc…So I start off with tomato and basil salad. In all I make, pasta salad with peppers in a garlic mayonnaise, rice and vegetable salad, celery and apple and sultana salad, cucumber (plain) and cucumber in a yogurt and mint dressing, green bean and pepper salad with vinaigrette, carrot with coriander and orange and I think that was it! Rose Hill

Thus the menus may not have been compliant with the nutrient standards, but some of the dishes were in my opinion, among the best of the four schools, particularly the salad bar.

Figure 6 Salad Bar Rose Hill

However, other items on the menu were strongly flavoured, for example the vegetable goulash was extremely spicy, and the fishcakes were very peppery. These items differed from the same items served in the other three schools and were not very popular with the children. In summary, although the meals were intended to be nutritionally compliant with the standards, the variation in items offered at different schools meant that some items may have not met these standards.

Children were not obliged to stay for school dinners and could instead elect to bring a packed lunch from home. Nevertheless, the percentage of children taking up a school meal was regarded as an indicator of success on the 'Eat Well Do Well' scheme. Indeed, the drive to encourage the families of children eligible for a free school meal to register for their entitlement has been something of recurrent feature of school meals policy nationally. Currently, school meals uptake is seen both as one of the indicators of wellbeing in the Ofsted inspection framework and for the overall impact of the School Food Trust and those schools that can demonstrate increased uptake of

school meals are deemed to be achieving better health outcomes for children[9]. While this was not formally an indicator of wellbeing at the time of the study, there was still considerable encouragement locally for schools to increase the take up of school meals, in order to demonstrate the success of the programme and schools were still judged against the Every Child Matters outcomes and the extent to which they promoted healthy lifestyles as part of the Ofsted inspection framework. The School Food Trust is currently running a Million Meals campaign in which schools and other partners commit to promoting the benefits of school lunches in a drive to increase uptake (http://millionmeals.schoolfoodtrust.org.uk/). The website argues the benefits of school meals and provides resources for schools including templates for a letter to parents, and a design tool to generate posters, menus and reward stickers. Thus, there is still considerable encouragement for schools to attend to their school meals provision and to persuade children to select school lunches in preference to packed lunches.

Incentives to Eat Healthily

All schools operated a variety of governmental technologies to encourage pupils to take up school lunches to eat healthily and to conform to expected conventions around food. These included awarding house points, golden tickets and spaces on the golden table. The golden table or top table had a table cloth and often flowers and special beakers and plates. Pupils that had behaved particularly well in the dining room by eating all their dinner, trying something new or exhibiting good table manners for example, were able to sit on the special table with their invited guests. In Lavender Road, pupils who were identified as eating healthily were awarded the golden spoon in an elaborate assembly on a Friday morning. The Golden

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[9] See Rydin, 2007 for a discussion of indicators of as a governmental technology

Spoon was placed on a cushion and paraded through the crowd and the winner was announced by the head teacher. The head teacher would go down on one knee to present the spoon to the pupil as the whole school performed a fanfare with imaginary trumpets. As Holt points out these methods can be regarded as disciplinary techniques "that reward children for achieving expected norms of learning or bodily performance" (Holt, 2004: 20).

In all the schools pupils were encouraged to try the school lunches before making their decisions about whether they stayed for packed lunch or school dinners. Those pupils that tried the school dinners were rewarded with praise and encouragement. The following extracts from field notes illustrate two examples where adults provide rewards for children that eat school meals. In the first example, the rewards are that trying the main course results in being able to eat the pudding. Here, this encouragement is given by a particularly zealous member of staff:

> Mrs. P is one of the adults in the dining room. She comes over to me and tells me that the dinner today was beautiful. It's a shame she says because the children won't eat it. 4 children on her table today didn't touch it and asked if they could start their pudding. She insisted that they could if they tried some of the meat. (It was spicy beef - a kind of beef and mushroom and bacon stew) When they tried it, 2 finished it and the other two at least tried it. I felt that Mrs. P was very proud of herself and that this was regarded as an achievement. Cleveland

> A teacher calls me over to her table. She is sitting between 2 small girls. This is the first time that these two have stayed for school dinners she tells me. I say is it? The girls nod in confirmation and look pleased. She tells them that it looks like a good day to start school dinners because there is chocolate sponge and custard on the menu tomorrow. They look excited and ask the lunchtime supervisor is it sponge and custard tomorrow. I think so says the lunchtime supervisor and she goes to check the menu. Yes, it's chocolate sponge and custard. Lavender Road

In the second example, the girls are motivated by the prospect of chocolate sponge and custard for lunch tomorrow and praised for their wise choice and good timing in starting school meals.

Lunchtime staff in this study exercised a variety of techniques through which to encourage, persuade and cajole children to conform to expectations around food:

> You use bribery, well, not bribery, that's not the right word, you manipulate, don't you? I mean, like [name] today, he's been told that if he doesn't eat his lunch (...) they're given choices and they know the choices. (Lunchtime Supervisor, Lavender Road)

The choices given to pupils in this context inevitably limit pupils' field of action. Thus the choice amounts to pupils' conformity with expected norms, or their acceptance of designated punishments which are discussed in the next chapter. Nevertheless, many of the negotiations around food practices were more subtle than this and involved considerable flexibility on the part of both lunchtime staff and pupils to arrive at agreed solutions, for example, jacket potatoes were eaten as long as the skin was removed, apples would be consumed when they were cut into pieces and pupils would agree to eating one more mouthful if they could then leave the dining room afterwards.

Lunchtime staff were certainly aware that persuasion and encouragement were the only methods available to them and that once these were exhausted, it was children that possessed ultimate power and control over what they wished to eat:

> But I mean, I like send them back once, but if they say they really, really don't like it then, I think, well I'm not gonna sit and force 'em to eat it if

it's something they don't like, you know? (Lunchtime Supervisor, Rose Hill)

In general, the lunchtime supervisors had a different approach to food than the teaching staff. Within the interviews none of the lunchtime supervisors spontaneously raised the subject of health and nutrition, in contrast to teaching staff. While teachers framed their discussion of food around healthy eating, introducing new foods to children and the potential benefits of school meals for children's education, lunchtime supervisor's tended to position food within a discourse of care and welfare. Their concern was for children who were not eating enough food and children they felt may be going hungry at home:

> Spoke to the school cook today about the new menu. She welcomes the return of hot puddings although she says that some of the children will be unaccustomed to eating sponge puddings. I suggest that custard might help with this and she says that custard is a "fillbelly"! (This is a term that the cooks use apparently.) Crosby

> You do, really, yeah, yeah you do, because you're watching them children all the time, more, maybe if they're not getting much at home to eat, you're making sure that they are at school, you know, watch that they're eating more lunch, or make them eat that little bit more or, you know, or if there's seconds, make sure they get seconds down 'em, you know, stuff like that. If they've eaten all their lunch, then I know, when they go home, they've had their dinner and they've had seconds and I think that's ok, at least I know they've had something, yeah. (Lunchtime Supervisor, Cleveland)

From lunchtime supervisors' perspectives, school meals provided a safety net and a basic guarantee that children were at least having one good meal a day. From teachers' perspectives, although this was a concern, their emphasis was on the potential of food to teach children about healthy eating and manners, and the capacity of school meals to support children's learning throughout the afternoon.

Spatial Segregation

As noted in Chapter 6 all of the schools in this study, designated separate dining areas for packed lunch eaters and school dinner eaters, although the extent to which this was enforced varied from school to school. In Crosby and Rose Hill pupils eating packed lunches were required to eat on separate tables, at the top (in Crosby) or bottom (in Rose Hill) of the room.

> The big boy who eats pack up on his own has gone to sit on the farthest school dinner table away from the pack ups. A lunchtime supervisor says Joe, go sit over there with the pack ups. She points at the pack up tables. He gets up with his pack up box which he hasn't had chance to open yet and moves to the pack up tables. He looks very uncomfortable with this enforced seating arrangement and perches on the small red table instead of sitting at one of the main tables. The main tables are crowded with other children of the same age. He sits down alone. Crosby

In Crosby the red table held only two people and was sometimes used to seat children who had misbehaved in school. Nevertheless, in this instance the boy has chosen to sit on this table rather than with the other packed lunch eaters. His reluctance could be due to one of many reasons, but within the context of this school, it is likely that there is some trepidation at being in this area as it was generally here that fights broke out.

In both of these schools the segregation between the packed lunch area and the school dinner area was not always rigorously enforced and on the days when the numbers of packed lunch eaters rose, they were allowed to spill over on to other tables. In Rose Hill, foundation stage children, who dined before the older children entered, were more likely to mix tables as it was not always practical to keep a table for packed lunches and one for school dinners.

However, in Cleveland and Lavender Road the segregation between packed lunches and school dinners was more rigorously enforced as both of these dining spaces were arranged so that material artefacts created a boundary between the two areas. In Lavender Road the boundary between the packed lunch area and school dinner area was demarcated by the queue.

Figure 7. The queue in Lavender Road

The picture above shows the school lunch area to the right hand side of the queue with the packed lunch tables just visible behind the queue. This made it difficult for packed lunch children and school dinner children to mix socially. In Cleveland school packed lunch eaters were in the minority. Throughout the course of the 'Eat Well Do Well' programme, the school averaged 98% take up of school meals, meaning that on some weeks there may have been only 5 or 6 packed lunch eaters in the whole school. Initially, packed lunches were eaten in the 'isolation

room', which was also used as a punishment space for pupils that misbehaved. However, following the trip to Sweden mentioned in Chapter 7, packed lunch eaters dined in the school dining room with the rest of the school. Fig 8 shows the packed lunch table in Cleveland.

Figure 8. The packed lunch area Cleveland

The picture shows the waste table forming a physical barrier between the packed lunch area and the school dinner eaters in the rest of the dining room (the red chairs in the front right of the picture). The waste area on the grey trolleys is where children and lunchtime supervisors place dirty plates and cutlery before they are taken into the kitchen and washed. Plates are scraped directly into large black dustbins to the right of the picture, just out of shot and then stacked next to the blue trays. Empty glasses are placed upside down in the blue trays and dirty cutlery is placed in the shallow grey trays which are half full of soapy water. Children eating packed lunches

sit and face across the whole dining room to witness this. The seating arrangement means that packed lunch children cannot make eye contact with one another without twisting around towards each other as the red haired girl in the right of the picture tries to do. But as previously argued in Chapter 7, turning around while eating one's lunch is not good manners and can result in children being told to sit up straight while eating their lunch. Therefore, opportunities for social interaction are impeded by the seating arrangement and by the position of the waste table, as the extract from field notes demonstrates.

> The waste table forms a physical barrier between the pack up table and the school dinner tables. No child crosses this from either side. The pack up children can go the whole lunchtime without coming past the waste table. They eat their dinner, visit the bin and leave by the door, all on their own side of the waste table. There is no need for them to come into the dining room area at all. There is very little movement of children around the dining room in general. (Cleveland)

In Cleveland school children who stayed for school dinners had little choice about who they wanted to sit next to in the dining room as the social etiquette training meant that they were often directed to particular tables (see Chapter 7). There was no such enforced seating arrangement on the packed lunch tables and children could sit next to whoever they liked. But the lack of children that took up the offer of eating a packed lunch and the spatial organisation of the room meant that this freedom of choice was exercised in extremely limited circumstances.

Policing Packed Lunches

The rules governing packed lunch areas were different to those governing school dinner areas. For example, in school dinner areas one must eat with a knife and fork, one must eat the savoury course before the dessert course and one must dispose of all waste items in the bins provided. Children that ate school dinners were more

able to interact socially and were more likely to move through the space. In the packed lunch area one could eat with one's fingers, and select the items one wished to eat in order of preference. Items that were not wanted could be left within the packed lunch box and taken home. Nevertheless, while packed lunches attracted less surveillance from lunchtime supervisors in some respects, the contents of packed lunches attracted attention.

School dinners were regarded as the healthy option, and therefore the foods selected by children were not subject to the scrutiny of school staff. However, packed lunches were felt to contain inappropriate items and consequently, needed to be monitored by lunchtime staff and teachers. A packed lunch would generally be contained within a plastic packed lunch box, although some children in Crosby carried their lunch unwrapped in plastic carrier bags.

> Rebecca: I do bring pack up some days, but erm, and anyway I'm gettin' a new pack up box soon, 'cos my mum can't afford it now, but I'm getting one soon, in maybe like, a month or somethin'. I don't like it when you have to bring it in a bag 'cos it doesn't look nice and it just makes you feel bad. (KS2 Crosby)

The composition of the packed lunch seemed to follow some general conventions or 'formula'. In general there was a main carbohydrate component which could comprise of a sandwich, a pasty or sausage roll, or a pasta salad for example. An additional savoury item was generally included and crisps were by far the most common example of this. A sweet element was also included for example; cakes, chocolate bars, yogurt or more rarely fruit. Lastly a drink was generally included, usually a fruit cordial, fruit juice, smoothie or milk shake. Some of these items appeared to be understood as compulsory items:

> Jordan - Miss you can't have a packed lunch without crisps in can you? I have sandwich crisps and chocolate bar, and, don't forget, it's got to have a pudding in. (KS2 Cleveland)

While other items were regarded as additional extras, such as cheese, salami, crackers and biscuits. Many of these items could be traded, shared or given away.

> On the pack up table I see one of the older girls offering a Wotsit to another girl about the same age. She offers the packet and her friend takes one. This is a nice gesture. On the pack up table there are plenty of swappable items including crisps, quavers, skips, mini Pringles, biscuits and individually wrapped items. These are all branded products. Crosby

This exchange of food is a profoundly social activity which helps to create and reproduce social relationships and is connected with a range of concomitant emotions such as friendship, affection and gratitude (Lupton, 1996). The packed lunch afforded children to opportunity to do this in a way that school lunches did not and was done both with and without parental approval.

Occasionally, pupils at Rose Hill would bring more unusual items, for example, one pupil brought homemade sushi, another brought falafel and pitta bread and this atypical lunch box content sometimes attracted attention. This may have been because Rose Hill had a greater proportion of international pupils. Nevertheless, this kind of variety in packed lunches created the potential for them to contain 'unhealthy' items such as crisps and chocolate and this meant that they were monitored by lunchtime supervisors and teaching staff.

> Jenny (lunchtime supervisor) comes up to me and says, "This is the kind of thing we have to look out for" and she produces 2 tiny Milky Way chocolate sweets from the front packet of her tabard, holding them in the palm of her hand. I smile and say oh dear! She suspects they are leftovers from Christmas and they just go in the pack up. She doesn't put them in the bin though! (Rose Hill)

> Mrs. C (head teacher) gets up to leave the dining room. She leaves through the door nearest to the pack up table. She stops abruptly near the door and shouts

loudly and slowly, "I don't want to see crisps in pack ups. They are not healthy! Don't bring them anymore!" Her voice is loud and booming and quite intimidating. She stares at the children on the pack up table with her hands on her hips. All goes quiet and she leaves the dining room. She walks very slowly as if to emphasise the gravity of the situation. It underscores her authority I feel. (Cleveland)

Later I am told that in Rose Hill, Jenny would hand these items to the teacher who would then speak to the child's parents about what was appropriate to bring in packed lunches and what wasn't. And yet there was some confusion about what items could be brought in packed lunches and what couldn't, for example, the fine distinction between what was chocolate and what was a chocolate biscuit was difficult to determine.

Oh yeah, yeah, I mean, it is a policy that, no sweets in the packed lunch. You know, if it's a biscuit it's fine, you know, anything, but anything, if it's anything down the sweet aisle, they're not allowed in, but if it's biscuits, you know, things like that, even chocolate biscuits, you know, that's their choice. (Lunchtime Supervisor, Rose Hill)

Policy governing packed lunches was and continues to be, left to the discretion of the school. Because there are no mandatory guidelines schools are made responsible for stipulating what children can and cannot bring in packed lunches and for communicating this to parents. Many schools will write to parents and may distribute leaflets with healthy lunchbox ideas. However, despite employing a vocabulary of support and helpfulness in their communications with parents, schools often find themselves negotiating difficult relationships in which responsibility for the child and the child's best interests are fiercely contested.

Policing the Child's Body – Tensions between School and Home

As previously stated, teachers were expected to broach the subject of unhealthy packed lunches with parents. The following quote is from a teacher in Rose Hill following the discovery of the chocolate in a pupil's packed lunch

A   I do, yeah, I do. But we do try, I mean, the dinner ladies do go round looking at the packed lunches of the children, erm, one of mine had, I think it was six quality street chocolates in his lunch. The dinner lady gave them to me and I gave them to his mum.
Q   Did you have to speak to the mum, then?
A   I had to speak to the mum. I just said that they're not allowed chocolate.
Q   Were you happy to do that?
A   Yes, cos I agree with it. I don't think he should be having chocolate for his lunch. Cos children do tend to leave their sandwiches or leave their apple, and then just eat the sweets straightaway. Teacher Rose Hill

The teacher states that she has no problem approaching parents in this way as it is an area of school policy she supports. She also suggests that if left to their own devices, children will eat all the unhealthy items first and are incapable of regulating themselves with regard to food. This will be discussed below, however, for the moment, I wish to pursue the ways in which parents are positioned in relation to their children's eating habits. It must be noted that within school health literature the gender neutral term parent tends to be used, when in fact it is more likely that mothers are responsible for child feeding (Lupton, 1996).

As Allison (1997) demonstrates, in some cultures the school lunchbox crosses the boundary between home and school and makes visible at least symbolically, the attitude of the mother towards children's wellbeing and education

It is a sign of a woman's commitment as a mother and her inspiring her child to become similarly committed as a student. The *obento* is thus a representation of what the mother is and what the child should become. A model for school is inherent to what is a gift and reminder from home (Allison, 1997:302)

Thus, the composition and care invested in the lunchbox says something about the mother/child relationship and nature of care given to the child. Lunchtime staff were aware that mothers were often concerned about their children going without food at lunchtime.

It's like some of 'em that you see, they've got enough food to last a week! Enough for an expedition! You can't have your child go hungry at school can you? (Lunchtime Supervisor, Rose Hill)

This discourse of care is reflected in some of the resources produced by the School Food Trust;

The Right Choice

Dear parent or carer, I know when your child starts school one of the things of most concern to you is ensuring that they are properly fed. But let me tell you why you need not worry. Over the past few years school food has undergone a revolution. New standards mean it has never been more nutritious or varied. (School Food Trust, 2009:2)

Significantly, while the lunchbox is seen to communicate values and attitudes of the mother, lunchtime supervisors frequently used the lunchbox as a means of communication between school and home.

Lunchtime supervisor 2 tells the Rice Krispie boy to turn around and eat his dinner as one of the other boys approaches her to tell her he doesn't like his Dairylea dunkers. He wants to put it in the bin. "What do you mean you don't like it? Well, take it home and tell your mum you don't like it and then it won't keep going to waste, will it?" He looks a bit despondent and goes back to his seat and puts it in his lunchbox. (Rose Hill)

This incident illustrates the practice of taking rubbish home as a means of communicating the child's likes and dislikes to the mother. In Lavender Road, lunchtime supervisors stated that waste food used to go in the bins, but this is now kept in the lunchbox and taken home to show the parents.

Well, we found that we had that much rubbish and also to let parents know what they're eating and what they're not, if they take home their sandwiches, then Mum'll know. But with the little ones, we do check one or two of them, because they'll say they've finished, and they haven't eaten anything. (Lunchtime Supervisor Lavender Road)

Thus, the lunchbox is interpreted as a means of communication between the home and the school, indicative of the mothers' values and attitudes around childrearing and functional as a means of communicating messages around the child's likes and dislikes. For mothers, the packed lunch may be regarded as a means to monitor more closely what their child is eating. In practice, the swapping and judicious binning of food items means that children are adept at avoiding such surveillance.

Indeed, school meals in general have been used to 'educate' parents about healthy eating constituting an omnipresent governmental technology capable of traversing into the private sphere of the family and home. Current educational policy also highlights the responsibility of parents to ensure that children are adequately fed in order that they achieve academically. In her speech to the Labour party conference in 2005, Ruth Kelly, Secretary of State for Education stated that

> parents should be supporting schools and shaping what is provided for their child. Getting regular information on their child's progress. Involved in deciding what extra help, or challenge, is necessary for their child. But in return, parents must get their children to class – every day, ready to learn. (Kelly, 28th September, 2005)

The opening remarks of her speech indicate the type of mothers that need 'support' in fulfilling these responsibilities. These are mothers from 'disadvantaged backgrounds' living in 'deprived communities' and by definition, Sure Start areas, whose children are eligible for free school meals, attend breakfast clubs or who have special needs.

Crucially these mothers are perceived to lack both the cooking skills and the nutritional knowledge to be able to feed their children adequately and consequently the intergenerational transfer of healthy habits is undermined. Indeed, the need to (re)educate working class mothers is a recurrent theme throughout much of the discourse surrounding school meals as Welshman (1997) notes

> the debate about physical deterioration also raised questions about how many children were malnourished and whether this was due to poverty or ignorance. The author Arnold White criticized the popularity of tinned fish and frozen meat, while Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice was only one of a number of observers who were critical of the cooking abilities of working class mothers (Welshman, 1997:7)

The education of parents is one of the cornerstones of current UK school meals policy with information provided on how to make healthy pack ups, and some schools offering parents the opportunity to attend cooking lessons alongside their children.

> if we teach children about food, they will choose healthier food and educate their parents as well. In disadvantaged areas with Sure Start, mothers and fathers are learning much more about food and food co-operatives are being set up. (Mary Creagh - column 590 Hansard 28/10/05)

It is clear that, not only are school lunchtimes a site for the transmission of social values, but they also reinforce a particular social order which is premised on distinctions of class and gender. Significantly, within this study it was the parents in the poorer areas that were generally thought to have the least knowledge about healthy food and appropriate items for packed lunches. In Rose Hill, the most affluent school, packed lunches were thought to be generally good, with one or two items that needed highlighting from time to time. In Cleveland, Lavender Road and Crosby, all of which are in Sure Start areas, the quality of packed lunches was felt to be inferior.

I don't particularly think the parents' diets, the majority of the parents' diet round here is particularly healthy. It's all mainly processed foods and, you know, not many fruit and veg, I mean, when we've been on school trips before and the children have, they can have a school packed lunch, but generally the parents tend to pack them up with their own packed lunch, and you see the stuff that they've been packed up with and it's just, like, packets of biscuits and crisps and, and, erm, you know, bars of chocolate and packets of sweets and fizzy drinks and it's everything you can imagine an unhealthy packed lunch to be. (Teacher Crosby)

Here, the teacher makes packed lunches synonymous with unhealthy food and there are no redeeming items contained within them at all.

Parental Resistance to 'Healthy' School Dinners

The notion of uncivilised, uneducated mothers and their uncivilised, uneducated children was exemplified through the events at a secondary school in Rotherham in the summer of 2006 and how these were represented in the media. As previously stated in Chapter 3, this event which became known in popular discourse as 'The Battle of Rawmarsh' was a crucial moment in school meals history which involved a standoff between local mothers who were delivering take away food to their children and lunchtime, and the school that had recently introduced a healthy menu and reduced the duration of the school lunch break. Nevertheless, it was the depiction of these mothers in the popular press that was perhaps the most interesting element.
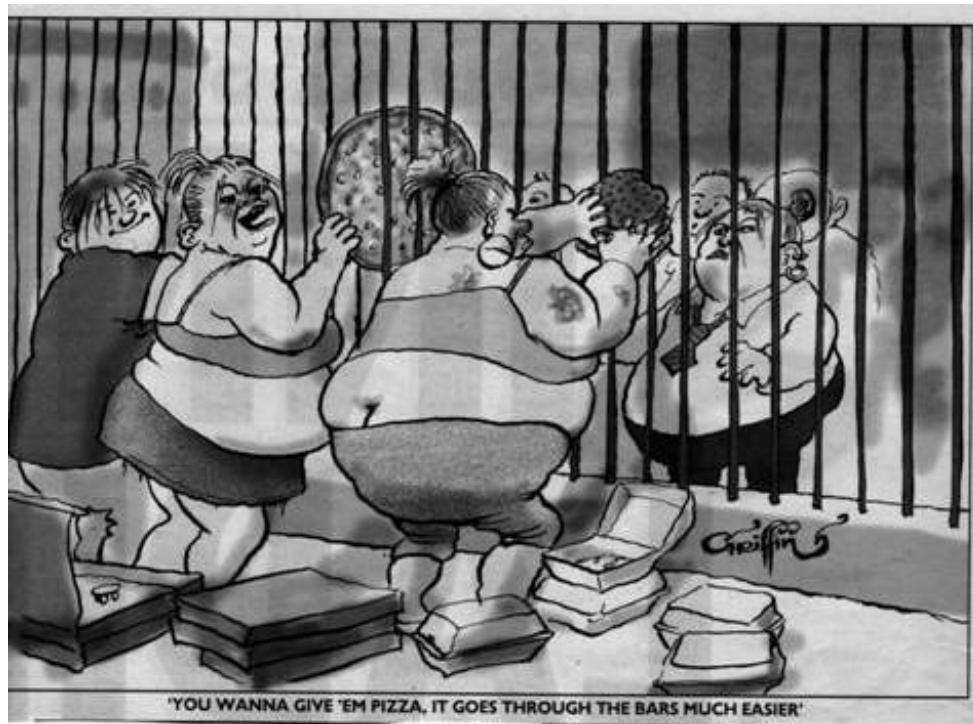
'YOU WANNA GIVE 'EM PIZZA, IT GOES THROUGH THE BARS MUCH EASIER'

Figure 9. The 'Battle of Rawmarsh', *The Sun,* **September, 2006**

The portrayal of these mothers is designed to invoke an affective response of disgust in readers through the use of recognisable cultural signs that mark these women out as working class, for example, the cheap clothes which expose too much flesh, the 'Croydon facelift' pony tails, the tattoos, the huge earrings and of course, the excessive, fat and grotesque bodies. In her article on the Paulsgrove protests, Lawler (2002) analyses representations of the women involved in the protests and argues that notions of taste are central to constructions of white working class femininity. She suggests that particular notions of the body, its appearance, bearing and adornment are invoked through these representations (Lawler, 2005).

The Battle of Rawmarsh demonstrates the ways on which notions of disgust are deployed to portray these mothers as lacking any ability to enforce moral boundaries and guard against excess. The amount of flesh on show in these cartoons clearly identifies the characters as women with a particular licentious attitude to

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sexual relations. Skeggs argues that "When someone is designated as excessive, immoral disgusting and so on it provides the collective reassurance that we are not alone in our judgment of the disgusting object generating consensus and authorisation for middle class standards, maintaining symbolic order" (Skeggs, 2005:970).

> To an outsider, Rawmarsh sounds like hell; a place where fat stupid mothers fight for the right to raise fat stupid children" (Hattersley, *The Times* 24th Sept 2006)

This quotation from *The Times* newspaper, illustrates that these women were deemed to be operating irrationally and that parental rights only exist when parents are compliant with the prevailing orthodoxy around child rearing and healthy eating, an orthodoxy in which school dinners are considered the *only* means of providing a nutritious meal for children during the school day.

Crozier (1998) argues that current emphasis on partnership within education policy is an essential part of the marketisation of education suggesting that partnership functions as form of control and surveillance on parents. She suggests that partnership is frequently informed by teachers' agendas and that this essentially differentiates between those that support this agenda and those that don't. Parents that did not support the aims of the school were regarded as failing to fulfil their parental duties. She suggests that

> Parents' behaviour in terms of 'fulfilling their obligations' was perceived as divergent and that these perceptions were frequently marked out by social class differences. (Crozier, 1998:128)

Thus, middle class parents were felt to be more supportive of teachers' aims than working class parents. School home partnerships she suggests "function in

differential ways depending on the perceived typologies of parents so that for middle-class parents, for the most part it serves as a device to maintain the balance of power between them and teachers and for working class parents it is more a means of social control" (1998:135).

Food and Children's Bodies

The Battle of Rawmarsh occurred around the school boundary, with the mothers transgressing that boundary to deliver contraband items. But the events that played out here spoke to a more profound sense of boundary, that of the boundary between the outside of the children's bodies and the inside. In relation to bodily boundaries Howson suggests that:

> Boundaries are special entities because they are vulnerable, they can be crossed, disrupted, challenged. Therefore, boundaries in any social system have to be policed, guarded and monitored by gatekeepers. (Howson, 2004: 77)

The boundary to the body is indeed something which needs to be policed, particularly in the case of young children who may not always be competent at distinguishing between what is edible and what is inedible. The potential for children to consume dangerous and toxic items needs to be minimised. Thus it is what children put in their mouth that needs to be regulated, as Howson continues to point out.

> Body orifices are especially problematic because they are points or margins over which fluids and substances can cross in either direction, from the body into the social world or from the social world into the body. (Howson, 2004: 77)

According to Lupton, food represents a "liminal substance bridging nature and culture, outside inside, there is a sense of eating as incorporating into oneself" (16; Lupton, 1996). Food is unique in this regard and can fundamentally affect our sense of self as conveyed through the old adage, 'you are what you eat'. Hence children's apparent horror at food items that one should not eat:

> Mollie: Sometimes the meatballs are raw!
> Q: How can you tell?
> Mollie: 'cos, when you look inside them, they look alright on the outside,
> Cory: You think they're ok
> Mollie: Yeah, you think they're ok, but then erm, when you go inside them it's all blood and pink
> All: Euuugh! (KS1 Rose Hill)

> Jordan: I can't eat that curry 'cos it looks like sick. In't it Matty?
> Matty: (laughing) It's disgusting. It's got carrots in.
> (KS2 Lavender Road)

Equally children expressed revulsion and disgust at those things which were deemed to belong inside the body. For example, their horror of scraping plates and of getting too near to the bin was explained in terms of the similarity of its contents to vomit and because children found it difficult to determine whether the food had been chewed up and spat out. The following extract reveals children's profound sense of horror and revulsion when showed pictures of the food waste bin:

> All: Eeeeeugh!
> Christopher: Someone's been sick! (Throws himself on the floor and covers his head) Get it off!
> Connor: Is it the bin, Miss? It's all the rubbish what they've scraped
> Mollie: Look at what, they've spat out. Eeugh! It's all mixed in (pulls face and wriggles)
> (KS1 Lavender Road)

Children's horror of the picture of the bin manifested itself in a range of physical reactions including pulling faces and moving away from the picture, hiding

behind each other and rolling on the floor. This presents an interesting paradox, since the food that is on one's plate at lunchtime is edible and appealing, and yet once in the bin it is transformed into something disgusting, messy and revolting. The capacity of food to become potentially dangerous, contagious, or disgusting means that adults need to be ever vigilant in their policing of boundaries to children's bodies. Where parents fail to do this, by allowing their children to eat 'junk', it falls to schools to police bodily boundaries. Children's bodies require protection.

Food, Health and the Child

In order to protect children and enable them to eventually become responsible for policing their own bodies, children are taught about the benefits of healthy eating. "It is the individual body that makes judgements on what it takes into the body and the self and this judgement of 'taste' becomes crucial to self formation. Moral and medical discourses guide individuals in how best to use food for the individual rather than the collective good" (18; Lupton, 1996). These moral and medical discourses are communicated both through the formal curriculum in Science and Personal Social and Health Education and also through the informal curriculum for example, through posters illustrating how many portions of fruit and vegetables one should eat, what counts as a portion and what counts towards your 5 A DAY. Nevertheless, it was generally felt that more needed to be done to teach children about the benefits of healthy eating:

> A   I imagine most children around here haven't got a dining table. I think the majority of 'em don't eat off a table at all, I think most of them just sit in front of the telly and eat. I know a lot of children who say they've had chips and gravy for tea, stuff like that, and takeaway food. They don't seem to have much concept of what is a healthy meal. We were just talking in the staff room today, saying that we should maybe have a, erm, teach the children more about nutrition from, like, foundation stage, you know, straight off, how important

good nutrition is to your whole body, so that they have some kind of understanding, you know, of why they're maybe encouraged to eat vegetables or fruit or, you know, a balance of foods. (Teacher, Crosby)

Many teachers, lunchtime supervisors and head teachers expressed frustration that although schools were teaching children about healthy eating, this was not always translated into practice or healthy eating behaviours. Additionally, it was felt by some that the teaching did not go into enough detail about nutrition.

A   Yeah, well, I mean, we do a little bit in science, some of the little ones, from 5 to 7, we do a little bit in science within, like, talking about ourselves, but we don't really go into much depth or detail about it really, you know, it's just mentioning things like eating healthily makes you grow and keep healthy and keep fit and strong and makes your bones grow and all that kind of stuff, whereas we don't, sort of, experiment. (Teacher, Crosby)

The emphasis within this curriculum area is on the development of a healthy body. Children's bodies are thought about in terms of their successful future development into adulthood. These kinds of discourses have been heavily critiqued by the new social studies of childhood literature which attempts to recast traditional notions of childhood as something other than a preparatory stage for adulthood, and argues the need to regard children "as human beings rather than human becomings" (Qvortrup, Bardy, Sgritta and Wintersberger, 1994: 4). Nevertheless, while many of these arguments have already won widespread agreement, there are a number of theoretical tensions within the new social studies of childhood highlighted, most notably from scholars working in fields related to children's embodiment. Uprichard (2007) for example questions the extent to which we can focus on children as 'beings rather than becomings' when clearly there is a temporality associated with childhood that will see them mature into adults. Thus, she suggests that we need a theoretical framework that will allow us to consider childhood as a multifaceted stage in which children are at once 'beings' and 'becomings'. Others have suggested that a

theoretical model needs to account for the multiple ways in which the world is experienced through the fleshy materialities of the child's body (Evans and Colls, 2009). This is particularly pertinent in this study in which dining experiences are located very much within the material realm and experienced at a visceral level. However, the meanings which are attached to these experiences and how they are understood by individual actors are framed within the discursive realm. Lupton acknowledges that food and embodied experiences exist pre or non-discursively through physical and sensory experience. But the meaning that we attach to food and embodied experience is constructed by and through discourse. Discourse is defined as "a patterned system of language and practices around phenomena."(Lupton, 1996: 12) She argues therefore that discourse and embodied sensory experience have a mutually constitutive relationship to each other. Children may experience, a range of embodied responses through eating a chocolate bar in a packed lunch, but the meanings attached to such an act will be constituted by discourses such as health, education, mothering and child protection.

In relation to school meals, decisions about what children eat have been taken at a systems level, the precise constitution of their lunch is, to a certain extent, predetermined. Therefore, school meals necessitated a different kind of surveillance from lunchtime supervisors who monitored combinations of food and quantities consumed. Packed lunches on the other hand, involved a far greater degree of agency on the part of the child. Decisions about what to put in packed lunches may be influenced by the individual preferences of children and the number of and combination of items consumed were far more varied and subject to the whims of

individual children. Therefore packed lunches were constantly policed in a more rigorous way.

Children's Likes and Dislikes

Children have up to 5 times more taste buds than adults, but this does not necessarily make them more sensitive to flavour and aroma (Kamath, 1982). Rather, James, Laing and Oram (1997) suggest that while girls have a more highly developed gustatory system at 8-9 years, similar to that of adults; boys are less capable of detecting tastes such as sucrose, sodium chloride and citric acid than adults. Therefore, from a biological perspective, children's tastes may change and develop as they mature. James (1982) argues that foods aimed at children; in particular sweets and confectionary, often involve the enticing of other senses such as sight and touch. Children's sweets are often highly coloured and frequently do not contain packaging in contrast to adult confectionary such as chocolate bars which come individually wrapped. Children's sweets are categorised as low quality mass produced junk, whereas adult confections invoke notions of sensual notions of taste, pleasure, relaxation and discernment. Thus, our conceptions of children's tastes are informed both by biology and by socio-cultural understandings.

In the schools in this study, there was a peculiar paradox in the way that children's tastes were perceived by adults. On the one hand children were expected to choose food items that they liked and once on their plate, children were expected to eat most of it

> Annette leans over a boy who is sitting with his head in his hands and not touching his dinner. He looks fed up. 'What's the matter?' She asks him. He tells her he doesn't like it. 'Well why did you pick it then? She stands with her hands on her hips and shakes her head. She looks over to me and says, 'They

get to choose what they want and half of 'em pick stuff they don't even like!' Lavender Road

However, children did not always trust what was given to them as it did not always look like what they were used to receiving at home. For example, chicken was served in individual breast portions in school, whereas it often came in slices at home. Additionally, children were sometimes surprised to learn about food provenance.

Samantha sits next to a teacher and as the teacher sits down she says, 'Miss, tuna isn't from a fish is it? She sounds a bit worried, like she's eating something she's not really convinced about. I'm guessing one of the children on the table has made some comment to her. Cleveland

However, while children were expected to know what they liked and didn't like in order to select their dinner, when they expressed their preferences, adults did not always believe them.

I hear a lunchtime supervisor say to Jess, now what are you doing? You've just got bread again and you don't like bread. Crosby

Therefore children were encouraged to keep trying foods that they stated they did not like. In summary, children were encouraged to know themselves in relation to their own food preferences and tastes. However, when they attempted to assert this self knowledge and act upon their own wishes and preferences, these were frequently undermined by adults.

Theoretical Discussion

In the material presented throughout this chapter I have attempted to draw together some of the practices that occur within the school dining room and the discourses that circulate within the popular press that endeavour to construct subjects as healthy or unhealthy by invoking particular assumptions about school meals and

packed lunches. This range of material is complex and requires careful analysis in order to make sense of it. I begin initially by referring to the distinction that is made between school meals and packed lunches. I demonstrated that school meals are broadly conceived of as healthy because they are 'governed' by nutritional standards. In Foucauldian terms institutions such as schools are not regarded as a source of power, rather they are regarded as an effect of power. If we wish to determine the source of power in relation to school lunch standards we are likely to be disappointed. The standards were made law by the government, but were developed by the Caroline Walker Trust and supported by nutritional knowledge in which a range of other non government agencies were implicated. The standards were introduced after the Jamie Oliver *Feed Me Better* campaign, but this campaign merely galvanised public opinion and may have had different outcomes had the public not supported it. We may therefore assume that the school food standards came into force as a consequence of different agencies all using different techniques of power to pull in the same direction. However, as the empirical data show, legislating for nutritional standards and ensuring compliance are two different things. Barnett notes that many scholars of Foucault tend to conflate governmental practices with the state which he suggests can "lead to an overestimation of the effectiveness of policy interventions." (1999:373). Indeed, intended policy interventions may not, in reality, be implemented at all. Nevertheless, the examples given in the chapter above illustrate that despite the sporadic compliance with school food standards, school meals are thought of as the healthy option.

The designation of school meals as healthy and the relegation of packed lunches to the status of 'unhealthy other' might be regarded as the result of a range of

governmental techniques and not simply emerging through the application of objective measures such as nutritional standards. The empirical examples throughout this chapter show how normalising judgements are made about packed lunches in comparison to school meals. Within the dietetic and policy literature this is usually done through the application of nutritional criteria. In school dining rooms the separation of the packed lunch area from school dinners can also be thought of in this way. As previously suggested Foucault maintains that discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space (1991a: 141) and is achieved by spatial techniques of enclosure, partitioning, the rule of functional sites and ranking. The packed lunch area is partitioned from other areas, has a designated purpose and is ranked as 'other' in relation to the normative school dinner area. Further it attracts a greater degree of surveillance from lunchtime supervisors who police the contents or the lunchbox which are deemed potentially risky. But, the strategy of separating children that eat packed lunches from those that eat school lunches is a technique which serves not only to differentiate the packed lunch from the school dinner, but also the packed lunch eater, from the school dinner eater. As Lupton (1996) points out, food habits and preferences are central practices of the self and relate directly to an individual's sense of subjectivity. One's choice to eat a packed lunch or a school dinner determines whether one is thought of as healthy or unhealthy.

In *The Politics of Health in the Eighteenth Century* Foucault describes how the health of the population became one of the objectives of political power and argues that this period saw 'the child' becoming the object of medical intervention in what he calls the medicalisation of the family. He suggests that what was at stake during this time was not simply the survival of children, but of "the correct management of this

age of life" (2002e:96). Thus, he argues the ways in which we understood nature and purpose of the family changed.

> The family is no longer to be just a system of relations inscribed in a social status, a kinship system, a mechanism for the transmission of property; it is to become a dense, saturated, permanent, continuous, physical environment that envelops, maintains and develops the child's body (*Politics of Health in the Eighteenth Century,* Foucault, 2002e:96)

Foucault suggests that in the eighteenth century, the family took on the role of nurturing the child's physical development and of essentially of managing childhood. In the context of this study, these comments about the responsibilities of families towards children's bodies are particularly salient since the issue of school meals brings into conflict the role of the state with the role of the family. Viewed in this way, we can see that comments made by teachers and lunchtime supervisors over the kinds of food that parents/mothers feed their children, relate directly to a perceived failure of the family to provide such an environment. By contrast we might regard the resistance of parents, in particular the mothers in the 'Battle of Rawmarsh' as an attempt to establish their authority and their right to feed their child what they feel will best suit their requirements. This battle then, may be more accurately viewed as a battle over children's bodies as part of an overall biopolitical strategy. Indeed, Foucault suggests that power is played out at the level of the body.

It is clear that the treatment that the women of Rawmarsh received and the comments directed at parents of children within the four schools are an attempt to lever different governmental practices. For example, the illustrations of the women in the press invoke discourses of unfit motherhood where the women that do not send their children for school meals are measured against mothers that do comply with the

prevailing nutritional orthodoxy and a normalizing judgement is made about them. They do not know what is best for their children and consequently require nutritional education. Furthermore, their own subjectivity is called into question through the depiction of them as overweight and badly dressed. Lupton suggests that physical appearance and eating habits are linked in that control over eating habits results in physical signs to others over one's capacity or lack of self control (15; Lupton, 1996). Consequently, the women of Rawmarsh are designated excessive. In Foucauldian terms they have failed to master their own appetites, which points to a lack of moral fortitude through their inability to apply techniques of the self.

Foucault had much to say about of eating and of diet in general. Indeed, in the *History of Sexuality Volume 2, The Use of Pleasure* (1992) he devotes a whole chapter to the discussion of dietetics and focusing upon the emergence of dietetics as a therapeutic practice in Ancient Greece. He explored the relationship between diet, exercise and eroticism arguing that for the Ancient Greeks these three were areas of one's life in which one should seek to master in order to live a good life. These were central to construction of the subject.

> It is clear that "diet" itself – regimen – was a fundamental category through which human behavior could be conceptualized. It characterized the way in which one managed one's existence, and it enabled a set of rules to be affixed to conduct; it was a mode of problematization of behaviour that was indexed to a nature which had to be preserved and to which it was right to conform. Regimen was a whole art of living. (101)

Mastery of the self or askesis involved the subject governing her own conduct through a variety of different techniques of the self. The regulation of appetite, avoiding excess, following a correct routine were all practices of the self. In relation

to this project and the empirical material presented in this chapter, we can view the attempts of lunchtime supervisors and teachers within the dining room as an attempt to train children in developing such practices of the self. The encouragements to eat more, to choose vegetables, to choose a school dinner instead of a packed lunch are all invocations to adopt healthy lifestyles in accordance with the latest nutritional knowledge. The eventual aim is that children will internalise these practices so that they will no longer require any external imposition but will be applied by the subject to govern herself. While this may be thought of as a governmental practice which is part of an overall biopolitical strategy, Heyes (2007) maintains that there is some appeal for individuals succeed in applying techniques towards the care of the self. In her study of participants at weightwatchers she witnesses the sense of empowerment that individuals develop as a result of their weight loss. Therefore, as Foucault suggests, the deployment of power in relation to the development of children's practices of the self, cannot be viewed simply as an exercise in domination. Rather it is an attempt to foster children's capacity to know how best to take care of themselves.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to illustrate some of the ways in which discourses of health manifest themselves within school dining rooms. I have argued that school meals have been constructed as healthy and packed lunches as unhealthy through the association of the former with nutritional standards. I suggested that this represents a normalizing judgement in which school lunches are regarded as the optimum choice, the standard to aspire to and that this normalisation is further reinforced by the spatial segregation and added surveillance of packed lunches. I maintain that this has implications for the constitution of subjectivity arguing that

there is a relationship between what one chooses to eat and one's subjective position. This relates to Foucault's notions of technologies of the self in which mastery over the self is seen as one of the crucial elements in subject formation. I have illustrated the effects of resisting these governmental imperatives through the example of the 'Battle of Rawmarsh' and the dominant discourses surrounding parents that do not send their children for school meals. In the next chapter I further develop the theme of resistance when I examine the more overt disciplinary practices and the sanctions that are enforced by adults within the dining room.

Chapter 9: The Disciplined Subject

There are 3 lunchtime supervisors in the dining room, which is almost full of children and there is a moderate level of excitable chatting among the children. 2 of the lunchtime staff are wearing a blue tabard that matches the shade of the children's school uniforms. The third is the more senior lunchtime supervisor and she wears a skirt and blouse with a cardigan. She has very flat, black functional shoes and tan coloured tights. While the other lunchtime staff clear tables and attend to the children, she patrols around the edge of the dining room with her hands behind her back. She walks slowly up to the front of the room and stands directly in front of the serving counter like a police officer. The children at the counter look a little unsure, one little boy has his tray full of dinner and attempts to move from the queue, he falters in front of her, looks up to her and then walks around her. She stands with her hands on her hips looking out across the room with her back to the counter. Most of the children in the room are seated, except those around the peripheries who are queuing up or exiting the room. The noise levels appear to be escalating as more children enter the room. On one side of the room there is a table of year six children and I see one of the girls take a potato from her plate and pass it underneath the table to a boy sitting next to her. "Did she see it?" she asks. The boy is looking over his shoulder towards one of the uniformed lunchtime supervisors who is standing quite close by. "Don't think so," he says. Another boy from year 4 is attempting to make a foray around the edge of the dining room up to the waste bin. He has a plate full of baked beans. One of the lunchtime staff has already sent him back to his table to eat more of the food. He has made a small attempt at this and now looks like he's attempting to jettison the rest of the beans into the bin. Just as he makes it to the bin Annette shouts loudly over the whole dining room "Jordan! Pick that up! In this school we do not throw food in the dining room! If I see you do that again, you're going in the naughty book". Everyone looks at Jordan and the room falls quiet for a few seconds. The year 4 boy dumps the remainder of his beans in the bin and walks hastily out of the door. A teacher approaches Annette at the front counter and speaks to her quietly. As she leaves Annette performs the following routine: she holds her hand high in the air, claps three times, then clicks her fingers three times, and then makes a kind of talking gesture with her hands three times. The effect of this is that the whole room falls silent, and children put down their knives and forks and perform the same set of actions with their hands. The ones that are in the queue or exiting the room remain silent and stand still. Annette announces that everyone must go into the hall after lunch and not into the playground. One of the children asks why, "You just have to that's all," answers Annette. Everyone resumes eating and chatting.

The above vignette illustrates a range of typical interactions and practices that occur within primary school dining rooms. The dining room is often regarded as a noisy and chaotic environment in contrast to the perceived order and structure of the classroom and the lunchtime break is characterised as a period of potential conflict and misbehaviour. Children's behaviour during the lunch break is consequently positioned as something which needs to be managed and improved to avoid potential conflicts (Blatchford and Sharp, 1994). Indeed the current emphasis of the national SEAL (Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning) programme is on managing one's feelings and solving problems. The SEAL programme is designed to work across the whole school day with special assemblies covering topics such as 'getting on' and 'falling out', classroom activities designed to build empathy and lunchtime activities and games. (Department for Education and Skills, 2005)

Yet despite this emphasis on lunchtime spaces as sites for potential disorder, chaos and conflict, it is possible to discern a range of disciplinary practices and techniques which are routinely and successfully employed within this space. In Chapter 6 I explored the logistical organisation of school lunchtimes that produces subjects that are well ordered and governable. In Chapter 7 I discussed some of the disciplinary techniques that are applied in order to produce children as civilised and well mannered. In Chapter 8 I outlined the governmental technologies that relate to 'the healthy subject', both the disciplinary practices that are imposed through networks of power and those technologies of the self which are inculcated in children and young people to produce healthy citizens. In this chapter I turn to an examination of the practices that teachers and lunchtime staff employ to modify and govern children's behaviour more generally and refer to the range of punishments and

practices of resistance which are exercised in more or less strategic ways. This analysis is framed to a large extent by Foucault's work in *Discipline and Punish* (1991a) and in particular the section relating to the production of 'docile bodies', since this is most relevant to the analysis.   According to Foucault the aim of disciplinary practices is to produce bodies that are docile: "A body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault, 1991a:136). As previously stated in chapter 6, this should not imply that the aim of disciplinary practices is to produce bodies that are entirely passive, malleable and dominated. Rather the specific aim of these practices is to produce bodies that are receptive to discipline and that work to become self governing autonomous subjects. So let us explore the range of practices that exist within school dining rooms.

Practices and Techniques – The Signal

Noise levels within school dining rooms were frequently a source of adult anxiety. Both teachers and lunchtime supervisors commented that noise levels increased their stress and contributed to a negative ambience within the space. The level of noise was largely attributed to both the functionality of the space and its design rather than the noise levels emanating from the children.

> Well, it's got better recently but, I think it does well, but it's still too noisy, especially the place where they take their plates at the end, where they're scraping them and round there you've got all the dinner ladies coming in and trying to scrape the plates as well, that's the bit I don't like. (Lunchtime Supervisor Cleveland)

> Well, erm, it's very loud, there's no soft furnishings, and, erm, I think it's not a particularly nice environment, I don't like the colours of the walls and, er, the children's, erm, it's got slightly better recently but, erm, the children tend to sort of like charge around and, erm, you know, if they move a chair it makes a horrible noise and, erm, it's not a particularly nice environment to have a conversation in because everything's so loud because there's no, like,

you know, to absorb any sound, do you know what I mean? There's no curtains or anything like that, it's just bare and a bit horrid really, I don't think it's very nice. (Teacher, Cleveland)

Therefore, it was acknowledged that children's ability to socialise and talk was limited by the physical constraints of the space which served to amplify noise levels. Nevertheless, noise levels were frequently viewed by adults as an indicator of misbehaviour and unruliness and the monitoring and curtailment of noise was one of the goals of the lunchtime staff. Various methods were employed to achieve this. These ranged from simple shushing, and issuing verbal instructions and reminders to keep quiet:

> There are about 90 children in the dining room now, 9 tables of 10, but I'm surprised that it's not noisier in here. Possibly because the ceilings are so high, the noise dissipates. The lunchtime supervisor shouts "SSSHHH" to the room in general followed by "Quietly please!" Rose Hill

to the elaborate finger clicking routine described in the vignette. In this routine the aim was for children to copy the series of gestures performed by the adult and in so doing, become so engrossed in performing the repetitive activity that they are distracted from talking. Children are required to put their knives and forks down while this performance takes place and thus they are required to devote their full attention to the mimicking of the routine.

> Denise instigates the clicking/clapping routine and most of the children put down their knives and forks and repeat her actions. I see a girl still talking and she is nudged by the girl sitting next to her, using her elbows as her hands are visible making the series of necessary actions. The children are generally looking towards Denise, even those with their back to her are trying to turn around to look at her. Some at the counter just carry on getting their dinner. Lavender Road

This routine was also carried out in classrooms by teaching staff and was well established throughout the school. Children were well aware of the necessity to

comply with this routine although they were unable to fully articulate the precise sequence out of context.

> Matty: I think it's annoying when the dinner ladies go erm (raises hands), I think it's finger finger, clap clap
> Jordan: (2 claps and points finger in the air) Quiet! Quiet! (KS2, Lavender Road)

The nature of the signal is arbitrary. The imperative in the clicking routine is about engaging children in the precision of the routine and focussing their attention upon the adult speaker. Children are required to demonstrate that they are paying full attention to the adult speaker by exhibiting the correct modes of bodily deportment, knives and forks down, eyes front, mouths closed. This is done in order to keep noise levels down and to ensure attention is given in order to issue audible instructions.

> Denise claps. I am surprised as it doesn't really seem that noisy to me at all. She holds up a pair of glasses - whose are these she says. Found in the playground. The general hum recommences. She moves around the dining room to the tables nearest the windows. A small boy approaches her and takes the glasses from her. Lavender Road

In other schools technologies such as bells, whistles, tambourines, and cuddly toys are used to elicit the same response from children. Similar techniques are also used in classrooms in the four schools for example, in Crosby the counting down technique was used by Mrs. S in Class 4. Here she began counting backwards from 5 holding her hand in the air and folding down fingers as she went. The first numbers were shouted loudly, but she gradually became quieter until 1 and zero were not said at all but simply indicated by the folding down of fingers. This signal was designed to gradually reduce the noise level in order to ensure that all children become quiet and receptive to instruction.

Surveillance and Patrol

As Smith and Barker (2000) note, spatial arrangements facilitate the surveillance of children by their adult supervisors in a way which ensures that children remain visible at all times. In all schools with the exception of Cleveland there was a very low presence of teaching staff in the dining room. However, as discussed previously in Chapter 7, the mere presence of teachers within the dining room in Cleveland was sufficient to govern the behaviour of children. Nevertheless, the position of the lunchtime staff within the dining room was an important element of the surveillance regime and lunchtime supervisors positioned themselves so that they could watch over the room and their eyes are constantly able to scan the children in all areas of the dining room as illustrated in the vignette at the start of this chapter. Further field notes from other schools also illustrate this point

> Dawn and the lunchtime supervisor have moved back to the waste area and are facing out across the room looking at the counter. There are 3 teachers in the queue at the front of the room near the counter that all face out towards the back of the room and the waste area. Dawn moves to the side of the room and leans on a radiator next to the window. There are adults on every side of the room now all around the perimeter (including me) and a large flat area of small people in the centre. All the people in the centre are seated and all those around the edges are standing. Cleveland

The positioning of adults around the peripheries of the room is an effective surveillance technique in that those children that do not conform to the expected bodily norms and conventions, by moving throughout the space without prior permission, are immediately visible to the lunchtime staff. Tables and chairs are positioned away from the walls so that lunchtime supervisors can patrol the perimeter of the room. Interestingly, in Crosby school, the visibility of children was impeded by the wall which separated the queue from the rest of the dining room and this affected

the kinds of behaviour within the space. Lunchtime supervisors were required to patrol both the dining room and the queuing areas and consequently, the economy of surveillance was undermined as staff to children ratios was extremely low. Indeed on many occasions there was only one supervisor in the whole dining room and understaffing was one of the major concerns for Janet the senior lunchtime supervisor. Thus the expected levels of bodily discipline were not always achieved in this school. The following field notes contrast with some of the experiences in other schools.

> I look over to see Kate besieged by children in the centre aisle. It appears very chaotic. There is screaming and running and banging of trays on the waste table. All I can do is note down one incident after another. Kate is at the top end of the dining room and she looks up from wiping the table and shouts "who's throwing food?" She sounds really angry. She marches over to table 5 and the children stand up and point at each other and start to blame each other. She doesn't get to the bottom of it, but she appears to have made her feelings known..... It's 12.20 and the reception children have left. The dining room has turned into a chaos that is difficult to describe. There are children out of their seats and running up and down the room, some just wander around chatting to each other, food is all over the floor near the waste area and the sound of banging trays ricochets around the room. Children shout and scream and Kate and other lunchtime supervisors do the same. It is so difficult to observe in here because there are incidents kicking off all over the place. 2 girls are out of their seats fighting at the pack up tables outside the doors to the cupboard. Kate comes and parts them as they are locked together in a wrestling pose. Crosby

This extract should not be read as illustrative of 'bad practice' and is not intended to represent a judgement of the children and lunchtime staff within the school. It is merely an example of the kinds of practices that can occur within a space which does not readily facilitate the surveillance and monitoring of children's behaviour by adults.

In Rose Hill the space did not facilitate patrolling around the perimeter; to the left of the room was the queue, to the right there were stacks of benches, and at the

top the salad bar, dessert and drink tables and the waste tables. The lunchtime supervisors tended to occupy spaces at the top, bottom and centre of the room. Thus the peripheral spaces were less observed and became one of the more commonly used spaces of resistance:

> You know, there's some that stay every day regardless, and, you know, every day, every week, you see the same thing and they try and scrape it away and the ones that go down that side of dining hall, like you haven't seen 'em![laughs]. (Lunchtime Supervisor, Rose Hill)

As previously mentioned in Chapter 6 the queue was something which required frequent monitoring and surveillance in order to ensure that members of the queue conform to the expectations of behaviour. In Lavender Road and Rose Hill it was common for teachers to push to the front of the queue, while in Crosby teachers were very seldom present in the dining room. In Cleveland teachers did not push in the queue and their presence functioned as a means of controlling the queue and ensuring its efficient operation.

> A teacher is in the queue with the children and is positioned towards the back of the line. From this position she is able to see all of the children in the queue and to monitor their behaviour. She talks to some of the pupils as the queue moves up. Cleveland

In this extract the teacher is able to monitor the behaviour of all of the children in front of her, without them knowing precisely who was being watched at any given time. This technique was frequently employed by lunchtime supervisors in other dining rooms such as Rose Hill and Lavender Road where lunchtime supervisors positioned themselves behind children so that they could watch over many individuals simultaneously. Children were frequently reminded to face the front, stop turning around and to watch what they were eating.

I am distracted by a lunchtime supervisor shouting, "Eat your dinner, turn around and eat your dinner!!" Very loudly! A girl in the queue walks past the pack up table and reminds one of the diners to eat their sandwiches too. Lavender Road

In this extract it is significant that the instruction is repeated and mimicked by one of the pupils as children become attuned to regulating each other. Nevertheless, in directing children's attention away from the gaze of lunchtime staff by repeatedly requesting them to turn around ensures that children must all act as though they are being watched. Additionally, when children all face away from the gaze of lunchtime staff it becomes easier to identify those that are up to no good since they are usually the ones that look round to make sure no-one is watching them.

Incentives

Not all of the techniques employed to govern children's behaviour involved the threat of punishment. Lupton notes that disciplinary techniques around food and manners in particular, are less likely to centre upon the fear of retribution and violence and more likely to revolve around the concerns of children to please adults.

Individuals were regulated from childhood and developed fears, both conscious and unconscious, of failing to behave 'correctly' related more to the displeasure of others than to physical threats (Lupton, 1996:20)

Children's desire to please adults was evident in the practices they undertook voluntarily to gain approval, such as cleaning tables, stacking chairs and serving drinks to younger children (see Chapter 7). This often resulted in praise from adults for being helpful, kind and doing as you are told:

> Denise is walking around the dining room telling children not to drop food on the floor. This has been brought up in an informal way earlier while talking to Chris. Mandy just mentioned that the 'pack ups' were dropping a lot of food on the floor. And she had to do a lot of wiping of tables. Denise says "Ok, no food on the floor, no rubbish, put it all in the bin" As she passes one girl she adds "good girl thank you" Lavender Road

In some instances lunchtime staff informed teaching staff of good and bad behaviour so that teachers were able to reinforce praise or punishments within the classroom. These included the awarding of house points within the classroom in Rose Hill, and being given a golden ticket in Cleveland. More frequently, it resulted in the receipt of praise from the teacher. Verbal praise was often an important motivator for children's actions. But perhaps even more effective was the use of incentives and rewards. As mentioned previously in Chapter 8, the golden table in Lavender Road school was effective at promoting healthy eating and good behaviour among children because of the tangible rewards that were received of being able to avoid the queue, having special dining privileges such as juice, a tablecloth and flowers and selecting a teacher as a dining companion.

Therefore, incentives to behave well could include the demonstration of approval by adults, a tangible and material reward such as stickers, chocolate biscuits or a place at the golden table. For lunchtime staff the use of incentives and rewards was a central behaviour management technique. Holt notes that while teachers are involved in more authoritarian disciplinary practices, ancillary staff such as classroom assistants practice less overt strategies of power (Holt 2004). However, as Gallagher suggests this may be the result of pupils' more sophisticated practices of resistance (Gallagher 2008). Let us now turn to explore the ways in which pupils resist attempts to regulate their behaviour.

Negotiation

Mayall (1994) explores children's lived experiences within the school and the home setting with reference to children's agency as social actors, suggesting that children's ability to negotiate power relationships within these settings is broadly dependent upon adult constructions of children and childhood. That is to say, children are more effective social actors within the home setting because mothers are less likely to view children solely as a project of socialisation reflecting instead upon previous experience and allowing children to negotiate within the intergenerational contract. In the school setting teachers are necessarily concerned with the socialisation of children, which although couched in terms of children's independence is a project which can never be fully realised since children never reach maturity at school. She argues that rather than the goal of children's independence, the aim of teachers can more accurately be described as "conformity with school norms, both academic and social" (Mayall, 1994:122).

> A: You often don't have time to sit and listen to them when you're in the classroom, you know, they've always got something to tell you, but there's never really the opportunity 'cos you're always teaching something and they're responding to what you're teaching them rather than something that's gone on at home. It's the same when you're on the playground, playground duty, they always come and talk to you about all sorts, whereas in the classroom they don't.
> Q   Is that a good thing, do you think? Something you value?
> A   Yeah, yeah, definitely, yeah, yeah. It's always good on playground duty, or in the dinner hall, it's a good time to actually get to know the children more, you know, as little people rather than, you know, just little learning vessels [laughs]. Teacher Crosby

This teacher articulates the obligation implicit within pedagogical relations to treat children as recipients of learning and she welcomes the opportunity to get to know more about her pupils 'as little people', with social lives, experiences, thoughts and feelings that exist outside of school. This position is in marked contrast with the

views of lunchtime staff who often live in the same communities as the children in their schools and frequently interact with them beyond the school boundary. It was a common feature of lunchtime supervisors' accounts to discuss the reactions of children to seeing them out of context, in the supermarket for example. But in the following extract the lunchtime supervisor discusses how this knowledge of children's lives beyond the school gate can influence interactions in the dining room, often resulting in the protective treatment of those deemed vulnerable.

> A   Actually, there's a family of, erm, there's five, five in the school, the oldest girl, she been coming for, she's eleven, and I remember them when she was a baby, they used to live not far from me, well, the same street as me, and I remember how she was tret as a little 'un, the things she had to do and this, that and the other, so I knew her when she came, when I came here and she was in the school, I knew exactly how they, well (.) most of them lived with their dad, some lived with their mam, but I remember how she was. Erm, but you do have a different attitude to 'em, you do try to make up for it. (Lunchtime Supervisor, Crosby)

Significant within this extract is the discourse of care for the child. It is this knowledge of and concern for individual children that differentiates lunchtime supervisors' accounts from teachers who frequently referred to their pupils as 'their class'. This ability to take account of individual needs and preferences meant that lunchtime supervisors were more likely to be subject to negotiations and appeals by children that were not characteristic of teacher/pupil interactions. These kinds of negotiations around individual needs were commonplace in relation to food preferences.

> Lunchtime supervisor 2 tells me that some of the children are allergic to particular foods. 'There's the gluten, that some of 'em can't have, erm. Lactose intolerant is another one. But there's not many and we know who they are.' She points over to one girl and tells me that she can't eat dairy. I feel a bit uncomfortable that she's singled her out. Rose Hill

Nevertheless, negotiation was not the only method that children had of resisting adult authority.

Resistance

In relation to food, the most frequently observed practice of resistance was the bringing of a packed lunch. In the previous chapter I discussed the normative position of the school meal which was lauded as emblematic of the healthy subject. Conversely, the packed lunch was relegated to the status of unhealthy other and consequently, those children that did eat packed lunches could be regarded as unhealthy subjects. Those children that continued to bring a packed lunch represented a challenge to the dominant notion of healthy school meals. Packed lunches attract the additional scrutiny of the lunchtime supervisors who must police the contents. In the previous chapter I highlighted the disciplining of a child who brought crisps in a packed lunch at Cleveland school. The following extract from field notes illustrates that in this particular game of power, despite the fact that the girl had been explicitly told not to bring crisps again, she defies the edict of the head teacher entirely,

> I look over to the pack up table and notice the little girl from last week who was told about her crisps. She sits and eats a packet of Walkers salt and vinegar. She turns to face the dining room rather than the younger girl who sits next to her. Cleveland

It could be argued that it cannot be assumed that this was resistance on the part of the child. It may be for example that the child did not relay this information to the parent and the inclusion of the crisps was merely an oversight. Yet it is unlikely that the head teacher would view this incident in such a way and punishment is likely to be swift and effective.

Children also refused to adhere to adult hegemonic assumptions around the meaning of food. Where adults became accustomed to viewing food in terms of its nutritional value, children frequently resisted these definitions viewing food in terms of its material qualities and its potential as a play material.

> Meanwhile, on the pack up table boys are creating a fight between the bottle of water, a cereal bar, a cheese string and a carton of Capri sun. They fly through the air, met in the middle and fall to the ground with an explosion. Rose Hill

This type of practice often resulted in reminders from lunchtime staff to stop playing with food and start eating.

Where practices of negotiation failed, some pupils attempted to resist the will of lunchtime staff in three ways: by avoiding surveillance; ignoring lunchtime staff or confronting them directly. The most frequently deployed strategy was to avoid the surveillance of the lunchtime staff in an attempt to get to the waste bin and deposit unwanted food. In some cases pupils would make two or three forays before being successful:

> He went up for seconds! Apparently, I didn't see, but apparently he was being cheeky behind my back, but I didn't know that, so. But if I'd seen that, that's when he would've got time-out, I'd have said 'no I'm not taking that'. (Lunchtime Supervisor, Lavender Road)

As previously mentioned the peripheries of the dining room were often used to escape the surveillance of lunchtime staff as these were the least visible parts of the room.

> Across the dining room there are two small boys sitting alone on a big table. One is eating his pudding before his main course. He is doing this while looking around to check where the lunchtime supervisors and teachers are. He

eats very quickly and furtively. He notices me looking at him and he hesitates. The other boy on the table is laughing and he resumes eating his pudding. I notice that Dawn is approaching at the same time he does. He puts his spoon down and starts to eat his main course just in time. This was a feat of careful surveillance and spot on timing. Cleveland

Avoiding surveillance was also necessary in order to sit near friends as the extract from Lavender Road school demonstrates:

Q: So can you sit where you like in the dining room?
All: No
Daniel: Not always, but if you, erm, if you want to sit near yer mates, what I do, right, is I slide under the table, I put the dinner on the top er, on the table and slide under. To the, to the other side. They can't see you then. That's what I do sometimes (KS1 Lavender Road)

The presence of 'micro-spaces', under the tables facilitated the avoidance of

lunchtime supervisors' gaze. This space could be used not only for moving from

space to space within the dining room, but also for swapping food items with

neighbouring children and for displaying contraband items:

3 boys sit in a line together at a table and the middle one has cards that look like pokemon cards. They look through the cards really quickly and keep looking up every couple of seconds to see if they are being watched. It seems inevitable that they will be discovered with the cards. They are so obviously furtive. They look like they are trying to see how long they will get away with it for. I'm assuming that cards are not allowed in the dining room. They continue to shuffle through the massive amount of cards and the middle boy drops them on the floor. All disappear under the table to pick up the cards and they emerge at different times with cards in their hands. Dawn shouts erm, put those cards away. They gather them up and the middle boy puts them away. Cleveland

And for episodes of outright defiance

A   Well, usually it ends in getting a teacher to come because (.) restraining, you can't do, so, have to get a teacher. An incident happened last week and I went and got like the, well, she's not the deputy but, she just moved into deputy and I got her to come and take the child out with for me cos he just folded his arms and he kicked off under the table. (Lunchtime supervisor, Cleveland)

In using the space under the table, the child in this instance made it difficult for adults to remove him. The space simply does not physically accommodate an adult's body.

The use of micro spaces that exclude adults is a phenomenon noted by Smith and Barker (2000) in their study of out of school clubs, where the building of dens enabled children to exclude adults, establish their own rules within their private space and avoid the surveillance of adult care workers.

Another strategy was simply to ignore the requests of lunchtime staff. Field notes frequently demonstrate children being asked to comply with the rules of the dining room with varying levels of success. This was notable in terms of seating arrangements and correct bodily deportment.

> A lunchtime supervisor tries to direct a boy to a table. He has just entered the dining room with his flight tray and he is walking towards the right hand side of the dining room. She shows him a place on the left hand side of the dining room. He ignores this and goes off to the seat he had originally intended on the right hand side. Crosby

This strategy tended to be employed in the busier dining rooms where lunchtime staff were under pressure and easily distracted by other tasks. In dining rooms such as Crosby, requests for compliance were rarely followed up.

Finally, the least frequent strategy observed was that of directly challenging the authority of lunchtime staff. In Crosby, rules regarding conduct in the dining room were frequently flouted as children defined their own expectations around bodily conduct. Attempts to regulate the space often failed in the face of direct challenges from children.

A boy on the pack up table launches a package at the bin and successfully lands it! A girl next to the pack up table is trying to climb up the pipes on the wall. A boy in the middle of the dining room is pretending to be an aeroplane. He is challenged by the lunchtime supervisor and he just shouts back at her. Field notes, Crosby

In all but Rose Hill lunchtime staff spoke about being hit, kicked, punched, having fingers bent back, being spat at, sworn at and children threatening to get them the sack. These events came over long careers working in schools but clearly remained important to lunchtime supervisors.

The Positions of Lunchtime Staff

As Mayall (1996) suggests, responsibility for the physical wellbeing of children is frequently assigned to staff of lower status within schools and reflects the greater value attributed to the former element of the Cartesian dualism of mind and body. Lunchtime supervisors can be visually identified as low status workers as they are required to wear a uniform. In Cleveland and Rose Hill the uniforms were fairly smart tabards or polo shirts and fleeces for outside, in the school colours. Thus, visually at least they were distinguishable from teaching staff and administration staff who did not wear uniforms, and more closely associated with pupils who wore uniforms in the same colours. In Lavender Road and Crosby lunchtime staff wore old fashioned checked nylon overalls which buttoned over their normal clothes. These are usually worn by cleaners and were referred to as 'granny coats' by the lunchtime staff. In part, the low status afforded to the role may be symptomatic of its close associations with mothering in which the skills needed to perform these duties are regarded as innate female qualities requiring no specific training or qualifications to carry out effectively. However, in some cases, mothering skills were not seen as a valuable resource at all. As one head teacher put it, her lunchtime staff were 'just mums off the

estate with poor academic backgrounds, escalating behaviour issues by shouting, with poor attitude to discipline'. Here, a particularly classed notion of motherhood is invoked with all the accompanying moral assumptions around deficient parenting (Lawler, 2005). It is the association with motherhood and the development of personal rather than professional relationships with children that is perceived to undermine the authority of lunchtime staff.

> but it's very difficult once you're friendly and matey to go back the other way and I think it would take a really long time for the dinner staff to get the same, er, the same sort of, the same sort of like relationship, but maybe they don't want that. Maybe they're happy as it is. I just think that that familiarity, it just ends up, you're just making a rod for yourself, really, cos when you say, 'no stop, I'm being serious now, stop', the children, er, they don't have the ability to sort of like change their attitude, I don't know, so. But maybe (.) but also, you know, the dinner ladies, they tend to get quite angry quite quickly, er, and aren't as measured, maybe, in their responses as I or other staff might be, so. Teacher, Cleveland

In general teaching staff regarded lunchtime staff as well meaning but lacking the necessary skills to maintain discipline and order. As Lawler points out, working class women are frequently constituted and reconstituted as 'lacking' in relation to middle class motherhood and middle class women are constantly required to distance and distinguish themselves from the working class in a bid to maintain their subjective status (Lawler 2002). In the quote above it is the familiarity of the relationship between lunchtime staff and the children that is cited as the reason that discipline and order is not maintained over lunchtime. However, it was also clear that teachers regarded the ability to maintain order and discipline as something intrinsic, stemming from an innate ability to command respect and a product of their individual ontology. For example, in what follows a teacher discusses her preferred approach to managing seating and queuing arrangements in the dining room and how effective this would be in maintaining pupil discipline:

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Q: So do you think that's because you're trained as a teacher, that you know what to do with them?
A: No, I think it's because of my views. (Teacher, Cleveland)

In many cases, teachers felt that lunchtime staff simply had a different view of pupils and this accounted for their failure to maintain order. While lunchtime staff acknowledged the difficulties in maintaining order, they were more likely to attribute this to structural and organisation factors such as the increased ratio of pupils to staff over the lunchtime period, the lack of respect for lunchtime staff and the limited sanctions that they were able to apply when pupils behaved inappropriately. Increased staffing ratios meant that lunchtime staff could not undertake effective surveillance to ensure order was maintained, the lack of respect meant that they were challenged more often than teachers and the limited sanctions they could apply meant that they had to rely on the support of teaching staff to implement more rigorous punishments. In the majority of cases, lunchtime staff did not feel that they received adequate support from teachers regarding the enforcement of punishments for inappropriate behaviour. These factors were summed up with the often-repeated phrase "I don't have to listen to you, you're just a dinner lady" (Pike, 2010b).

Punishment

There were a variety of punishments that lunchtime supervisors could administer for different types of transgression. As previously stated, when rules were broken in the queue or going up to the queue, children were frequently sent to the back or asked to queue up again. Punishments frequently involved the manipulation of space and time to produce a detrimental effect for the errant pupil. In spatial terms, pupils were often separated from each other when they were falling out.

A   I mean, mostly it's the playground, you know, if it's in the playground we use the line but if they're not nice in the dining hall, if something, well, we separate you know, when there's two parties, they're kept separate anyway, sat on separate tables, so they don't get to each other, and then when they come outside, they're made to stand in the line for five minutes, think about what they've done, you know, and their behaviour, and then the class teacher is told. Rose Hill

The separation of individual perpetrators from the rest of the pupils was commonplace and for those who had committed more serious offences there was frequently a place in the school or playground in which they were made to stand – a kind of 'sin bin' or 'naughty step'. In Crosby and Rose Hill there was a line in the playground which functioned as a disciplinary space. In Lavender Road there was a space outside the dining room by the window. Pupils were made to stand motionless in these spaces and 'think about what they have done'. This was usually done during playtime so that the punished were excluded from taking part in play activities. This lack of motion within the busy playground environment rendered them peculiarly visible. Other children were able to witness the punishment and identify offenders by their presence on the line or by the window. Some children were made to stand outside the staff room (Lavender Road) or by the head teacher's office (Cleveland). These places were particularly boring and were places where pupils would be visible to passing teachers. Thus they were exposed to the constant questioning of what they had done wrong to warrant the punishment and made to constantly recount their offence. Some of these spaces were still open to resistance though as pupils at Lavender Road pointed out

Chris: It's better though innit, when you get put by the staffroom, 'cos you can muck about an' that. You do though, don't you?
Matty: Yeah, you can run down the corridor and no-one sees you (KS2 Lavender Road)

Other methods that included the manipulation of time included having time taken away from activities that they would enjoy such as golden time. Golden time was a scheduled weekly period in lesson times in which children could choose whatever activity they wished to do. Children could have golden time removed in 5 minute units for misdemeanours or could be excluded from golden time altogether. Additionally, they could earn back golden time by demonstrating good behaviour. Thus time was a very precarious resource that could be taken away at any point. Children could never be certain that any event would actually happen since everything was subject to them displaying good behaviour.

In some instances decisions over punishments were deferred resulting in increased anticipation of which particular punishments might be administered. For example, in Lavender Road having one's name written in 'the naughty book' could result in reduced golden time, or in having to see the head teacher or it may not result in punishment at all. Some children felt that 'the naughty book' was overused by the lunchtime staff who prevented children from enjoying themselves with their constant appeals for quiet:

> Megan: (claps twice) Right! You're reeeally gettin' on me nerves now, You (points) you're in the book, Joshua Wellings (points) you're goin' in the book, Megan (points) you're goin' in the book, you're not bein' quiet so you're goin' in the book. (KS2 Lavender Road)

As illustrated in the example from Rose Hill, reflection was a common feature of many punishments as children were encouraged to stand on the line and use this time to think about the series of events that had lead to their particular punishment and the part that they played in it. Sometimes part of this reflection involved admitting their guilt and saying sorry to the offended parties.

> 3 small children come in looking very sheepish. 2 boys and a girl. They approach Judy who is stacking chairs. We've come to apologise says the little

girl. What have you got to apologise for says Judy. I haven't done anything says the girl but these two threw stones at the windows. Judy tells them oh dear and that they should apologise to the ladies in the kitchen.
The go up. The 2 boys have heads down, one has his bottom lip out and they make their way to the counter to apologise. I ask Judy what this was about.
She tells me that when the machines are going in the kitchen you can't hear what's being said on the phone so you have to stick your head out of the window to hear. These little boys had thrown stones at one of the cooks on the phone. (Cleveland)

Apologies were frequently regarded as good enough, demonstrating that the offender had understood precisely how they had broken the rules, and implying that they would think twice before committing the offence again.

The rules of conduct which governed particular school spaces were often written down to remind children of the behaviour that they were expected to demonstrate. Rules were written in classrooms, playgrounds and in dining rooms. A popular tactic was to co-opt children into devising their own rules in the belief that if they had developed their own code of conduct, they were more likely to comply with it. In Crosby, these rules were written on a piece of paper and blue tacked to the wall.

The dining room has bare painted walls with few displays other than two anti-bullying posters made by pupils with phrases such as 'no hitting and kicking' 'no punching' written in a list form. Little care has been taken in the construction of these posters. There are no drawings. The words are simply written in marker pen.

The lack of professional presentation of these rules serves to underscore the difference between the professional environment of the classroom and lack of care afforded to the dining room environment. Ironically, this may have served as a visual reminder to pupils about their lack of safety in the space, a common theme during interviews with pupils who sometimes employed strategies such as sitting with friends in order to avoid being singled out:

Rachel: Sometimes I feel alright in there when I'm sat with all my friends, 'cos nobody can come to you and start picking on you. – (KS2, Crosby)

Andrew: And sometimes, they block you from telling miss don't they?
Stephen: But when they threaten you that you're gonna get brayed[10], some people don't like to tell the dinner ladies
Andrew: But what I do is I trick 'em. I put my hand up and then, when they say "are you telling on us?" you say "No, I'm just seeing if I can, I can get a fork". You know? - (KS2, Crosby)

Therefore, some of the punishments and disciplinary measures were welcomed by children who felt threatened by the lack of surveillance and the potential for rules to be flouted by other children.

Theoretical Discussion

There are a variety of disciplinary techniques illustrated in the examples given. The first example of the finger clicking routine in Lavender Road is reminiscent of Foucault's discussion of particular technologies that are used as disciplinary instruments in what he refers to as a process of "signalisation" (Foucault, 1991a: 166). Here he describes the signal as an injunction which punctuates the activities of the school child and which requires no explanation or formulation and no understanding of the injunction on the part of the child. The signal simply indicates that a prescribed series of responses must be demonstrated by the child. Citing Boussanelle he states,

> The first and principal use of the signal is to attract at once the attention of all the pupils to the teacher and to make them attentive to what he wishes to impart to them. Thus, whenever he wishes to attract the attention of the children, and to bring the exercise to an end, he will strike the signal once. (Foucault, 1991a:166)

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[10] Brayed is a colloquial term meaning physically attacked

As previously stated, pedagogical relations are replete with these types of signals that are designed to attract the attention of large groups of children. This kind of disciplinary technique is directed at groups rather than targeting individuals and is effective in disciplining children in three stages. First: it directs them to act upon themselves by remaining silent directing attention towards the speaker; second it alerts them to the forthcoming issuing of an instruction, third it renders them receptive to the instruction. Thus, the subject is not only rendered 'docile' in the instant that the signal is issued but also is simultaneously prepared for future compliance with whatever instruction may follow.

One of the most effective techniques for governing groups of individuals is the use of surveillance. Foucault suggests that the exercise of power always involves a cost, which is both political and economic. In contrast to monarchical power which carried out violent and horrific punishments upon a fraction of the criminal population, surveillance emerged as a highly efficient disciplinary technique which controlled large groups of people at minimal cost.

> There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself – (Foucault, 1980b: 155, *The Eye of Power*)

Surveillance is therefore a cost effective disciplinary practice in that it aims to produce subjects that are self regulating and that behave *as though* they were being observed even when this may not in reality be the case. Surveillance therefore may be an effective technique in the dining room where staff to child ratios are extremely low. Thus, as demonstrated in the examples given above, the actions of lunchtime supervisors are designed to facilitate a greater degree of surveillance, for example,

how they position children's bodies, how they position their own bodies and how they direct children's gaze away from their own inspecting gaze. The actions of children on the other hand are shaped to a certain extent by efforts to avoid surveillance, for example, by using peripheral spaces or micro-spaces to avoid detection. This has implications for the ways in which subjects make use of the spatial aspects of dining rooms to govern and resist. Foucault himself suggests that architecture is not only built to be seen "but to permit an internal articulated and detailed control – to render visible those who are inside it" (1991a: 172). Indeed he uses the example of school dining rooms to illustrate this suggesting that they contained a 'slightly raised platform for the tables of the inspectors of studies, so that they may see all the tables of the pupils of their divisions during meals' (1991a: 173) In this instance the material organisation of the dining room features a raised platform constructed in a panopticon arrangement, to ensure the maximum visibility of pupils from a singular vantage point.

Nevertheless, there is no guarantee that disciplinary practices are always effective as Foucault himself acknowledges:

> The analysis of power-mechanisms has no built-in tendency to show power as being at once anonymous and always victorious. It is a matter rather of establishing the positions occupied and modes of actions used by each of the forces at work, the possibilities of resistance and counter-attack on either side. (Foucault, 1980b:164, *The Eye of Power*)

This language of occupied positions, forces, resistance and counter attack represents a view of power mechanisms as constantly contested, reinforced and renegotiated. This is certainly true of events in the dining room where different actors are brought into contact with other actors in combinations that may not exist at other

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times and in other spaces within the school. These kinds of resistant practices may be thought of as strategic games between liberties where individuals have a number of courses of action available to them that are to a greater or lesser extent constrained by other actors. In all of the examples presented above, individuals may choose to how they wish to behave in relation to the actions of others. Power is operationalised merely to constrain fields of action and to foreclose particular modes of action by making them less desirable than others. In this way, we can see that we cannot simply assign adults to the position of powerful in relation to children. Adults within schools are themselves subject to a range of controls, from other adults within schools, from head teachers, from Ofsted inspectors and parents. They are held accountable and their fields of action are shaped by others. Additionally, as many lunchtime supervisors commented, there was a perception that children are now increasingly aware of their rights and one allegation of impropriety from a child would result in their instant dismissal. Some children they suggested, were acutely aware of this and used this power to attempt to manipulate lunchtime staff.

In relation to the punishing of children Foucault suggests that teachers must avoid the frequent use of punishment making rewards and incentives more frequent. Indeed, punishments that were overused by lunchtime staff were felt to be less significant, as Megan explained in relation to the naughty book. However, some forms of punishment were highly effective and these tended to involve the manipulation of space and time. Foucault's assertion that discipline proceeds from the distribution of bodies in space relates not only to the ways in which space is fragmented into territorial sub units as described in Chapter 6. It also refers to the means by which individuals are punished, for example, by isolating individuals and separating them from others. This technique is an individualising tactic which at once

differentiates the perpetrator from other subjects and visibly identifies them as different. For those whose behaviour has deviated from the expected norm, they are separated from the rest of the school and made to stand silently in isolation. These spaces are usually selected for their visibility. In the playground 'the line' functions to make visible the perpetrator as an example to others in a way that is reminiscent of Foucault's discussion of the spectacle of the scaffold (1991a). But additionally, in placing the individual in the playground, what is made visible to the pupil is the variety of activities that have been denied to her, through her own actions. This is the perfect place to consider and reflect upon her actions. This is indeed one of the requirements of the punishment, that such reflection occurs, as illustrated in the quotation from Jenny in Rose Hill. Children are made to stand on the line and think about what they have done. Foucault suggests that

> To declare, aloud and intelligibly the truth about oneself – I mean, to confess – has in the Western world been considered for a long time either as a condition for the redemption for one's sins or as an essential item in the condemnation of the guilty (Foucault, 1993: 201 *About the Beginnings of the Hermeneutics of the Self*)

As illustrated in the examples given above, the confession of guilt and the subsequent apology is also a significant feature of the punishments that are meted out for transgressions in the dining room. Children are encouraged not only to reflect upon what they have done, but to confess it, to admit that it is wrong, to seek salvation (see Besley, 2005 for a discussion of truth telling and moral education in schools) This is a theme that Foucault pursues in much of his work around technologies of the self where he suggests that self knowledge is fundamental to the care of the self. In order to take care of oneself, one must first come to know oneself, and this involves not only the act of reflection, but also the act of speaking. One must 'speak the truth

about oneself' (Foucault, 1988b). Undoubtedly, this form of power that encourages us as individuals to know ourselves and to speak about ourselves is different from the technologies of power that are external to the subject. And while the latter form of power can be used to produce empowered and agentic subjects, Foucault does not suggest that these more overt strategies of power can be simplistically equated with negative forms of power, where technologies of the self applied by the subject to the subject are equated with more productive and positive forms of power. Indeed, as Barnett (1999) points out, to suggest that power can be productive is not the same as suggesting that it used for good. The latter example in Crosby shows, in some cases children welcomed the intervention of adults to discipline children, since this often resulted in feelings of safety. In short, in knowing that they were unable to hit, kick or verbally abuse other children, they could feel certain that they would be protected from such actions by others.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has attempted to outline some of the more overt disciplinary practices that act directly upon subjects to limit their fields of action. I have described some of the practices of resistance that occur in relation to these practices and how space is implicated in both the governing of subjects and how space is utilised in tactics of resistance. I have suggested that both time and space feature as elements of punitive practices and compare the techniques used to punish children in schools with the techniques described in Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1991a). I maintain that school dining rooms represent a site in which power relations are contested and as such, traditional conceptions of power as something which can be possessed by

individuals and organisations to force the actions of others are inadequate to explain the social relationships that   occur within the space.

Chapter 10: Discussion and Conclusion

In this final chapter I attempt to draw together the arguments presented in the preceding substantive chapters and to relate this analysis to the literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3.Through this analysis I will endeavour to elucidate the common themes emerging from the substantive chapters of the thesis. Initially I begin with a summary of Chapters 5 to 9 before proceeding to discuss the main arguments in relation to the literature. I conclude by suggesting some of the limitations of the research and some potential future considerations for further research in this area.

A Summary of Chapters

In Chapter 5 I introduced the concept of spatiality to illustrate the relationship between spaces and the socio-cultural practices that occur within them. Here I argued that school dining rooms cannot merely be regarded as a passive container for human activity and that spaces and the organisation of material artefacts within them, are both constituted by and constitutive of particular social practices and sets of relations. I also suggested that the school dining room represents a neglected area of enquiry within the emergent field of the geographies of education. This omission would seem to be at odds with contemporary policy rhetoric in which the potential for school dining as a vehicle for learning is accentuated. Nevertheless, I maintain that exploring school dining rooms as 'nested spaces', is fundamentally problematic because of its association with hierarchies of scale and its inability to account for space as contained within 'porous' boundaries . Thus I resist attempts to argue for school dining rooms to be re-examined under the rubric of geographies of education as a 'legitimate' space of education. Instead I propose a 'site ontology' approach to explore the relations

between school dining rooms and other spaces, educational and otherwise and the means by which specific rationalities underpinning discourses and practices associated with school meals are made visible within the context of the space. For the remainder of the chapter I provide a detailed account of the dining spaces in each of the schools.

This overview provides the context for discussions of the logistical organisation of school dining in Chapter 6. Here I focus upon the temporal and spatial organisation of school dining elucidating my analysis of these practices with examples from Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*, arguing that the very organisation of lunchtimes produces governable subjects that are rendered 'docile' through spatial and temporal strategies. I focus specifically on one of the most significant elements of logistical organisation in terms of the governing of children's bodies within the space – the queue. I suggest that the queue can be regarded as a governmental technology par excellence that relies on subjects' understanding of and acceptance of rules governing its function in order for it to operate effectively. Nevertheless, while the queue attempts to produce subjects that are capable of self-regulation, it is also overseen by the sovereign power of the lunchtime staff within the dining room.

In Chapter 7 I turn my focus towards the production of the civilised subject through the inculcation of table manners. I demonstrate how these notions of civility are bound up with discourses of the family meal and supported by particular rationalities of childhood. This analysis is discussed in the context of some of the new social studies of childhood literature which illustrated that 'childhood' is a socially constructed category configured around notions of the child both as innocent and as

evil. In this chapter I focus upon specific techniques of government where children are encouraged to conduct their own conduct through an adherence to conventions around eating. I demonstrate how these expected norms of behaviour are communicated spatially.

In Chapter 8 I continue to explore Foucault's notion of the technologies of the self arguing that one's decisions about food represent a practice of the self that is fundamental to the construction of the subject. Here I refer to the discourses surrounding the 'Battle of Rawmarsh' and the ways in which notions of food and taste were deployed within the popular press to construct the mothers as disgusting, immoral and excessive. I highlight the ways in which children's bodies are constructed through discourse as risky in terms of their capacity to become obese and diseased, and that this potentiality threatens not only individual children's bodies, but constitutes a biopolitical threat on a population level. I suggest that this problematisation of children's bodies justifies a variety of dietetic interventions and that this manifests itself in the juxtaposition between packed lunches and school lunches that works to construct the healthy subject and the unhealthy other. I demonstrate how the spatial configuration of school dining reinforces this distinction through the separation of packed lunch areas from school dinner areas.

In Chapter 9 I return to a consideration of some of the more overtly disciplinary techniques used by adults within the school dining room to regulate children's behaviour. I elucidate this analysis with reference to Foucault's discussion of the panopticon and the spatial implications of the deployment of surveillance as a disciplinary tactic. Nevertheless, the empirical examples used in this analysis

demonstrate that power cannot be understood as something which is possessed by adults for the purposes of dominating children and correcting their behaviour. Rather, my analysis of these practices highlights a network of power relations, between teachers, lunchtime supervisors, and children in which subject relations are constantly renegotiated and reworked.

In Chapters 6 and 9 my analysis draws heavily on technologies of power, while Chapters 7 and 8 refer to the development of technologies of the self. But as Foucault suggests, these technologies seldom operate in isolation and governmental practices can be thought of as the point at which these kinds of technologies converge around the subject as I have demonstrated throughout the thesis in my discussion of the queue for example. While the queue may be thought of as a means to distribute bodies in space, a technology of power that determines the conduct of individuals as I have argued in Chapter 6, it also operates to produce subjects that voluntarily apply a variety of techniques of the self to regulate their conduct and transform themselves into 'civilised' subjects. The queue may therefore be regarded simultaneously as a technology of power that mobilises particular technologies of the self.

The school dining room is replete with an array of different governmental technologies of which the queue is merely one element. The spatial and temporal organisation of the dining room, the rota system, the behaviour managements techniques, seating arrangements, surveillance systems and punishments all work in synchrony to create a space which produces disciplined and governable subjects as my work has demonstrated throughout the substantive chapters of this thesis. Embodied within these tactics of government are particular forms of knowledge about the problem of governing children and securing the health of the next generation that

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Foucault terms the rationalities of government. These rationalities work through an array of different instruments of government, which deploy governmental technologies and operate within specific discursive fields. When these elements come together in a strategic way they might be thought of as a governmental assemblage, which as Rabinow and Rose (2003) suggest, tend to be formed initially at least as "responses to crises, problems or perceived challenges to those who govern" (Rabinow and Rose, 2003:11). In the case of school dining rooms, the specific crisis in question is a biopolitical crisis.

In Chapter 2 I provided an outline of Foucault's conception of biopower as a concern with man-as-species and suggested that a range of techniques including epidemiological forecasting and old age pensions are concerned with the preservation and management of life itself. The assemblage of governmental techniques around the issue of school meals then, might be conceived of as a biopolitical strategy which aims to secure the future health of the nation through the provision of standardised nutritious 'healthy' school meals. As outlined in Chapter 3, 'our nation's future' (See Blair, 2006) became problematised as a result of epidemiological statistics which appeared to demonstrate an increase in the rates of childhood obesity. Extrapolated from this was the prospect of risk of an increase in obesity related diseases such as early onset diabetes, cardiovascular diseases, cancer and stroke. This was a legitimate area for government intervention because of the cost to the state of treating such diseases. This problematisation of children's bodies provided a legitimate rationale for government intervention and created a discursive field in which to situate a raft of different policy interventions. As I demonstrated in Chapter 8, this biopolitical strategy was enacted within the school dining room. When the future health of the

nation is at stake, the imperative to require children to eat their school meals is afforded a certain moral legitimacy.

Power and Resistance

Throughout this thesis I have attempted to illustrate the ways in which power might be regarded as productive. Through various techniques, the normalising judgement, spatial techniques of separation, isolation and partitioning subjects are produced as individuals. Children are encouraged to think about their own bodies as individuals, for example, what I like to eat, what I don't like to eat, to reflect upon their own behaviour and confess their guilt while being subjected to 'time out' style punishments, to compare themselves to a field of others and to identify deficiencies in their conduct which require amendment, for example, better manners, straighter posture, remaining silent. These practices indeed constitute subjects as individuals. But in thinking about power as productive of individuals, I am mindful of the tendency to equate the terms productive and repressive with binaries such as positive and negative. As shown in Chapter 9, power may be exercised to repress those individuals that seek to attain physical dominance over others. Thus, while the individual in question might experience such attempts as the negative repression of her ability and desire to injure or abuse another child, for other actors, this might be a positive and protective expression of power. Similarly, while subjects may be produced, this should not be taken to mean that such subjects necessarily conform to a dominant moral code or ethos that might constitute them as 'good citizens'. The capacity of power to produce subjects should not be read intrinsically as a good thing, it is merely a characteristic of power. Foucault is unequivocal about this when he describes the pedagogic relationship.

> We all know that power is not evil!....and let us take, as another example, something that has often been rightly criticised - the pedagogical institution. I see nothing wrong in the practice of a person who, knowing more than others in a specific game of truth, tells those other what to do, teaches them, and transmits knowledge and techniques to them. The problem in such practices where power – which is not in itself a bad thing – must inevitably come into play is knowing how to avoid the kind of domination where a kid is subjected to the arbitrary and unnecessary authority of a teacher, or a student put under the thumb of a professor who abuses his authority. I believe that this problem must be framed in terms of rules of law, rational techniques of government and ethos, practices of self and freedom. (Foucault, 2000: 298, *The Ethics of the Concern for the Self as a Practice of Freedom*)

Equally, then any analytics of government must avoid the tendency to valorise resistance regarding it as automatically a good thing. In the discussion of resistance in Chapter 9 I have outlined some of the means of resistance that children use routinely within dining spaces in primary schools. In Chapter 8 I demonstrate the resisting practices of mothers in relation to school meals with particular reference to the 'Battle of Rawmarsh' in Rotherham and I relate this to the ways in which decisions to send children with packed lunches are recast as moral decisions which oppose the dominant nutritional thinking about school meals and children's health. In both of these examples, resistance is characterised as a reactive force, which is mobilised in response to the deployment of power. But Foucault also offers us another model of resistance which is more proactive in his ideas around the 'care of the self'. In Chapter 2 I outline Foucault's conception of the care of the self through the application of particular technologies of the self in order to develop self-mastery or askesis. This theme is pursued again in Chapter 8 as I argue that school practices around meals can be regarded as attempts to encourage children to develop certain technologies of the self that transform them into healthy subjects. In producing oneself as a subject and applying techniques that guide the individual in the art

of living, there appears to be a greater capacity for individual autonomy and for the creation of subjectivities that are actively resisting. Technologies of power may operate by limiting the field of action, but technologies of the self offer the potential to open up new fields of action, sometimes discursively, but also perhaps creating new ways of relating to the self. The Health at Every Size Movement is a good illustration of such resistance which not only reacts to particular technologies of power, for example, fat discrimination and national child measurement programmes. It also seeks to fashion different subjective positions which recast the fat subject in a positive way, establishing new modes of language and discourse and encouraging individuals to develop different relationships with their bodies and themselves.

But how are we to view such forms of resistance in relation to children's subjectivity? The issue of children's subjective formation is problematic since children have traditionally been thought of as adults in the making, as not yet occupying positions as full subjects. Much of the new social studies of childhood literature is characterised by constant pleas to regard children as subjects in their own right. But what does this mean? I would suggest that this is an invocation to regard children as agentic subjects capable of making sense of their worlds, of acting within them and as subjects that are worthy of academic study. But this view does not fully grasp some of the complexities of subject formation. For Foucault, there is never a point at which subjectivity is fully formed, it is constantly adapted and transformed, and does not represent a coherent whole. Therefore, children cannot be regarded as fully formed subjects, because such a thing does not exist. What is more relevant in this

discussion is Foucault's suggestion that those individuals that are deemed incapable of managing their subjectivities through the rational application of technologies of the self in pursuit of self mastery, are routinely subjected to additional technologies of power that seek to shape them as rational autonomous subjects. Children are regarded as such individuals because they are perceived to be in still learning these ways of managing themselves as individuals, they are still in training. Nevertheless, what we can say is that the ways in which children's subjectivities are understood discursively, as incomplete, incompetent social actors, provides a legitimation for the kinds of disciplinary practices which are enacted at the level of children's bodies. Therefore children's capacity for resistance is almost always reactive because they are subject to greater controls through the application of technologies of power and this may affect their abilities to forge their own subjective positions by practicing different kinds of technologies of the self.

Site Ontology

In Chapter 5 I argued that Schatzki's notion of 'site ontology' might provide a useful vantage point from which to explore the practices in school dining spaces. I would like to return to this theme to briefly discuss the usefulness of this approach. My work has attempted to demonstrate the ways in which practices of school dining are influenced by a variety of elements that might be thought of as external to the school. For example, the influence of the media, the legislation governing school food standards, wider discourses of mothering and ideas about child development and health. However, I suggest that it is fundamentally problematic to regard such phenomena as external to the school dining room, since the very distinction between

internal and external suggests a materially bounded entity as a discrete and separate unit. As I have demonstrated throughout this thesis, not only are school dining rooms permeated by events in the media, such as the 'Battle of Rawmarsh' or Jamie Oliver's *Feed Me Better* campaign, they also influence practices and events across school spaces and between sites. For example, events that happen in the dining room may be brought to the attention of class teachers to punish the child within the class room as suggested in Chapter 9 the signal used in the dining room in Lavender Road school was also used in other school spaces. At Crosby school the adoption of elements of the Social Etiquette Training programme initiated in Cleveland school might be viewed as a transmission of techniques of government between sites as I suggest in Chapter 7. Therefore, I maintain that school dining rooms cannot be theorised as discrete entities precisely because of the degree of intra and inter-site transmission of techniques of government. The site ontology approach has allowed me to think spatially about the relationships between the dining room and the rest of the school and between different sites. This type of approach is sympathetic to analyses of governmentality as Foucault provides the conceptual tools to allow us to "cut reality in a different way" (Rabinow and Rose, 2003:9). However, I do not wish to imply that such an approach merely facilitates the analysis of a horizontal slice of micro-level interactions within the dining room. Rather school dining rooms are conceived of as a node within a network of site relations embedded within particular systems of thought and beliefs. Thus throughout this thesis I have argued that the ideas relating to nutrition, children's bodies, family meals and manners for example, do not exist 'out there', rather they are enacted, modified and contested within the school dining room space.

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I have also demonstrated how we can view the dining room as an educational site both through its connections with school curriculum areas such as PSHE, science, maths and literacy, and through its position as a site of informal learning through which hegemonic values around family meals and table manners are communicated. Here, my intention was to trace the relationships between the site of the dining room and the rest of the school site. Therefore we can regard school dining rooms as a site which has connections and discontinuities between a range of other sites in network of relations which does not privilege the perspective of one site over another, and might equally be explored from a different vantage point.

It is tempting to endeavour to suggest that the government having imposed the school food standards has made the school dining room a more miserable space in which lunchtime supervisors are forced to encourage children to eat healthy food which they do not like. Conversely, there may also be a temptation to suggest that school dining rooms are now health promoting settings which actively encourage children to eat nutritious food that they may not have access to elsewhere. Such positions rely on a conception of the Government as a source of power and ignore the roles of the subject, the space and the plethora of governmental instrumentalities that uphold, contest, resist and transform the way we think about school meals and governing children. They implicitly suggest that by simply replacing one approach with another, the problems of power would be overcome. Furthermore, such a view upholds the hierarchy of scale view, implying that policy is formulated 'out there' and implemented 'in here'. It implies a linear relationship between policy formulation and how it is taken up within school dining rooms. Such an approach, I think overlooks

the relationship between the different elements of governmental assemblage and the relationships between different sites and their wider contexts.

Nevertheless, this should not be taken to mean that school dining rooms are so fluid that they can only be understood relative to other nodes within a network of relations. Each individual dining room studied within my research had very specific culture that was peculiar to that site. In Cleveland the implementation of SET marked it out from other dining rooms, the separate queuing area in Crosby was a unique feature, the newness of the dining room in Rose Hill and the sporadic compliance with the nutritional standards made the cultures of dining specific to this site, and the signals in Lavender Road were unique to the school. Therefore, site ontology has allowed me to think about these dining rooms as bounded materialities invested with specific practices and cultures that are distinguished by porous boundaries through which relationships with other sites are generated.

Contribution and Directions for Future Research

As stated in Chapter 5, geographers of education have tended to overlook the school dining room as a site worthy of study. It has not been regarded as a space of education and located rather as a space which deals with the physical requirements of school feeding. Nevertheless, in using site ontology this study has demonstrated the connections between the school dining room and other sites and as such contributes to this body of literature and perhaps opens up other fruitful areas of enquiry. The concept of site ontologies would be a potentially productive avenue for other geographies of education; in particular, it might be applied to multi-agency settings such as children's centres to explore the relationship between these and other sites.

From my own perspective, there is greater potential to explore the relationships that schools have with the wider community in light of the recent requirements for schools to promote community cohesion. This might be explored through the example of the 'Battle of Rawmarsh' where the boundaries surrounding the school were breached by the mothers much to the chagrin of the head teacher. This forces us to consider how we might conceptualise the school boundary as something which must be policed in order to ensure the 'right' kind of interactions between schools and communities take place.

Future research needs to take account of the microphysics of power, and I would suggest that Foucault's governmentality thesis provides a framework for such analysis. I have suggested that by and large, geographers have been slow to take up Foucault's ideas, and have criticised him for a lack of theorisation around space. Indeed there are many issues around scale, between ways of thinking about micro-spaces and nation states that are yet to be resolved. However, I believe that such an accusation would not have troubled Foucault too much, for what he does provide is sufficient to advance our understandings of the relationship between space and subjectivity, and it was the genealogy of the subject which was his main concern. Through his work on governmentality, he provides a theoretical toolbox which may offer geographers some potential for thinking about the ways in which school spaces are configured to produce particular relations of power and how this relates to dominant rationalities of schooling.

Conclusion

This thesis did not aim to make recommendations about whether school meals are good or bad, how they might be improved or how we might encourage children to eat them. Rather it sought to explain how particular subject positions are constructed within the school dining room and the kinds of subjects that are produced through interactions between actors, within the setting and the spatial organisation of the school dining room. I have attempted to include children's voices in this discussion, in the hope that we might learn something from their perspective which I take to be as significant as any other perspective within the dining room. This strategy has not been undertaken in order to 'empower' children, since I would suggest that the concept of 'empowerment' is based upon a fundamentally flawed set of assumptions about the nature of power relations and the capacities of the human subject. Additionally, I would suggest that simply representing children's voices does nothing to destabilise existing power relations. The decision to include children's voices was taken in order to better understand the relationships between actors in the setting, and this included lunchtime supervisors, teachers, head teachers, school cooks and children. However, the aim of this thesis was not merely descriptive. Throughout the thesis I have attempted to make clear the operations of power within the school dining room so that those who experience the shame, confusion, fear and victimisation alluded to in the preface, and those whose moral character is called into question, such as the women of Rawmarsh, might be better able to resist such practices that problematise and denigrate their subjective positions. Such an aspiration is neatly summed up by Nikolas Rose.

In describing the contingent conditions under which that which is so dear to us

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has taken shape, such investigations enhance the contestability of regimes of authority that seek to govern us in the name of our own good. Whatever their methodological and conceptual differences, then, these investigations share with Marxism and critical theory a profound sense of unease about the values that pervade our times. They share a suspicious attention to the multitude of petty humiliations and degradations carried out in the name of our own best interests. They do not try to put themselves at the service of those who would govern better. Rather, if they have a political function, it is to strengthen the resources available to those who, because of their constitution as subjects of government, have the right to contest the practices that govern them in the name of their freedom. (Rose, 1999:60)

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Appendix 1 - Ethics Approval

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ETHICAL PROCEDURES FOR RESEARCH AND TEACHING
IN THE
FACULTY OF EDUCATION

PERMISSION TO PROCEED WITH RESEARCH: ETHICAL APPROVAL.

Reference Number: 04/061

Name: Jo Pike

Programme of Study: PhD

Research Area/Title: An ethnographic study of lunch-time experiences in
                                          primary school dining rooms

                                          (Investing in Our Future: an evaluation of the Hull
                                          City Council healthy school meals programme)

Image Permission Form   Received (or N/A if no images)

Name of Supervisor: Derek Colquhoun

Date Approved by Supervisor: 18 May 2005

Date Approved by Ethics Committee: 18 May 2005

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