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Why Teach (young) People how to Cook? A critical analysis of education and policy in transition

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Acknowledgements

Declaration

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Abstract

The thesis explores the purpose of cooking education. The impetus for the research question - why teach (young) people to cook? – was the introduction of the 1988 National Curriculum for England & Wales. This changed the content and pedagogy of cooking education from a home and practical focus to an industrial and technological focus. Literature searches found little academic research into the purpose of cooking education. The research therefore set out to map the entire policy and pedagogical rationale(s) for what it defines as Food and Cooking Skills Education (FCSE). The research applied a dual focus on FCSE: as food policy and as pedagogy. A multi-method methodology was adopted, using a food systems conceptual approach, in order to capture the depth, range and breadth of possible rationales for FCSE. Methods used were: historical and documentary analysis, semi-structured interviews, questionnaire survey and an international comparative survey. Five qualitative studies were conducted: (1) a historical account of FCSE in England and Wales since the industrial revolution; (2) a survey of young people's experience of cooking education in English schools; (3) a questionnaire survey of UK food industry FCSE perspectives; (4) an international comparative survey of thirty-five countries' FCSE policies and pedagogy (including Scotland & N Ireland); and (5) élite interviews of policy-makers and activists from state related and civil society sectors. The five studies provide the first account of FCSE's role and purpose, whether taught formally or informally. Seventeen rationales were identified, of varying emphasis. Historically, FCSE was found to have generated different purposes at different periods, with the modern era encompassing them all, and environmental sustainability now emerging. Internationally, countries vary in their modes of food cultural and skills transmission. A consensus of the importance of FCSE was recorded. The thesis concludes with nine cross-cutting themes exposed by the studies, which are presented as a preliminary theory of the purposes for and against cooking education. These include: food control, food literacy, skill types, culinary diversity, public health, resources, pleasure and environmental sustainability. Recommendations for policy and further research are made.

Key words:

Cooking education; Cooking pedagogy; Cooking education purpose; Food and cooking skills; Food literacy; Food policy

Abbreviations and Acronyms

A Level Advanced level

AfL Assessment for Learning

AGM Annual general Meeting

AO(s) Assessment Objective(s)

AQA Assessment and Qualifications Alliance

AS Advanced Subsidiary

AT(s) Attainment Target(s)

ATDS Association of Teachers of Domestic Science

BBC British Broadcasting Company

BNF British Nutrition Foundation

BOE Board of Education

CCEA Council for the Curriculum, Exams and Assessment

CDT Craft Design and Technology

CFP Centre for Food Policy

COMA Committee on Medical Aspects of Food and Nutrition Policy

CSO Civil Society Organisations

CWT Caroline Walker Trust

DATA Design and Technology Association

DCSF Department for Children, Schools and Families

DE Domestic Economy

DECC Department of Energy and Climate Change

DEFRA Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

DENI Department of Education for Northern Ireland

DES Department of Education and Science

DfE Department for Education

DfES Department for Education and Skills

DHSS Department of Health and Social Security

DIY Do It Yourself

DoH Department of Health

DS Domestic Science

DT Design and Technology

DVD Digital video discs

DVR Digital voice recorder

EB English Baccalaureate

EBPM Evidence Based Policy Making

EFTA European Union Member States Free Trade Association

EOC Equal Opportunities Commission

ERA Education Reform Act

EU European Union

FCS Family and Consumer Sciences

FCSE Food and Cooking Skills Education

FDF Food and Drink Federation

FFLP Food for Life Partnership

FN Food and Nutrition

FNBE Finnish National Board of Education

FoE Friends of the Earth

FSA Food Standards Agency

FT Food Technology

GCSE General Certificate of Secondary Education

GHG Greenhouse Gas Emissions

HAD Health Development Agency

HE Home Economics

HEC Health Education Council (England)

HERO Home Economics Related Occupations

HET Health Education Trust

HMI Her Majesty's Inspectorate

LEA Local Education Authority

LMS Local Management of Schools

MAFF Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food

MBO Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs

MEXT Ministry for Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology

Abbreviations and Acronyms (continued)

MHLW Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare

MoE Ministry of Education (Iceland)

N/S Not Specified

NACNE National Advisory Committee on Nutrition Education

NATHE National Association of Teacher of Home Economics

NC National Curriculum (England and Wales)

NCC National Curriculum Council

NCD Non Communicable Disease

NFA National Food Alliance

NGO(s) Non-Governmental Organisation(s)

NHS National Health Service

NI Northern Ireland

NRAEF National Restaurant Association Education Foundation

NUT National Union of Teachers

OCR Oxford, Cambridge and Royal Society of Arts

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

Ofcom Office of Communication, Television and Radio regulators

OFQUAL Office of the Qualifications and Examinations Regulator

OFSTED (latest title) Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills

OFSTED (original title) Office for Standards in Education

PC Personal Computer

PE Physical Education

PLTS Personal, Learning and Thinking Skills

PoS Programme of Study

PSE Personal and Social Education

PSHE Personal, Social and Health Education

QCA Qualifications and Curriculum Authority

RMT Resistant Materials Technology

RQ Research Question

RQAS Actor Specific Supplementary Research Question

RQS Supplementary Research Question

RSA Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce

SCAA School Curriculum Assessment Authority

SNAG(s) School Nutrition Action Group(s)

TAC Task-Action-Capability

TV Television

TVEI Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative

UK United Kingdom

UKTEC UK Technology Education Centre

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

US United States (of America)

ET Vocational Education and Training

VMBO Voorbereidend Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs

WHO World Health Organisation

WJEC Welsh Joint Education Committee

WW1 World War One

WW2 World War Two

Preface: Researcher's background and interest

In 1973 the researcher arrived as a first year trainee teacher at one of the few (and now extinct) teacher training colleges specialising in Home Economics (HE); namely, Battersea College of Education, London. Theoretical and practical training was given to enable the researcher's cohort of newly qualified teachers to disseminate practical cooking skills and knowledge about food and nutrition to secondary school pupils in subject specific HE lessons. At the time, training and pedagogy in HE was geared towards contemporary families, the members of which McGregor (1997) suggests, were perceived as being predictable, measurable, controllable and passive and thus able to be moulded by 'experts' using appropriate methods and skills. The principle behind such training and pedagogy was that informed, rational people would act upon information supplied to them by a teacher ('the expert') to achieve self-interest; and HE teachers were trained to teach young people to be good cooks and consumers, without it being considered necessary to raise awareness or appreciation of the ramifications of their choices, purchasing decisions and actions. The perceived wisdom was that when young people were taught how to prepare and cook a particular recipe by viewing a demonstration followed by practical repetition, or the theory about which foods they should eat in order to achieve a healthy balanced diet, they would go away and forevermore put into practice what they had been taught. Therefore, the value of food education and, in particular, practical cooking lessons in that format was regarded and defended by its practitioners as incontrovertible and its practice continued.

During a subsequent teaching career in secondary schools, the researcher also delivered cookery courses in adult education, eventually lecturing in professional cookery and nutrition at a further education college for adults. During an earlier career break to raise a family, the researcher undertook regular voluntary work teaching cooking skills to primary school-age children, became and continues to be a school textbook author for Food and Nutrition (FN), has conducted some research into food education and food provision in schools, and is currently employed as a full time FN teacher in a State secondary school for boys. Observation of, and participation in the dynamics of contemporary food culture and education over these four decades, have gradually challenged the researcher's assumptions about the teaching of FN. A natural and professional inclination to view the acquisition of cooking skills as a vital life skill for everyone requires critical consideration in terms of the relevance, appropriateness and educational value for contemporary society, policy and food culture of promoting FN, and the pedagogical style and curriculum content that influenced the researcher's professional cohort and early career in this field of education.

Introduction

With the central research question *'Why teach young people how to cook?'* as its focus, the aim of this research is to conduct a critical policy analysis of the rationales for teaching cooking in the school curriculum in England and Wales. The term 'rationale' is used throughout the thesis to mean the fundamental reasons, purpose and basis for including practical cooking classes in the education of young people in school settings. While primarily focused on young people, the research necessarily broadens its scope to ask why teach (any) people to cook? A survey of the academic literature at the start of the research process in 2004 revealed that in relation to the practice of cooking and the policy for teaching it, there was remarkably little research which actually answered or even addressed *in a systematic way,* the relevance of the question. Initial literature searches showed that research had largely focused on defining the meaning and process of cooking (e.g. Mennell et al 1992, Mennell 1996), the development of skills from a culinary perspective (e.g. McGee 1986), and the dissemination of knowledge about the links between diet, eating habits and non-communicable disease (NCD) (e.g. Fuhr and Barclay 1998, Liquori et al 1998, Levy and Auld 2004). The Centre for Food Policy (CFP) in which the present research was conducted had begun a now vibrant strand of work on knowledge about cooking skills (Caraher 2012, Caraher and Lang 1999, Caraher et al 1999, 2003, 2004, 2011, 2013, Gatley 2012, Lang and Caraher 2001, Lang et al 1999, Seeley et al 2009, Short 2003a, 2003b, Wu et al 2008). However, very little attention had been given as to <u>why</u> as a culture we include the teaching of cooking in the education of our young people, and <u>it was this gap in knowledge that provided the impetus for this research.</u>

The teaching of cooking in schools has over time been subject to various prejudices and barriers, with constraints imposed on its provision and threats to its survival as an educational subject. This had encouraged its supporters at that time, particularly during the education reforms that led to the introduction of the National Curriculum (NC) in 1988 and a restructure of cooking education, to raise the profile of teaching cooking in education debates and the media, and to defend and advocate its continuation (e.g. Stitt 1995, Stitt et al 1996, 1997, National Food Alliance 1995, Royal Society of Arts 1998, Academy of Culinary Arts Adopt a Chef Campaign 1990). Without there being a detailed rationale for teaching cooking, these people had merely asserted the value of cooking, or used arguments without a strong evidence base. These might be good and true but in a world where food policy (like other policy terrains) is asked to be 'evidence-based', the lack of such an evidence base is surely a deficit. Thus, another reason for the present research is to begin the slow process of building such an evidence base. This will be needed if the inclusion and retention of cookery lessons in the contemporary school curriculum is to be challenged or defended. Very quickly in the long research process outlined in this thesis, it was realised that such an evidence base almost certainly goes beyond any single discipline. The research outlined in this thesis is thus, in the proper sense of the word, exploratory. It is literally undertaking the first mapping and analysis of this important policy terrain. To encourage development of this question, the thesis also proposes

questions worthy of future, more specific, research. The analysis of what the research finds is given in Chapter 9, with conclusions, recommendations for further research in Chapter 10.

Why has cooking become a topic worthy of food policy research? Simply put, it is that over the past few decades there have been numerous significant changes within society, food culture and the food system (explored in Chapters 1 and 2), that raise questions concerning the relevance and appropriateness of current pedagogy and subject content when considering whether young people should be taught how to cook. The dynamics of food culture and education policy have challenged the view that traditional cooking skills (i.e. producing meals from raw, unprocessed ingredients) are vital life skills that everyone should acquire and utilise. A range of issues about food and cooking have received significant media attention, in particular, people's diminished connection between food provenance and consumption, the extent and relevance of 'food literacy' – a term that has emerged just recently and since this thesis work began (e.g. Kimura 2011, Kolassa et al 2011, Pendergast et al 2011, Smith 2009, Vidgen, 2010, 2011) – in the whole population, the effects of diet on health, escalating rates of diet-related disease, and a general decline in practical skills (leading to concerns about a skills deficit). This attention has been accompanied by a burgeoning supply of and public interest in celebrity hosted cookery programmes and other forms of media entertainment and paraphernalia showcasing cooking and the 'cooking business'.

In some respects, looking back at the last three decades (from the vantage point of 2014), it is surprising that there was not more attention on cooking education as a research area, since the teaching of cooking in schools has been at the centre of a tussle between education and policy, and along with other curriculum subjects, cooking education has had to grapple with a range of issues of concern that threaten to marginalise it. These include problems associated with the unique resourcing requirements of practical cooking lessons, having to compete for finite resources and share of curriculum allocation, and the requirement for it to cease to be an autonomous subject and embrace a new identity, focus and curriculum content as Food Technology (FT) and adapt to the pedagogical requirements of the Technology curriculum (in particular a significant reduction in the number and duration of practical cooking lessons), into which it was situated in the 1980s during a major reform of the curriculum. These are significant issues that pose problems for educational practicalities, as expectations are increased, but resources are squeezed and the number of teachers with expertise and appropriate training in this field diminishes. Currently, there is debate about the significance and importance of acquiring practical cooking skills in a society where it has become commonplace for ready-made food to be purchased by individuals from third parties, and where the escalating incidence and costs for society of the concomitant NCD epidemic have, in the last few years, produced reactionary promises and pledges from policy makers to make practical cooking skills a statutory NC subject (e.g. labour.org.uk, 2008, DfE 2013b) as part of the armoury for tackling such costs.

In the current volatile and uncertain economic climate, the education of young people remains a major fiscal commitment that politicians (of all parties) and education providers strive to ensure and prove is sustainable, successful and demonstrates good value for money. But intellectually and pedagogically, the case for a country teaching its children to cook surely goes beyond the conventional market logic of value for money. At a time, as will be shown later, when increasing demands on the National Health Service (NHS) for treatment for the consequences of NCDs have major long term policy and financial implications, surely there is a case for a food and health policy to take cooking more seriously than the lack of literature implied was the case. In budgetary terms, teaching young people to cook has to compete for funding along with all the other demands on the finite resources of publicly funded institutions. Why then should schools teach cooking? Surely this is the responsibility of parents, the home, anyone but the State? As is discussed later, these are plausible arguments, yet cooking and food sit squarely in the middle of some key problems for a society such as the United Kingdom (UK), dependent on processed foods and showing signs of major diet-related ill-health as a result. If cooking education is in some intellectual and policy difficulties, is this due to a lack of good champions, or a fundamentally weak argument? There was (and still is) no lack of champions when this thesis began, as is evidenced in the next chapters (with updates to today in Chapter 9). The starting point for this thesis, however, was the researcher's desire to explore and analyse the reasons for such a tussle between education and policy and to assess the possibilities for a consensus between them about the purpose and future of teaching cooking in schools. Surely, this was an issue on which people could agree? But which people, which sectors, which interests? Quickly, it became clear that some fundamental research was needed. This is what is reported in this thesis. First, the subject of this research: cooking education, needs to be clarified.

Defining the terrain of study: the many names for cooking education

From the beginning of its life as a school curriculum subject, teaching young people how to cook has attracted debate, scrutiny, controversy and opinion about its rationale, educational value and status; not least in deciding what to name it. Over the decades, the subject has been given several titles, including Domestic Economy (DE), Housecraft, Domestic Science (DS), Home Economics (HE), Food Technology (FT), Cookery and Food Education, Food and Nutrition (FN). Caraher (2012) highlights the confusion that the interchange of such names and terminology can cause in defining the subject content and facilitation, especially when included in academic articles and NC documentation. For the purposes of this research, the thesis refers to the subject of teaching young people how to cook as 'Food and Cooking Skills Education' (FCSE). The acronym FCSE is used throughout this thesis. No simple definition was available when conducting an initial review of the potential research area. In recognition of the breadth of the subject, it has been defined here as '*the provision and delivery of practical and theoretical knowledge, appreciation and instruction about the composition, nutritional value, dietary implications, production, processing, preparation, cooking, presentation and consumption of food'*. It should be noted that this draws back from assuming this

process is conducted in schools only. The location and process are assumed to be open to different interpretation and application. Throughout this thesis, therefore, this notion of FCSE, its definition and the acronym are used consistently.

Part of the interest in this topic came from the researcher's own professional background in HE; and partly, it stemmed from the policy analysis of the CFP which took an early interest in the issue. The present thesis was framed by the Centre's wider critical analysis of modern food policy. Lang, Barling and Caraher (2009) have summarised the value of food policy as focusing critical attention on the passage of food from production to consumption and understanding its outcomes – health or environmental or societal impacts – as shaped by dynamics and actions within the system. In their book and earlier publications (Barling et al 2001, Barling et al 2002), they have proposed an urgent need to clarify the public interest in the food system's direction. The present research and the focus on FCSE fit their general approach, since the definition of FCSE taken here focuses on the transformation of raw food into something to be consumed. FCSE is about teaching people that process. But why? And where should this happen? And who should do it? These are the policy questions. Is it to give people informed control over what they consume? Is it better home or factory produced? These are huge societal questions, which have been quietly revolutionised in the 20th century by the growth of out-of-home eating and of pre-prepared foods.

Summary of thesis: problem and process

This research aims to answer a question that has received minimal attention in academia. The introductory thoughts above indicate the broad theoretical framework applied in the thesis: that cooking education is partly a theoretical problem and partly a practical problem, partly a systemic issue and partly highly personalised, partly cultural and partly economic. The thesis thus explores a complex mix of policy and practicality, educational theory and pedagogy, classroom and Cabinet behaviour. What initially seemed a simple issue gradually became more complex, as the research developed, which is perhaps the normal status for policy research!

The thesis begins with a systematised literature review in Chapters 1 and 2, the methodology for which is set out in Chapter 3. This explores the academic rationale for cooking as pedagogical and policy problems – the twin threads used throughout the thesis. In Chapter 1, cooking is considered as an educational problem, in which the theoretical concepts and philosophical debates about education and the process of learning are considered. This is necessary in order to understand how, and the extent to which, FCSE contributes to the education of the individual, particularly because, in common with many post-industrial and rationalised societies, large numbers of the UK population now rely on the food industry to prepare, cook and make available for purchase in a myriad of forms, the components of the majority of their meals (Fieldhouse 1996, Tansey and Worsley 1995, Atkins and Bowler 2001). It could be argued, therefore, that there is no necessity for the majority of people to learn how to cook and that in the absence of cooking skills, ready-made meals provide the 'efficient' solution. Once it was realised that there is no deep academic literature on the question 'Why teach people to cook?', the basis for the research had to become more

fundamental: the exploration of the concept, significance, status and purpose of cooking, and preliminary attempts to situate it within contemporary culture, theory, and above all food policy – the 'home territory' of the present research.

Chapter 2 explores FCSE as a food policy problem. It traces the policies that led to the restructure of FCSE in the late 1980s with the introduction of the NC, at a time when concerns about the links between food choices, eating habits and the rising incidence of NCDs were being frequently reported. It explores the policy arguments for and against domestic cooking and the teaching of cooking skills and locates cooking within the food policy system. Key actors and institutions that have influenced the food education debate are described, and emerging research questions are identified.

Chapter 3 gives the methodology for the thesis. It begins with the Research Questions (RQs) arising from Chapters 1 and 2. The research process, chosen methodological approach and research methods are described and explained. This is a multi-method approach. Chapters 1 and 2 highlighted that because FCSE is immersed in and influenced by many factors (history, politics, culture, societal values, class, gender, formal education, skills acquisition and utilisation, fiscal limitations, industry and commerce, health and welfare), the apparent simplicity of the focal research question masked a broad and complex web of issues around teaching cooking that have significance for both policy and education, the two focuses of the thesis. The choice of a broad analysis, using a qualitative, mixed method approach, was significant. Initially it was hoped to explore one or two issues within FCSE, but when the dearth of literature emerged, a different approach was required; hence the multiple fieldwork studies. This was done in order to provide the sorely needed overview and mapping of the terrain.

Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 present the results of the five studies conducted for the research. Study one is about the origins of education and policy arguments for FCSE. Study two explores young people's perspectives on FCSE. Study three conducts an initial review of food industry perspectives on FCSE. Study four conducts an international review of how different countries address FCSE. Study five reports findings of élite interviews with actors from the policy world in State-related and civil society sectors.

Chapter 9 presents the analysis that emerges from the studies. It sets out some key issues that arise, and offers these as the first formal academic attempt to answer the research question: why teach (young) people to cook? It proposes some key themes, concepts and issues that infuse the terrain, provides an integrated perspective on how FCSE fits within food policy and within pedagogy, and concludes with an overview of changing answers to the question.

Chapter 10 presents some conclusions, and reflections on the research process. It makes recommendations for policy and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 1: Cooking as an Educational Problem: the practicalities of teaching cooking

Using a systematised literature review (the methodology for which is outlined in Chapter 3), this chapter considers the theoretical concepts about the contribution of cooking to the development of individuals and society, how these inform the debate about whether young people should be taught how to cook, and the contribution this makes to their education. Its focus is on the practicalities and the theories which shape them. The thesis takes as its starting point the theoretical approach to food policy outlined in Lang and Heasman (2004) and expanded in Lang et al (2009). This presents food policy as not as a fixed bundle of strategies or goals (usually or nominally set by the State), but as the direction of the entire food system, now competed over by different actors, institutions and interests. The theoretical focus of this thesis is not the wider (and important) literature on the anthropology or sociology of cooking, but policy aspects of FCSE, pertinent to the research question it poses. This chapter reviews some general theoretical perspectives about how and why cooking might be seen within social, educational and policy theory, before exploring pedagogical perspectives specifically of relevance to the teaching of cooking. Had the research concerned a topic with an already deep or small, but growing literature, the task would have been simpler, because the terrain would almost certainly have been mapped and populated by studies and insights. To the researcher's (and supervisors') surprise, this was not the case for *why* we teach people to cook. Indeed, who that 'we' is was itself a problem. Although articles had been written in which questions in this terrain were being posed (e.g. Cosgrove 1991, Dahl 1998, Finch 1979), academic research was not found.

First, some arguments about the policy question which dominated public (not academic) discourse when this thesis was being framed are considered, i.e. debates about the rise or decline of cooking in society. Chapter 2 then outlines the substantive policy issues explored in the thesis.

1.1 The purpose and significance of cooking in the modern economy

Cooking and eating are such familiar human activities that superficially they do not appear controversial or to require investigation. As the United States (US) academic Michael Pollan has said, cooking is not a single operation, but a *'continuum of processes'* and *'transformations'* (Pollan 2013, 16). These processes have contributed to human evolution by making people more mobile, healthier and able to be both domestic (static) and economic (working outside the home) (Levi-Strauss 1975, Goody 1982). The extent to which people cook (and their definition of 'cooking') is a personal decision, informed by numerous drivers that exert varying degrees of influence throughout their lives, and controlled by personal circumstances and external forces, e.g. interest, motivation, confidence and available time. Food consumption can be viewed as an expression of peoples' identity, worth and ability to provide for family needs (Murcott 1983, Warde 1997). Food can also indicate social exclusion, and if people are unable to eat in perceived accepted societal norms and

values (e.g. following current dietary guidelines), they can experience food poverty (Dowler 2001, Hurley 2004, McMahon and March 1999). Current concerns about the long-term health of children focus largely on diet and eating habits (Hawkes 2004), knowledge of and attitudes towards food. To be effective, initiatives that promote FCSE need to be socially inclusive, by teaching about food in familiar ways to young people, and avoiding culturally sensitive value judgments about certain foods and modes of consumption. This is something marketing divisions of the food industry seem particularly good at moulding - to the benefit of sometimes dubious products and tastes (Hastings et al 2004).

Anthropological literature (e.g. Beardsworth and Keil 1997, Douglas 1972, Goody 1982, Lupton 1996, Rozin 1999) has long recognised the central role of food and cooking in our sustenance and pleasure, economy, politics, culture and social organisation. Domestic meal production has always required of the cook, often with only rudimentary preparation and cooking facilities, a significant and persistent ability level of creativity and ingenuity to feed a family (Lyon et al 2003). Despite such significant societal contributions, cooks have generally been consigned to the background; their status and achievements (particularly those of women cooks) largely unrecognised. Theoretical knowledge has long been associated with intellectual ability and superordinate to practical and productive manual abilities (Kaufmann 2010, Gabriel 1988), notwithstanding the advantageous combination of practical and theoretical knowledge in many situations, whereby knowledge is enhanced and advanced by practical training (Gustafsson 2004, Crawford 2009). This helps explain historic prejudice against food intellectualism and difficulties practical cookery training has experienced in establishing academic status (Symons 2004, Short 2006); and makes the defence of cooking as an academic pursuit more complex to explain and explore. This anti-intellectual tradition about food has begun to fade, with increasing academic studies by historians, cultural analysts, sociologists, economists. Yet academic interest in the purpose of FCSE has remained immune to the growth of interest.

If cooking has an uncertain status, it can at least be located economically by providing an opening picture of its significance within the UK food economy. As Figure 1.1 shows, in Britain today (using 2013 statistics), there are 437,581 catering outlets (restaurants, cafes, canteens) employing 1.44 million people. The gross value added in the food chain is £26.7 billion. UK consumers spent £84 billion on catering services in 2013, a third less than the £112 billion spent on food and drink in the household. In other words, transforming raw food, whether in the home, the factory or the canteen, is very big business and a huge employer of waged and unwaged labour (Defra 2014). That general picture holds also for the 2000s, when this research began, but as shown in a study later in the thesis, was not the case historically.

Figure 1.1: Economic Summary of the UK food chain in 2013

UK Consumers
64 million people

Exports (a)
£18.9bn of which:
Highly processed – £11.1bn
Lightly processed – £6.4bn
Unprocessed – £1.4bn

Total Consumers' Expenditure (b)
on food, drink, and
catering services – £196bn

Consumers' Expenditure (b)
on catering services – £84bn

Household Expenditure (b)
on food and drink – £112bn

Caterers (restaurants, cafes, canteens)
Gross value added – £26.7bn (c)
Employees – 1,444,000 (d)
Enterprises – 113,623
Catering Outlets – 437,581

Food and Drink Retailers
Gross value added – £27.7bn (c)
Employees – 1,158,000 (d)
Enterprises – 52,774
Stores – 85,720

Food and Drink Wholesalers
(including agents)
Gross value added – £9.6bn (c)
Employees – 222,000 (d)
Enterprises – 15,082

Food and Drink Manufacturing
Includes everything from primary processing (milling, malting, slaughtering)
to complex prepared foods. Many products will go through several stages.
Gross value added – £24.1bn (c)
Employees – 378,000
Enterprises – 7,766
Manufacturing sites – 9,625

Agricultural Wholesalers
(including agricultural machinery)
Gross value added – £2.2bn (c)
Employees – 34,000 (d)
Enterprises – 4,111

Food & Drink Supply Industry
(Food processing machinery)
Gross value added – £320m (c)
Employees – 6,000
Enterprises – 413

Distribution
Involved at all parts of the chain

Agricultural Supply Industry
(Manufacturing of agricultural
machinery, fertilizers & pesticides)
Gross value added – £1.2bn (c)
Employees – 13,000
Enterprises – 532

Farmers and Primary Producers
Gross value added – £9.2bn
Employees – 464,000
Farm holdings – 222,000
Total payments to farmers (less levies) – £3.3bn
Payments linked to production – £21m
Total agricultural land area – 18.4 million hectares

Imports (a)
£40.2bn of which:
Highly processed – £14.4bn
Lightly processed – £17.8bn
Unprocessed – £8.0bn

Fishing & Aquaculture
Gross value added – £542m (c)
Employees – 7,000
Enterprises – 3,836
Fleet size (All vessels) – 6,406

Greenhouse Gas Emissions (f)
Total food chain – 147 million tonnes CO_2
equivalent (15% of total emissions associated
with UK consumption)
Production – 50% of UK food chain emissions
Trade – 40% of UK food chain emissions
Household – 10% of UK food chain emissions

UK Production to Supply Ratio (e)
All Food – 60%
Indigenous – 73%

Energy Consumption (f)
Domestic cooking, agriculture, food & drink
manufacturing, transport, food retailing &
service sector catering – Together these
activities account for an estimated 17% of
total UK energy consumption.

(a) Overseas trade data is provisional for full year 2013 from HM Revenue and Customs. (Data may not equal total due to rounding). Dashed lines indicate main trade flows.
(b) Consumers' expenditure, properly known as household final consumption expenditure, is provisional from the Office for National Statistics for full year 2013 and is calculated at current prices. (Data may not equal total due to rounding).
(c) Gross value added (GVA) is the difference between the value of goods and services produced and the cost of raw materials and other inputs used up in production. GVA figures are from the Annual Business Survey and is provisional data for full year 2012, which is calculated at basic prices (market prices less taxes plus subsidies.
(d) Employee data for grocery retailers is for Great Britain only and is for Q4 2013 from the Office for National Statistics. Food and drink wholesaling, and agricultural wholesaling includes an estimate of employment by food and drink wholesaling agents, and wholesalers of agricultural machinery from the Annual Business Survey. (Employee data is rounded).
(e) UK Production to Supply Ratio (formerly known as the "Self-Sufficiency" Ratio). The UK sources food from diverse stable countries (with 28% of food coming from the European Free Trade Area), and imports can make up for domestic supply shortages.
(f) UK greenhouse gas emissions and energy consumption data does not relate to Q4 2013. Energy consumption does not take into account energy embedded in food that is imported, nor does it subtract energy that went into producing food that is exported. Therefore the 17% of energy consumption cannot be directly compared to the 15% of GHG emissions.

Source: Defra 2014, page 93

Despite the supposed decline of domestic cooking being voiced when the thesis was inspired (Caraher et al 2004), its practice has not been relegated to history. Indeed, home cooking was becoming fashionable, with the availability of new kitchen technologies and exotic ingredients placing higher demands on domestic cooks to demonstrate complexity and creativity (Bugge 2003). A sub-theme was that cooking had lost its functional role; it was now entertainment, perhaps something for the weekends, rather than a drudge. A survey by Datamonitor (2006) highlighted that consumers were increasingly keen to cook exciting, flavourful and interesting meals, with home cooking emerging as a 'status skill' and 'showpiece event'. It also showed consumers to be time poor and 'suffering' from limited cooking skills, with basic cooking skills perceived as difficult to undertake. The overall trend was away from traditional cooking methods, with meal choices and cooking methods being the product of tension between three consumer 'mega-trends' towards convenience, health and sensory indulgence. For the food industry, this offered development opportunities, e.g. the emergent meal assembly sector and establishing manufacturers as consumers' 'trusted helpers', with increasing numbers of young consumers with limited cooking skills viewed as a 'promising market' (Datamonitor 2006; Purcell 2005).

Industry promotion of home cooking (the 'cooking business'), often endorsed by celebrity chefs, became commercially expedient and has many sectors and contributors to the 'business of consumerism' (Drake McFeely 2001). Cookery books, kitchen gadgetry, food magazines, specialist ingredients, cookware, food service equipment and presentation embellishments, mobile phone applications and Internet sites devoted to cooking, have jostled for the attention of consumers who buy in to the idea of home cooking, but continue to purchase ready-made meals and meal components as a significant percentage of their weekly food consumption. In 2011, the UK market for such products was valued at £1.85bn, after growing by 6.6% each year (Key Note 2012). Sales of cookery books have continued to rise; the food and drink sector being one of the most reliable in the book market (Orr 2012). Many have made their authors achieve fame in book publishing league tables. Jamie Oliver, for example, has been named as Britain's biggest-selling book author since records began (Hastings 2012). The commercial value of this sector is considerable, and suggests that publishing, if not academia, takes cooking education seriously. Or does it?

Webb (2011) notes that many cookery books have *'taken up home on the coffee table'* and the recipe count in many has fallen, suggesting that people buy them for the aspirational lifestyle they promote, rather than the recipes they provide (Webb 2011, Lepard 2011). Orr (2012) has suggested that in the current economic downturn, eating out is an activity that people will forgo and will choose certain cookery books to buy into a whole lifestyle, with the demand for *'tomes full of colourful images and dazzling prose'* remaining high. The cookery book provides an *'escapist experience'* and exists for *'inspiration and pleasure'* and a way of *'asserting identity',* which may help to explain its survival against competition from the Internet. Actually, the catering sector has continued to grow throughout the recession. The meaning and purpose of the cookery book market cannot so simply be explained.

Internet and mobile phone applications (apps) have entered into the realm of cooking education, there being numerous websites and blogs offering recipes and cooking advice downloads, as well as audio-visual apps for food preparation methods and recipes, with features including embedded links, timers and voice prompts. The boom in tablet technology has widened the permutations and possibilities available for people to access informal FCSE, with many features considered close to the cooking experience, involving most of the senses. App developers suggest that the future for digital cooking instruction is towards animation utilising stop-frame photography and infographics (line drawings); some applications even providing an 'enriched content' in the form of margins for cooks to make notes (Moskin 2011, Orr 2012). In April 2012, 'SORTED', an online UK cookery school launched a daily food channel targeting young people *'looking to equip themselves with life skills neglected by the National Curriculum'* (Briggs 2012), and is reported to have had one million 'hits' per month in 2012 and over 100,000 YouTube subscribers (Cottrell 2012).

Kitchen gadgetry has also been a developing market; sales of small kitchen appliances having outperformed the household goods sector, which has been significantly affected by the economic downturn (Mintel 2010). Mintel suggests that the demand for more affordable small kitchen appliances and equipment has benefitted from a stronger interest in cooking, particularly baking, a desire to eat more healthily, and the preparation of more meals and snacks at home in order to save money as people seek equipment that is effective, time saving, and easy to use and clean. The affordability of such equipment has been facilitated by imports from China; e.g. the revenue for the cutlery and kitchen utensil manufacturing industry in China having increased from $9.0billion in 2007 to $17.3billion in 2012, the growth driven by substantial rising demand in domestic markets and significant export growth (IBISworld 2012). In the UK, persuasion to purchase through demonstrations has always been important to the success of this sector, although large numbers of small kitchen appliances purchased in such circumstances, are hardly ever used; bread makers and slow cookers being recent examples of purchases in response to such persuasion (Mintel 2010). Kitchen appliance demonstrators who operate in clients' homes and on television shopping channels can be viewed as cultural intermediaries who market products, convey normative and symbolic messages about cooking, and instructions about kitchen technology (Truninger 2011). This approach, once the preserve of only a few companies such as 'Tupperware', who pioneered it, now has increasing global impact. The so-called 'Tupperware effect' has been credited with recruiting, educating and empowering women from many countries to start businesses and become financially independent (Goudreau 2011).

All this suggests the verdict of the death of cooking is premature. It could be argued that cooking is a policy battleground, being fought out *ideologically*, on where cooking happens, who does it, how it is valued, whether this is waged or unwaged labour, and who makes the money. Is cooking done in the home or factory? Is it from raw ingredients or using part-prepared ingredients to assemble? Such questions have been explored by food researchers in commodity studies (e.g. Marsden et al

2000, Goodman 2002, Burch and Lawrence 2005) and might have been richer academic terrain to explore, since it connects cooking with wider academic discussions about the division of labour, profits and the shape of the modern food economy and how it fits or diverges from processes of general economic change. However, none of these approaches connects with the teaching of cooking, the practicalities of the mass cultural transfer of skills, and the policy shapers for FCSE. The thesis now turns to where cooking features in more formal academic literature by exploring the significance of acquiring cooking skills. A distinction needs to be made between teaching and acquiring such skills. It is the former which is the present focus, but theories of the latter shape what is conceived.

1.2 The definition, significance and complexity of cooking skills

Traditionally, cooking skills were passed down through the generations long before the introduction of State elementary education, in which the teaching of theoretical and practical cooking skills became a principal pedagogical component of the curriculum for working-class girls. In the increasingly differentiated nature of industrialised societies, where the family no longer solely provides education (including the intergenerational transfer of cooking skills), one of the noticeable consequences of recent educational reforms and societal development has been a decline in the provision of practical skills pedagogy (and the use of manual skills in general [Crawford 2009]) and activities across a range of educational disciplines; a situation also reflected in societal changes and food culture, where the practical necessities of life are increasingly synthesised and provided by third parties. Whether or not this is disadvantageous to the overall education of young people needs to be considered. Lang et al (1999) even hypothesised that there are three phases in people's lives when they develop cooking skills: firstly, pre-school, domestic basic experimentation; secondly, formally at school; and thirdly, when living independently. They argue that the removal (or diminishing) of the second phase from schools under various NC reforms has implications for the future of the nation's skills base. If the first phase is also being diminished by the reliance of many families on ready-made meals, then the opportunities to learn to cook may be very limited.

Empirical research concerning the importance of acquiring the skills to cook is limited, and yet throughout history, cooks have been central to finding, preparing and presenting the fundamental means of human survival as well as influencing the development of social networks and occasions, technologies, arts and religions; their individual actions being *'infinitesimal'* but *'the results* [of which] *have multiplied into civilisation'* (Symons 2004, x). According to Lupton (1996), historically, cooking has received minimal scholarly attention due to its transitory nature and connection with physical labour, rather than with science, art or theory. Heldke (1992) proposes that this leads cooking to be regarded as base and inferior compared with intellectual or spiritual activities. In contemporary society, professional cooks are often viewed by domestic cooks as more competent, successful, and creative (Short 2006); their status enhanced through media exposure of 'celebrity' chefs. This may encourage domestic cooks to believe they can produce food to the same standard, which, if

not achieved in reality, can undermine confidence and perpetuate a perception that they cannot cook. Whilst promoting the cause of 'culinary progressivism' since their inception (Collins 2009), the popularity of television cookery shows, cookery books, magazines and mobile phone apps has led to the suggestion that cooking has now become part of the leisure industry (and therefore viewed as optional rather than habitual), but that as a nation, cooking skills are not something that people in the UK are wholly confident or fluent in practising (Lang, et al 1999).

In his *Meditation on Gastronomy*, Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1825) supported and promoted the study of gastronomy and defined it as *'….the intelligent knowledge of whatever concerns man's nourishment.'*, incorporating natural history, physics, chemistry, cookery, business, sociology and political economy and considered it worthy of academic pursuit. Grimond de La Reynière, who invented modern food journalism after the French Revolution by founding the 'Jury des dégustateurs' (Symons 2004), also supported the gastronomic arts, considering them to be worthy of serious study and having the capacity to globally embrace nature, morality and social relationships. Gastronomy, it should be noted, is at the elite end of the cooking spectrum, and has grown as an academic topic, for instance with the journal 'Gastronomica', and with historical studies (e.g. Bober 1999, Fernández-Armesto 2001), but these have not specifically focused on the mass end of cooking education, let alone why it should or should not exist; the present policy question.

By the late 19th century, the differentiation between domestic and professional cookery in England was well established, with French cuisine as the culinary hegemony and the preference of the upper classes. Domestic cookery was regarded as the primary responsibility of women, the majority of whom were unable to infiltrate the professional world of 'haute cuisine', and therefore its association with the lower classes (for whom for centuries there was nothing else to eat other than relatively monotonous and nutritionally scant domestically prepared food, produced in an unrelenting drudgery) has also influenced its acceptance in academia. This *'traditionally gendered connotation of cooking'* (Trubek 2000) encouraged professional chefs of that era to disengage themselves from the association of cooking with women's work and to promote a set of skills that were deliberately far removed from the practicalities of domestic cookery. They perpetuated a divisive opinion that maintained that although women could be cooks, they could not be *expert* cooks in the sphere of culinary artistry, which was perceived as being the sole domain of male chefs involved in producing French haute cuisine (Mennell 1996). The famous French chef, Auguste Escoffier was a prominent proponent of this view and vehemently argued that women had no place in a professional kitchen (Trubek 2000).

Belasco (2008) contends that it was several decades before scholars *'could begin to consider the traditional female ghetto of domesticity without Victorian-era blinders and prejudices'* (ibid, 3) and that this association of cooking with women's *'enslavement'* (ibid, 3) has led to another reason for food and cooking to be intellectually obscure; the notion of *'technological utopianism'* (ibid, 3). Over the decades of the 20th century, reformers have tried to make food less of a domestic burden by

developing and promoting a progressive change to automated food manufacturing and consumption, and the food industry has been proactive in distancing consumers from nature and tradition by its efforts to *'obscure and mystify the links between farm and dinner table'* (ibid, 4) and *'rapturously envisioning a day when virtually all contact between the cook and the raw makings of dinner would be obsolete'* (Shapiro 2004 xvi-xvii). This distancing has been accompanied by the development of an ideology of *'Nutritionism'* (Scrinis 2008, 2) that, to the advantage of an influential and powerful food industry, has informed, shaped, complicated and confused the elemental act of eating (ibid), and has also added complexity to the notion of what is actually meant by 'cooking'.

Cooking as an activity has become increasingly non-domesticated, as food requiring little preparation by consumers is provided by modern agro-food industries and is consequently more systemised and mass-produced. A culture of fast food predominates, with implicit values that *'food should be fast, cheap and easy; that food is a product of industry, not nature; that food is fuel, and not a form of communion.'* (Pollan, 2009). A lack of knowledge about food provenance and the effects of a globalised food system on local, national and international communities are reportedly commonplace amongst consumers, which leads some commentators to assert that this is a form of food industry endorsed de-skilling (e.g. Begley and Gallegos 2010a, Engler-Stringer 2010, Stitt et al 1995, Stitt 1996).

As raised earlier, concern has been expressed that there has been a decline and devaluing of cooking skills in the population, (e.g. Caraher 2012, Furey et al 2000, Leith 1997a, Lyon et al 2003, Stitt et al 1995, Stitt 1996). It has also been suggested that responsibility for teaching cooking skills has gradually transferred from the home and schools to new 'intermediaries', including the media, welfare agencies and health professionals (Begley and Gallegos 2010b, Engler-Stringer 2010). The arrival of these new actors in cooking education is usually presented as due to the supposed decline of skills. Yet, in research conducted at the CFP in the early 2000s, Short (2006) found not a decline in skills but, rather, a decline in confidence about their application. If so, how could these new actors alter a supposed loss of confidence; and are home and school cooking really in decline? The latter issue – cooking at school – is why the present research takes the NC as a pivotal moment.

Is this supposed skills decline just a battle between a false popular perception of the importance of cooking and a more complex reality? Is this a low level 'moral panic', where reality and discourse are at odds? The literature search suggested that academics were fanning rather than elucidating the issue. For twenty to thirty years, a practical skills decline (including cooking) has been asserted, prompting debate in the form of published literature and research (e.g. Leith 1998, Lyon et al 2003, Short, 2003, 2006, 2007, Sennett 2008, Crawford 2009, Elliot 2009, Begley and Gallegos 2010, Engler-Stringer 2010, Fordyce-Voorham 2011, Meah and Watson 2011), numerous articles published in the popular press (e.g. Austin 1999; Bateman 1999; Bell 1998; Bond (cited in Hope 2013); Enis 2010; Fort 2003; Harris 2009; Health Which? 1998; Geest plc 2002, Hobart Mercury

1997; Horan 2008; Prince 1998; Prouse, 2005; Sky News 2008; Stacey 2004; Wilson 2002) and reports published by Internet companies and universities (e.g. Datamonitor 2006, Elliot 2009).

In this discourse, the 'truth' of deskilled cooks and cooking has been constantly asserted, something that Short's earlier study at the CFP questioned, suggesting that the de-skilling argument is too crude (Short 2006). In popular discourse, the reasons for this supposed skills decline have been attributed to a number of factors, including: the relegation of cooking skills to television cookery shows (e.g. Pollan, cited in Harris 2009), a lack of basic cooking skills (e.g. Enis 2010, Horan 2008, Pollan 2009), a decline in the inter-generational transfer of cooking skills, partly as a result of greater numbers of women working outside the home (e.g. Gofton and Ness 1993, Pollan 2009) and the increased use of convenience and fast foods (e.g. Fort 2003, Hobart Mercury 1997). Despite *'incessant food and cookery programmes on TV.., the folios devoted to food.., the tsunami of cookery books… and the diversity of foods available'* (Fort 2003), many people spend less time cooking their own food than they do watching food being prepared on television in an *'adrenalin-driven macho form of cooking that emphasise*[s] *speed and convenience, not quality'* and consider real cooking to be *'an archaic activity'* (Pollan, cited in Harris 2009).

If cooking is suffering de-skilling and decline, what theories could be applied to interpret the process? At one level, all skilled activity involves selecting relevant data, using it to make decisions about how to proceed, then proceeding to a conclusion. The subtleties involved at each stage are what make skills serial rather than sequential and they cannot be viewed in isolation (Singleton 1978). Skills are often over-simplified by being dichotomised into mental and physical categories, with ramifications for society, culture and industry. Sennett (2008) suggests that Western civilisation has a deep-rooted difficulty in recognising, encouraging and making connections between the head and the hand, consequently practical skills have historically been considered as only worthy of lower thought and have lacked status; and yet they involve many cognitive processes such as problem identification and solution, judgement, interpretation, comprehension, application, control, action, analysis and evaluation. Mastery of skills develops confidence and motivation to develop further abilities; Sennett argues that motivation matters more than talent and working steadily in a skill can rescue people from the stresses of modern society and anchor them in material reality; it can allow them distance from the fault lines which separate makers from users, technique from expression and theory from practice.

There are long traditions within academic – particularly political thought – about skills. Some focus on how modern society has changed or destroyed skills (e.g. in mining, 'heavy industries', printing), others on their creation (e.g. with the Internet and service economy). In the Marxist tradition, the focus is largely on destruction, erosion, alienated labour and subsequent dehumanisation. In relation to food, sociologist George Ritzer (1993), highly cited for making a cooking-based sector the icon of modern society, has suggested that fast food symbolises the separation of creativity from cooking. Separation may not mean erosion, merely displacement; the manager may be

creative and the chef in product development, but not the jobbing cook on the assembly line. The total production and cooking process is minutely planned by organisationally sophisticated technicians and techniques; food is bureaucratised. Mass production directs and concentrates control to management and progressively de-skills workers. Yiannis Gabriel's pioneering study of the realities of the catering industry (Gabriel 1988) highlighted how traditional catering; once an industry dependent for its success on its workforce due to their diverse social and technical skills, initiative, ingenuity, commitment and energy; has undergone a similar transformation at the expense of human dignity and feelings of self-worth for many if its workforce. Jaffe and Gertler (2006) direct attention to the wider process of consumer de-skilling in the food system, which they suggest has major significant consequences for the restructuring of agro-food systems, consumer sovereignty, diet and health, and has emerged from a *'double disinformation campaign'* (ibid, 143) by the agro-food industry to *'manipulate and re-educate consumers while appearing to respond to consumer demand'* (ibid, 143). The consequence of this is that consumers have lost the necessary knowledge to enable them to make discerning decisions about the *'contributions a well-chosen diet can make to health, planetary sustainability and community economic development'* (ibid, 143). They also suggest that consumers have lost the skills necessary to *'make use of basic commodities in a manner that allows them to eat a high-quality diet while also eating lower on the food chain and on a lower budget.'* (ibid, 143).

Lack of clarity as to the definitions of cooking and cooking skills has complicated the promotion of food intellectualism by challenging the standards by which people's abilities to cook are measured, and has also posed problems for those seeking to advance a theoretical discourse for cooking (Short 2003b and 2006, Lyon et al 2003, Engler-Stringer 2010). Deconstruction and comprehension of domestic cooking practices is complex within food systems where the prevalence of highly processed foods is increasing. The understanding of concepts such as 'cooking' and 'processing' changes over time and terms related to cooking are variously interpreted in different cultural, generational and historical contexts. Clear definitions of terms related to domestic cooking tend to be either absent, inaccurate or simplistic in the literature, such as the description of foods as either 'basic ingredients' or 'pre-prepared', which makes many foods difficult to categorise. Lack of definition also *'perpetuates taken-for-granted assumptions about the type and extent of cooking skills'* (Lyon et al 2003), which are often assessed through the results of surveys about respondent-reported confidence rather than empirically endorsed observed demonstrations of practical ability and competence with a range of cooking skills (Engler-Stringer 2010, Lyon et al 2003). Assumptions tend to be made about the widespread practice of higher standards of domestic cooking skills in bygone eras, whereas the reality and context for comparison is the information passed down generationally and retained in living memory. Thus, in Britain, current cooking skills are frequently compared to those acquired and practised by the pre- and post-WW2 generation, whose cooking skills were largely shaped by ingredients that could be accessed during long-term and restrictive rationing and (by comparison with contemporary culture) practised in facilities that comprised relatively unsophisticated kitchen and food storage technology (Lyon at al 2003, Short 2006). The

experiences of wartime cooks are the benchmark against which the current decline of cooking skills is usually judged; however, in the decades since, there have been such fundamental changes in food culture, lifestyles, demography and societal interaction that the benchmark is barely comparable to the practice of contemporary cooking skills, which emphasise the value of ease, speed and technological efficiency.

Changes to cooking and eating styles have been reviewed by Elizabeth Carter (2010). These and more recent additions are presented in Table 1.2, which suggests a transition in cooking and eating styles. It proposes that, since the end of WW2, cooking styles have reflected and been influenced by societal, political and technological changes and developments, and how *'after years of disparagement (especially from the French), Britain now has an enviable culinary reputation.'* (ibid). This optimistic interpretation of culinary change surely implies a growth of skills or certainly some effective transmission mechanisms.

Table 1.1: Post Second World War changing cooking and eating styles in Britain

Decade	Societal and culinary indicators and changes to cooking and eating styles
1950s	- Austerity - Bland, uninspired food preparation and choice - Britain regarded as having few quality eating outlets – criteria for inclusion in the Good Food Guide (compiled and published by Raymond Postgate) were *'any place where food could be eaten without nausea, where the helpings were not derisively tiny, and the staff not directly rude.'* - Self-taught chef George Perry-Smith greatly influenced the development of diverse, eclectic menus
1960s	- Increasing affluence - Era of the cultural revolution - Food choice increasingly influenced by cheaper travel abroad - People acquired a liking for new flavours - Large numbers of bistros, tavernas and trattorias began to trade in competition with Chinese and Indian restaurants
1970s	- Recession - Increased availability and consumption of processed food and patronisation of fast food outlets - 'culinary clichés' (e.g. prawn cocktail, black forest gateau) populated menus
1980s	- Dynamism of Thatcherism reflected in an 'explosion' in the growth of small restaurants and the advent of nouvelle cuisine - 'Real food' movement started as food provenance became a key indicator in the search for authentic foods - The term 'modern British cooking' coined by Drew Smith, from the development and availability of British dishes based on home grown ingredients
1990s	- Globalisation and easy long-haul travel encouraged a search for new tastes - A wide range of nationalities contributed towards a 'polyglot cuisine' - 'Fusion food' (pastiche cooking) entered the culinary lexicon – combining a diverse range of flavours, textures, preparation styles and cooking methods - Rise of the celebrity chef culture
2000s	- Development of the gastro-pub movement, serving rustic, no-nonsense quality food - Celebrity chefs develop cult status and become a multi-media phenomenon
2010s	- Recession - Increased unemployment - Large increases in food prices affecting the quantity and quality of what people eat - More families struggling to eat healthily - Fewer people eating outside the home - Sustainability of food production increasingly important - Increasing popularity of themed TV cookery shows, e.g. home baking, short-time recipes, competitive cooking, 'theatrical' cooking

Source: Researcher, adapted from Carter (2010)

In her pioneering study, Short (2006) discusses how modern cooking skills have been labelled as mechanical, technical, perceptual, conceptual and academic, and suggests that merely describing the tasks involved (e.g. baking, grilling) oversimplifies the activity and ignores the planning, organising and preparation involved in the production of a meal, including the use of pre-prepared foods; the complexity for which is dependent on the size, composition and economic situation of the household being catered for. Home cooking 'from scratch' is considered in popular commentary and much academic and policy discussion, to be grounded in learned knowledge, skilful and vital to family well-being; whereas using pre-prepared convenience foods is frequently portrayed as destroying the processes of acquiring cooking skills, handing down food cultures and connecting generations (Short 2007). The relationship between skills, knowledge and practice is, Short suggests, not straightforward and that it is the attitudes and beliefs about cooking that are shared with others, personal identification as someone who cooks, the degree to which cooking is regarded as an effort and personal confidence in cooking, which is partly dependent on tacit, covert skills and academic knowledge, that influences what and how people cook.

A loss of *'kitchen literacy'* is suggested as a significant contributory factor in relation to the cognitive shift from knowing, in detail, the origins of one's food, to knowing very little in *'an enormous and anonymous food system'* (Vileisis 2008). Meah and Watson's (2011) research suggests that cooking skills are learnt, acquired and reviewed from multiple sources according to people's life circumstances, and as people move through different transitional points throughout life, their engagement with cooking is far from linear and that patterns of continuity and change in families' domestic kitchen practices do not necessarily traverse the generations. In the 20th century, as foods and their means of production changed to meet the demands of an increasingly urbanised society, domestic cooking skills and competency were radically transformed. New ways of thinking and knowing about foods were promoted by the food industry and *'what had once constituted valued knowledge* [i.e. the origins of food and competency in comprehensive cooking skills] *passed on from mother to daughter, was rejected and deemed irrelevant, while what had first been mocked as ignorance* [e.g. lack of knowledge about how animals are reared and slaughtered] *was eventually elevated to a desirable and respected status.'* (Vileisis 2008).

Thus, being considered able to cook has become more complex as food culture and technology have developed and it has become necessary to understand how to access and use the ever increasing variety of foods (in their natural state and processed), preparation, cooking techniques and cuisines that are available, resulting in a changed perception of the skills and effort demanded of those who cook. The interaction of factors, such as perceptions of the amounts of time and money required to cook, have exerted influence on domestic food production, so the threshold level of knowledge and skills needed to cook the most basic of meals has changed (Lyon et al 2003). According to Rachel Laudan (1999), this has become further complicated by culinary 'Luddites' who encourage and stress food dichotomies and thus encourage and strengthen a belief in 'good' versus 'bad' foods, food choices and cooking practices and yet for many people, everyday cooking is

unquestionably and acceptably a mixture of these. Table 1.2 gives a possible set of culinary dichotomies, drawn from Laudan, potentially useful for the analysis of the teaching of cooking. Such culinary dichotomies, Short suggests, have the potential to diminish the belief people have about their ability to cook, particularly within a culture that tends to value and appreciate more highly novelty, variety, professionalism, technical ability and achievement above the everyday, mundane provision of nourishing food.

Table 1.2: Culinary dichotomies

'Good'	Dichotomy focus	'Bad'
fresh / raw / unprepared / natural / traditional / ethnic / artisan / local / slow / diverse / healthy /real/ tasty	**FOODS**	preserved / processed / pre-prepared / convenient / ready-made / industrial / global/ fast / homogenous / unhealthy / artificial / bland
economical / healthy / traditional / carefully chosen	**FOOD CHOICES**	extravagant / indulgent / novelty / convenient
real / traditional / manual / skilled	**COOKING PRACTICES**	artificial / technologically reliant / unskilled

Source: Researcher - based on Laudan (1999)

So where does cooking, as studied in this research, fit into the analyses that emerge from these writers? One argument centres on consumer choice. It has been suggested (Caraher et al 1999) that the capacity of individuals to control dietary intake to meet health recommendations may be weakened if they cannot choose to cook and have to rely on ready-made foods, and that without the skills that FCSE can teach young people, they will not be empowered nor informed about food to be able to cook from basics. Thus, a dependency culture emerges as people increasingly rely on the food industry to supply their needs (Caraher and Lang 1999, Stitt 1996), although researchers such as Short (2006) suggest this may have been overstated. The findings of Short's study raised five key issues about cooking skills, which have significance for an analysis of whether (and how) young people should be taught how to cook.

Firstly, the use of pre-prepared foods (and labour saving food preparation equipment) is regarded by domestic cooks as entirely normal and acceptable and gives them more freedom, and in some cases, a preferred sensory experience. Convenience foods play an important role in the intergenerational transference of skills and can thus be viewed as inclusive and connecting (Short 2007). Such products have been available to cooks for decades so are not seen as a threat to the culinary arts (Lyon et al 2003). Indeed, Shapiro (2004) has argued that they were not, as commonly assumed, developed as a market reaction to women's need to spend less time cooking, but were incorporated, with minimal resistance, into domestic cooking activities by people who were gradually losing the organoleptic memories and skills that their mothers and grandmothers had

brought to the domestic kitchen. Belasco (2008) contends that the ability of home cooks to express themselves and assert their power is partly determined by the equipment at hand and that if prepared convenience foods have to an extent replaced home cooking, *'inconvenience did not necessarily foster it'* (ibid, 45). Shapiro (2004) traces the history of the development of packaged food cuisine, which was deliberately created to showcase new foods and new cooking methods that were emanating from the professional test kitchens of the blossoming food technology sector in 1950's America (and was embraced in the UK within a decade). Such products and methods were promoted by the media, cookery classes, demonstrations and cookbooks, thus infiltrating, but not, in that era, completely conquering domestic kitchens and having a lasting effect on the American appetite by exerting a powerful influence on the role that the population assigned to cooking itself.

Secondly, domestic cooking is regarded on various levels and has different meanings for different people, depending on the context in which the cooking is conducted (e.g. for everyday meals or special occasions), and a significant proportion of the population regularly combine primary and convenient processed ingredients and methods into their everyday meal preparation activities (Lyon et al 2003). Thirdly, cooking is individualistic and influenced by food provision responsibilities, personality, gender, life-stage, abilities and knowledge, with alternative meanings for a cook on different occasions (e.g. a hobby, a social occasion, a caring activity, a chore). It also provides opportunities to demonstrate creativity in contrast to other domestic activities (Lyon et al 2003) and is often dichotomised by interview respondents into what Kaufmann (2010) describes as the 'ancien regime', i.e. mundane, everyday cooking (on a par with housework), and cooking within a *'world of creativity and impulsiveness'* (ibid, 160).

Fourthly, domestic cooking skills are complex and diverse, and the tacit skills (those involving e.g. judgement, timing, recipe adaptation) increase a cook's confidence, decrease the effort required to cook and encourage them to cook more frequently and from 'scratch'; although in contemporary society, the skills required for commodity selection and routine food preparation have largely been transferred to the food industry, meaning less demand on people's time and efforts for meal provision. Indeed, the time available for intergenerational transmission of cooking skills has been significantly compressed, largely as a result of changes in working practices, family structures and dynamics, which has contributed towards the atrophy of basic cooking skills (Lyon et al 2003).

Lastly, there is a complex set of relationships between people's approach to cooking and their confidence and competence in tackling cooking skills, and that cooking skills and abilities alone do not directly determine their food choices. Belasco (2008) developed a triangular model, as shown in Figure 1.2, to demonstrate the complexities of meal provision, in which people decide what to cook and eat based on an approximate negotiation between the authoritative commands of identity and convenience and the lesser consideration of responsibility:

Figure 1.2: Variables in the complexity of meal provision
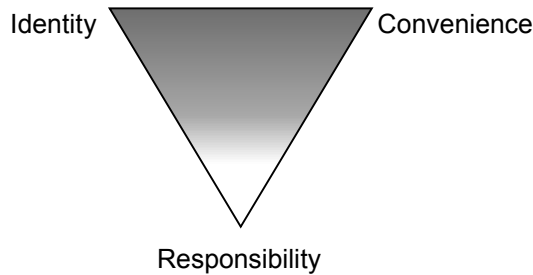
Source: Researcher, adapted from Belasco (2008)

In this model, 'Identity' involves personal preference, pleasure, creativity, taste, family and ethnic origin, food-related memories, cultural values, practices and community preferences. Food choices, eating habits and meal provision are an intrinsic part and are expressed through the dynamic process of culture (Fieldhouse 1996). 'Convenience' relates to the variables of price, access, availability and ease of preparation, which are influenced by energy, time, labour and skill requirements and are ultimately reliant on the global food system. 'Responsibility' involves government in formulating policy to direct and control all players in the food system; and personal awareness of the short- and long-term individual, societal, physiological, political and increasingly environmental consequences of one's actions in the choice, preparation and provision of food.

Kaufmann (2010) describes a new culinary model that is characterised by individual consumers who are free from traditional social constraints and rituals associated with food and meal times, and demonstrate a range of eating practices, the components for which are supplied by the food industry as home cooking becomes marginalised. In this model, food practices centre on individuals who are termed 'eater-consumers', and result from the combination of three forces that lie at the centre of advanced modernity: women's emancipation, individual autonomy and greater accessibility to and availability of new products and services. The resultant *'gastrodynamics'* (Rao 1986) acknowledge and describe the changing dietary styles and food behaviours that have evolved from this model.

With these points in mind, Short considers that policy that is directed towards the promotion or improvement of cooking should focus on the whole picture about food culture and food provision responsibilities, not just on cooking skills. Such a range of potential consequences demonstrates the complexity involved in acquiring and using cooking skills.

1.3 The academic status of cooking and cooking skills education

It is already clear that cooking is contested in the public arena, and all of the arguments introduced – health, choice, home, skills - to some extent came to the foreground of policy with the creation of the NC in England and Wales in the 1980s. This put cooking skills on the 'back foot', educationally and pedagogically. In the next chapter the full policy basis for the NC is explored, but here, the debate about whether FCSE has and/or should have a significant role to play in the educational development of young people and is sufficiently academic to include in the NC, is introduced, with a summary of some major academic perspectives about food and cooking which can be applied to the teaching of cooking.

Epistemological and contemporary influences have produced a variety of disciplinary and theoretical perspectives for the study of the significance of food and cooking in society, which collectively contribute towards a greater understanding of the contexts within which food choices, food preparation, cooking and eating habits develop. Nevertheless, the sociological significance of food, as exemplified by the act of commensality, which is a central defining ritual for membership of social groups, outweighs the attention it has received (Mennell et al, 1992). Food is *'such a rich topic, that it can become a trap for the researcher: he or she is forced to channel his or her erudition'* (Kaufmann 2010, 3).

The literature research conducted for this research identified a vast amount of academic research in many areas of the food and cooking terrain, including nutrition science, history, sociology, anthropology, feminism, culture, psychology, and economics. Also, numerous theories of education and the process of learning have fuelled political debates over centuries about core ideas, such as the purpose of education, who should be educated, where and when people should be educated, how people learn and the form education should take; and the interventions of thinkers and an army of actors have all shaped curriculum proposals and provided pedagogical models at all levels of education (Boyd 1952, Curtin 1992), which have impacted on FCSE. However, although academics have entered many debates about food, some of which have theoretical dimensions that have surrounded and impacted on the FCSE terrain, there was remarkably little overt study or theorisation of formal cooking education in schools or its contribution to the theory of education and learning; a gap which this thesis aims to explore, starting with Table 1.4, which summarises interdisciplinary and theoretical perspectives to conceptions of food in relation to FCSE. Column one identifies a range of interdisciplinary perspectives. Column two summarises the contributions of these perspectives to conceptions of food and cooking in society. Column three identifies a range of academics who have contributed such perspectives. Column four evaluates and comments on where the relevance and impact of these perspectives and contributions have 'trickled' into FCSE. More specific research is clearly warranted on why the practicalities of teaching cooking skills created controversy in the 1990s, when the NC was introduced and concern was increasingly being raised about the implications of food choices and eating habits on public health. This is explored in Chapters 4-8 of this thesis.

Table 1.4: Interdisciplinary and theoretical perspectives to conceptions of food in relation to FCSE

Perspective	Contribution to conceptions of food	Illustrative academics	Comment on relevance / impact in FCSE
Nutrition science	o Nutritional composition of food is an essential in human health and disease and a key factor throughout the life cycle o Social aspects of under-consumption and malnutrition stunt growth o Humans have innate predispositions to certain tastes o Food preferences are guided by both genetic predispositions and culturally structured preferences o Nutritional science has developed from a focus on minimum nutrition to having to address multiple challenges of over-, under-, and mal-nutrition within society o There are now more people obese and overweight globally than hungry o Influence on public policy has varied according to circumstance e.g. war, famine and other crises	Mann & Truswell (2007) Garrow et al (2000) Boyd-Orr (1936) McCance & Widdowson (1940) WHO (1990) Lang et al (2009) Lancet (2010) Murray & Lopez (1996)	o Huge influence on FCSE content and pedagogy o Study of individual nutrients has dominated FCSE syllabuses and pedagogy o FCSE has a highly instrumental view on food and eating: cooking is for health and how one cooks impacts on nutrient availability o Life sciences approach currently dominates policy and pedagogy o Practical cooking education can contribute to amelioration of malnutrition and constrain over-consumption by skilling the consumer/cook o Arguments about nutrition advice has confused public nutrition education o FCSE must deal with contradictory demands and messages about the role of food on health o Access to foods limits ability to follow dietary guidelines o Choice of meals and lifestyle affects nutritional status o Limited effect on consumer behaviour
History	o Consumption varies over time and context o Access to food has been highly contested within and between countries o Different commodities have been a source of wealth, power and imperialism (e.g. sugar, tea, coffee) o Rise of technology and agri-food industries has reshaped food product range o Development of national diets are a combination of identity and geography	Burnett (1989) Fernandez-Armesto (2001) Mintz (1998) Mennell (1996) Spencer (2011) Symons (2004)	o Food is a marker of societal change o Cooking classes can help explore changing diets, lifestyle and consumption habits o Changes in technology alter eating patterns
Sociology / anthropology	o Food habits are subject to social rules and conventions which shape food classification, preparation and consumption o Cooking resembles language that delineates and mediates culture and nature o Food conveys social meanings, identities and values o Eating and food are a function of socio-economic status, gender and ethnicity o Food systems have tended to become subject to mass consumption and Fordist production tendencies, and now receive fierce criticism (e.g. of McDonaldisation)	Levi-Strauss (1966) Douglas (1975, 1984) Beardsworth and Keil (1997) Goody (1982) Barthes (1964) Jones (2007) Laudan (2008) Aiello & Wheeler (1995) Mennell et al (1992) Gabriel (1988) Warde (1997) Ritzer (1996)	o FCSE content and pedagogy can reflect multiculturalism and promote tolerance of others o Food is an expression of culture o The importance of skills in the domestic sphere: who cooks, what, when, how and for whom? o Meals can be differentiated to suit the occasion (e.g. from display to everyday occasions) o Factory production has been emulated in cooking classes
Psychology	o Individual food preferences and habits o Food is subject to genetic-social interactions o Food is subject to complex decisions and choice o Food illustrates how habits are learned	Wansink (2010) Gibson (2006) Glasser (1997) Garcia-Bailo et al (2009) Shepherd & Raats (2007)	o Food choices, portion control, balanced diets o Peoples' relationship with food o Aetiology of NCDs o Sensory analysis of foods

Feminism	o Food has tended to be seen as within the domestic sphere o The gender element exposes major fissures in society: waged / unwaged labour, gender exploitation and inequality o Technology has altered women's relationship to food; partly time saving and partly domestic goddess, partly indulgence and partly self-denial o Food can be associated both with low expectations, education and identity and with creativity and control o Contemporary individualism and autonomous eating practices have resulted in individual emancipation with regard to cooking	Perkins Gilman (1898) Spring Rice (1939) Rowbotham (1973) Orbach (1978) Charles and Kerr (1988) Lupton (1996) Oakley (2005) Attar (1990) Belasco (2008) Kaufmann (2010)	o More emphasis on teaching males to cook o Gender equality of access to all curriculum subjects o The importance of food's impact on self-image o Decline in intergenerational transfer of cooking skills o Gender-neutral emphasis on individual responsibility for food choices and provision	
Cultural theory	o Discourses on food are articulated in popular culture, the media, medical and texts o Food is a major element in the culture of consumption; food is a 'signifier' of taste and identity o Nutritionism is becoming a force in framing dietary choice o There is a global cultural transition accompanying the nutrition transition and altering choice and eating habits	Bourdieu (1984) Popkin (1993) Fieldhouse (1996) Scrinis (2008) Trentmann (2006) Coveney (2006) Rayner and Lang (2012) Lang, Barling and Caraher 2009 Short (2006)	o Emphasis on the agency of consumers and individual subjectivity o FCSE pedagogy should take food's role and personal and cultural identity more seriously and perhaps concentrate less on the 'mechanics' of quantities and composition of foods	
Economics	o Costs and efficiencies determine food choice and availability o Technology and innovation are altering the food system o Engineering and science can shape food choice (from mass processing to genetic engineering/nanotechnology) o Food systems add value along the supply chain from producer to consumer; more value is taken off the land than by farmers o Food is a huge employer and skills change over time o Marketing is now a key part of food systems and consumer culture	Knutson et al (2007) Pyke (1950) Goodman & Redclift (1991) ACARD (1982) OECD 1981 – food policy Gabriel (1988) Defra (2014) Packard (1957/1981) Gabriel and Lang (1995) OECD (2012) WHO (1990, 2000, 2013)	o There has been a value transfer from primary production to processing and cooking o Importance of technical focus in cooking skills o Importance of training young people for food industry and food service employment o Consumer education o Pedagogy increasingly concerned with environmental awareness and sustainability	
Education	o Developmental theory of learning o To be integrated, education should focus on affective, psychomotor and cognitive learning domains o Accommodation and assimilation allows construction of new knowledge from experience o Pedagogy should be a combination of imitation, learning facts, interpretation and understanding, and accumulated knowledge o Schooling is a form of cultural transmission of knowledge, and the acquisition of cultural and educational capital o School is an agent of societal attitudes and where overt and covert societal messages are transmitted	Piaget (1953) Bloom (1956) Kolb (1983) Crawford (2009) Lang et al (1999) Bruner (1996) Bowles & Gintis (1975, 2001) Bourdieu and Passeron (1990)	o Examination course assessment requires students to demonstrate higher levels of cognition o Learning is enhanced by practical, 'hands-on' approaches o There has been a shift in emphasis away from practical skills, although practical cooking skills allow learners to experience and test abstract concepts o FCSE has opportunities for shared learning o FCSE practitioners need to be trained to communicate messages about food and eating habits in non-judgemental, cohort-appropriate styles, using appropriate and familiar language	

Source: Researcher

That FCSE is a school curriculum subject in England and Wales perhaps implies that it is worthy of intellectual and academic pursuit. There has, however, been a historic reticence about placing the study of food preparation and consumption within the realms of intellectual discourse and it has long been contested in the language of education; having only gained momentum as a multidisciplinary academic discipline in the last few decades. In the discipline of sociology, for example, such a relatively specialised interest and *'mundane field..*[and] *routine, practical and private matter'* (Warde 1997, p1-2) which, as an intellectual pursuit may produce a range of insights, has historically received minimal attention. Philosophers, who have traditionally been concerned with questions of human value, have marginalised people's relationship with food, despite this being one of the most common and pervasive sources of value in human experience (Curtin and Heldke 1992). Food has featured more prominently, however, in historical, anthropological, philosophical and psychological discourse and studies (Beardsworth and Keil 1997, Germov and Williams 1999, Belasco 2008) and has relatively recently experienced a *'growing constituency'* (Atkins and Bowler 2001, viii), with an extensive literature themed around a range of issues.

Speculation about such intellectual and academic reticence generally revolves around two themes. The first is the mundane nature of food preparation and consumption, in contrast to the general preference and propensity for social science research to seek to explore novel, scarce and exotic topics. FCSE is hardly 'cutting edge' research terrain; perhaps this is why it has received little attention. The second is the lowly status assigned to an activity – cooking – that has long been associated with women, competing for recognition in a 'male-dominated academy' (Mennell, Murcott and van Otterloo 1992). Western philosophies have historically discounted the value of women's activities, and work was defined in ways that excluded reproductive labour and unpaid activities in the home (Curtin and Heldke 1992). Mennell, (1999) suggests that historically, concerns over leisure, culture, consumption and food were largely regarded as being *'peripheral and even frivolous'* (ibid, vi) and therefore not as worthy of academic pursuit compared to more prestigious research topics situated within the masculine sphere, such as stratification, class inequality, politics, industry, power and bureaucracy. Such *'separate spheres* [of] *the idealised bourgeois division between the private female sphere of consumption and the more public male sphere of production'* (Belasco 2008, 3) thus influenced the development of middle-class academia, and this ideological polarisation segregated women professionals into undervalued 'domestic' disciplines (e.g. dietetics, HE and nutrition education), whereas male-dominated disciplines of industry, agriculture, food technology, retailing and corporate management gained more public and academic prestige and status; an institutionalised bias that has *'delayed serious attention to food even after the women's movement obliterated the separate spheres'* (ibid, 3).

For Hewer and Brownlie (2007), food and cooking are *'interestingly constructed and contestable sites of knowledge about contemporary consumer culture'* and yet there is an *'apparent lack of curiosity'* about them. Kaufmann (2010) contends that food and cooking are *'very major questions for the social sciences',* but there is a contradiction because their importance is *'quite out of keeping*

with their seeming insignificance' and specialists in this area of knowledge have a hard time convincing people of the serious nature of the study of food and cooking and are *'looked down on, with some condescension';* an attitude which has long been held in some sectors of society, as this quote from the sixth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1823, (quoted in Symons, 2004), demonstrates:

> *'Cookery is "sufficiently familiar to every housekeeper; and, its luxurious refinements too copiously detailed in manuals and directories" to require enlargement, "were it even a topic that at all deserved consideration in a work of this nature." '*

The study of the embodiment of food has, according to Lupton (1996), been neglected, a situation which stems from an ancient philosophy where the serious study of the habits and desires of the body was disdained; a feature of food intellectualism also noted by Belasco (2008), who suggests that *'intellectuals are heirs to a classical dualism that prizes mind over body'* (ibid, 2); and that *'tradition has tended to privilege questions about the rational, the unchanging, and the eternal, and the abstract and the mental, and to denigrate questions about embodied, concrete, practical experience'* (Curtin and Heldke 1992, xiv). Lupton suggests that in such a philosophy, where food and eating are regarded as feminine and always embodied, *'Food is a metonym of the mortality of human flesh.....a source of great ambivalence: it forever threatens contamination and bodily impurity, but it is necessary for survival and is the source of great pleasure and contentment.'* (ibid, 3). Carolyn Korsmeyer (1991) describes how the inextricable link between taste and eating and the necessities of existence, classifies them as lower functions that operate on a primitive, near instinctual level and are therefore regarded with a deep-seated and long-standing prejudice and disdain. Sexuality, which once received a similar measure of disdain, was considered to be devoid of scientific interest and remained repressed until brought to the forefront of academic attention by researchers such as Freud. This treatment of an activity that is fundamental to human survival has been compared to that afforded to the acquisition and preparation of food for consumption, which in many respects is more crucial than reproduction (Kaufmann 2010).

1.4 Key issues raised by this chapter

Cooking is not just about making a meal. This chapter has introduced the complexity of cooking skills as a task, educational process and theoretical debating point. Academics have surrounded the FCSE terrain, but have not directly addressed the issue of the appropriateness, educational value and relevance of including practical cooking classes in the formal education of young people – this needs to be the task of this research. It is one aspect of a much broader and more complex philosophical issue that needs to consider and be located within a wider policy debate about civilising children and young people, examining their role in society and assessing the role of education in their lives. The arrival of the NC made this a contentious policy/educational issue in England and Wales (as demonstrated in the next chapter, and emerges in the fieldwork). Despite the lack of literature specifically exploring the reason for teaching cooking at a mass scale, the

fundamental question for this thesis remains pertinent and can be approached in a prosaic, practical way – classrooms, equipment, hours, style, etc. – and as a philosophical issue – does it matter, and are we more truly human if we can cook? If so, how should we learn? It remains to be seen whether the feasibility and viability for schools and other organisations to include such provision within the constraints of limited resources and myriad of internal and external pressures imposed upon curriculum space and educational expectations, including the increasingly significant need to tackle the incidence of NCDs, is resolvable. Thus, whether or not to teach young people how to cook is both an educational and a policy problem – the twin threads throughout this thesis.

A research question has begun to emerge from this chapter about what drives the transition and developments in FCSE. Is the debate about FCSE specifically an English or British question? We need to know more about what are the forces that shape the role of cooking and its place in formal (school) and informal (home) education, and its role in the wider economy. Do we just conclude that cooking is a 'cork' bobbing around in the 'sea' of societal change at national and global levels? Can we clarify what the reasons are for having formal cooking education? Despite its apparent simplicity and the possibility of arguing its importance to human development at all levels, the education of young people in the practice of cooking seems to pose a problem for policy makers. Do we put this down just to wider politics? We need to clarify why and how decisions have been made about cooking education. We need to ask users and policy makers what the value of cooking is for them, or if not, why not? While nutrition scientists might argue that cooking is important for public health (Mann and Trusswell 2007, Garrow et al 2000), and educationalists and others argue that as an experiential subject it is a vehicle for educational attainment (e.g. Kolb 1983, Bruner 1996, Lang et al 1999, Crawford 2009), how do other countries see this? Indeed, do other countries teach cooking? Equally, while the cooking industry is big business, as illustrated by Figure 1.1; is there any value in the teaching of cooking skills for the food industry, the catering sector for which in the UK is the biggest employer in the food system, employing 1.3 million people in the 2000s (rising to 1.44 million in 2013) (Defra 2014)? While agricultural colleges and food science have laboratory skills education, is not the rationale for cooking skills education the enhancement and perpetuation of the catering workforce? One might think so, but catering is historically (and remains) mostly low-status, low-waged work. This was raised seminally by Gabriel (1988) in his *Working Lives in Catering*, where he explored the work experience of caterers. He witnessed the dignity and commitment of catering work, despite the conditions in which caterers worked. Could the connection between FCSE and the interests of catering and other food trades be better articulated today? How does industry see the value of cooking in the era of celebrity chefs? Indeed, are these celebrity chefs replacing formal classroom education as the transmission agents?

This chapter has raised wide pedagogical questions. The next chapter explores cooking as a policy problem in more detail. The policy debate about the inception of the NC, how it was introduced and relocated cooking (what was left of it) into Food Technology is examined.

Chapter 2: Cooking as a modern Food Policy Problem

This chapter considers the policy processes raised by FCSE. As with Chapter 1, a systematised literature review was used to gather information (see Chapter 3 for methodology), which again revealed a dearth of information about contemporary policy rationale for FCSE. Therefore this chapter returns to basics in order to begin to construct what happened when policy-makers changed the focus of FCSE. Whereas the last chapter raised cooking as an educational problem in its widest sense, Chapter 2 considers whether this is a *policy* problem by exploring the motives, appropriateness, feasibility and sustainability of the policy of teaching young people to cook since the restructure of FCSE in the educational reforms of the late 1980s. It starts to reveal, as with the food system, how decision making, different influences, contexts, institutions and shaping forces have defined its evolution, and identifies the emergence of some key phases and actors in this process that precede the Education Reform Act (ERA) of 1988, when the NC was introduced and cooking in the school curriculum was rationalised. This has been the focus for a number of writers such as Dena Attar, Donna Pendergast, Marion Rutland, Helen Sillitoe and Ailsa Yoxall.

Rutland (1996a / 1996b, 1997), Sillitoe, (1933) and Yoxall (1965) have each provided a historical account of the teaching of FCSE during different eras in England and Wales. Rutland (1997) was actively involved in research and professional education related to the Technology curriculum during the development and implementation of FT. Attar (1990) examined HE from a feminist viewpoint at a time when the ERA became law. She referred to the origins of the subject to inform her views and sought to establish the purpose and content of HE, suggesting that it had a *'persistent identity problem'* (ibid 9), which had been intensified by the new NC. Pendergast (2001), contended that over the years in Australia (with similarities to England and Wales), HE had been and remained in a state of battle for its continued existence with various societal systems (institutions), e.g. the school and university systems. These battles were generally fought against *'ignorant, and predominantly economic rationalist arguments'* (ibid 3) promoting the demise of the subject. In many cases the battles were lost; the results for HE being marginalisation and loss of funding, departments, courses, power and expertise. Battles within the professional field also occurred, culminating in frequent name changes, as societal acceptance, legitimacy and credibility were sought. Pendergast traced the cause of such battles to the origins of the subject being significantly influenced by institutionalised customs and behaviour patterns, which were associated with a dominant patriarchal society that traditionally regarded domestic chores and cooking as 'women's work'. Additionally, being located within a gendered regime of power and knowledge that tended to concentrate on *'dualisms'* (ibid 5) that bedevilled the subject field (male/female, work/non-work, public/private, domestic/industrial) had repressive side effects, and prevented it from having a firmly established and respected place within the curriculum.

The previous chapter raised the possibility that FCSE has an important cultural role – with regard to women/girls, control over food, health, etc. Cultural theorists point to the complexity and

contradictions of contemporary culture. In food, this is certainly the case, whereby food and particularly cooking have become increasingly popularised and frequent subjects of media attention, yet they are subject to supposed de-skilling, changing consumer tastes, altered food supply and other pressures. In reality, in the UK, much of the preparation and cooking of food is widely shaped by third parties (companies) through ready-made ingredients, meals and other aids. Is it this change that influenced the revision of the NC and raised concern about a supposed decline in cooking skills, and thus a concern about FCSE?

The creation of the NC certainly altered the meaning and purpose of FCSE, bringing the question posed by this thesis from the shadows of food policy. Rather like the provision of school meals – a battle which echoes not dissimilar dynamics (and rumbles on, at the time of writing, over the Coalition's decision in 2013 to give free school meals to children in Key Stage 1) – cooking education raised deeply philosophical, cultural as well as practical questions. The apparently simple issue of a society teaching its (young) people to cook can be read in different ways. It becomes a policy battleground in the way Lang and Heasman (2004) and Lang, Barling and Caraher (2009) suggested characterises much of modern food policy. It is 'contested space', yet both responds to and shapes what happens in the real world.

2.1 Food and Cooking Skills Education as a problem within food policy

The policy debate about FCSE in England and Wales has been 'hot' for twenty five years, since rationalisation of cooking in the classroom was proposed; specifically with the introduction of a Whitehall controlled, centralised NC (www.parliament.uk 2009). This process coincided with the emergence of strong arguments about diet being a major factor in the new burden of NCD. Health and food became linked policy concerns (Walker and Cannon 1984). Whereas FCSE had its origins in an era marked by poor food, under-consumption, malnutrition and concomitant health problems, the modern era appeared to be now characterised as health problems associated with over and mal-consumption. In 1990, the World Health Organisation (WHO) produced its landmark report '*Diet, Nutrition, and the Prevention of Chronic Diseases*' (WHO 1990) and in Britain, the Committee on Medical Aspects of Food and Nutrition Policy (COMA) had produced its report in 1984 on *'Diet and Cardiovascular Disease* (COMA 1984)*,* and again in 1994 COMA returned, worried, and re-emphasised its advice to the British government and the Department of Health and Social Services (DHSS) (COMA 1994). COMA was disbanded in March 2000 (National Archives 2012). At the same time as this hard medical evidence was emerging via one arm of the State (health) on the importance of diet, another arm of the State (education) was listening to business and apparently resisting or certainly downplaying the new nutrition evidence. This came to a head in the early 1980s over an innocuously named National Advisory Committee on Nutrition Education (NACNE). This committee had been tasked, with the approval of government, to produce new national nutrition education advice; but in fact the report it produced was not published, having become a battleground between the sugar and food processing industries and public health proponents, which

was summarised in *The Food Scandal* (Walker and Cannon 1984). The NACNE report was eventually published by the Health Education Council (England) (HEC), but the tone for the food policy debate had been set. Food had become a contentious battleground of interests. At the very moment FCSE was being restructured in a new NC, in which its focus was changed from home to industrial food production, arguments for its reassertion were coming to the fore. Various Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) championed cooking skills in the 1990s; notably the National Food Alliance (NFA), which ran a 'Get Cooking' campaign between 1992 and 1994 funded by the Department of Health (DoH) to promote cooking skills in the new NC. There was thus a policy paradox, whereby one arm of the state, the DoH, was funding a NGO to campaign against another arm of the state, the Department of Education and Science (DES) (NFA 1995). What today is called a 'food literacy' argument (Vidgen and Gallegos 2010, 2011), (see Chapter 9), was also being born in public health policy making. This was not, however, being taken seriously by those who were developing the NC in the 1980s/90s, where the focus for food education was to find a place in which to locate it within Technology.

In a 1997 paper, Lang suggested that critical food policy analysis ultimately has to clarify how decision-making shapes the food system; it needs to focus on who eats what, where, why and how, and with what effect on particular actors in the food system (Lang 1997). Attempting such an analysis would require FCSE to be situated within a particular area of public policy concern, which Colebatch (2009) has later called 'adjectival policy'. FCSE needs to be situated within the policy dynamics, goals, actors and themes of food policy as a sector of public policy. The CFP perspective offers potential for the policy analysis of FCSE, suggesting research into the battleground of interests and paradigms, as Lang and Heasman (2004) argued. This thesis takes Lang, Barling and Caraher's (2009) definition of food policy as the set of decisions made by actors jostling to shape the food system. Lang (2005) argued that food policy research needs to map the competing interests of and tensions between, not just the State, civil society organisations and the food supply chain, but also other professionals and interest groups, not least the mass of the consuming public. Other writers, less focused on food policy *per se*, have come to similar conclusions about the role of policy in and on the food system (e.g. Morgan et al 2006).

What is the point of policy in such a 'messy' complex world? Where food problems are externalised onto society through health and environmental impacts, Lang et al (2009) argued that this provides purpose for policy analysts, advisors and makers to explore the complex modern food system and face the challenge to encourage '….*the production, distribution and consumption of a good, health-enhancing and environmentally principled diet'* (ibid, 3) by championing *'ecological public health'* (ibid, 297-304). Indeed, the financial and commodity crisis of 2007-08 brought home to rich societies how their food systems – not just the developing world's - were under stress from environmental, health and economic pressures (Cabinet Office 2008, Lang et al 2009, UNEP 2009). Governments across Europe began to consider that new approaches to policy were required, particularly in terms of the sustainability of food production and consumption, food security and public health promotion.

In its 2007-08 review of food policy, the Cabinet Office (2008) concluded that public education would be important in any re-orientation of the food system. This was welcome yet, two decades earlier, the NC had downgraded that educational role; an irony noted by others for other food policy issues, including nutrition guidelines (Walker and Cannon 1984) and school meals (Morgan and Sonnino 2008).

The term 'food system' and the actors shaping modern food supply and (mal)-distribution was described by Tansey and Worsley (1995). The analysis has deepened since; the food system portrayed as having many external and internal influences, ensuring a state of dynamic development. Figure 2.1 shows the CFP's food policy systems map with a central conventional food supply chain, from farm and inputs to consumption. At the top, wider forces are represented, which provide influence or 'givens' to the system. On the left are formal institutions that intervene in the dynamics of the flow chart; through laws, regulations, guidelines etc. On the right are shaping forces which can be applied by those institutions or others; these include forces influencing culture industries (e.g. advertising, media, research, finance, skills and education). At the bottom are outcomes of this mix of supply chain, institutions and shapers. These in turn feed back to the context 'givens' at the top of the map. Although this map is schematic, and arguably simplistic given the complexity of food systems, it nevertheless provides a useful conceptual framework to help locate and focus on goals and actors in contemporary FCSE debates. The map has been modified by locating elements of the practice and teaching of cooking within it - highlighted in black - to indicate which elements and, by association, which actors might have an impact upon whether or not people choose to cook or are given the opportunity to learn how to and the potential consequences of their choices. For example, the context in which cooking occurs is influenced by socio-cultural factors that determine the extent to which cooking skills are acquired and practiced, according to their perceived importance, time allocated to them, the ability and/or motivation to use and/or pass on those skills, and/or the influence of tradition and culture including the requirements of religious adherence. Shaping forces influence how the range, extent and continuity of opportunities for FCSE arise and are accessible to people, and the definition and style of cooking promoted. These forces are then influenced by local, national and global institutions that determine, facilitate and regulate cooking education and training, the practice of cooking and the food supply. The production, processing and manufacture of inputs into the food system informs/is informed by trends in cooking style and content, which determine the availability and targeting of food products and the skills required to use them. The outcomes for all of these have impacts on cultural dynamics, the retention, changing use and definition of practical cooking skills and the extent and use of knowledge about food to inform self-determination and responsibility for aspects of life such as health and welfare. The title of Figure 2.1 appears below to allow the figure to fit on the following page. The rest of this chapter explores the major policy arguments that shaped contemporary FCSE with the introduction of the NC.

Figure 2.1: The food policy systems map with cooking impact and potential highlighted in black
Source: Lang 2010, adapted by Researcher

CONTEXT

Environmental 'givens' e.g. climate, water, land, biodiversity
Food provenance knowledge and production skills

Socio-cultural influences, e.g. religion, gender, family
Generational transfer of food knowledge and cooking skills

Economic drivers e.g. price, profits
'Value added' food purchase v domestic food production

SHAPING FORCES

Human skills and education
Develop, omit or marginalise cooking skills

INSTITUTIONS

International Organizations → Policy guidelines, advice, etc.

Regional bodies → Regulations, law, subsidies, etc.

National governments →Laws, regulations, subsidies, etc.
Determine national educational policy and skills training

Local governments →Laws, regulations, subsidies, etc.
Facilitate local education provision

INPUTS
e.g., agrichemicals, pharmaceuticals, equipment

PRIMARY PRODUCTION
farming, fishing, horticulture
Influence trends in cuisines and food product development

PROCESSING and MANUFACTURE
Influence trends in cuisines, food product development and accessibility to products

DISTRIBUTION and LOGISTICS
e.g., national/international, import/export

RETAIL
e.g. supermarkets, shops
Encourage / discourage cooking skills

CATERING
restaurants, public sector
Require a continuous supply of trained and skilled workforce Skills shortage

DOMESTIC FOOD PREPARATION
Definition of 'cooking' Which skills are required? Who cooks?

Research, development, engineering and technology
Influence extent and definition of cooking

Finance capital

Health, hygiene controls
Influenced by cooking skills and food knowledge?

Consciousness industries, e.g. advertising, media
Encourage / discourage cooking skills / promote celebrity chef culture

Civil society organisations
Have potential to promote and develop cooking skills initiatives

CONSUMPTION WITH OUTCOMES

Cultural impact
Loss of generational transfer of cooking skills and knowledge

Social impact
Reliance on third party food provision / commensality

Health / ill-health
Extent of knowledge and skills to empower control of food intake

Waste and biological outflow e.g. pollutants
Environmental impact of convenience food packaging

Energy and material outflow
Energy costs of domestic v industrial food production

2.2 The introduction of the National Curriculum

This section starts with an account of the introduction of the NC in 1988 and how FCSE was restructured within it, as it heralded a major policy change in education provision in the UK with the centralisation of control over curriculum content and pedagogy for all curriculum subjects, the methods by which the educational development and achievements of pupils would be assessed and the requirement for teachers to be accountable. Up to this point HE was autonomous, with an established identity and pedagogy (although whether this was really the case is a matter that emerges in the fieldwork chapters and is discussed and theorised in Chapter 9). As the process of implementing the NC unfolded, it became clear that HE was gradually being side-lined, having been excluded from the core curriculum, and the implications of the new Design and technology (DT) curriculum left many HE practitioners feeling ill-prepared and de-skilled (Atherton 1990). It was likely that it would cease to exist without action to adapt it to the new requirements of the Technology curriculum.

A literature search using terms including 'technology education', 'design and technology', 'food technology', 'national curriculum technology' and 'craft, design, technology' produced a range of documents, including academic articles concerning issues about educational policy and the NC changes (e.g. Atkinson 1990, Barlex and Rutland 2003, Black 1998, Black and Harrison 1985, Crawford 2000, Phillips and Harper-Jones 2002). There were also reports on the development of Technology in schools, e.g. those produced by The Engineering Council (e.g. Smithers and Robinson 1992, 1997), and forums on the Internet on the nature of technology education, e.g. The UK Technology Education Centre (UKTEC, 1996a, 1996b [now unavailable]). Government sources included a range of publications, guides and Internet links from the DES (e.g. DES 1987, 1989). What follows is an account of how this educational policy changed the focus of FCSE from home production of food to industrial production. This represents the initial understanding derived by the researcher, which is then further explored and reported in Chapters 4-8.

In a keynote speech in 1976, Labour Prime Minister, James Callaghan, presented the framework that would dominate much of UK education debate for the next twenty-five years, highlighting areas of concern, including the need to improve relations between industry and education. Some commentators have argued that this encouraged a close connection by the public between educational failure and economic and industrial crisis (Phillips and Harper-Jones 2002). In the subsequent Conservative Government, Keith Joseph was appointed Secretary of State for Education in 1981 under Margaret Thatcher. A renowned champion of the market place and technological development, Joseph oversaw the continuing development of Technology in the curriculum, which was given added impetus by various interventions and initiatives instigated by industrialists and Government, e.g. the

Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative (TVEI), introduced in 1983, which involved injecting industry money into schools to purchase equipment such as computers; and the promotion of a holistic approach to the design process, encouraging business and industry links. Although committed to policies that eschewed state control, Joseph realised that in practice, educational reform could only be achieved through state intervention (Phillips and Harper-Jones 2002). Kenneth Baker's succession to the ministerial post in 1986 heralded radical State-educational reforms, including the introduction of a compulsory NC (via the 1988 ERA), new examinations and rigorous assessment systems, a reformed inspectorate (the Office for Standards in Education [Ofsted]) and Local Financial Management (Atkinson 1990, www.parliament.uk 2009). The Conservatives continued some of Callaghan's themes, notably making an irrevocable connection in the public psyche that schools existed primarily to represent the interests of industry and the economy (Phillips and Harper-Jones 2002).

The 1988 ERA established the legal basis and framework for the NC, a key element of which was the establishment of 'Key Stages' (KS) in educational development, broadly based upon age and category of school as shown in Table 2.1:

Table 2.1:   National Curriculum Key Stages

Key Stage	Age of pupils	School designation
Key Stage 1	5 – 7 years (Years 1 and 2)	Infant School
Key Stage 2	7 – 11 years (Years 3,4,5, and 6)	Junior School
Key Stage 3	11 – 14 years (Years 7,8, and 9)	Lower Secondary School
Key Stage 4	14 – 16 years (Years 10 and 11)	Upper Secondary School
Key Stage 5	16 – 18 years (Years 12 and 13)	'Sixth' form – post-16 education

Source: Researcher

The introduction of new technology (principally Information and Computer Technology [ICT]) into education has been a key component of government policy since 1980, the aim being to keep Britain competitive in the 21st century (Somekh 2000). The introduction of DT as a new NC subject for England and Wales in 1990 was considered by some commentators as the most revolutionary aspect of the new curriculum model that was otherwise regarded (and criticised) as being a traditional ten-subject curriculum (Barlex and Rutland 2003). Its origins stemmed from a belief amongst civil servants and policy makers that technology-based projects would enhance the development of cross-curricular learning and that Technology ought to be part of general education for pupils up to sixteen years old to prepare them for working life (Crawford 2000).

In 1997 during the launch of the National Grid for Learning, Labour Prime Minister, Tony Blair, referred to the perceived importance of Technology:

'Technology has revolutionised the way we work and is now set to transform education. Children cannot be effective in tomorrow's world if they are trained in yesterday's skills…' (Somekh 2000)

The DT curriculum saw a departure from the pedagogy of making set-piece artefacts in different materials, to develop practical skills. The most significant aspect of the NC proposals was that DT would be taught by an amalgamation of teachers from the subject areas of Art and Design, Business Studies, Craft, Design and Technology (CDT), HE and Information Technology, many of whom had experienced minimal previous professional contact and were pressurised to co-operate. The new curriculum was ambitious, and early implementations were uneven and controversial. There was much criticism, particularly from the Engineering Council (e.g. Smithers and Robinson 1992), that the broad range and early emphases on social needs and discussing the nature of technology would weaken the teaching of skills of design and construction (Barlex and Rutland 2003). Arguments about the inclusion of Food in the Technology curriculum focused on the view that to broaden the range of materials would reduce rigour and diminish its status (Rutland 1997). Smithers and Robinson (1992) suggested that in teaching Technology, too little emphasis had been given to planning and making, which they argued should be pre-eminent in a practical subject that should be available to all, but '*not with areas tossed in to bring in their supposed client groups as we suspect has happened with Home Economics and girls'* (ibid, 18). They were also critical of aligning Technology with basic life skills and vocational education, (some of the existing fundamental tenets of HE), whilst others argued that as technology is concerned with supplying human needs, then food should be a core part of the subject (Rutland 1997). Pupils now became engaged in open tasks, involving design and product manufacture, focused practical tasks to develop particular knowledge and skills, and the study of existing artefacts by testing, disassembling, and evaluating them (Black 1998). The aims included engaging pupils with thinking about the manufactured world and how they might intervene to change it (Barlex and Rutland 2003). It was within this framework that FCSE in the form of FT was obliged to fit.

HE and FT differ from each other in the perspective each takes. Both include food science, food safety and hygiene, nutrition, and practical food preparation. In the former, the focus is domestic food production, the home, family and society, and in the latter, it is industrial and commercial food production and retail, science, technology and society. The core of DT is design, and a sequential design process (beginning with a perception of need, the formulation of a specification, the generation of ideas and the development of a final solution which must then be evaluated) is the central theme running through all Technology courses,

including FT, using the requisite language (in the case of FT, from the commercial food industry) to accompany the process. Thus in FT, pupils use 'components' (ingredients), 'design specifications' (recipes) and 'construct products' (cook dishes) following a 'specific process' (method), assessing, as they do so, the 'working characteristics' of food. The industrial focus of FT was believed by some commentators to enable pupils to become informed consumers; provide a realistic context for the work-related curriculum; enhance opportunities for future employment at all levels of educational attainment and provide the potential to contribute to the future competitive UK economy (Valentine 2000). Atkinson (1990) reports that during the implementation of the NC, beliefs amongst educationalists about the route forward for CDT were polarised; one side believing that the emphasis should be creative designing, and the other that it should be hard technology and a sound knowledge base. Neither side could comfortably adjust to the concept that these two elements were being amalgamated, nor that HE and Needlework also had a place in the DT curriculum (Smithers and Robinson 1992, Rutland 1997). Such a lack of clarity prevented CDT from securing a prominent role in the academic core of the NC, which was further exacerbated by teachers of CDT, Technology, Art and Design attempting to protect their individual subject boundaries and resisting change. The development of the NC area, now known as DT continued, progressing from single material, craft-based courses for less academically able pupils, to a cognitive, experiential, largely practical activity that aimed to form cross-curricular links with other subjects for all pupils of compulsory school age.

The economic argument that favoured including technology in the school curriculum was based on the premise that the foundation of UK economic success is its ability to succeed in trade (Atkinson 1990, The UKTEC 1996b). The post-WW2 economic decline was regarded by some commentators to emanate from a culture where humanistic and aesthetic pursuits were more highly regarded than practical and commercial activity (ACARD 1982, The UKTEC 1996a); the long-term effect producing a shortage of suitably qualified people, because they were unable to access a technological and practical education. Also, technological innovations since the 1940s meant that there was a radical change in the types of manufacturing processes used, the needs of industry for particular personnel and the types of trade that developed. Jobs that require 'thinking' rather than 'doing' accounted for about 70% of all jobs in 2000, compared to 30%, a century before. Employers increasingly required a flexible and highly-skilled workforce from which to select personnel (Black and Harrison 1985, The UKTEC 1996a).

In 1988, the NC DT Working Group produced their final report in the form of proposals to the Secretary of State, for DT for NC KS1–4. These included attainment targets (ATs) and programmes of study (PoS). The National Curriculum Council (NCC) was given the task of conducting the consultation process. Unlike the Working Group, the NCC was less independent of Government and so its responses to concerns raised in the consultation

process and those of Government were measured. This was evident in the forward to their report, which concentrated on wealth creation and enterprise, unlike the Working Group report, which covered a range of reasons for teaching Technology in schools. The NCC did respond to the CDT bias in the proposals and introduced examples that would appeal to HE teachers. This highlighted a problem in the first few years of implementing NC Technology – could design and make activities be extended to those including food? Examples such as 'design a jacket potato and its filling' or 'design a pizza', at face value tended to undermine the definition of Technology, but if taught as part of an industrial process in the catering industry, had more relevance, although the feasibility of including any meaningful experience of industrial processes in the school situation was, and remains, a limiting factor (McCormick 1994). It was argued that if teachers failed to acknowledge that FT could be successfully taught within DT, it could lose its identity and become extinct. NC Technology was introduced in 1990 as a compulsory element of the curriculum for all (State school) pupils aged 5-16 years. There followed five years of debate, discussion, confusion and low morale about its implementation, consequently the Orders for Technology were re-written and a new revision published in 1995 (Thompson and Rutland 1997).

The educational premise that favoured the inclusion of Technology in schools argued that it comprises a unique set of activities, worthy of study in its own right and that technological achievements are as much a part of culture as scientific, artistic or literary achievements, and should therefore be a part of education for all. There was also a growing awareness of the cognitive complexity inherent in the combination of knowledge and practical activity, which was considered to help develop problem solving, analytical and evaluative abilities in pupils (The UKTEC 1996a; UKTEC 1996b). It was argued that the inclusion of Technology in the curriculum would enhance the growing need for technical literacy as society progresses, and also help to overcome the inherent contempt for manual labour, which had existed for a long time in Britain and tended to deny status, under-value qualifications and ultimately imposed limitations on the life chances of pupils who are more practically than academically inclined (Browne 1997b; The UKTEC 1996a).

The perceived image of a subject is a necessary feature of curriculum management and a potent force for change. Images reflect the people involved in a subject, and are also perpetuated by historical anecdote, local mythology, previous animosities, ignorance, ingrained attitudes and prejudice (Martin 1998). Developing the image of Technology was difficult for a number of reasons, including providing it with a definitive description. As a new subject, developed out of defined national economic imperatives, its progress, especially in the early stages, continually changed and developed, confusing and dissatisfying many educational practitioners (Smithers and Robinson 1997).

Black and Harrison (1985) suggested that the concept of 'Task-Action-Capability' (TAC) was key to Technology education, with the dimensions of resources (knowledge, skills, experiences), capability (performance, action, decision making and persistence) and awareness, perception and understanding (to facilitate balanced, effective judgements) being developed. HE was considered by many practitioners to offer numerous opportunities to achieve such dimensions in realistic and uncontrived contexts, to which pupils could relate, and that constantly interacted within HE lessons. The unique nature of HE enabled pupils to manage resources (time, effort, money, energy, food and equipment) and it synthesised theory with practice to solve real-life problems and develop critical awareness of living in a dynamic society.

The elimination, re-balancing and prioritising of elements of subjects became features of the NC innovation. When DT was introduced, the retention by teachers of traditional practices to create personal 'comfort zones' was recognised, as they grappled with a rapid succession of changes to their existing pedagogies (Atkinson1990). The amalgamation of such disparate fields of study as HE, CDT, IT, Art and Design and Textiles, under the umbrella of DT resulted in internal tensions, including nostalgia amongst teachers for their previous subject identities. Teachers were asked to move to the periphery, those practices (e.g. practical craft-based skills) that were previously central to their subject area, and which for many, the enjoyment of such practices was the impetus for them desiring to pass on their skills to others through teaching (Martin 1998). FT, as an element within the DT curriculum in secondary schools, was slow to develop a clear identity. One reason was the reluctance of HE teachers to abandon their traditional pedagogy and switch to the new emphasis on design and food product development (Barlex and Rutland 2003). This slow development was compounded in primary schools for several reasons, including the historic low status that food had in the primary curriculum; lack of experience with teaching pupils through the design process; health, safety and hygiene issues when working with food in normal classrooms; and the resource and fiscal implications which tended to limit FT provision (Barlex and Rutland 2003).

In September 2000 a new NC came into force in schools in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. DT, including FT, became a compulsory part of the NC for children at KS 1 and 2, but because of the resource implications for a minority of schools that did not teach FT at KS3, the Government decided against making it compulsory at KS3, and so it continued to be optional (Farrell 2000a). The argument that FT should remain compulsory at KS3 had been endorsed by the NCC DT advisory group and the School Curriculum Assessment Authority's (SCAA) KS3 Committee; however, this was overruled by the full SCAA Council (Stitt et al. 1997). The revised version of the NC for DT became narrower in scope, with emphasis on designing and making and with the comprehensive statement of aims in relation to technology and society all removed. All pupils were required to work in non-

resistant materials (Textiles and FT), Resistant Materials Technology (RMT) (wood, metal, and plastics) and to work with Control Systems (electrical, electronic, mechanical, and pneumatic) and Structures up to the age of fourteen years, after which there was more flexibility as the subject areas became optional. According to Farrell (2000b), the great majority of schools did elect to make this provision within their KS3 DT programmes - seeing this as the best place in the curriculum for FCSE and because, traditionally, it had been home to the practical subjects. Many professionals considered that everyone could benefit from FT, since in modern society nobody can assume that someone else will take responsibility for their daily needs. The domestic context, which was provided by HE, was considered to be no longer the only relevant one. An understanding of the industrial production of food through FT was regarded as important, because a great deal happens to food before it reaches our plates, which impacts on its quality, and there are more food options available to people than in the past (ibid.).

Tensions in FCSE provision began to emerge. The non-mandatory provision of FT in the curriculum at KS3 left it vulnerable to exclusion in some schools where pressures of accommodating and providing compulsory subjects allowed little space for elective subjects, especially those that have specialist resource requirements. From September 2004, following the Government's 14-19 Opportunity and Excellence consultation, and a further consultation by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) on changes to the KS4 curriculum (DfES [Department for Education and Skills] 2004), DT ceased to be statutory for KS4 pupils, and became instead an entitlement. The requirement was that schools must provide pupils with access to a minimum of one DT course, in the following areas;

- Product Design and Manufacturing
- FT, Hospitality and Catering or HE
- Systems and Control, Electronics and Engineering

The teaching of FT was also linked to the opportunities for teaching nutrition, health and hygiene under the new framework for Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE). In a statement incorporated into side notes in the main text for KS3, the new NC encouraged those schools, which at the time did not teach FCSE, to start doing so in the KS3 curriculum, but did not offer solutions to the dearth of appropriate expertise and facilities that many schools experienced:

> *'The Government believes that schools should be encouraged to look for opportunities to teach both food and textiles as part of the range of contrasting materials that pupils should use as part of the key stage 3 programme of study'*
> (DfES 2004)

FT was the focus of a number of Ofsted reports which highlighted the developing tensions. A 2003/2004 report (Ofsted 2004) into the appropriateness and quality of FCSE for young children, with the aim of identifying factors that support or impede it, found that the most effective practice had unambiguous and logical policies that aimed to educate children towards making informed food choices based on coherent, consistent, accurate, informed, unbiased and current nutritional advice. This was delivered by appropriately trained, confident and competent practitioners who provided children with many opportunities to put into practice what they learnt, and in which children were active participants in experiential learning, which also involved their parents and carers. A 2006 report (Ofsted 2006a, Ofsted 2006b) on DT provision in primary and secondary schools between 2003 and 2005 highlighted a number of pertinent issues. In primary schools, Food was found to receive less attention than other aspects of DT, usually because of curriculum organisation and timetabling allocation constraints and was also considered to suffer through inadequate provision of appropriate facilities and resources. There was tension about the purpose of FCSE:

> *'There is a fundamental and so far unresolved dichotomy between teaching about food to develop skills for living and using food as a means to teach the objectives of DT'.* (Ofsted 2006b)

There was also concern about facilitating the delivery of the crux of FCSE, i.e. how to prepare meals and have knowledge and understanding about their ingredients:

> *'..concern has been raised about the extent to which pupils are given adequate life-skills preparation in FT to be able to organise and prepare nutritious dishes for personal or family consumption and to recognise the origins and nutritional characteristics of common foods. Recent inspection evidence reveals some grounds for this concern….in many cases, time for such study is limited.'* (Ofsted 2006a)

Ofsted considered that there was inadequate coverage of practical cooking and most FT courses fell short of government policy on healthy eating – this was an issue that was frequently criticised by head teachers who saw a failure to meet a fundamental social need for pupils to know how to cook and eat well within the boundaries of their individual circumstances:

> *'Despite the strong national debate on diet, education about cooking and nutrition is underemphasised in many schools.'* (Ofsted 2006a)

> *'…the essential issue for policy makers, as well as schools, is to determine the extent to which FT courses support government policy on healthy eating: inspection indicates that they fall short except in a minority of schools….'* (Ofsted 2006a)

It was considered that too little time was spent on learning to cook nutritious meals and too much time devoted to low-level investigations and lengthy and time-consuming written work

without a clear purpose or value, and that FT pedagogy had become distorted due to the inclusion of aspects of design, manufacture, systems and control, which are common elements of other DT disciplines. In addition, there was a requirement for pupils to focus on and engage in complex food product development before they were cognisant of the nature of food commodities, nutrition and food hygiene and had acquired competent and confident food handling skills:

> *'Even in well organised food lessons, in many schools younger pupils and those of lower or average prior attainment found some of the more abstract elements of Food Technology beyond their capacity.'* (Ofsted 2006b)

> *'Good and very good achievement across the full spectrum of FT was rare and tended to be associated with exceptionally skilful teachers and highly motivated pupils. The highest achievement was marked by pupil's clear understanding of the various properties of food materials, effective cooking capability and strong, commercially oriented product development.'* (Ofsted 2006b)

Ofsted also reported a shortage of specialist teachers of FT and a need for on-going continuous professional development, and that there had been a significant reduction in FT provision:

> *….'head teachers report a shortage of specialist teachers of FT. This increasingly leads to a reduction in provision and, in some cases, an abandonment of food teaching throughout the school and closure of specialist teaching rooms.'* (Ofsted 2006a)

It was also considered that because some pupils did little cooking, because they could not afford or would not bring ingredients to school, and lack of funding to address this issue, made consistent teaching and learning very challenging. There were also increases in the size of class numbers which led to impacts on resources, health and safety and pupil / teacher experiential satisfaction. Ofsted went on to recommend that pupils needed and should have more opportunities to learn the practical skills of buying, cooking and storing food, and that such learning should be well secured before pupils embarked on more industrially-oriented courses at GCSE level. They recommended that Central Government, working through the QCA should take effective steps to rationalise this situation. It was also considered that there was a need to clarify the relationship between the teaching of food as a life skill and using food as a medium for teaching DT, in order to prevent confusion for teachers and curriculum developers. In terms of pedagogy, Ofsted suggested that teachers needed more training in areas such as teaching practical cooking within organisational constraints, motivating pupils particularly in the more abstract aspects of DT, increasing the industrial orientation of the subject and pedagogical differentiation. It recommended that guidance should be developed for organisational and resource requirements and management for items such as funding ingredient purchase, lesson duration and frequency

and class sizes in practical rooms. It also recommended that specialist teacher shortfall should be identified and training opportunities facilitated and implemented (Ofsted 2006a).

FT continued to be the main title under which FCSE was taught in many schools. However, GCSE qualifications were reviewed and revised in 2008 and 161 GCSE specifications covering 60 subjects were accredited by the Office of the Qualifications and Examinations Regulator (OFQUAL) for first teaching from September 2009. New syllabuses were published, and included revised HE: Food and Nutrition GCSE courses provided by some examination boards, e.g. OCR (Oxford, Cambridge and Royal Society of Arts), WJEC (Welsh Joint Education Committee) and AQA (Assessment and Qualifications Alliance). The specifications for these new courses were designed to cover the domestic production of food for a range of individual and dietary needs and to include theory and practice about the content, provenance, preparation and cooking of a wide range of foods. FT has continued as a separate qualification.

This is the immediate policy context for this thesis but, as will emerge in the methodology chapter, questions have already arisen about how this situation came about. Are these modern arguments completely new? Are there any continuities to the arguments about cooking and cooking education further back in national history?

2.3 Some key actors in the cooking education policy debate

Although cooking is a fundamental and familiar human activity and not overtly controversial; when learning to cook becomes the focus of food policy and educational debates, a range of actors emerge from the State, civil society and supply chain, adding complexity to the central research question, '*Why teach young people how to cook?',* as each has a stake in or contribution to make towards the aims and objectives of FCSE from their particular perspectives. The research needs to address these various actor perspectives for its insight, because it is they who formulate opinions and invoke arguments that stimulate debate and drive the policy making process on behalf of an issue or principle. Throughout its history, the development of FCSE has been subject to influence by societal institutions such as parliament, ministries, professions, schools and families. Hodgson (2006) proposes that institutions are systems of established and embedded social rules that structure social interaction; organisations being specialised institutions that involve criteria to establish boundaries and distinguish members, principles of sovereignty and chains of command. The term 'institution' is also applied to patterns of behaviour and customs deemed to be significant to a society in a particular time frame. For the purposes of this research, the term 'institution' is firstly applied to organisations and secondly to societal patterns of behaviour and customs that have influenced the policy, ethos, provision and pedagogy of FCSE.

One of the tasks emerging for this research has been to document the historical involvement and influence of organisations and institutions over the development of FCSE. A specific research question in this respect is proposed in Chapter 3. Organisations exist throughout society to perform a number of roles for the people and issues they support; as such they seek to be influential either by applying pressure to other organisations and institutions within an 'institutional architecture' (e.g. in the form of incentives or by championing their cause) or by seeking to work alongside them and developing and promoting specific initiatives. An outline of the institutional architecture surrounding and shaping FCSE is given in Figure 2.2. This suggests that the actors and institutions include government institutions and related agencies, NGOs and pressure groups, the food industry and professional organisations.

Figure 2.2: The institutional architecture of FCSE in the UK
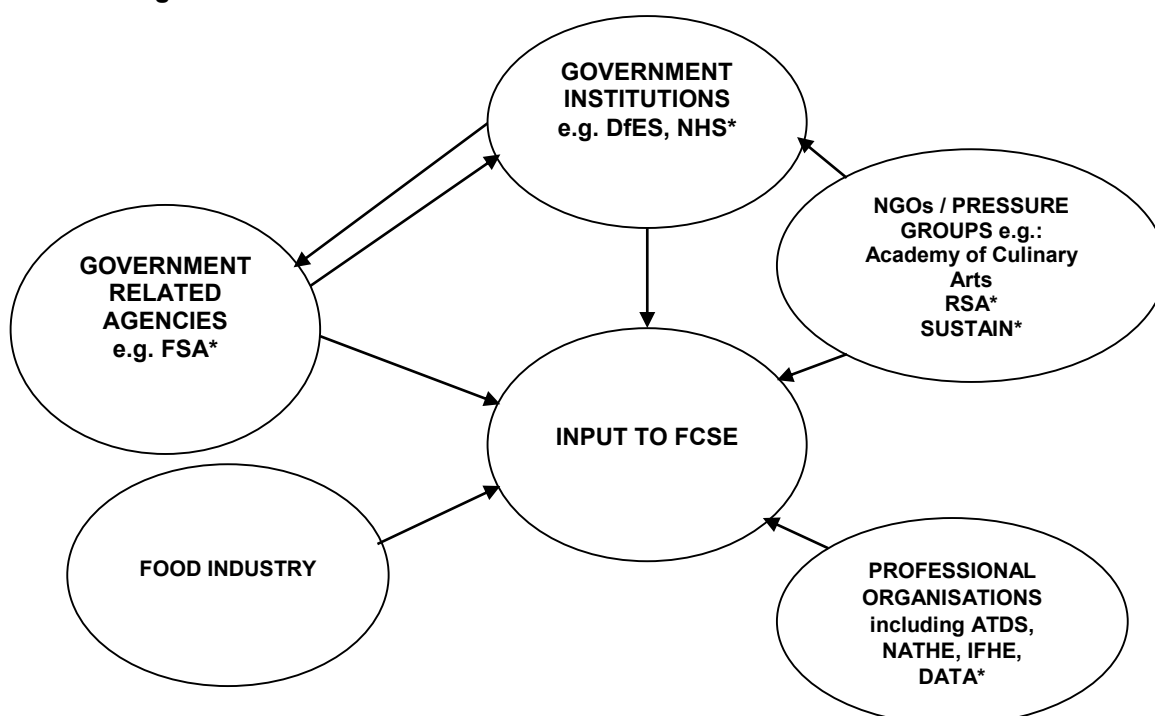
Source: Researcher * definitions of acronyms will be explained in following sections

As the figure suggests, these have different aims and themes that they both represent and inject into the cooking education debate. NGOs, e.g. the NFA championed cooking skills in the 1990s (NFA 1995). Professional organisations such as the National Association of Teachers of Home Economics (NATHE) had to juggle the long term survival of FCSE practitioners whilst accepting the arrival of the NC. The food industry meanwhile, appeared to be content with the pedagogical shift from domestic to factory skills that was the focus of new FT curricula content. Throughout the history of FCSE, different institutions in the 'architecture' above have sought to influence its existence and format. A preliminary sketch is now given of some key institutions and their arguments around critical moments in the creation of the NC and the new policy architecture that shaped FCSE and why it exists.

<u>Government Institutions and Related Agencies</u>

In State schools, in common with all curriculum subjects, many aspects of FCSE (e.g. content, provision, inspection) have been established, administered and overseen by national and local Government institutions, and the changing nature of the subject brought about by curriculum reforms has, to an extent, reflected the prevailing political climate. To investigate how the major restructuring of education and change of focus in FCSE in England and Wales during the 1980s was influenced by Government, the researcher conducted an archive search of DES and Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) documentation, subject advisor reports, papers and press releases relating to FCSE in schools between 1980 and 1990 at the DfES library in London. An electronic database search of their resources using the search terms 'Home Economics', 'cooking skills' and 'food education' was conducted, and a number of documents were selected using the titles and synopses provided as guides to the relevance of each. In addition, a manual search of 'DES News' publications (press releases) was made for the years 1985–1989.

The archive search revealed that during this period, there were relatively few specific references for FCSE, but those that were recorded give an indication of the focus for the subject, which in the early 1980s was influenced by policy to promote equality of opportunity and develop in young people the skills to be personally responsible for health and family life, including competence in practical cookery skills. For example, the 1982 Working Party report *Equal Opportunities in Home Economics*, convened by the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC 1982), which recognised that boys were under-represented in HE courses and examinations, concluded that:

> '*Most boys and some girls will leave school ill-equipped for personal independence and for taking shared responsibility in home and family life unless Home Economics forms part of a compulsory core….. Home Economics equips young people with the knowledge and skills which will enable them to make reasoned and informed decisions for themselves* [and] *is of immediate and continuing significance to all pupils* [and] *should be an essential area of educational experience for all boys and girls.*' (EOC 1982)

Even with such strong endorsement, there were changes afoot in the way in which education policy makers apparently perceived the value of practical cookery skills. In 1984, in a letter to Sir William Cockcroft (Chairman of the Secondary Examinations Council), Keith Joseph (then Secretary of State for Education at the DES) responded to the Joint Council's practical assessment proposals for the National Criteria for GCSE HE:

> '*…of particular concern is that it would be possible ... for practical ability to be assessed solely through written papers: the Secretaries of State see this as both undesirable and inappropriate and suggest that it should be made clear that genuine practical tests are a requirement of HE examinations.*'

In a 1985 'Curriculum Matters' discussion series (*Home Economics from 5 to 16*), published by HMI from the DES (also summarised in a DES News publication [number 222/85] dated the 10th September 1985), HE was the focus of attention in terms of its ethos, content, delivery and contribution towards encouraging healthy eating, as demonstrated by the following extracts:

> *'..the major objective of teaching up to 14* [years] *will be an extension and consolidation of understanding about nutrition and food….in relation to the children….and members of their families.'*

> *'All pupils, whatever their social, cultural or ethnic background, require to gain competence and to make informed choices in matters of hygiene, safety, health and diet.'*

> *'Home Economics is an appropriate area of study for all pupils, both boys and girls, at all stages of schooling..* [and] *an important part of the work…..has to do with the development of attitudes and values and of the capacity to make judgements based on a reasonable consideration of evidence about matters to do with running a home, diet and clothing.'*

There was criticism of commonly occurring syllabus content in terms of the recipes taught:

> *'All Home Economics teaching must itself exemplify good practice – which will mean a radical departure from the present over-dependence on flour, sugar and fat-based baking in schools- towards the making of meals using…fruit and vegetables, brown bread, jacket potatoes and cereals.'*

and a desire to encourage and forge links between pupils' understanding of healthy food intake and long term health:

> *'..the primary objectives should be to….*[put] *into practice the provision of suitable healthy meals for different occasions, with particular groups of people in mind.'*

> *'Pupils should learn to value good health and seek to promote it by paying attention to diet and hygiene. They should be discriminating in their choice of food…'*

The attention and focus paid to HE and practical cookery was to a large extent superseded by an increasing emphasis on the national importance of the place of technology in society, as demonstrated by an increasing frequency of archive references to technology, including one from Keith Joseph in a 1985 DES News press release about the White Paper 'Better Schools – Education for the 21st century', in which he stated that:

> *'..schools need to develop all pupils to the full and need to promote the challenging opportunities of a technological and competitive world…*[schools] *need to educate pupils to their own full potential and for the responsibilities of citizenship and working life…the curriculum should be broad, balanced, relevant and differentiated.'*

In the same year, Keith Joseph called for more links to be made between schools and industry (DES News number 238/85) and HMI proposed that Technology as a curriculum subject should be compulsory for all pupils (DES News number 260/85), with pedagogy and learning styles directed towards an emphasis on design and virtual technological capability and that:

> 'All pupils should learn about the everyday application of technology to prepare them for living and working in today's increasingly technological society.'

The Education Office of the DES (DES News number 284/85) stated that:

> 'The Government backs the drive towards the new technologies…[and] is committed to improving the supply of graduates and technicians in the new technologies and to securing a cultural shift towards an emphasis on science and technology.'

In 1986, under the direction of Kenneth Baker, the DES developed a new in-service training (INSET) initiative to improve the quality of teaching, in which nineteen national priority areas including CDT, the training of teachers related to industry, and ICT were identified; but there was no specific mention of FCSE. In a letter to Kenneth Baker and Peter Walker (secretary of State for Wales) in November 1988, about the final report of the NC Design and Technology Working Group (appointed in April 1988), concerning proposals for Design and Technology for ages 5 – 16 years; Lady Margaret Parkes (of the Working Group) wrote that the aims of the Working Group's proposals were to:

> '… prepare pupils to meet the needs of the 21st century: to stimulate originality, enterprise, practical capability in designing and making and the adaptability needed to cope with a rapidly changing society.'.. [and that the] …. development of design and technological capability remains the overall objective for the subject and the basis for assessing performance.'

Kenneth Baker replied that:

> '…we attach particular importance to providing…a framework within which schools will be able to co-ordinate the range of design and technological activity that is currently undertaken within separate subject specialisms, particularly CDT.'

In the same period, the DES Education Office produced proposals for new GCSE courses, which still included HE (DES News 15th July 1986 – *What's new about GCSE courses?*), and in which the breadth of the subject was acknowledged:

> 'GCSE Home Economics syllabuses will cover four areas: Family, Food, Home and Textiles, to ensure that pupils take a broadly based study of the subject. The syllabuses should retain a strong practical bias and foster skills of problem solving, decision making, and to develop competencies essential to the management of resources. All syllabuses must include management skills, i.e.: 'comprehension, analysis, investigation, interpretation, discrimination, organisation, communication and evaluation.'

Also in the 1980s, a number of Acts of Parliament not only heralded changes to the curriculum and the delivery of FCSE, but also instigated major changes to school food provision; specifically the 1980 Education Act, which removed the obligation on LEAs to provide school meals; the 1988 ERA Act which introduced Local Management of Schools (LMS) and the NC; and the 1988 Local Government Act, which introduced compulsory competitive tendering, obliging all schools to put school meal services out to tender (Sharp 1992). The resultant change to cafeteria style food provision involving the use of pre-prepared meal components in many schools, and the increasing reliance by the public on third parties for the provision of food in and out of the home, became part of the general cultural change and practical de-skilling process that was a feature of that era, where the use of technology and machinery gradually reduced the need for input from practically competent people in many aspects of society.

Ofsted

In 1992, the Education (Schools) Act set out the role and responsibilities for a new Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools in England; a non-ministerial government department known as Ofsted. Ofsted's remit is to inspect all aspects of education provision in educational establishments (i.e. pre-school, State schools and colleges), conduct research and produce reports summarising their findings and recommendations. Ofsted has inspected aspects of FCSE in a number of reports, which were detailed in section 2.2 of this chapter.

Food Standards Agency

The Food Standards Agency (FSA) is an independent government department, principally responsible for food safety and hygiene across the UK, but also involved in educational policy matters. A key role of the FSA is to work with Education and Health Departments to contribute to promoting a whole-school approach to food and nutrition. In 2007, the FSA began a consultation process that aimed to develop, with the British Nutrition Foundation (BNF), a consensus view of the minimum food skills and knowledge that young people should know, understand and be able to apply. This resulted in the development of a Food Competency Framework, focusing on food skills and knowledge for children and young people from the ages of 7–16+ years. The Competency Framework built upon previous work that the FSA had led, including 'Getting to Grips with Grub' which developed competencies for 14-16 year olds, and involved a range of actors from the Design and Technology Association (DATA), the DfES, DoH, Health Development Agency (HDA) and QCA. The competencies were framed within the themes of diet and health; consumer awareness; cooking (food preparation and handling) and food safety. The aim was to provide a consistent, progressive and cumulative approach to help young people develop food life skills within a realistic and appropriate developmental context.

Following the ERA, HE gradually disappeared in name in England and Wales (acquiring a new identity as FT), as the subject became absorbed into the DT curriculum. In 1983 the professional body for the subject, the Association of Teachers of Domestic Science (ATDS), became NATHE and in the early 1990s was integrated into DATA, the professional journal for which (Modus) was re-launched in January 2005 as 'DATA Practice', then 'DATA news' and finally as 'DT Practice'; the contents of which increasingly included articles on all areas of the Technology curriculum with only a small percentage devoted to FCSE.

Throughout the period of transition that culminated in the implementation of the NC and the development of FT, NATHE represented the views and concerns of HE professionals. The researcher conducted a chronological archive search (1988–1997) of editorial comment and articles from NATHE's professional journals *New Home Economics* (the original title) and *Modus*, to establish how the association reacted to the restructuring of HE. The journals had a regular editorial *'Talking Points'* section where issues pertinent to HE teachers were aired and frequently featured written contributions from NATHE officials and representatives, so were considered to be relevant and valid sources of information. The rest of this section draws upon the critical reading of the literature from these journals.

The search revealed that NATHE initially attempted to defend the place of HE in the curriculum, as it was perceived to be under threat from Government educational policies that were being implemented during the period:

> *'…HE should be included in its entirety within whatever grouping of subjects is ultimately designated as 'technology'.'*
> (Geen and Daniels _ 'Home Economics by any other name,' New Home Economics – July/August 1988)

> *'….it was alarming….how little information teachers* [have] *about action being taken to argue the case* [for HE] *at Government level….the move to technology will be to lose out badly in terms of what is valuable to pupils.'*
> (Thorne – 'Home Economics by Definition', New Home Economics – Sept. 1988)

HE teachers were urged to stand up for their subject…

> *'The HE profession must wake up and be prepared to give more time to politicking….. Are we afraid to use the expertise within our profession itself?....perhaps we can start using our full strength to fight what is still not a lost cause.'* (Thorne – ''Home Economics by Definition', New Home Economics – Sept. 1988)

…. however there was a gradual capitulation towards acceptance that without a place in the core NC, HE would need to find a 'home' if it was to survive at all, and that home looked likely to be within DT:

'The omission of HE from NC foundation subjects has sent shock waves through the profession….. Could our bid to remain on the curriculum via the Technology route result in professional suicide?....Let us argue for Technology through HE and resist suggestions of HE through Technology.'
(Angela Scriven – 'Talking Points', Editorial comment Modus – October 1988)

During this uncertain period, when the future of HE was still being debated, NATHE endeavoured to promote the place of HE within Technology….

'HE has a vital role to play in putting a human face on [technology]*…..If it has been included…then we have gained a foothold. It will be up to us to promote* [HE] *positively... we have too much to offer to risk extinction. HE does have a future but it is in our hands.'* (Angela Broome, President of NATHE – 'Talking Points', Modus – January 1989)

…and to encourage teachers and all interested parties to come 'on board':

'Make no mistake about it, paying lip service to HE providing a vehicle for the delivery of DT is not enough. The future of HE lies in the hands of every HE teacher, HMI Adviser, Advisory teacher, HoD, and Student.'
(Jan Greenhalgh – 'Talking Points', Editorial comment, Modus – May 1989)

*'For HE the challenge of establishing a place in DT and PSE remains a pressing one….no **single** subject can deliver the DT curriculum and that **all** the subjects named will be necessary to serve pupils' best interests.'*
(Talking Points' – Editorial Comment, Modus – October 1989)

As time went on, and the place of HE within Technology became confirmed, NATHE encouraged HE teachers to accept the situation and move forward with it:

'In my view this [omission of HE from NC foundation subjects] *requires that the approach of HE teachers must become determined, more assertive, though never aggressive, with everyone they come in contact….'*
(Macdonald – guest speaker at NATHE AGM, 'Building motivation and Confidence', Modus – November 1989)

The turmoil and changes brought about by the NC changes resulted in a significant number of HE teachers deciding to leave the profession, which was acknowledged by NATHE:

'…HE is very firmly part of DT……do apply for DT Co-ordinators jobs. We need the balance of curriculum areas and HE teachers have good management skills....'
(Brenda Smith, President of NATHE – 'Talking Points', Modus – January 1990)

In the space of less than two years, NATHE was completely immersed in its capitulation to the inclusion of FCSE in DT and made no apologies for this:

'….we have so much to offer DT and it's exciting.'
(Brenda Smith, President of NATHE – 'Talking Points', Modus – January 1990)

> *'I see our main strength in DT…and a contribution to make to science. We have
> a significant contribution to make to Health Education….I see nutrition fitting
> very well into Technology…'* (Brenda Smith – President's Report, Modus –
> October 1990)

The organisation even agreed to change its name to reflect these changes:

> *'As the National Association for Technology and Home Economics we will enjoy
> an updated and enhanced image.'* [NB this name was eventually not adopted,
> but the addition of the words 'and Technology' occurred later]
> ('Talking Points' – Editorial Comment, Modus – November 1991)

Once FCSE had become fully integrated into the Technology curriculum, NATHE's approach was then to suggest that previous HE pedagogy (i.e. teaching children to cook) had been insufficient to teach children 'life skills', and that the new technological pedagogy should be equated with the inculcation of life skills:

> *'..The extent to which HE is now built into the Technology curriculum is a mark
> of our success in establishing a reputation for practical and academic
> solidity….this progress has involved the compromise and adaptation of skills
> teaching away from craft and towards 'life skills'….Our skills are with people,
> with food and with textiles. These are skills through which our pupils find their
> preparation for life and the academic input necessary at school and beyond.
> Cooking and sewing on their own are indefensible…. HE and Technology offer
> the necessary skills in the proper context.'*
> ('Talking Points' – Editorial Comment, Modus –March 1992)

It seemed that as far as NATHE was concerned, HE as a subject in its own right should be considered 'deceased':

> *'We are trying to ensure that food develops its status as a material within NC
> Technology. We are not trying to preserve HE as a separate subject. HE passed
> away at the same time as CDT when Technology was born. …we are now home
> economists within education with skills and specialisms in food…If we are not in
> Technology we are nowhere…we have no future anywhere else.'* ('Talking
> Points' – Editorial Comment, Modus – September 1992)

Teaching cookery was considered indefensible, almost trivial:

> *'Nobody would seek to justify 'cookery' in the curriculum because it is little more
> than a hobby.'*
> ('Talking Points' – Editorial Comment, Modus – October 1997)

Technological pedagogy was promoted at the expense of other curriculum subjects:

> *'Problem solving, teamwork, judgement, analysis, designing and making and an*
> *appreciation of a technological world; these are the skills we should be*
> *promoting and that should give DT its pride of place in the curriculum. We have*
> *two of the most familiar and user-friendly materials to help us.'*
> ('Talking Points' – Editorial Comment, Modus – June 1996)

Even the inclusion of Physical Education (PE) in the curriculum came under criticism, with the implication that it was dispensable:

> *'We are the last people who need to be told that the curriculum is a crowded*
> *place…..It's high time the hours spent on school sport was looked at.....Throw*
> *compulsory games off the timetable…and...you open up vistas of curriculum*
> *time being used for what schools are there for - education and training for life.'*
> ('Talking Points' – Editorial Comment, Modus – October 1997)

The positive and apparent conciliatory stance to the NCC's plans for the inclusion of FCSE within Technology that was adopted by NATHE drew criticism by members of the profession who felt that HE had been sold short by NATHE, and that large parts of the subject had been lost. In an editorial response in Modus (May 1993), NATHE robustly defended its actions:

> *'We could say "what was NATHE supposed to do?" By virtue of its very name*
> *the National Curriculum Council does not recognise HE as a separate subject.*
> *For four years we have been contributing our specialisms to NC*
> *Technology….That is the truth of the matter. As an association dedicated to the*
> *value of sound food and textiles education, with particular concern for health and*
> *life skills education, NATHE has had to deal with the curriculum as it is, not as*
> *we might have wanted it to be in 1988. Add to that the pressure from rust-belt*
> *industries and its engineering lobby to abandon food completely and you will*
> *understand why we have endorsed the current proposals as warmly as we have.*
> *For NATHE to have whined at the loss of HE as a discrete subject would have*
> *provoked (or allowed) the response that if we don't like what we've got then we*
> *needn't have anything. NATHE members who are disturbed by current*
> *events…must never forget that our political landscape is forcing us to grapple as*
> *much with politics as with actual educational needs. One day things might*
> *recover but for now the choice is a stark one.'*
> (Modus, May 1993, p97)

NATHE continued its support for the transition to FT, and in 1993, as part of its submission to the review of the Technology curriculum carried out by Sir Ron Dearing in 1992, NATHE commissioned a researcher to explore the role of FCSE in the curriculum, identify areas where food makes a vital contribution to Technology and recommend where its role should be developed and expanded (Rutland 1993). The findings and recommendations clearly indicated NATHE's gradual move away from support for HE towards FT, starting with:

> '*A new image and direction, not restricted to the domestic female arena, is needed for FT. A rationale for the inclusion of FT as a compulsory subject in the curriculum should be firmly established to improve status and ensure the place of food in the school curriculum.*' (Rutland 1993)

There was a suggestion that practical cookery was unnecessary and that the subject could be broken up, divided amongst and delivered theoretically by other curriculum areas:

> '*The delivery of food through health education and personal and social education could be achieved through theoretical work, not applied nutrition linked to practical work with food. Also, teaching nutrition linked to healthy eating does not involve developing a depth of knowledge, understanding and skill in the handling of food and could not justify work across the three key stages. If food were linked to personal and social education, nutrition teaching would not necessarily be the preserve of the food specialist. It would most likely take place in tutor time.*' (Rutland 1993)

There was a clear indication that NATHE was concerned about the image and status of FCSE, and wished it to be disassociated from the domestic arena:

> '*It* [the rationale for the inclusion of FCSE in the curriculum] *should be established as the new subject of FT in Technology, where it will be compulsory for all pupils. Where food is taught as FT in DT it has a higher status. Delivered this way it will be a new subject, using a wider range of knowledge and skills than those traditionally linked to women and the home….A new direction will create a new rationale for being in the curriculum…..It would be relevant to the needs of pupils in society today,* [and] *the image of a subject not solely concerned with the domestic environment….will improve status.*'
> (Rutland 1993)

There was support for the development of courses that progressed pupils towards careers in industrial and commercial food production and away from the domestic environment, and that also conveyed the image of the consumer:

> '*It is also suggested that a range of examinations are developed that are appropriate to pupils of all abilities and interests. This should allow for progression into a range of careers and courses related to the food industry….* [and]…. *it is recommended that in the future, schools and FT teachers continue to develop links with the food industry.*'

> '*The introduction of NC DT has created the need for another type of food specialist, not necessarily with the full knowledge and skills of the home economist.*'

> '*It is possible to return to the needs of individuals and the family through the wider needs as consumers of food products.*'
> (Rutland 1993)

Even with the declaration of such robust statements, it was still possible to detect an underlying concern about the vulnerability of FCSE:

> *'Food needs to establish its place in the school curriculum as FT otherwise*
> *events will overtake it. Schools will begin to make their own decisions, based*
> *on indecision, confusing messages and an unwillingness to provide expensive*
> *resources. It is time for a new image and a change of direction to gain*
> *credibility….Continued debate is not helpful at this time. Decisions have to be*
> *made and implemented.'*
> (Rutland 1993)

NATHE continued to support the place of FCSE within FT and remained as the subject's professional organisation until April 2000, when it amalgamated with DATA.

<u>The Food Industry</u>
The food industry has for many years produced educational materials or services for use in schools, colleges and other education forums. Such materials usually have a specific FCSE focus such as food production, consumer awareness or nutrition and health; with company products, services and brands overtly or covertly included in the information conveyed by them. For schools with limited budgets and time-pressurised teachers, such materials and services (many of which are free) are often a welcome addition to pedagogy. The food industry is highly skilled in presenting itself favourably in the name of education and good causes (Lang, 2004). However, there is concern about the targeting of children and teenagers by advertisers (both outside and increasingly inside the school community), not least food industry advertising, which is viewed by many as being partly responsible for the rising incidence of NCDs amongst these age groups, and for creating tension and confusion in the quest to convey healthy eating and lifestyle messages (Nestle, 2002, Quart, 2003, Richardson, 2006).

The Food and Drink Federation (FDF) is the food industry's main representative and it aims to promote the industry's views and concerns to Government, regulators, politicians, consumers, and the media, and works to build consumer confidence throughout the food chain. In 2004, the FDF published a 'Food and Health Manifesto', which stated that FDF members were committed to seven pledges including:

> *'Public education - participating, together with the rest of the food chain and advertising*
> *industries, in a Government-led campaign of public education on healthy eating and*
> *healthy lifestyles, e.g. through delivering messages on product packaging.'*
> (Source: http://www.fdf.org.uk/manifesto_3.aspx)

In 2006, Melanie Leech, Director General of the FDF, indicated the industry's view that it has a role to play in education and should be in partnership with Government in order to promote policy strategies for tackling the incidence of NCDs:

> *'Today, the question on the table is "who runs public health policy: politicians or big business" [sic]. But the real issue is actually……not "who runs policy [sic]" but "who delivers the outcomes which the policy is designed to bring about [sic]" and to that question the answer is surely that we all have a role to play….This initiative provides an opportunity for a new kind of partnership between Government and industry for the public health agenda.'*

(Source: http://www.fdf.org.uk/speeches/speeches_ml_061006.pdf)

In a speech to the Food Advertising Unit 2006 Conference 'Marketing and Health: a changing media landscape', Leech again promoted the idea of a public health partnership:

> *'It could include the type of joint government / industry education programme, which many of you know has been a vision of the food industry for some time. But it would be much broader – where all of us have a role in working together to help people to make healthy choices – for us in industry integrated with delivering our own business strategies'*

(Source: http://www.fau.org.uk/MLFAUConference8Nov2006.pdf)

Although Leech suggested that it is Government who should take the lead in such a partnership, the question remains as to who would fund such an initiative and how much would Government allow the food industry to invest in it and therefore acquire a significant mandate to establish the criteria and content? Whilst there was no direct reference to delivering the fruits of such a partnership via FCSE, it is likely that schools and school-aged pupils were envisaged as being a significant target audience for such a partnership, for which the delivery of *'our own business strategies'* would be a key aim.

The US Nutrition academic, Marion Nestle (2002), has suggested that it is unsurprising that school children are viewed as an unparalleled marketing opportunity by food companies because of their purchasing power, large numbers, attendance for hundreds of hours a year within a compulsory education establishment, and potential as future customers. In her seminal book on food politics, she cited a study on commercial activities in USA schools which concluded that it is often difficult to distinguish commercial from non-commercial activities in schools, because such intrusions into everyday life are so intrinsic to life in the USA (and, it could be argued, increasingly so in the UK), and that many commercial activities produce few tangible benefits for schools, but very evident benefits for companies and advertisers. Nestle suggested that the line between philanthropy (as, for example, the FDF's pledge to promote healthy eating and healthy lifestyles) and exploitation (promoting the notion that the daily inclusion of commercially manufactured food products is commensurate with a healthy diet) is a very fine one, and that the most important public institution in the lives of children and their parents (i.e. the school) may be giving its implied endorsement to commercial companies and their products and services. Nestle has warned that once school meals are taken over by commercial companies, concerns about market share, profit and stockholders tend to dominate over concerns about nutrition.

The FDF developed an initiative called '*FoodFitness* [sic]' which aimed to promote healthy eating combined with increased physical activity and to demonstrate the food industry's commitment and active participation in public education with practical advice to consumers delivered through 'science-based messages' via health professionals, educators, parents, consumer organisations and the media. They also developed a *'Join the Activaters'* [sic] education programme for primary school aged children which was approved by the National Grid for Learning and the DfES and endorsed by DATA. The FDF also published a survey (2005) of food companies and sector associations who claimed to be committed to participating in a Government–led campaign of public education on healthy eating and healthy lifestyles. In addition to targeting children and young people through schools, clubs and sporting activities, the majority of companies in the report (84%) claimed that they promoted healthy lifestyles through routes such as company websites, leaflets, corporate publications, consumer information, advertorials and sponsorship. Many (52%) included a healthy eating and or lifestyle message on product packaging and labels.

Ideally, people who are involved with developing FCSE initiatives should critically examine the quality, covert and overt aims and use of industry generated materials and services to try to ensure that any usage of such materials is appropriately managed and monitored. Realistically, however, the increasing pressures placed upon teachers and school managers by the NC, fiscal limitations and regular Government instigated initiatives do not readily facilitate such considered examination.

<u>Non-governmental organisations</u>
A number of NGOs have been involved in campaigns to support the inclusion of FCSE in schools following the restructure of the curriculum in the 1980s. Approaches to this have varied and many of the campaigns have school food provision as their main focus, but often refer to and include FCSE. They can be categorised under campaigns to promote practical cooking skills and campaigns to promote whole school food policies. A few of the higher profile campaigns are referred to here, but it should be noted that there are very many other similar initiatives operating at local level by enthusiastic and dedicated teaching staff, community support workers and volunteers, many of which include practical cooking skills education.

Campaigns to promote practical cooking skills

The gradual demise of opportunities for experiential learning through practical activities in the school curriculum and recognition by many people of the potential value of including cooking skills in children's education has resulted in the development of a significant number and wide variety of FCSE initiatives that include the promotion of practical cooking skills. These are facilitated by individual and collective NGOs, and include the examples those listed in Appendix 1. The location of these is intriguing. They are hard to categorise as either NGO or state or industry located. Some are partnerships. The most surprising is

the NFA's (now Sustain) NGO-led 'Get Cooking', which was funded by the DoH tacitly to campaign against the policies being introduced in the NC by the DES, another ministry of State! Work by the BNF, a body which sounds 'neutral' but is in fact exceedingly close to and funded by the food industry, was partly funded by the State. While overtly sharing a commitment to cooking, these vary in their starting points. The NFA's 'Get Cooking' 1992-1994 initiative, for example, focused on cooking for health; the Royal Society of Art's (RSA) 1998 'Focus on Food' campaign accepted the fait accompli of the new DT curriculum; and the joint NGO Food For Life Partnership's (FFLP) 2007 was motivated more by organic and small scale fresh cooking in schools and whole school food policies.

Campaigns to promote whole school food policies (in which FCSE forms an integral part)

Concern over a number of years about children's diets and eating habits and policy initiatives that have resulted in quality changes to school food provenance and provision, have culminated in the development of various initiatives aimed at promoting consistency between the delivery of covert and overt messages about eating habits and health from school food providers and FCSE. These have been facilitated by individual and collective NGOs, and include examples such as those listed in Appendix 2.

The insights provided by the preceding account – the result of the preliminary literature searches and exploration of the issues – suggested a need to explore the history of FCSE pre-1980s, in order to:

- identify, contextualise, and understand how this picture evolved;
- ascertain the rationale(s) for its inclusion in the education of young people;
- identify arguments used by particular actors; and
- determine how policy has altered through time.

A preliminary or working model of the evolution of FCSE was formulated from this initial exploration of policy. This is given in Figure 2.3. The upper section of the figure identifies societal, educational and policy aims for teaching young people how to cook. The lower section identifies the historical and societal contexts for the production of food against which practical cooking skills education and policy has taken place.

Figure 2.3: A preliminary (working) model of the evolution of Food and Cooking Skills Education

<u>**Policy Aims for FCSE**</u>

Late 19th century

20th century

21st century

To improve nutritional status and health $\longrightarrow$ To train girls for domestic servitude $\longrightarrow$ To improve health and happiness during post war time austerity $\longrightarrow$ To train people to be astute consumers

To develop skills training for a technological society

To encourage responsible citizenship

To tackle diet related diseases

<u>**Contexts for the preparation and production of food**</u>

Domestic $\longrightarrow$ **Industrial** $\longrightarrow$ **Post Industrial**

Home cooking

Food industry efficiency

Provenance and traceability

Source: Researcher

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, how the issues of cooking education and cooking skills feature as policy problems have been raised. Some key actors and institutions have emerged. The motivations and workings of policy making are not neat; the lines between interests seem blurred at times. Nevertheless, the chapter has identified the introduction of the NC in England and Wales as a significant event in the evolution of cooking education. It brought a new systemic role to FCSE, shifting from home to industry, from the kitchen to technology, and more. The work summarised in Chapters 1 and 2 together suggested rich terrain for research, and generated research questions emerging out of the pedagogy and policy surrounding FCSE. The next chapter outlines these specific research questions and gives the methodology employed to dig deeper into this terrain.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Process

Chapters 1 and 2 reported how, as an educational and a policy problem, **why** we teach young people to cook has received minimal attention in academic research. Chapter 2 showed that something of considerable interest in food policy was underway with the introduction of the NC, changing the role and purpose of FCSE. It became clear that this thesis could not undertake research within a terrain already mapped, building on defined and used conceptual frameworks. The original intention had been to conduct an in-depth study using élite interviews as the method, on a pre-defined aspect of cooking education, which is arguably the norm for much doctoral research. Instead, the scarcity of the literature prompted the decision to undertake some fundamental mapping of the terrain itself. This chapter now outlines the research questions used to undertake this work, the conceptual approach taken and the methods used in what turned into a sequence of five studies.

3.1 Research questions arising from Chapters 1 and 2

Chapters 1 and 2 have highlighted that the simplicity of the initial focal question for this research (Why teach young people how to cook?) masked a broad, complex and dynamic web of issues around the practice and teaching of cooking that have significance for both education and policy. It has become apparent that a range of people, institutions and perspectives are involved. A number of big themes and questions have emerged as worthy of deeper enquiry:

- How is FCSE perceived as contributing to the educational development of young people?
- When, where and for how long should people be taught how to cook?
- Who should teach cooking skills?
- What would be appropriate pedagogy and content for teaching people to cook?
- (Why) should anyone be taught how to cook – is it necessary in contemporary society?
- Would it make any difference to the educational, long-term health and life chances of individuals if they were not taught to cook?
- What would the personal and societal implications be if people mainly rely on third parties to provide them with ready-prepared and cooked food?
- What contribution does the ability to cook make to culture, society and citizenship?
- If people are to be taught how to cook, who should have overall responsibility for the provision of FCSE?

The first four questions relate to education as they concern young people's cognitive and personal development, the implementation of appropriately related curriculum initiatives,

FCSE provision and pedagogy. The last six questions relate to policy, as they are focused on the perceived need for and purpose of FCSE and the provision of resources for it. An additional question began to emerge towards the end of Chapter 2 concerning the origins of current policy arguments about FCSE. These questions were merged and the following five research questions (RQs) derived, as set out in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Research questions arising from Chapters 1 and 2.

Focus	Research questions
Historical legacy	**RQ1** How have current education and policy arguments about food and cooking skills education emerged?
Education	**RQ2** Should practical cooking skills form part of the curriculum for all school pupils at all the Key Stages of education? **RQ3** Is there an appropriate pedagogical model that could / should be implemented to meet the needs and realities of current and future providers and recipients of FCSE?
Policy	**RQ4** In the 21st century, what and how relevant are the rationales for FCSE? **RQ5** Who should be responsible for the provision and delivery of FCSE? – the State, civil society, or the food industry?

Source: Researcher

Cohen et al (2000) classify the search for truth as being based on the complementary and overlapping features of experience, reasoning and research, whereby experience, expertise and authority in a subject field are frequently used to solve problems, interpret and explain events and behaviour, in contrast to an approach based on science. In order to provide an objective analysis, the approach for the present research thus requires impartial, deductive reasoning using a process of qualitative research, with appropriate methodology and methods, where the study of actor perspectives about FCSE would lead to a hypothesis, and that preconceived notions require critical analysis in the light of this.

When contemplating an appropriate methodological approach for this research, it is acknowledged that FCSE and the context in which it is delivered would need to be analysed against a background of complex and interdependent links between educational and social research, value judgements and policy making – in keeping with the Food Systems map used in the previous chapter. Often no clear definitions of terms are included in research into cooking skills, which can affect the interpretation and validity of results, and what or how people cook does not necessarily reflect the level of skills they possess (Engler-Stringer 2010). These factors have implications for the choice of research method, and as policy making ultimately decides and facilitates the provision, content and dynamics of the school curriculum, an analysis of the purpose and value of teaching young people to cook, with a focus on the inclusion of cookery lessons in the State school curriculum, must address the policy making process within two areas of policy concern, which are the education and food policy sectors. In common with other key policy disciplines, food policy

has all the elements of a political system, each of which operates within their own specific policies. Lang (2005) argues that food policy making is far less defined than some other public policy areas; food cuts across many existing policy focuses and is thus fraught with difficulties, compounded by the competing interests of and tensions between the State, civil society, the food supply chain, health professionals, environmentalists and culture. Indeed, Lang and Heasman (2004) argued that this makes such policy hard to fit into the conventional desire of 'evidence-based policy'. Policy makers can be encouraged to pursue evidence-based policy, but society should not necessarily expect it to be achieved. Lang and Heasman proposed different policy-evidence relationships as illustrated by Figure 3.1. This has resonance for the present research into FCSE; previous chapters have shown that the changes to FCSE with the introduction of the NC showed a focus shift from 'home' to 'industry'. The preliminary research into the problem found little evidence of its value in FCSE being used. Indeed, with the NC changes coinciding with the rise of evidence about diet-related disease (COMA 1994) and the political sensitivity of this issue (e.g. Walker and Cannon 1984, Cannon 1987), supporters of this shift appear to have provided scant evidence for its efficacy in terms of tackling pertinent issues, such as the escalating incidence of NCDs.

Figure 3.1: Policy-evidence relationships
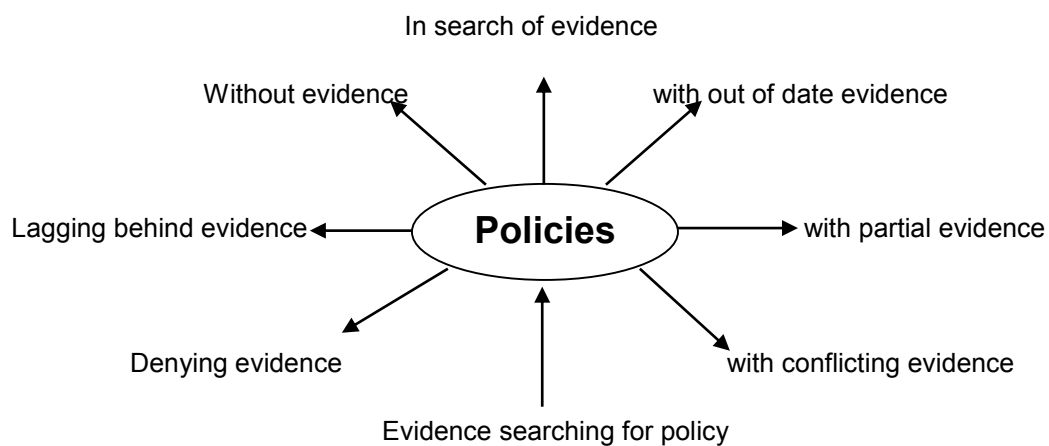
Source: Lang (2005), adapted by Researcher

Policy making is in constant transition and is always additionally informed and shaped by interests, vision, values and goals; not just by evidence (Colebatch 2009). Often information and evidence is requested by decision makers then ignored or replaced by other information, and many policy decisions that are initially subject to denunciation, frequently become accepted once they are adopted. Lang and Heasman (2004) and Lang et al (2009) suggest that for food policy analysis, what is required is a more sociological assessment of the triangular relationship between evidence, policy and practice, such that the positions adopted, arguments put forward, assumptions made and views expressed by proponents, policy makers, practitioners and consumers become part of the policy making process. This

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research objective is to analyse the policy of teaching young people how to cook, within the complexity of a contemporary 21st century culture where food, and particularly cooking, has increasingly become popularised and a frequent subject of media attention; the preparation and cooking of food is widely provided by and purchased from third parties; the effects of overconsumption of food have multiple implications for society; and FCSE provision is under tension. As such, the analysis and research methodology employed needs to take account of the policy positions, perspectives and opinions of appropriate actors with influence on or involvement in FCSE policy and/or practice, i.e. representatives of the State (policy makers, agencies and providers), Civil Society (FCSE practitioners, advocates and recipients) and the Supply Chain (the food industry).

3.2 Multi-method approach

Chapters 1 and 2 suggested that FCSE can be viewed from a range of disciplinary perspectives, (including historical, educational, political, cultural, and societal), and it became apparent that no one study method would satisfactorily provide comprehensive answers to the research questions. The decision was made that the acquisition and analysis of perceptions, opinions, experiences and viewpoints from a range of actors (people and institutions) with different perspectives about FCSE was required. Whilst a single study method provides *depth* to a research objective, for this research, such an approach would have sacrificed *breadth* of perspective. Therefore a multi-method, qualitative approach was adopted, in the form of a series of exploratory studies, to enable the researcher to 'walk round' the focal research question (Why teach young people how to cook?) and view it from multiple actor perspectives to capture the breadth, complexity and dynamics of the issues raised in the research questions into a cumulative 'map', clarify them and clear the ground for future further quantitative research. As they were qualitative studies, no statistical analyses could be applied to the findings.

The use of multiple methods of data collection in social scientific research has a distinct tradition in methodology literature (e.g. Bryman 2003, Burke Johnson 2004, Collier and Elman 2008, Jick 1979) and reflects the diversity and eclecticism of the social scientific community and the broad range of research methods adopted. The use of multiple methods of data collection and methodology to provide a *'widely angled focus'* (Miller and Deutsch 2009) is often required in order to answer questions that initiated the research process, and provide more in-depth data that allows validation and increases the reliability of findings (Srivastava and Thomson 2009).

The term 'triangulation' is often used to demonstrate that two or more approaches have been used in the investigation of a research question or phenomenon. Of the types of triangulation described by Denzin (1970), data triangulation, in which data is gathered through different sampling strategies (different times, social situations and people) and

methodological triangulation, in which more than one method is used for gathering data, are the ones that were most suited to this research, because they provided flexibility in the collection of perspectives about FCSE from different actor cohorts. Denzin further distinguishes methodological triangulation into *within-method* and *between-method* triangulation, in which the latter involves contrasting research methods. Being a metaphor based on the military strategy of locating the exact position of an object from multiple reference points, triangulation is considered to offer the researcher greater accuracy and confidence in the judgments of their research findings (Jick 1979). Although criticised by constructivist researchers as subscribing to a naïve realism in which there is a single definitive account of the social world (rather than the constructivist view of a multifaceted account), nevertheless, triangulation is considered to add richness and complexity to a research inquiry, which enhances the credibility and persuasiveness of the findings. There is also a critical view that triangulation assumes that there can be an unambiguous comparison of sets of data derived from different research methods, which, Bryman (2003) argues, is a criticism that does not account for the significance of a variety of viewpoints that are gathered using different research methods in different social circumstances. The aim is to direct the research methods towards the acquisition of details, effects and perceptions of events or experiences, using multi-method data collection techniques.

In this research the methods used in the five studies conducted were: historical and documentary analysis, semi-structured interviews, questionnaire survey and an international comparative survey. Table 3.2 shows which of these methods were used to answer each of the five research questions. The objective was to provide in-depth descriptions of circumstances, policies, people, interactions, events, attitudes, thoughts, beliefs and direct quotes from people / institutions / countries who have experienced or are experiencing a phenomenon, in this case FCSE, in identifiable local contexts (Sandelowski 2000, Miller and Deutsch 2009). Such methods enable researchers to generate or revise conceptual frameworks and have the ability to provide concrete and convincing information, on the basis of which policy makers and practitioners can make decisions (Miles and Huberman 1994, Cohen et al 2007, Srivastava and Thomson 2009). A more detailed account of the methods for each study is given in section 3.5 below.

Table 3.2: Research methods employed to answer the research questions

Focus	Research questions	Research method employed
Historical legacy	**RQ1** How have current education and policy arguments about food and cooking skills education emerged?	Historical and documentary analysis Semi-structured élite interviews
Education	**RQ2** Should practical cooking skills form part of the curriculum for all school pupils at all the Key Stages of education? **RQ3** Is there an appropriate pedagogical model that could / should be implemented to meet the needs and realities of current and future providers and recipients of FCSE?	Semi-structured interviews International comparative survey Questionnaire survey
Policy	**RQ4** In the 21st century, what and how relevant are the rationales for FCSE? **RQ5** Who should be responsible for the provision and delivery of FCSE? – the State, civil society, or the food industry?	Semi-structured interviews International comparative survey Questionnaire survey

Source: Researcher

3.3 Conceptual framework

This research takes the form of a critical policy analysis of the question of whether to teach young people how to cook, using a multi-actor perspective, and is situated within the wider discourse of food policy, itself broadly within the social sciences. FCSE is *'contested terrain'* within food policy, (Cannon 1987, Nestle 2002, Morgan et al 2006, Lang et al 2009), and is grappled with, by and between interest groups (actors and institutions) and social forces, including those of the State, supply chain and civil society as illustrated in Figure 3.2:

Figure 3.2: Key participants in contested food policy terrain

STATE AND STATE RELATED

Food Policy

CIVIL SOCIETY   **SUPPLY CHAIN**
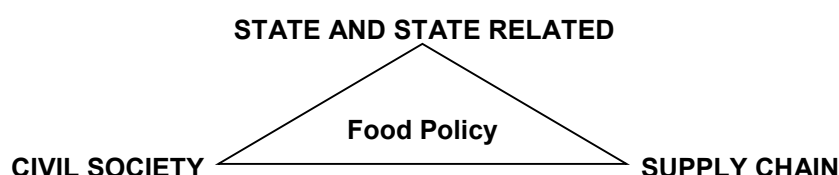
Source: Lang et al (2009), adapted by Researcher

Using the food policy terrain model to help determine the methodological approach, some key actors, recipients and institutions in FCSE policy and provision have been identified in

Chapters 1 and 2, and were considered for inclusion in this research. The analysis and research methodology employed was characterised by an interpretivist epistemological approach, whereby social reality is the product of the actions and interactions of people, the study of which is mainly subjective, contextual and centred around key players (Miller and Deutsch 2009), i.e. the various actors identified in Figure 3.3:

Figure 3.3: Key actors considered for inclusion in the research

STATE and STATE RELATED:

DfES
Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF)
NHS
Ofsted
Ofqual
QCA
FSA
Education departments of other countries

Food Policy

CIVIL SOCIETY	**SUPPLY CHAIN**
NGOs	Manufacturing sector
Educators	Retail sector
Professional Organisations	Hospitality and Catering Sector
Young people	

Source: Researcher
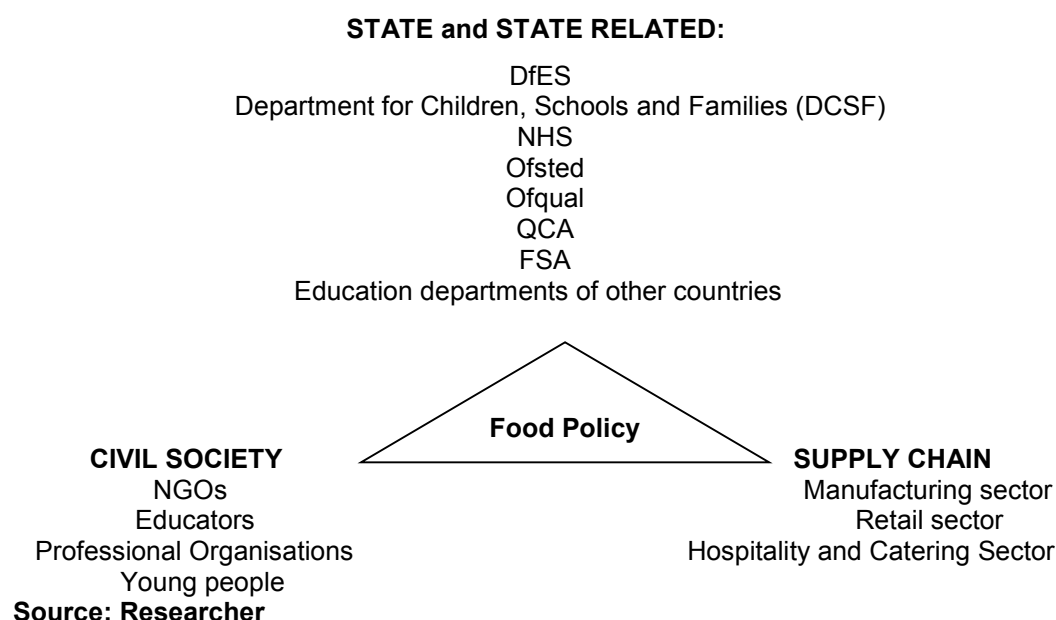
Table 3.3 illustrates the key contrasts between quantitative and qualitative research methodology, and shows how the features of qualitative research are appropriate for gaining perspectives from study participants in natural settings by methods such as interviews and surveys; whether this is done with or without quantitative studies is a separate issue.

Table 3.3: Contrasts between quantitative and qualitative research

Quantitative	Qualitative
Numbers	Words
Researcher's point of view	Participants point of view
Researcher distant	Researcher close
Theory testing	Theory emergent
Static	Process
Structured	Unstructured
Generalisation	Contextual understanding
Hard, reliable data	Rich, deep data
Macro	Micro
Behaviour	Meaning
Artificial settings	Natural settings

Source: Bryman 2004, adapted by Researcher

Therefore the preferred methodology for this research is qualitative, with roots in the naturalism tradition that adopts an interpretivist epistemological position, where an understanding of the subject is achieved through an examination of interpretation by its participants, following the steps outlined in Figure 3.4 [Bryman 2004]:

Figure 3.4: Outline of the main steps of qualitative research

1.   General research questions

   ↓

2.   Selecting relevant site(s) and subjects

   ↓

3.   Collection of relevant data

   ↓

4. Interpretation of data ◄ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 5b collection of further data

   ↓   ↑   ↑
   ⋮

5.   Conceptual and theoretical work - - - - - ➤ 5a tighter specification of the research
                                                                          question(s)

   ↓

6. Writing up findings / conclusions
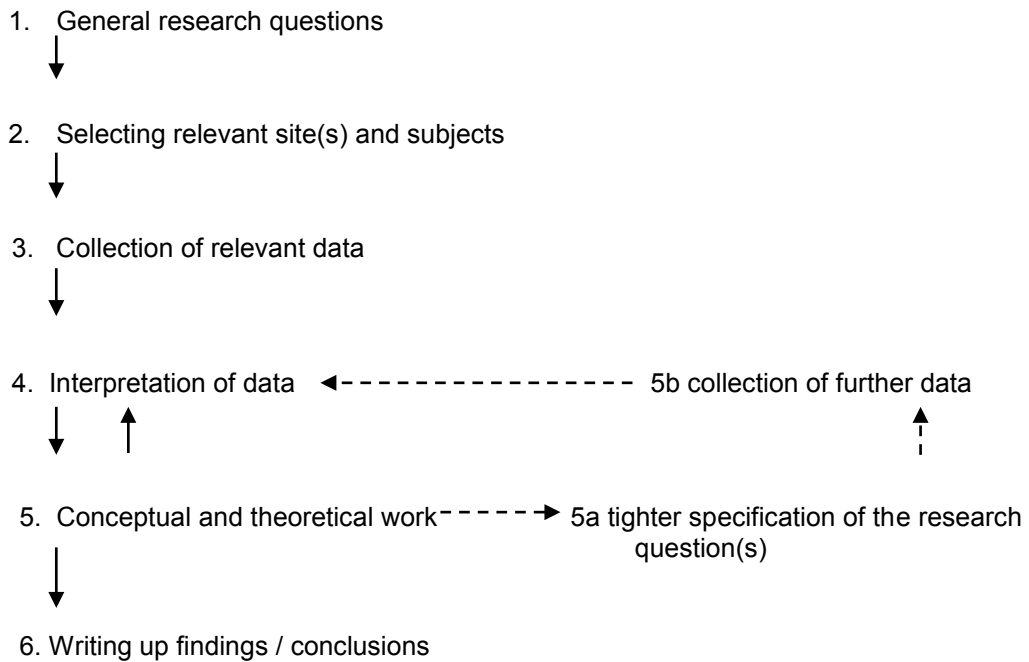
Source: Bryman (2004), adapted by Researcher

Cohen et al, (2007) provide a comprehensive list of the characteristics of qualitative naturalistic inquiry and identify the main kinds as case, comparative, retrospective and longitudinal studies; snapshots, ethnography, grounded theory, biography and phenomenology. The present research, however, is firmly within the tradition of *policy analysis*; the pursuit of critical understanding of why policies, frameworks and drivers have been set.

Policy analysis

The discipline of policy analysis is extensively documented (e.g. Dunn 2004, Hill 2009, John 1998, Parsons 1999). John (1998) describes how policy analysis began as a study of the techniques to improve efficacy in *public* decision making, based on the belief that rational methods to identify the best course of action are the most effective. Its focus was on improving government. For Dunn (2004), policy analysis is a multidisciplinary inquiry that is devised to develop, assess and communicate useful information for improving policies. Parsons (1999) has offered a range of definitions for public policy and policy analysis, including acknowledgement of how the process can help to integrate and contextualise models and research. These definitions summarily concentrate policy analysis as a multi-

method, multi-disciplinary, problem-oriented, contextual and integrated discipline, the purpose of which is to analyse public choices and decision making, thereby contributing towards democracy (Parsons 1999).

Before embarking on a policy analysis of the rationale(s) for FCSE, it was important to clarify and distinguish between the definitions of analysis *of* policy and analysis *for* policy; where the former is analytical and descriptive and concerned with furthering the understanding of policy by attempting to explain policy development; and the latter is prescriptive and concerned with formulating policies and improving their quality. The area of interest determines the type of analysis conducted. Parsons (1999) defined analysis *of* policy as *'how problems are defined, agendas set, policy formulated, decisions made and policy evaluated and implemented'.* Hill (2009) differentiates this definition into three areas; studies of policy content, studies of policy output and studies of the policy process. This is the focus of RQ1 for this research, which aims to contextualise the evolution of FCSE in the school curriculum.

Analysis *for* policy *'encompasses the use of analytical techniques, research and advocacy in problem definition, decision-making, evaluation and implementation'* (Parsons 1999). Hill (2009) suggests that in analysis for policy, evaluation marks the borderline between the two definitions, and is concerned with analysing policy impact on populations, and that an important consideration is trying to ensure that policy and practice are evidence based. There has been debate amongst researchers and policy makers about the role of research evidence in informing public health policy (e.g. Petticrew et al 2004, Whitehead et al, 2004, Wells, 2004). As was suggested in Figure 3.1, policy can have a tenuous relationship to evidence; there can be evidence-light policies, and there can be strong evidence 'looking for' policy response. Food policy is full of examples of different policy-evidence relationships. Despite, or perhaps because of this, it is an increasingly acknowledged notion that policy making should be evidence-based rather than implemented on the basis of unsupported opinions: *'evidence based policy helps people make well-informed decisions about policy, programmes and projects by putting the best available evidence from research at the heart of policy development and implementation.'* (Davies 2000 cited in Wells 2004), and it has been a central element of government strategy, dating back to the 1950s, e.g.; *'…policy decisions should be based on sound evidence…Good quality policy making depends on high quality information, derived from a variety of sources….'* (Cabinet Office 1999, cited in Wells 2004).

Evidence based policy making (EBPM) is used as a model in which a policy problem is defined and research evidence is used to fill the identified knowledge gap revealed by the problem, the intention being to use it to develop a solution. Interest in EBPM derives from a perception that Government – the target is usually government, as though the food industry is immune from this failing! - needs to improve the quality of decision-making, which

in the past has been too often driven by short-termism and inertia, and that an approach such as EBPM will produce better policy making and professional practice by using rigorous techniques to gather and critically appraise high quality research evidence and develop and maintain a robust evidence base (Davies 2004, Defra 2009). In matters concerning public health, the use of evidence to shape policy is not a new phenomenon. For example, Victorian social reformers who identified the relationship between poverty and poor physical health were using an early form of EBPM to develop policies to tackle the problems that arose from such a relationship (Kelly et al, 2005). Among them was the decision to include DE in the elementary school curriculum for poor, working-class girls. The evidence for this policy (i.e. that poor diet resulted in diseases such as scurvy and rickets) was provided by the medical profession, and was used to support the notion that by educating girls on the theory of how to cook a nutritious meal, the potential effects of poor nourishment could be effectively ameliorated. However, the policy appeared to take no account of the social and pecuniary circumstances of such girls and their families and the resources they would have needed to be able to put such education into practice; i.e. regular and continuous access to good quality ingredients, suitable food storage, preparation and cooking facilities, clean water supply and other basic necessities of life which contribute towards good health; nor of their perceptions of the purposes of education, which for many, held aspirations of being able to break away from domestic drudgery (including laborious meal provision). Therefore, the policy appears to have been based on limited evidence with preconceived ideas and perceptions about the lives and circumstances of the working-class, that may have had limited basis in reality. It appeared to have a limited impact and outcome and closer scrutiny reveals that in practice it gave pupils very limited exposure to practical experiential learning, due to large classes, inadequate classroom facilities and greater emphasis and curriculum time devoted to needlework. This example highlights the need for the present research and its analysis of policy. A range of views and perspectives from various actors is needed to be able to draw conclusions grounded in reality and be in the position to propose evidence-based recommendations.

There are various approaches to the process of policy analysis; those which operate on a micro-level, focusing on individual problems and solutions, usually in the technical and economic sphere; those which operate at a meso-level and focus on establishing which policy processes are used and the dynamics of actor involvement and influence; and those which operate at a macro-level (meta-policy approach) whereby the contextual factors of the policy process are explained and interpreted according to the influence of wider political, economic and socio-cultural factors (Parsons 1999). Numerous theoretical models have been proposed and documented to analyse the development and application of public policy (e.g. John 1998, Sutton 1999, Parsons, 1999, Dunn 2004). Some approaches and models are now explored.

'Stages' models (John 1998) depict the policy process as a rigid, sequential and neatly analytical process that allows analysts to impose order on to the research process. The need for the media and public to be able to comprehend the complexity of the policy process also provides justification for presenting policies in such a sequential format. Such 'linear' models have been criticised (e.g. Sutton 1999) as being at odds with reality because they assume that policy makers approach decision making issues rationally. There is also an assumption that inherent ethical and moral issues can be resolved by the use of *best evidence* or *best available evidence*, and that sufficient research will eliminate irrelevant, ambiguous, uncertain or conflicting evidence.

Narrow, evidence-based frameworks of this type for policy making and analysis, which underpin many policy documents and manifestos, cannot fully explore the complex, context-dependent and value-laden realities of individuals and interest groups (e.g. those advocates for and against FCSE); neither do they address key elements of the policy making process, especially the complexities, values and contexts against which competing options are negotiated (Greenhalg 2009, John 1998, Sutton 1999). Although the policy process tends to have a beginning, middle and end, the reality is that policy is a continuous, evolutionary process, subject to change, iteration, complication and contingency and research needs a framework or theory to make sense of the policy process as a whole (John 1998).

The institutional approach

The institutional approach to policy analysis is concerned mainly with the legal, constitutional formal structures of institutions and is based on the premise that institutions are a key element of the policy making process, because they provide a structured environment in which discussions, negotiations and policy implementation can occur, and a forum within which pressure groups can legitimately argue their viewpoint (John 1998). Critiques of this approach (e.g. John 1998, Hill 2009) suggest that the formal structure of traditional institutions tends to disguise the conflicting interests of actors and groups, especially those with sufficient resources, such as the food industry, thus enabling them to *'circumvent institutions in the pursuit of their interests'* (John 1998), which can weaken the power of institutions in public policy decision making.

John (1998) suggests that the institutional approach is best employed for comparing the probable impact of the institutional framework on policy making and implementation between nation states, where the unique character of each country in terms of its norms and values is highlighted when considering a policy sector such as education, rather than explaining policy making between policy sectors within nation states. A main disadvantage

of the approach is that the political and social contexts that influence how formal rules and norms operate tends to be overlooked.

The group and network approaches

These approaches emphasise interactions between participants in the policy process (John 1998) and highlight how *'policy is the product of a complex interplay of people and organisations and provides a more informal picture of how "real" politics takes place'* (Parsons 1999). They focus on how the nature of policy making differs according to the type of group involved in making decisions, e.g. how powerful they are, how overt their policy making is and the number of participants involved. Samuel Beer (cited in John 1998) illustrates this by distinguishing between consumer and producer groups, in which producer groups (e.g. the food industry) have influence over policy because of their sector expertise and ability to enable the implementation of public decisions. Consumer groups, conversely, who seek to highlight issues that affect broad sections of society (such as eating habits, access to healthy foods and NCDs) have less power to influence and block policy and so are less influential on policy makers; although John (1998) argues that in practice, this distinction can be challenged by the historical notion that producers can and have been excluded from consultations by policy makers, and consumer groups can and have manipulated public opinion, influenced the media, become involved in politics and developed expertise.

In highly pluralistic societies, where there are many influences on the policy process, such groups focus on the arrangement of formal and informal contacts and relationships which shape policies and decision-making rather than the interplay inside and between formal policy making institutions (Parsons 1999). An increasing number of high-profile relationships between many different kinds of groups and networks on issues such as agriculture, environmental degradation and sustainability are gradually being integrated into the policy making process by state institutions which seek to co-opt and manage them. However, the approach does not account for how relationships within groups and networks form and why they change or why some policy sectors include groups and networks and some do not.

Policy analysis can be viewed as a pragmatic process of inquiry designed to locate solutions to practical problems, being based on a combination of knowledge associated with the sciences, professions and humanities (Dunn 2004). The study of the nature, causes and effects of public policies requires a wide focus that draws on a variety of approaches and disciplines (Parsons 1999). The nature of the subject of this research and the questions that have arisen suggest that a qualitative approach is appropriate because the fields of policy, sociology and education that are inhabited by a study of FCSE are complex and multi-layered, and the key elements and process of policy making, are not linear or direct.

Framework analysis, originally developed by Ritchie and Spencer in 1994, (Ritchie and Spencer 1994, 2002, Ritchie et al 2003) has been proposed as a qualitative method suitable for applied policy research, because it is adapted to research with specific questions, a limited time frame and a pre-designed sample and *a priori* issues. It is used to describe and interpret what is happening in a particular setting and so provides an effective tool for assessing policies and procedures from the people they directly affect. The general approach of framework analysis shares many of the common features with the grounded theory approach referred to earlier. This approach to qualitative data analysis allows the researcher to set the categories and themes from the beginning of the study. It also allows for categories and themes that may emerge during data analysis, which the researcher had not stated at the beginning of the study. In this framework, as shown in Table 3.4, qualitative data analysis follows a five stage process as set out in the first and second columns, the purposes of which are given in the third column:

Table 3.4: Framework analysis five-step process

Stage	Process	Purpose
1. Familiarisation	• use a variety of data sources and collection methods • 'immersion' in data collected • make notes from data	• to capture the diversity of views and responses • to gain overview of content • to record key ideas and recurrent themes
2. Identifying a thematic framework	• allow data to dictate themes and issues • make judgments about meaning, relevance and importance of themes and issues	• recognise emerging key themes, concepts and issues that form thematic framework • identify implicit connections between themes, issues, ideas • to ensure original research questions are being addressed
3. Indexing	• identify sections of data that correspond to particular themes – apply to all textual data	• to facilitate charting
4. Charting	• arrange data in thematic charts under headings and subheadings • ensure origin of data is still clearly identified	• to facilitate reporting of the research
5. Mapping and interpretation	• analyse the key characteristics in the charts	• to provide a schematic diagram of the research phenomenon • to guide interpretation of the data

Source: Researcher, adapted from Ritchie and Spencer (1994)

Srivastava and Thomson (2009) conclude that Ritchie and Spencer's framework analysis methodology has efficacy in a range of settings because it is comprehensive; grounded, being primarily based in and driven by original observations and accounts of participants; a dynamic that allows for addition or amendment throughout the process; systematic in its treatment of data and transparent. They suggest that if the aim of the research is to generate recommendations in regard to a given policy issue with a pre-determined sample

population, then framework analysis maybe an appropriate methodology. The present research fits this category. Although not designed as a policy intervention, like much in social, public and food policy academic studies, this research is policy-relevant. The researcher, moreover, is engaged in HE, and is based in an academic centre with an experience of engaged, but critical research. The Ritchie and Spencer framework, as adapted, was thus considered appropriate to use on data gathered using a multiple method approach from actors with diverse perspectives on teaching young people how to cook.

3.4 Research process

The decision was made to conduct five studies, as set out in Figure 3.5, each addressing a different stakeholder cohort, with the principal research question as the central focus. The focus of each study in relation to the research objective is also located in the figure. Although it suggests that the studies were conducted consecutively, in reality, access to and availability of participants, the speed of participant responses for interviews and surveys, plus the restrictions of the academic year calendar and work commitments of the researcher meant that, for reasons of efficiency, some interviews and surveys were conducted concurrently. Figure 3.6 then locates the studies within the sequence of the whole thesis, with the early chapters outlining the policy and pedagogical 'problem', the current presenting methodology, Chapters 4-8 reporting findings from the studies, before Chapter 9 analyses and discusses their implications.

Figure 3.5: The research studies

Source: Researcher
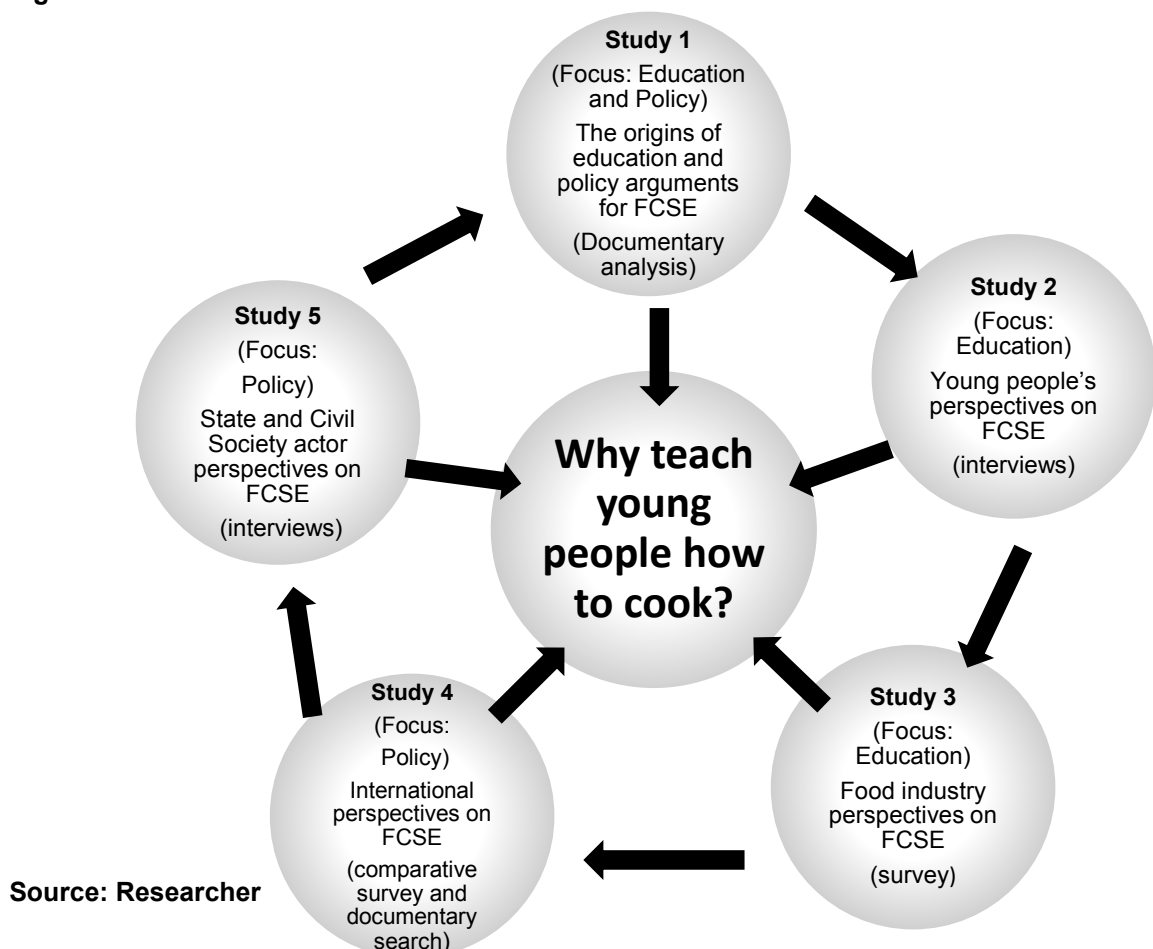
Ethical approval

At the start of this phase of the research, two applications for the Approval of Experiment and Investigation Involving Human Subjects were made to City University Senate Research Ethics Committee. The first was for the élite interviews and approved in 2008. Following the decision to conduct further studies in order to map the FCSE terrain, a second application was made to conduct the studies on young people's and the food industry's views on FCSE and approved in 2012.

Figure 3.6: Summary of the research process

Carry out literature review
Investigate research question and theoretical concepts

Elucidate methodology

Select studies and participants

Conduct studies

1

5

Why teach young people how to cook?

2

4

3

Interpret data

Using Ritchie and Spencer five-step process:

1. Familiarisation

2. Identification of thematic framework

3. Index

4. Chart

5. Map and interpret

Discuss

results

Draw conclusions

and

make recommendations

Source: Researcher

3.5 Study methods

Study 1: The origins of education and policy arguments for Food and Cooking Skills Education

This study, which focused on RQ1, aimed to explore and ascertain how current education and policy arguments about FCSE emerged as the subject evolved in the curriculum of State schools in England and Wales. In Chapters 1 and 2 the research objective had focused on FCSE from the time it was restructured in the 1980s following the ERA. It became clear towards the end of Chapter 2 that debates about its rationales would be better informed by having a deeper understanding of how they were influenced by its origins. The study used a literature search and documentary analysis as the method for collecting data, as explained in this section.

From Chapters 1 and 2, four initial rationales specific to the purpose of FCSE were identified and used as starting points for the documentary analysis. These were:

1. The apparent decline in the practice of cooking in the population
2. The skilling and de-skilling of people
3. The change in focus from home to industrial cooking brought about by the introduction of FT in the NC
4. The contribution of FCSE to public health policies for tackling NCDs

It should be noted that there is a degree of overlap between each area, and that some FCSE policies and practices encompass multiple areas, as did many of the documents referred to in the study. Also, the issue of school food provision, whilst not the focus of this research, is nevertheless inextricably linked with much of the research and published literature relating to FCSE. Food provision was, therefore, referred to in the study where relevant.

Sampling and method

The documentation analysis took the form of a systematised literature review using Internet sites, archive searches, books and journals.

Internet search

Table 3.5 shows which Internet databases were accessed:

Table 3.5: Internet databases accessed for Study 1

ASSIA	ERIC
Australian Education Index	IBSS
BIDS	Info Trac Custom Newspaper Database
British Education Index	INGENTA
British Nursing Index	Medline
British Nursing Index	OVID online
CINAHL	The Guardian / Observer Archive
COCHRANE library	

Source: Researcher

The search terms employed for each of the four rationales were:

1. The apparent decline in the practice of cooking in the population:

Consumer education	Food education
Cookery education	Food education curriculum
Consumer studies	Food studies
Cookery training	Healthy eating education
Cooking education	Health education
Cookery / Cooking skills	Health education curriculum
Cooking skills decline	Health education school curriculum
Cooking skills education	Healthy lifestyle education
Domestic education	Home Economics
Domestic science	Home Economics education
Domestic science education	Home Economics training
Domestic science training	Nutrition curriculum
Food and nutrition education	Nutrition education

2. The skilling and de-skilling of people

Cookery / Cooking skills	Girls' curriculum subjects
Design technology	Girls' education
Design technology food	National curriculum food
De-skilling	National curriculum technology
Domestic service education	Practical skills
Domestic studies education Technology	Skills
	Skills training
Food Technology curriculum	Training

3. The change in focus from home to industrial cooking brought about by the introduction of FT in the NC

Cookery education	Food education curriculum
Cooking education	Food studies
Cooking skills education	Food Technology
Design Technology	Food Technology curriculum
Domestic education	Gender and food education
Domestic science education	Girls and Boys education
Domestic science training	Home cooking education
Domestic science	Home Economics
Domestic studies education	Home Economics education
Food and nutrition education	National Curriculum (Technology)
Food education	Technology Curriculum

4. The contribution of FCSE to public health policies for tackling NCDs

Cookery education	Food education curriculum
Cookery training	Food studies
Cooking education	Healthy eating education
Cooking skills education	Health education
Domestic education	Health education curriculum
Domestic science education	Health education school curriculum
Domestic science training	Healthy lifestyle education
Domestic science	Home Economics (education)
Domestic service education	Nutrition curriculum
Domestic studies education	Nutrition education
Food and nutrition education	
Food education	

Combinations of search terms were used to refine the search. As historical perspectives were the focus of the study, no publication date limitation was imposed. Using the key word searches, the databases identified many hundreds of potential sources of information from the international literature. To ensure they had relevance to this research, they were refined and selected for inclusion by using the following criteria:

- Assessment of title relevance
- Assessment of abstract relevance (where available)
- Assessment of material once obtained

The varied nature of the literature required an appropriate classification method to enable it to be effectively used. It was classified according to the quality of the evidence level provided using the method described by Caraher, Cowburn, & Currie (2003), which proved to be very helpful for this process:

Level 1: A well-designed study, survey or systematic review, often using randomised, controlled, quasi-experimental, intervention versus a control and comparison group or a pre-test / post-test design including historical studies with academic rigour.

Level 2: A study, survey or review of one of the four initial rationales for FCSE

Level 3: Descriptive / anecdotal, well presented and relevant qualitative information

Level 4: Very general information, with little data, but with subject relevance

Level 5: 'Grey' literature – i.e. material that does not conform to the academic peer review process, usually taking the form of a report in a newsletter or journal.

Level 6: Literature published by Government and quangos, including relevant policy documents and reports.

The following types of information were obtained and used for the four initial rationales identified:

The apparent decline in the practice of cooking in the population

- Levels 2 and 3: These were the most numerous and mainly consisted of reviews, discussion papers and accounts of the changes in FCSE syllabus content from domestic to industrial food production; the policies that shaped these changes and their implications. Historical accounts (mainly textbooks) of the development of education and specifically FCSE were also used.
- Level 4: General information on the decline of practical skills was found in some articles and books.
- Level 5: Several newspaper, magazine and some journal articles concerning the decline of cooking were found.

The skilling and de-skilling of people

- Level 1: A small number of studies and systematic reviews of role, definition and transition of cooking skills were used.

- Levels 2 and 3: These were the most numerous and consisted of several discussion papers, reviews and qualitative articles about the development, importance, and decline of cooking and general practical and life skills. Reports, studies and reviews focusing on FCSE competencies (cooking skills, knowledge of food, management and organisational skills, design and technological skills) were also used.

- Level 4: A few articles and some books on general life and practical skills with relevance to cooking skills were used.

- Level 5: A number of newspaper, journal and magazine articles, discussion / informational sites ('blogs') concerning the decline of practical cooking skills were used.

- Level 6: Some Government education articles concerning skills education were used.

The change in focus from home to industrial cooking brought about by the introduction of FT in the NC

- Levels 2 and 3: These two categories provided the bulk of numerous reviews, discussion papers, accounts, perspectives and advisory articles about the lead-up to the introduction of the NC in 1988, and the effects this would have on FCSE and the implications for Technology in the curriculum. Some historical accounts concerning the implementation of gender equality in the school curriculum via syllabus content and subject delivery were found to have relevance.

- Level 4: Some articles that reflected on the changes to FCSE pedagogy and provision were obtained.

- Level 5: A small number of newspaper articles expressing concerns and perspectives about the introduction of FT were found.

- Level 6: Some Government, Ofsted and QCA information was used.

The contribution of FCSE to public health policies for tackling NCDs

- Level 1: This category was the least available and the few articles that were obtained focused on the impact of various school-based intervention studies and policies that were aimed at improving the nutritional/healthy eating knowledge, dietary behaviour and health status of individuals and groups through FCSE and studies about healthy eating education and messages.

- Level 2: This category was the most frequently available and consisted of various reviews, perceptions, and articles about healthy eating at school, food and health education programmes, teacher training, reviews of literature on food choices and food education, and the role of the school food service.

- Level 3: A few descriptive accounts of food and cooking education initiatives were found.

- Levels 4 and 5: Some general articles and commentary about health and nutrition education were found.

- Level 6: The role of FCSE and health education in relation to public health policies were found in several reports from Ofsted, curriculum documents and Education department newsletters and press releases.

Data collection and handling

The literature was extensively trawled and a century and a half of educational and policy process in relation to FCSE charted. Having been classified, to enable the efficient management of the volume of literature obtained, it was filed under each of the four initial rationales. A record of every reference used for the thesis was stored electronically as it was obtained and as the literature was organised, each document was read and key information highlighted, enabling themes and clusters of information to be grouped for easy reference. The findings from the study are presented in Chapter 4.

Study 2: Young people's perspectives on Food and Cooking Skills Education

The provision, pedagogy, content, method of assessment and evaluation of FCSE have traditionally and culturally been decided, implemented and conducted by adults for the benefit and on behalf of children and young people. It was decided that this research should elicit the perspectives and opinions of school pupils in an experiential study that focused on education and explored their perspectives about FCSE, in particular whether they should learn how to cook at school; a method not found in the literature for FCSE at the time of the research. As young people are the recipients of the education system, their input was considered to be important. Consideration was given to the means by which young people's perspectives and opinions could be most effectively conveyed. Initially, a questionnaire was considered, in which secondary school pupils would be asked to consider and prioritise the purpose(s) of cookery lessons delivered at school, then consider the ages at which cookery lessons should be taught and the issue of provision in terms of gender, as shown in Table 3.6:

Table 3.6: Content of proposed school pupil questionnaire

Put the following reasons/choices for teaching children about food and how to cook in order of importance to you (1 = most important, 6 = least important), by putting a number next to the following reasons/choices:

1. If the Government decided that cookery lessons were to become a permanent part of the school timetable what do you think the purpose of the lessons should be?

To teach children skills for employment in the catering industry

To teach children skills for life (how to appreciate and enjoy good food that keeps them and their family healthy)

To build children's confidence and practical skills and enable them to achieve success in a school subject

To learn about where food comes from and how it is produced

To learn cooking skills that will help save money when feeding a family

To learn to cook for pleasure and fun

2. Who do you think should learn about food and how to cook at school?

Girls only at primary or secondary school

Boys and girls in secondary school only

Boys and girls in primary school only

Boys and girls of all ages in primary and secondary school

Boys only at primary or secondary school

Boys and girls who are about to leave school to go out to work or study at college or university

Source: Researcher

A number of problematic issues were identified with this proposed method:

1. The results would not convey (and would be difficult to elucidate) the personal opinions and experiences of participants as they would be prioritising six statements compiled by and reflecting the perspectives of the researcher. This would place limitations on their responses and make the results constrained and impersonal.

2. Participants would feel constrained and obliged to put a number in the boxes, probably under pressure within the rigid time frame of a tutor group session at school, which means that there would be insufficient time for them to carefully consider the options for their answers.

3. It would not be feasible for the researcher to oversee the management of the questionnaire sessions, which means that participants may not have had its purpose fully explained and consequently would not completely understand the significance of the questions.

4. Some participants may not understand the language and terminology used in the questions, which would make their responses unreliable.

5. Peer group conformity might encourage some participants to copy their peer's choices, especially if they did not understand the purpose and content of the questions.

6. Participants with little or no experience of cookery lessons in school might be unable to relate to or appreciate the significance of the questions.

In addition, it was considered that the logistics and amount of time required in facilitating the completion and analysis of the results of such a questionnaire would far outweigh their significance.

It was therefore decided that this study should be approached by conducting a series of face-to-face semi-structured interviews with current secondary school pupils, to establish their views about being taught how to cook whilst at school, and in doing so, to provide potentially useful information to address the original research question.

The use of semi-structured interviewing

In qualitative research, the interview is a widely used research tool, the methods for which are numerous, varied and well-documented (e.g. Bryman 2004, Cohen et al 2007). In semi-structured interviewing, the researcher prepares an interview guide of questions and topics to be covered, affording the interviewee flexibility and freedom to answer and discuss these according to their interest, perspective, knowledge and understanding. This is important for the focus of this research, which aims to analyse a range of individual perspectives. Such flexibility, however, presents a challenge to the researcher when it comes to analysing the results of interviews and highlights the need for careful and thorough transcription of interviews and the adoption of a coding regime to flag recurrent themes, opinions and responses.

When planning and conducting the interviews with young people, it is important to account for differences between them and adults in terms of their cognitive and linguistic development, attention and concentration span, recall ability, life experiences and perspectives on what they consider to be important (Cohen et al 2007). Currently, a significant requirement of education policy when teaching young people is to utilise Assessment for Learning (AfL) techniques (DCSF 2008), to ascertain the extent to which they are benefitting from the teaching and learning process. AfL techniques include encouraging young people to discuss and evaluate aspects of their learning, which they are increasingly able to do as their cognitive abilities develop. Using such a technique through the interview process, this study allowed young people to talk freely about their perspectives on FCSE. Secondary school-age pupils were chosen as suitable participants, because they were within the age group and stage of cognitive development where they are increasingly capable of viewing topics and issues from another's perspective, applying logic to an opinion and able to think in an abstract way. It was also considered that many would be able to assess and articulate the relevance of learning how to cook to their particular stage of life, where they would, in a matter of a few months or years, be entering the world as independent people.

In order to ensure that the interview process is effective in terms of generating material for analysis, the interviewees needed to feel that they can trust the interviewer and engage in discourse that is non-threatening (e.g. not perceived as a test where they must provide the 'right' answer), using

straightforward, age-appropriate, and conversational language. For such a method, open-ended questions are more likely to elicit genuine, richer, and more thoughtful and detailed responses and the interviewer needs to have the ability to encourage more reticent young people to contribute without fear of sanction for expressing their views. The researcher's training and experience of working and communicating with young people as a teacher was found to be advantageous for this aspect of the study.

Ethical considerations

At the start of this phase of the research, an application was made to City University Senate Research Ethics Committee for Approval of Research Involving Human Participants and approved. Potential interviewee approach (voluntary participation) and selection could then commence and arrangements made for interviews to take place. In order to encourage maximum responses to interview questions, any information provided during the interviews would be anonymous, non-identifiable and non-attributable to the interviewees or their school and any responses they made would be attributed only by reference to their age and gender. This assurance was set out in an explanatory statement and an informed consent form, both of which interviewees (and their parents/carers) received and signed before their interview (see Appendices 5, 6, and 7). Interviewees also had the right to withdraw from the research at any stage, if they wished to. Interview venues and times were arranged by mutual consent, and conducted in accordance with the assurances set out in the City University Senate Research Ethics Committee application form Section 6.1b; *Safeguarding the confidentiality of participants.*

Sampling and method

The head teacher of a co-educational, comprehensive, converter academy secondary school[1] in Kent was approached to seek permission for the researcher to conduct interviews (n=30) with pupils from different year groups (Years 7 – 13, aged 11 years to 18 years, respectively), during the school day, which was granted (see Appendices 4 and 7). This school was chosen for a number of reasons:

- Pupils at this school come from a large catchment area covering Kent, Sussex and some parts of Surrey.
- The pupils come from a wide range of social and ethnic backgrounds (see Table 3.7). (Social grading information requested, but not supplied by the school)

 The school is geographically close to the school where the researcher teaches, which enabled her to visit the participant school over a period of time to conduct interviews during school days when she was free of teaching commitments.

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[1]Converter academies are successful schools that have opted to convert to academies in order to benefit from increased autonomy. They were introduced in 2010 as part of the Coalition government's plan to broaden the academy programme and eventually enable all schools to become academies.

Table 3.7: Ethnicity profile of sample school for study (Academic year 2012-2013)

Code	Description (*Ethnicity Codes* taken from DCSF - Community Cohesion website: www.communitycohesionncc.org.uk/docs/57.pdf)	% in sample school	% with English as second language
AAFR	African Asian	0.09	100
ABAN	Asian or Asian British: Bangladeshi	1.30	93
AIND	Asian or Asian British: Indian	0.60	71
AOTA	Other Asian	0.18	100
APKN	Asian or Asian British: Pakistani	0.50	67
ASRO	Sri Lankan Other	0.25	0
BAFR	Black or Black British: Black - African	0.70	37.5
BOTH	Black or Black British: Any Other Black Background	0.09	100
CHNE	Chinese	0.30	75
MAOE	Asian and Any Other Ethnic Group	0.50	67
MBOE	Black and Any Other Ethnic Group	0.18	0
MCOE	Chinese and Any Other Ethnic Group	0.18	0
MOTM	Other Mixed Background	0.90	18
MWAI	White and Indian	0.18	0
MWAO	White and Any Other Asian Background	0.70	50
MWAP	White and Pakistani	0.09	0
MWBA	White and Black African	0.50	17
MWBC	White and Black Caribbean	0.25	0
MWOE	White and Any Other Ethnic Group	0.80	11
NOBT	Information Not Yet Obtained	1.80	0
OARA	Arab other	0.18	50
OFIL	Filipino	0.09	100
OJPN	Japanese	0.09	100
OLAM	Latin/South/Central American	0.18	50
OOEG	Other Ethnic Group	0.30	25
OVIE	Vietnamese	0.09	?
REFU	Refused	1.00	0
WCRO	Croatian	0.18	50
WEEU	White Eastern European	0.50	17
WENG	White English	82.0	0.2
WIRI	White Irish	0.09	0
WOTW	White Other	1.1	15
WOWB	Other White British	0.90	15
WSCO	White Scottish	0.09	?
WTUC	Turkish Cypriot	0.09	100
WTUK	Turkish	0.25	67
WWEL	White Welsh	0.18	0
WWEU	White Western European	20.0	35

Source: Researcher using information supplied by sample school

After consent was obtained, the researcher arranged to conduct the thirty interviews over a period of a few weeks. It was considered that this number would allow for a sufficient cross-section of young people to be interviewed, to provide a range of views from males and females. It was also felt that any more than thirty would have had a considerably greater impact on the member of staff who organised the participants at the sample school on behalf of the researcher, and would have caused too much disruption to the timetable and education of the pupils. The school was asked to brief the pupils about the nature of the research and organise the volunteer participants beforehand. Information sheets and consent forms for the research study were given to the school a month before the first interview date, to allow them time to distribute these to volunteers and their parents/carers and collect completed forms.

Data collection and handling

The interviewees that the school organised comprised 21 females and 9 males. The ages and gender of the interviewees, and codes used to distinguish between them when writing up the findings are given in Table 3.8. The codes refer to the interviewee's age, gender and number; if there was more than one of the same age and gender, e.g. two females aged 16 years, they would be coded '16F1' and '16F2'.

Table 3.8: Age and gender of the interviewees in Study 2 (n=30) and codes used

Age	Number of females	Number of males	Codes used for interviewees
17 years	8	0	17F1 - 17F8
16 years	7	1	16F1 - 16F6 16M1
15 years	0	2	15M1 – 15M2
12 years	2	1	12F1 – 12F2 12M1
11 years	4	5	11F1 – 11F4 11M1 – 11M5

Source: Researcher

To facilitate the smooth flow of discussion, the interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder (DVR) for post-interview transcription, which had been made clear to the participants in the information sheets before they agreed to participate. Each interview was stored in a folder on the DVR, the code for which was recorded by the researcher against the code for each interviewee in order to ensure accuracy and authenticity. The interviews were conducted in a teacher's office by a quiet corridor, to enable good quality recordings to be made. The researcher was unknown to the participants, so in order to 'break the ice' and encourage a flow of conversation, at the start of each interview, interviewees were reminded by the researcher of the nature of the research, the purpose and format of the interview and the researcher's role. Discussions were then prompted by the use of the following questions. The study was focused on RQ3, and in order to stimulate discussion and facilitate the interview process, the supplementary questions listed below were developed and worded so that they were cohort appropriate (see also Appendix 8):

RQS3a (RQ 3 Supplementary question a) Do you think young people should learn about food and how to cook at school?

RQS3b What do you think the purpose of learning about food and how to cook should be?

RQS3c What do you think learning about food and how to cook contributes to your general education?

RQS3d At what age do you think young people should learn about food and how to cook at school?

RQS3e What do you think young people want to and/or should learn about food and cooking?

The duration of the interviews ranged from eighteen to forty two minutes. To help facilitate the flow of conversation in some interviews, additional questions were used by the researcher as prompts, where appropriate. These are identified in the transcripts of quotes in Chapter 5.

Once each interview was complete, it was downloaded onto the researcher's personal computer (PC) (stand-alone), ready for transcription, and the original recording on the DVR deleted. Each interview was transcribed by the researcher onto a Microsoft Word document, with interviewee's responses presented in a different font to distinguish them from the researcher's questions. Hard copies of the thirty transcripts were printed and filed, but the word processed versions were retained on the researcher's PC for the duration of the research process as a backup.

To facilitate the presentation, discussion and analysis of the findings, stages 2 (Identifying a thematic framework), 3 (Indexing) and 4 (Charting) of Ritchie and Spencer's framework analysis five-step process was applied to the data handling. The transcripts were trawled and rationales (ref: RQ3Sa, RQ3Sb and RQ3Sc) and pedagogy for FCSE (ref: RQ3Sd and RQ3Se) suggested by interviewees were identified and key words such as 'cooking skills', 'nutrition', 'independence', 'health', 'meals', and 'family', highlighted and colour-coded on the hard copies. This process was applied to the responses to all the questions asked to enable common themes to be derived and categorised according to meaning and relevance. These were then used as headlines to discuss the outcomes of the study, in which relevant quotes from the interviews were used. The findings from the study are presented in Chapter 5.

Study 3: Food industry perspectives on Food and Cooking Skills Education

This study explored the perspectives about FCSE with a focus on education and pedagogy amongst representatives from the Retail, Manufacturing and Hospitality and catering sectors of the food industry, by means of a postal or email survey. In view of the influence that the food industry has on eating habits and cooking practices, the aim was to explore the extent to which the food industry views the importance for their workforce and the wider public of being taught cooking skills and how it should be approached. The questions were designed to gauge the level of importance that the food industry attaches to FCSE and the contribution to this curriculum area they provide. The questions addressed issues raised mainly by RQs 2 and 3, but also covered some aspects of RQs 4 and 5.

The use of postal or email surveys

Internet surveys (either email or web-based) are increasingly used in research often in preference to postal surveys. Both methods are relatively easy to administer and have the potential to reach a large number of participants in a wide geographical area, with minimal resources. Internet surveys usually produce a faster response rate (Bryman 2004, Cohen et al 2007, Nguyen 2007). Respondents can complete them at their own convenience, thus giving them time to provide considered responses, which is not so easy in a supervised interview and if standardised wording is used, a degree of comparability is possible.

The disadvantage, however, is that such methods may have a poor response rate, either because recipients choose not to respond (particularly if daily inundated with emails), potential recipients never actually receive the survey or through concerns about Internet security. It is difficult to establish the reason or whether the resultant sample is representative of the wider population. It is

also possible for respondents to misinterpret or omit questions and no opportunity for the researcher to make use of non-verbal cues or spontaneous answers (Breakwell et al 2000, Bryman, 2004, Cohen et al 2007). However, it was considered that in view of the potential number of organisations represented in this sector, the response rate stood a good chance of being acceptable.

Ethical considerations

At the start of this phase of the research, an application was made to City University Senate Research Ethics Committee for Approval of Research Involving Human Participants and approved. Potential participants were then contacted. To encourage maximum responses, any information provided by respondents would be anonymous, non-identifiable and non-attributable to the individuals or the organisation they represent and would be attributed only by reference to the food industry sector they represented, i.e. Retail, Manufacturing, or Hospitality and Catering. This assurance was set out in an explanatory statement and an informed consent form, both of which potential respondents received before they completed the survey (see Appendices 9 and 10). The survey was conducted in accordance with the assurances set out in the City University Senate Research Ethics Committee application form Section '6.1b; *safeguarding the confidentiality of participants'.*

Sampling and method

Food industry representatives from UK organisations in each of the three food industry sectors were approached and invited to participate in the survey. In the Retail sector, these were large and medium-sized supermarket companies, small food retailers and their retail trade associations. In the Manufacturing sector, these were food manufacturing corporations and companies, research organisations, sector consultants and sector representative organisations. In the Hospitality and Catering sector, these were sector representative associations, training and skills development organisations and state sector (health and education) food providers. The preferred sample size was ten (maximum) from each of the three sectors, to give a range of perspectives, but was finally determined by the number of companies, sector organisations or individuals willing to participate. Inclusion in the study was based on the criteria that participants represented organisations that can influence matters concerning policy, education, food choice, food provision and skills training.

A list of companies and organisations to be approached were firstly obtained using an Internet search, starting with sector and trade representative organisations then individual companies, and initial contacts for each ascertained from the information supplied by their respective websites. In addition, the researcher approached a contact from a food-related NGO for a list of potential food industry participants, which was supplied. Some contacts from the list were selected according to relevance to the survey and approached. The researcher also approached some academic contacts who were able to supply the details of other potential participants. A total of 38 potential survey participants were approached by e-mail and invited to take part in the survey. These comprised 11 from the Retail sector, 14 from the Manufacturing sector and 13 from the Hospitality and Catering sector. Participants were provided with details of how to complete the survey and return it to the

researcher's email address. If no email address could be accessed for a potential participant, then they were sent, by post, a letter inviting them to participate, a copy of the survey and an explanatory statement and consent form, plus a stamped addressed envelope for return to the researcher. A copy of the survey can be found in Appendix 11. Recruitment for the study was a slow process. Contact with some organisations (in all three sectors) who initially agreed to participate involved protracted and convoluted communications to identify and organise the availability of an individual to complete the survey. The search for participants took place over four months. Table 3.9 shows the breakdown of responses received to invitations to participate in the survey, including nil responses.

Table 3.9: Responses by food industry sector organisations to invitations to participate in Study 3 (n=38)

Food industry sector	Number of organisations invited to participate	Number of responses received	Number of nil responses	Number of organisations agreeing to participate	Number of organisations agreeing to participate in principle, but not following up initial response	Number of organisations declining participation
Retail	11	8	3	**6**	1	2
Manufacture	14	9	5	**6**	1	1
Hospitality and Catering	13	6	7	**5**	0	1
Total	38	23	15	**17**	2	4

Source: Researcher

A final total of 17 representatives of organisations from the three sectors participated and completed the survey (44.7% response rate), as detailed below:

- Retail: the top five UK supermarket companies (in terms of market share) and a retail trade institute

- Manufacturing: two multinational consumer goods corporations (including food products); a seed and food plant manufacturer; two manufacturing trade associations and an organisation advising manufacturers on sustainability issues

- Hospitality and Catering: two major sector associations; a school food catering company; a large catering services organisation and a representative from the NHS catering sector

Data collection and handling

This study was conducted in order to elicit the perspectives and opinions of the food industry about FCSE, specifically:

1. Whether they considered that young people should learn how to cook at school (Ref: RQ2, RQ4)

2. What contribution they considered the food industry could / should make to FCSE (Ref: RQ5)

3. What they considered the purpose of FCSE should be (Ref: RQ3)

The participants in the survey and the codes used to distinguish between them when writing up the findings are given in Table 3.10. Where comments were quoted, respondents were coded according to the food industry sector they represented with a number to distinguish different participants from the same sector; e.g. 'FIR1' means 'Food Industry Retail representative number 1', 'FIM6' means 'Food Industry Manufacture representative number 6', and 'FIHC4' means 'Food Industry Hospitality and Catering representative number 4'.

Table 3.10: Codes used to distinguish participants in Study 3 (n = 17)

Food industry sector represented	Number of interviewees in each group	Codes used for interviewees
Retail	6	FIR1 – FIR6
Manufacture	6	FIM1 – FIM6
Hospitality and Catering	5	FIHC1 – FIHC5

Source: Researcher

From the 17 participants in this study useful insights and data were collected. There were spaces provided in the survey for participants to add comments if they wished, and some extra data was derived from these. As for Study 2, Ritchie and Spencer's framework analysis process was applied to the data handling. Quantitative methods were applied to the survey questions to ascertain the frequency with which optional responses in each question were answered. In addition, rationales for FCSE suggested by some participants in the optional comments sections of the survey were identified, and key words such as 'industry skills', 'training' and 'life skills', highlighted and colour-coded on the survey returns. This process was applied to the responses to all the questions asked to enable common themes to be derived and categorised according to meaning and relevance. These were then used as headlines to discuss the outcomes of the study, in which relevant quotes from the interviews were used. The findings from the study are presented in Chapter 6.

Study 4: International perspectives on Food and Cooking Skills Education

The aim of Study 4 was to explore policy in relation to FCSE by investigating how other countries have approached it to provide a comparison with England and Wales in terms of rationales, provision, resource and curriculum allocation, content, status and advocacy, by means of a fact-finding survey and documentary analysis. An initial scoping literature review had indicated that this aspect of FCSE had received only limited attention (e.g. Stitt 1996, Ballam 2003). Therefore this survey will contribute to the body of knowledge informing the provision and future of the subject in England and Wales, by drawing on the experiences and exploring the policies of other countries.

The use of fact finding surveys

For this fact-finding survey, data was collected from sources including embassies, written records, existing surveys and education organisations. Whilst this data collection method does not usually generate statistically significant or in-depth results, such as those provided by long-term qualitative research methods; nevertheless, it can provide a useful source of information about an issue, which

can contribute to an overall analysis, and was therefore considered to be appropriate for this research in order to provide a comparison of FCSE provision in other countries.

Sampling and method

A selection of 28 member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and (at the time of the study) 7 non-OECD European countries were sampled (see Table 3.11). Comparisons were made with these first-world countries because they have some similarities to England and Wales in terms of their education systems and policies that aim to improve the economic and social well-being of their populations, as set out in the mission statement of the OECD (http://www.oecd.org/about/). The OECD developed a 'Skills Beyond School' initiative in 2007, in which it reviewed policies for Vocational Education and Training (VET). Their 'Learning for Jobs' review (OECD 2010) highlighted how VET has been neglected and marginalised in policy discussions in many countries in favour of academic education that prepares young people for university education. This has resulted in the limited availability of data that compares countries. As this study compares different countries in respect of their FCSE provision, it will contribute to the body of knowledge about this aspect of VET.

Table 3.11: Countries sampled for Study 4 (n= 35)

Country	OECD member	NON-OECD	Country	OECD member	NON-OECD
Australia	✓		Japan	✓	
Austria	✓		Latvia		✓
Belgium	✓		Lichtenstein		✓
Bulgaria		✓	Lithuania		✓
Canada	✓		Malta		✓
Cyprus		✓	Netherlands	✓	
Czech Republic	✓		Northern Ireland	✓	
Denmark	✓		Norway	✓	
Estonia	✓		Poland	✓	
Finland	✓		Portugal	✓	
France	✓		Romania		✓
Germany	✓		Scotland	✓	
Greece	✓		Slovakia	✓	
Hungary	✓		Slovenia	✓	
Iceland	✓		Spain	✓	
Ireland	✓		Sweden	✓	
Italy	✓		Switzerland	✓	
			USA	✓	

Source: Researcher

An introduction and explanation about the origin and purpose of the research was sent to potential participants via e-mail or letter to either the education attaché at the

UK embassy for each country or state within a country (n=35) in the chosen sample. It was considered likely that these sources would either have access to the required information or could suggest an alternative source, and this proved to be so for almost 50% of the sample. The search also used the Eurydice Internet database, which is a network providing information and analyses of education systems and policies on a reciprocal basis in EU Member States, Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries (Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland) (http://eacea.ec.europa.ec/education/eurydice/index_en.php). At the time of conducting the survey, information on education structure and curricula was available online for each of the 33 countries participating in the EU's Lifelong Learning programme. The following questions were asked:

1. What is the current situation / status of FCSE in your country?
2. Is cookery taught in schools?
      - if yes: to what age / level / curriculum content?
      - if no: why not?
3. Are there any changes in the FCSE curriculum that have been introduced in recent years and   why?
4. Who are the key players in your country who have an interest in this area, e.g. parent organisations, non-governmental organisations, education authorities, examination organisations etc.?
5. Does central or local government set your school curriculum and how and where does FCSE feature within it?

These questions were designed to focus on policy in terms of FCSE and relate to RQs 4 and 5 and the following supplementary questions:

RQS4a (RQ4 Supplementary question a) Should FCSE be a comprehensive, appropriately resourced and embedded curriculum subject for all pupils in primary and secondary education and what would be required to facilitate this?
RQS4b What should be the focus of FCSE - culture, tradition, societal values, skills acquisition and utilisation, industry, commerce and employment, health and welfare?
RQS4c What are the barriers and options for FCSE?
RQS5a How / where does food education feature in general educational policy?
RQS5b What has influenced concern about the need to provide FCSE?

Data collection and handling

The research process for this study was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, a large amount of data about FCSE was gathered, using the email survey to embassies, through the Eurydice network, an Internet and a documentary search. The second phase was conducted as the research process continued, to establish whether there had been any further developments for FCSE in any of the countries for which data had already been collected, in order to update it, and to seek

information from those from which no data had initially been available. The fact-finding nature of the study inevitably means that the data presented here was current at the time of collection. The dynamic nature of education, and specifically FCSE, situated within the current complex and pressurised economic and educational climate, means that it is subject to revision; however, sufficient data was collected to provide a workable comparison with FCSE provision in England and Wales. Twenty seven surveys were sent out to the embassies of seventeen countries, five Canadian provinces and five North American states. Table 3.12 shows for which countries the information was supplied by embassies, the Eurydice database or literature and documentary search.

Table 3.12: Sources of information supplied and used for each of the

Country Countries sampled: N = 35	Embassy survey	Eurydice Internet database contact	Literature / document search	Country	Embassy survey	Eurydice Internet database contact	Literature / document search
Australia			✓	**Japan**	✓		✓
Austria		✓		**Latvia**		✓	✓
Belgium		✓		**Lichtenstein**		✓	✓
Bulgaria		✓		**Lithuania**		✓	✓
Canada	✓ for 3 provinces		✓	**Malta**		✓	
Cyprus		✓		**Netherlands**	✓	✓	✓
Czech Republic		✓		**Northern Ireland**	✓		✓
Denmark		✓		**Norway**			✓
Estonia		✓		**Poland**		✓	
Finland		✓	✓	**Portugal**			✓
France			✓	**Romania**		✓	
Germany			✓	**Scotland**	✓		
Greece		✓		**Slovakia**		✓	
Hungary		✓		**Slovenia**		✓	
Iceland		✓		**Spain**		✓	
Ireland		✓	✓	**Sweden**	✓	✓	
Italy	✓	✓		**Switzerland**	✓		
				USA	✓ for 1 state		✓

countries in Study 4 (n=35)
Source: Researcher

A large amount of data was collected for this study. Most of this was in the form of comprehensive information about the teaching of FCSE in different countries, either in the form of curricula structure and content, course specifications, education and policy information and/or journal articles and reports. Much of the information was accessed electronically and some required translation into English, for which the search engine 'Google Translate' was used. Some information was acquired through a literature and documentary search, using a systematised literature review as in Study 1, with a range of search terms pre-fixed by the name of each country in the sample, including

'education system' (e.g. Italy education system), 'food education', 'cooking skills education', 'vocational courses' and 'practical cooking courses'.

Much of the documentation, particularly school syllabuses and curriculum data was very long and detailed, and took many hours to process. As with the previous studies, Ritchie and Spencer's framework analysis process was applied to the data handling. Firstly, the information was sorted according to relevance to the thesis. For example, some curriculum information gave details for all subjects covered and required careful reading to identify and extract the parts appertaining to FCSE. Secondly, using the themes raised in Studies 1, 2, and 3 as a guide, the rationales for FCSE indicated by the documentation content were identified and key words such as 'cooking skills', 'nutrition', 'independence', 'consumer education', 'vocational training' and 'food hygiene', highlighted and colour-coded on the hard copies. This process was applied to the responses to all the questions asked to enable common themes, concepts and issues that emerged to be identified and categorised according to meaning and relevance. The findings from the study are presented in Chapter 7.

Study 5: State related and Civil Society actor perspectives on Food and Cooking Skills Education

This study, which focused on policy in relation to FCSE, invited a selection of actors from State-related and Civil Society sectors to discuss their views, opinions and experiences of the issues raised about FCSE by RQs 2, 3, 4 and 5. This was conducted using semi-structured élite interviews, with the addition of some actor-specific, supplementary research questions to facilitate the interview process and extend the discussion focus. An important aspect of the interview technique was to avoid asking leading questions, which may have impeded or given bias to the responses. This was ensured by asking only the main research and actor specific supplementary questions, as set out in Appendix 14.

The use of élite interviewing

In political science research, a key technique is élite interviewing where a target group (an 'élite') is selected for semi-structured interviewing, the aim being to elicit information about decision making processes (Burnham et al 2004, Bryman 2004, Flick et al 2004, Harvey 2009, Leech 2002). Interviewees with expertise of a subject about which the interviewer has some knowledge, but wishes to gain more insight and perspective, are sought. In his study comparing UK and French approaches to cooking and domestic food, Gatley (2012 and 2014) conducted a series of élite interviews of policy makers in both countries. The present research followed that model for the UK only. For practical reasons, such interviews across even the OECD member states charted by study 4 was inconceivable (but would be very interesting for future research).

Gaining access to élite subjects depends on the ability to network socially, academically and professionally, making use of serendipitous opportunities and persistence in locating and following up a range of contacts in a manner of polite and patient pursuit, whilst taking into account the

occurrence of particular pressure points inherent in the professional and personal lives of potential interviewees, which may influence their willingness or ability to participate in an interview during the period of time requested by the researcher. It is likely that potential interviewees may be protected by gatekeepers, who in their role would need to be advised of the nature of the research in a clear and straightforward summary before allowing contact. Such gatekeepers should not be viewed as impenetrable barriers, but as potential gateways to other participants. Having considered the nature and purpose of the research, the gatekeeper may alert other potentially interested parties, who may respond and participate in the research on the basis of the gatekeeper's recommendation.

There is debate as to whether or not it is advantageous for the researcher to be an insider in the organisation or group from which data from élite interviews are sought. Being an insider could encourage bias and subjectivity, which being an outsider would avoid. It may also be easier for an outsider to gain access to respondents, as other insiders may question the motives for conducting interviews, and view an insider with suspicion. The researcher's affiliation to a particular university or organisation may also have positive or negative implications for accessing interviewees, based on their previous (if any) experience or perception of that institution. It is necessary for researchers to clarify their academic background in order for potential interviewees to identify with the research. Methodologically, it is advantageous to seek potential élite interviewees from a range of sources as it reduces the possibility of bias. Flexibility on the part of the researcher in terms of dates, times, venue and mode of interview will ensure that data is collected, although the depth of detail elicited by different methods may vary. Such flexibility is likely to make interviewees more positively disposed towards the researcher, thereby ensuring a more valuable contribution to the research process.

Unlike standardised survey interviewing where structured questionnaires administered during interviews are used and are key to accumulating standardised responses to specific questions; in élite interviewing, standardisation would stifle respondent's views, which would consequently lack detail, depth and perspective. Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of élite interviewing is the open-ended nature of questions and the opportunity to elicit a variety of responses depending on the influence that individual respondents have on the decision making process under scrutiny (Burnham 2004, Leech 2002, Harvey 2009).

Semi-structured interviews should be flexible. An interview guide, comprising a list of questions or topics will be used, as presented in Appendix 14. There is general consensus that élite interviewees prefer not to be asked closed-ended questions, so the aim is to achieve a conversational flow rather than asking mainly formulaic questions. Closed-ended questions are more likely to be received and provide useful quantitative data and responses if delivered after open-ended questions, where a particular subject has been sufficiently aired to elicit an appropriate answer to a formulaic question (Harvey 2009).

The location of the interview can influence the nature and amount of information that respondents may be prepared to disclose. For the interviews for this study, the venues included a quiet area in a hotel lounge, a café, a school office, several workplace offices and purpose-built interview rooms.

Ethical considerations

At the start of this phase of the research, an application was made to City University Senate Research Ethics Committee for Approval of Research Involving Human Participants and approved. Potential interviewee approach (voluntary participation) and selection could then commence and arrangements for interviews to take place were organised. In order to encourage maximum responses to interview questions, any information provided during the interviews will be anonymous, non-identifiable and non-attributable to the interviewees or their organisation and any responses they make would be attributed only by general reference to their professional sector and to their gender. This assurance is set out in an explanatory statement and an informed consent form, both of which interviewees received and signed before their interview (see Appendices 12 and 13). Interviewees also had the right to withdraw from the research at any stage, if they wished to.

Interview venues and times were arranged by mutual consent, and were conducted in accordance with the assurances set out in the City University Senate Research Ethics Committee application form 'Section 6.1b*; Safeguarding the confidentiality of participants'*.

Sampling and method

Table 3.13 shows which élite interviewees from the State, State-related and Civil Society stakeholder groups were sought and invited to participate. The criteria for the selection of interviewees were that:

- They and/or the organisation they represented had either been engaged in or had the potential to become engaged in the development, implementation, facilitation and/or evaluation of FCSE policy initiatives in schools
and/or:

- They and/or the organisation which they represented had relevance to resource distribution and /or curriculum planning, development and implementation in primary and/or secondary school education
and/or:

- They and/or the organisation which they represented had relevance to any broad based policy provisions and/or disciplines linked to FCSE, such as school food provision and PSHE

Table 3.13: Potential stakeholder interviewee groups for Study 5

Potential stakeholder interviewee groups	Reason for selection
State *Government funded organisations and agencies*	Organisations and agencies whose role is to implement Government policy and develop and facilitate curriculum content
Civil Society *Educators Professional organisations and individuals; Non-Governmental Organisations*	Organisations / individuals with views on and experience of issues concerning FCSE, health and food policy and/or have developed and implemented initiatives to develop FCSE in schools

Source: Researcher

The researcher initially approached potential interviewees either by letter, email or telephone conversation. Those who expressed an interest in participating were then forwarded a detailed information sheet and consent form to allow them to consider and make a final decision about whether or not they would participate. Arrangements were made for the researcher to meet and interview participants at appropriate venues.

Data collection and handling

Twenty individuals and/or organisations were contacted from the groups listed in Table 3.13 with requests for interviews. Table 3.14 sets out the responses to these requests.

Table 3.14: Responses to requests for an interview for Study 5 (n=20)

Potential actor élite interviewee groups	Number of requests for interviews	Number of responses received	Number of nil responses	Number of respondents agreeing to an interview	Number of respondents declining an interview
State-related *Government funded organisations and agencies*	8	4	4	3	1
Civil Society *Professional organisations and individuals; Non-Governmental Organisations*	12	10	2	9	1
Total	20	14	6	12	1

Source: Researcher

Twelve interviews were arranged and conducted. Of these, 3 were with individuals representing organisations from the State-related sector and 9 were from the Civil Society sector. Table 3.15 shows how the interviewees are distinguished in the text by the codes given column three of the table. The code referred to the sector they represented and the number to distinguish different participants from the same sector; e.g. 'SSILP' means State Sector Initiative Leading Practitioner and 'CSPOR' means Civil Society Professional Organisation Representative.

Table 3.15: Codes used to distinguish interviewees in Study 5

Actor élite interviewee group represented	Number of interviewees in each group	Codes used for interviewees
State		
Government Funded FCSE Initiative Leading Practitioner	1	SSILP
Government Agency Representative	1	SSGAR
Health Practitioner	1	SSHP
Civil society		
Professional Organisation Representative	1	CSPOR
Education Professional	5	CSEP1 – CSEP5
Non-Governmental Organisation Representative	3	CSNGO1 – CSNGO3

Source: Researcher

The interviews each lasted for between half to three-quarters of an hour. To facilitate the smooth flow of discussion, the interviews were recorded using a DVR for post-interview transcription, which interviewees were made aware of in the information sheet that accompanied the consent form. Each interview was stored in a folder on the DVR, the code for which was written down by the researcher against the code for each interviewee in order to ensure accuracy and authenticity. At the start of each interview, interviewees were reminded by the researcher of the nature of the research, the purpose and format of the interview and the researcher's role. Once each interview was complete, it was downloaded onto the researcher's personal computer (PC) (stand-alone), ready for transcription, and the original recording on the DVR deleted. Each interview was transcribed by the researcher onto a Microsoft Word document. Hard copies of the transcripts were printed and filed, but were retained on the researcher's PC for the duration of the research process as a backup.

As for Studies 2 and 3, Ritchie and Spencer's framework analysis process was applied to the data handling. Key issues raised by interviewees were identified and key words associated with them such as 'National Curriculum', 'cooking skills', 'nutrition', 'design and technology', 'funding', 'trained teachers' and 'facilities' highlighted and colour-coded on the hard copies. This process was applied to the responses to all the questions asked to enable common themes, concepts and issues that emerged to be identified and categorised according to meaning and relevance. The findings from the study are presented in Chapter 8.

Chapter 3 has outlined the conceptual and multi-methods approach that was used to explore the RQs that arose from Chapters 1 and 2. Over the four year time span of fieldwork for this research, the five studies that were developed resulted in perspectives about FCSE being gathered from 94 different sources, i.e.:

- 30 young people of secondary school age
- 17 food industry representatives from three sectors
- 28 OECD member countries and 7 non-OECD member countries
- 12 élite interviewees: 9 from the civil society sector and 3 from the State-related sector

In Chapters 4-8, findings from each of these studies are reported. Following familiarisation with each set of results (stage one of Ritchie and Spencer's framework analysis five-step process), emerging key themes, concepts and issues that form a thematic framework have been identified (stages two and three), to be later reported and interpreted in the discussion and analysis of results (stages four and five) in chapter nine, in which their implications are discussed in relation to the five research questions and the overall research objective, which is to try to answer the question: Why teach young people, or indeed anyone, to cook? For purposes of clarity and reference, the results of each study are set out numerically, although it should be remembered that due to logistical issues, some parts of each study were conducted concurrently. Chapter 4 reports on the origins of education and policy arguments for FCSE; Chapter 5 on young people's perspectives on FCSE; Chapter 6 on food industry views on FCSE; Chapter 7 on the international survey of FCSE; and Chapter 8 on State and civil society interviews on the policy world of FCSE.

Chapter 4: The origins of education and policy arguments for Food and Cooking Skills Education (Study 1)

Study 1 draws upon the results of an extensive literature search and documentary analysis, details of which are given in Chapter 3, (Section 3.5: Study 1). Chapters 1 and 2 focused on the education and policy problems for FCSE, and it became clear towards their conclusion that the continuing existence of FCSE, its associated education and policy problems and the rationales for teaching it have been significantly influenced and shaped by policies and institutions that long precede the major restructuring of the curriculum in the 1980s. This thesis needs to dig deeper into these in order to gain a better understanding of the FCSE terrain. The literature and document search revealed the existence of various historical accounts of the history of teaching cooking, each covering a particular era, mostly in the form of descriptive / anecdotal qualitative material, including Attar 1990, Bird 1998, Cantle 1980, Daniels 1980, David 1980, Digby and Searby 1981, Finch 1979, Hunt 1987, Lovett 2005, Rutland 1996a, Rutland 1996b, Rutland 1997, Sillitoe 1933 and Yoxall 1965. In addition, the history of the health and well-being of society from the standpoint of food provision in schools has been approached in some literature and linked to the need to develop simultaneous formal curriculum strategies in nutrition and healthy eating, e.g. Church 1997, Leather 1996, Passmore 1996, Passmore and Harris 2004 and Webster 1997.

However, a complete historical account of the development of formal education policies and rationales that informed the original decisions to include FCSE in the school curriculum in England and Wales, and the influence of government policies and institutions on its continuation to the present day, was not found. This thesis provides such an account, which contributes to the body of knowledge concerning debates about including FCSE in the education of young people. The findings are presented as a chronological narrative to contextualise the subject terrain and answer some of the research questions. The account begins with the placement of FCSE in the school curriculum from the late 19th century until the introduction of the NC in the mid-1980s, then describes some of the policies and institutions that have influenced the development of the subject throughout its history.

4.1 The 19th Century

Before compulsory formal state education was introduced in England and Wales, informal education, including practical cooking skills, would have been a natural part of the dissemination of life skills through the generations, especially among the majority of the population who were working-class and lived and worked in the rural domestic economy. Sillitoe (1933) recounts how in the mid-1700s, the desire to share knowledge and skills with less fortunate neighbours inspired the formation of local, informal evening classes in different parts of England, which eventually grew into evening schools. They were a loosely organised attempt to provide elementary education for

illiterate children and adults and supported by private donations and religious organisations. The combined efforts of these and Sunday schools began the origins of State controlled elementary education, which was developed in the mid-1800s. The current State education system in England and Wales has its origins in the industrial revolution, and partly came about due to reaction to what was happening in Germany. Elementary education there was being developed and schools were given the task of working towards the elimination of illiteracy, creation of obedient citizens, and the nationalising of education. The creation of an increasingly powerful and Imperial Germany under the directive guidance of Minister-President Otto von Bismarck, led to real changes that reasserted the authority of the State in education, extended the control of public authorities, and gave the State authority instead of the Church. Schools were used to build and strengthen the nation (Ellis et al 2014).

In the UK, economic development, industrial production and the perceived need by the propertied classes to exert social control over the working-classes, resulted in the gradual introduction and provision of organised, carefully circumscribed elementary instruction that tended to favour the inculcation of conformist values and the discouragement of independent thought. In 1870, the first Education Act was passed which provided for the establishment of School Boards and the compulsory provision of elementary education. By attempting to impose the values of the bourgeoisie and gentry onto working-class children, the aim was to achieve cross-cultural transformation of the working-class in order to facilitate and maintain capitalism and an ordered status quo, with elementary schools as the agents of social control. Such elementary instruction, including imposing upon pupils the virtues of punctuality, cleanliness, humility, order, industry and thrift, exerted social control over the working-classes and satisfied the concerns of the propertied classes about the potential unruliness of such people if they remained uneducated. It also met the requirements of factory owners who needed increasing numbers of compliant and industrious workers (Digby and Searby 1981).

Class differentiation in educational provision was a feature of the 19th century with distinct social objectives for working-class children, including the domestic instruction of girls (David 1980, Digby and Searby 1981, Sillitoe, 1933). The education of girls in the 'domestic arts' highlights the prevailing cultural persistence and persuasiveness of an ideology of domesticity and the notion that domestic work and the home should be the sole focus for working-class females, who were educated to be in service to their own and others' households (Turnbull, in Hunt 1987, 83-100).

FCSE began as DE in elementary schools in the late 19th century. Numerous philanthropists of the time (e.g. Dr. James Kay-Shuttleworth and Matthew Arnold) recognised the effects of the breakup of a domestic based system of industry and the movement of a significant percentage of the rural population into overcrowded, cramped, poor living conditions of many towns and cities, which, often resulted in poor health, undernourishment, a disintegrated home life, educational and cultural inequality and frequent infant mortality as families struggled to survive. Kay-Shuttleworth became

Secretary of the Education Department and believed in the civilising power of mass State education in preventing pauperism and crime, blaming such social ills on the impoverished surroundings in which the working-class poor lived. He also considered that many improvident working-class families were unfit to socialise their children, thus they should be educated in State elementary schools (Digby and Searby, 1981).

FCSE in the form of instructing of poor working-class girls in the art of plain, nutritious cookery was championed as a way of improving their future home lives and increasing their chances of employment. This philanthropic and utilitarian policy, with echoes of Malthusian theories on improving society by encouraging the poor to be more self-reliant, aimed to provide girls with a route into employment in service to wealthy families, for unpaid work within the home and to improve their living standards and health. There was much interest in DE instruction by philanthropic middle-class women, whose aim was to improve the domestic efficiency of women, also through instructing their daughters in practical domestic subjects (Turnbull in Hunt 1987).

Initial attempts to introduce practical training in elementary schools were met with some resistance and hostility, due to its association with pauper training in corrective institutions. Many working-class parents did not accept the value of education and state intervention in parent-child relationships. Compulsory education was perceived to curtail their children's paid working hours, thus increasing their poverty, depriving their children of opportunities for 'learning by doing' domestic work in the home. It was also considered to be far removed from reality in which the contribution of children (especially girls) towards running the home, where many mothers were distracted and exhausted by frequent childbearing, was essential for survival. When school curricula eventually included laundry work, housewifery and cookery, these were associated by many parents with drudgery and manual labour, which they aspired for their children to avoid when they were at school (Digby and Searby 1981, Sillitoe 1933, Turnbull [in Hunt, 1987]).

In 1862, a Revised Code on the administration of parliamentary education grants was published, one outcome of which was the compulsory inclusion of Needlework as a curriculum subject for girls. Schools were paid grants based on the results of their pupils' achievements in reading, writing and arithmetic, which often resulted in other subjects being given scant attention. In the 1870's the medical profession informed the Government of the links between poor diet and diseases such as rickets and scurvy, resulting in theoretical DE being included in the elementary curriculum. It was included in the Code of 1875 for Specific Subjects and in 1878 became compulsory for girls in elementary schools (Attar 1990, Sillitoe 1933, Turnbull [in Hunt 1987], Yoxall 1965).

In 1879, DE was further divided into housewifery, hygiene and food only; an apparently favoured status that was, however, marred by the fact that its pedagogy was often entirely theoretical. This further reinforced the views of many parents that State education was far from being a preparation for life. Efforts to persuade School Boards to include practical cooking instruction in the elementary

education of working-class girls had commenced a few years before by a number of pioneering women. Resistance was common (often on the grounds of financial and physical resource limitations); indeed, the London School Board rejected the motion to include it fourteen times (Sillitoe, 1933). Practical cookery teaching was demonstrations only, usually to large classes of forty-plus, and often in ordinary classrooms due to fiscal limitations imposed by education providers who were reluctant (and often unable) to provide purpose-built accommodation, especially when there were no grants available.

During this time, traditional pure science pedagogy and resistance to redirecting that pedagogy and curriculum planning towards the burgeoning trades and industries, led to concern that the UK was falling behind its foreign competitors, many of whom were following more vocationally inclined educational policies. Concern over the technical shortcomings of the nation led to pressure on schools to include more practical and technical instruction. A Royal Commission on Technical Education was appointed in 1881 to investigate this and its final report advocated education in practical subjects for all types of schools, favouring practical cookery training. In 1882 a Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools recognised cookery as a subject and made provision for a grant to be paid for pupils attending lessons, followed in 1892 by establishing practical cookery as a curriculum subject in the code of regulations for Public Elementary Schools (Rutland 1996a, Sillitoe 1933, Turnbull [in Hunt 1987]).

Cookery lessons often involved classes comprising approximately seventy-two girls, watching a demonstration altogether one week, then divided into three groups, each of which on one day in the subsequent three weeks would carry out the demonstrated practical work. The limitations of such pedagogy were recognised by FCSE advocates and pressure applied for purpose-built facilities and class sizes to be substantially reduced. Many education authorities, concerned about the cost of such a policy, raised objections. Class sizes were eventually reduced to fifty-four and eighteen in practical lessons, and the desirability of specialised teaching facilities began to be recognised. Gradually, in some authorities, cookery lessons were provided in adapted hired rooms outside school premises. Where new school buildings were provided, specialist cookery teaching rooms were included in some (Sillitoe 1933).

At the start of the Boer War (1899), most men who volunteered for army service were found to be physically unfit, the main reason being linked to unbalanced and/or insufficient diets. Criticism of their perceived improvident, slatternly habits and domestic ineptitude, which resulted in such physical deterioration was directed towards their wives by more élite members of society who apparently disregarded, or were ignorant of, the difficult circumstances in which working-class housewives had to provide for their families. Such criticism conveniently deflected attention away from the fact that ignorance of the importance of diet and limited cookery skills were prevalent in all social classes (Sillitoe 1933). Criticism was frequently made of the inappropriateness of the curriculum content and teaching in preparing girls for working-class life. It appeared that the inclusion of FCSE in the curriculum in previous years had yet to make an impact and that much of

the tuition had revolved around Needlework. Contemporaneous practical cookery instruction reflected prevailing dietetic habits, with prominence given to the preparation of cheaper cuts of meat into stews, which was anathema to many working-class men who preferred dry cooking methods for meat, such as roasting and frying. There was little instruction on vegetable cookery, but bread making was encouraged. Some schools abandoned the teaching syllabus and used pupils to prepare school meals. Despite the Education Department's strictures on making education relevant, ignorance of the home conditions and resources of pupils, prevailing pedagogy and limited understanding of child psychology resulted in inappropriate, over-complex syllabuses prescribed by pioneers of FCSE, which generally excluded teachers from their compilation, prompting criticism (Turnbull [in Hunt 1987], Sillitoe 1933).

4.2 The 20th Century

Beyond the often narrow educational debates at the start of the 20th century, were obsessions with Empire and national efficiency and a concern about the effects of the quantity and quality of the population on the influence and success of these. High rates of physical deterioration, infant mortality and low birth rates led to pressure from various groups, including social-Darwinists, eugenists and health professionals, to increase domestic training and introduce it into the secondary education of girls, as women were perceived to be responsible for, and the guardians of, racial progression through their role in the production of children and the running of the home (Dyhouse 1981).

In 1904, the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration published a report in which 'Neglect of Home and Domestic Duties' were highlighted as a main cause of such societal ills (Sillitoe 1933). Food was considered to be the most important factor in connection with physical deterioration and the use of *'innutritious and unsuitable'* (ibid, 84) processed food products was widely prevalent, particularly in towns, with *'….no corresponding increase of knowledge as to the economic expenditure of money on wholesome food.'* (ibid, 84), and it recommended that FCSE (as DE/Housewifery) should be compulsory for older girls at school and regularly inspected to deal with their ignorance of household affairs, hygiene and nutrition (Dyhouse 1981, Rutland 1996a). Working-class women continued to be scapegoats for society's failure to make effective provision for its most vulnerable members; however, the airing of such critical views in the media was partly compensated for by raising awareness and urging reforms to be made (Sillitoe 1933)

Following the 1904 report, a systematic and regular inspection process for the teaching of domestic subjects in Britain was instigated under the auspices of the BoE. The findings highlighted that in many parts of the country, cookery teaching was far from satisfactory, mainly due to insufficient practical sessions, poor and inadequate resources and concerns amongst teachers about losing money by cooking food that could not be sold. This last concern caused much criticism from inspectors, as teachers were too often showing girls how to make high sugar and high fat products that could be sold for profit, rather than cheap nutritious meals, which was considered to be more

appropriate for the aims of contemporary FCSE policy. The report concluded that such 'training in cookery' had actually wasted public money and teaching skills and it resulted in the enforcement of a series of new regulations for the teaching of domestic subjects that included more structured and prescriptive courses, emphasising simple practical cookery and avoiding scientific theoretical instruction. Elementary and secondary schools were required to differentiate the curriculum for girls from that of boys by making provision for practical training in 'home duties' applicable to the circumstances of their own homes (Yoxall 1965, Sillitoe 1933, Browne 1997a, Hunt 1987).

A 1909 Code of Regulations for Secondary Schools contained a clause that required the provision of practical instruction for girls in housewifery, and allowed girls of fifteen years to take an approved course in domestic subjects instead of science and/or mathematics. Clarification of the form of such practical instruction culminated in the BoE sanctioning the formation of a Select Committee reporting on the newly named 'Housecraft' in Girls' Secondary Schools (1911) and a Consultative Committee on Practical Work in Secondary Schools (1913), with particular emphasis on experiments relating housecraft with science (David 1980, Hunt 1987, Browne 1997a). The Interim Report of the Select Committee considered Housecraft to be an integral part of the curriculum that required definition, development and encouragement. An opposing view considered that Housecraft was not educative and was out of place, and that the role of such schools was to produce educated women, rather than competent cooks. Numerous cookery schools (where women were trained to teach DE) were surprising allies of this latter view, largely because of the poor academic calibre of the students they received for training, and so they applied pressure for girls to be taught pure science subjects rather than housewifery, cookery and laundry-work, in the hope of improving this situation. However, the implications of this exposed the vulnerability of this particular branch of practical education to exclusion from the curriculum in many secondary schools and opposing views about how science should be taught. There was concern by some Housecraft teachers that practical cookery was suffering because it was too closely allied with science teaching and, conversely, by some science teachers that intellectual training in science was being sacrificed by teaching schemes that taught DS, largely because they considered that any scientific knowledge imparted during DS lessons could only ever be fragmented and disconnected.

Implicit throughout the report was the belief that a general education for girls should contain some training in domestic subjects. It advocated the principle that the school is an adjunct of the home and that whilst the school would provide the foundations of practical skills and stimulate interest in practical subjects, these would be further developed by practice at home, and that cookery instruction had practical importance and educational value intended to supplement rather than supersede home education. Practical cookery lessons were recommended to be of at least two hours' duration, over not less than three (preferably) consecutive terms in order to include experience of the seasonality of foods. Some experimental work was encouraged with the aim of inculcating appreciation of cause and effect. Practical work aimed instil confidence and develop effectiveness and efficiency within fiscal and time boundaries (Sillitoe 1933, Dyhurst 1981).

During and after World War One (WW1), middle class concerns about the deficit of domestic servants resulted in much correspondence on the subject, including a report commissioned for the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1919, which concluded that lack of training for domestic servitude was the main reason for such a deficit. It recommended greater provision for state-financed domestic training facilities for girls on leaving school. Domesticity became associated with national survival rather than individuals, and as the cultural norm was that all women were destined to become wives and mothers, it was considered that all girls from middle and lower social classes should be taught domestic subjects. Such policies encouraged a belief that some middle-class reformers had a hidden agenda and were more concerned with securing a reliable source of skilled servants. However, changes in social and economic conditions brought about by the war encouraged many parents to push for greater opportunities for their daughters to undertake more academic subjects and qualifications at school and to access a wider range of job opportunities. Domestic subjects (apart from needlework) struggled to match such parental aspirations and perceptions. There was a debate about the desirability of curriculum differentiation for boys and girls in secondary education, and the original Consultative Committee from 1913 was brought together in 1920 to report on this subject. Their recommendations were numerous and included one advocating the introduction of greater curriculum freedom and another that encouraged the inclusion of the same facilities for manual instruction in schools for both genders, and particularly, the inclusion of domestic subjects for boys. There was a hope expressed that girls would be required to do less domestic work within the home in order to develop academically and that boys would be encouraged to do more. They considered that:

> *'The training of housewifery and cookery……though it may elicit the qualities of intelligence, skill, thoroughness, unselfishness …is not so important as the general training.'* (Sillitoe 1933, 185)

The 'open verdict' conclusion of the report on curriculum differentiation allowed all secondary schools to choose what to include in terms of practical education. Where practical cookery was advocated and encouraged by head teachers, it flourished, with some schools widening this aspect of the curriculum offer, but it also made it vulnerable to marginalisation in schools where such advocacy was minimal.

The Hadow Report of 1926 (*The Education of the Adolescent)* established the principle that all 'normal' children are educable beyond the curricula of state elementary schools and established a new classification of secondary schools: the Secondary or Grammar School, with mainly a literary or scientific basis; the Selective Modern School, with a realistic or practical basis; the Non-Selective Modern School, with a liberal and cultural basis with practical instruction adequate enough to cope with normal life. The principles were to form and strengthen individual and national character, train children in art, music, wood, metals, literature and history in order to provide them with leisure pursuits in adulthood. The value to society of practical skills training was highlighted:

> *'…the awakening and guiding of the practical intelligence, for the better and more skilled*
> *service of the community in all its multiple business and complex affairs – an end which*
> *cannot be dismissed as 'utilitarian' in any country, and least of all in a country like ours, so*
> *highly industrialized, and so dependent on the success of its industries, that it needs for its*
> *success, and even for its safety, the best and most highly trained skill of its citizens.'*
> (Sillitoe, 1933, 219)

The new structure for secondary education proposed by the report, with domestic subjects becoming a more integral part of the curriculum, raised the status of both FCSE and its specialist teachers, although the dearth of specialist facilities in many schools meant that FCSE was often taught in separate centres. The Hadow Report reiterated the public health model, justifying FCSE in terms of its value in promoting good health through practical cookery training and efficient home management in order to raise basic living standards and improve the prosperity of the nation (Sillitoe 1933, Rowbotham 1973).

In 1941, the BoE investigated the curriculum and examinations in secondary schools. The resultant 1943 Norwood Report contains a chapter devoted to the teaching of domestic subjects. Despite earlier recommendations that boys should be encouraged to take up domestic subjects, the report again emphasised the importance of the subject for girls, as it was assumed they would receive insufficient training at home for the purpose of becoming future homemakers. Other reasons for including FCSE were that it provided a practical approach to theoretical work by teaching 'thinking' through 'doing', thus encouraging interest in other subjects; a career path for girls considering taking up courses at DS colleges; a '*centre of interest natural and congenial to them'* (ibid 128); and was suitable for girls '*whose abilities do not lie in the field of academic studies'* (ibid 128). Reference to boys taking domestic subjects was briefly included, but the report did not envisage the provision of suitable facilities in all boys' schools (or workshops in all girls' schools); rather it was suggested that such provision could be achieved through Scouting and Guiding or similar organisations and that such provision in co-educational schools could be considered. The chapter concluded:

> *'If we seem to have made recommendations which are vague and general, it is because*
> *we think we are dealing with a subject in the process of making, not because we regard it*
> *as unimportant or unnecessary. On the contrary, when we consider that all boys and girls*
> *will be at school for a longer period, we feel that the scope of domestic subjects, their*
> *proper treatment, the time to be devoted to them, and the stage or stages in the curriculum*
> *which would be appropriate, should all be carefully considered, if necessary, by a special*
> *enquiry.'* (ibid 130)

Following the end of WW2, the domestic education of girls was again focused upon as a means of restoring the health of the nation after a period of austerity and to rebuild family life. The 1944 Education Act saw the establishment of three types of secondary school – the Grammar, the Technical and the Modern school. Grammar schools tended to exclude FCSE from the curriculum of more intellectual pupils as the focus was on the achievement of external examinations in academic subjects set by the university syndicates. Many secondary modern schools did not have

facilities for DS lessons, which entailed many in outsourcing such lessons to a specialist centre for girls to receive instruction (Rutland 1996a, Newsom 1948).

Practical education and the roots of Design and (Food) Technology in UK schools

The aspect of the school curriculum that is concerned with 'doing' as opposed to 'knowing' has been the subject of debate for well over a century. The Samuelson Commission of 1882-1884 recommended that handicraft subjects should be introduced into UK schools to help alleviate economic decline (UKTEC 1996a).

Technical advances in society often originate in developments that evolve from practical and craft oriented bases, but in the UK, such subject areas have a history of being perceived as having low status, often being regarded as only suitable for pupils who were *'dull in all 'brain work''* (UKTEC 1996a). Indeed, British universities in the early part of the 20th century aimed to promote a liberal education, based on Greek and Roman classics and were generally opposed to vocational and practical education. This gave practical subjects a low status, which in the case of FCSE, was compounded by the lowly status afforded to domestic matters and the role of women in society (Browne 1997a; Browne 1997b).

After WW2, economic changes in the UK required a significant increase in the skilled labour force and led to an expansion in craft and technical training provision for less academic and predominantly male secondary school pupils (Atkinson 1990). The Education Act of 1944, which largely relegated practical skills education to the secondary modern school sector (thus reinforcing the prevailing social class structure of education), did not improve the status of practical subjects. C.P Snow (1959) argued that the traditional values of literary culture were dominating education at the expense of science and technology, and that the UK would decline as a world power if this imbalance was not addressed by significant curriculum development in school based Craft Education.

The introduction of comprehensive education in the UK in the mid-1960s and consequent attempt to move away from educational stratification saw the curriculum provision of four practical based craft subjects - woodwork, metalwork, needlework and cookery (the latter two commonly called HE). The aims and objectives of HE were widened with the intention of improving its academic status and thus appeal to pupils of all abilities (Rutland 1997). Its content included five areas, namely people and their environment, home, food, fabric and consumer education (Schools Council 1973). Apart from the tendency to gender bias for these subjects, the academic status of each, although on a par with each other, was still low and there was concern amongst some commentators (e.g. Thorne 1979), that the subject was experiencing an identity crisis by trying to align itself too closely with traditional academic subjects in order to improve its status and attempting to accommodate two critically contrasting terrains: the social (domestic) and commercial (industry). The philosophical basis for these subject areas tended to be philanthropic and geared towards training and vocational outcomes and this was exacerbated by the tendency to discourage more academically able pupils from studying them (Browne 1997b; McMullan 1989).

During the late 1960s and into the 1970s, a new educational philosophy began to emerge as a result of societal changes that highlighted the need for school pupils to develop a greater understanding and awareness of technology and its potential for society. Her Majesty's (school) Inspectorate (HMI), industrialists, educationalists and bodies such as the Design Council began to promote the idea that technical education should be accessible to all pupils and that its provision should be improved (Atkinson 1990). Design was gradually integrated into practical handicraft subjects (notably in woodwork, metalwork and, to some extent, needlework) in an attempt to improve academic status, attract more able students and acknowledge that intelligence could manifest itself in 'doing' as much as 'knowing' (UKTEC 1996a). Students were encouraged to use problem-solving strategies and design methodologies using analytical and synthetically derived criteria that enabled them to identify needs, then produce and evaluate appropriate solutions. By the late 1960s, craft and design took on elements of physics and engineering, resulting in the development of a new subject discipline called Craft, DT (CDT). In many cases, the separate elements of CDT were organised into modules that were taught in rotation, thus facilitating experiential learning in a wide variety of materials and skills (albeit for a brief exposure each time) for all pupils (Atkinson 1990).

The DES published guidelines for the implementation of CDT in 1987, but there had been little input from Home Economists, meaning that the agenda set by the DES had to be accessed by them with minimal knowledge of its content. Although HE had in many respects kept pace with CDT, especially during the restructure when the Government introduced new GCSE examinations, its progress was largely unrecorded and unrecognised, resulting in anxiety and defensiveness by HE teachers. It was acknowledged by various commentators that HE had suffered from disadvantageous stereotyping, with a common view that it was designed for the transmission of skills that were mostly suited to an era when most women were destined to be housewives, and hence was becoming anachronistic (Browne 1997a). In many schools, there continued to be opposition from senior management teams about the academic status of CDT, as it was still associated with vocational training for less academically able pupils and therefore was regarded as low status. The unique resourcing requirements of CDT and HE (specialist equipment and facilities, specially trained staff and technicians, small class sizes, materials etc.) and examination administrative and assessment requirements (variety of subject titles offered, accreditation value and difficulties associated with the validity of assessments) added to the concerns of schools and educationalists (Atkinson 1990).

As Chapter 2 has shown, the introduction of the NC in 1988 was a seminal point in the restructuring of HE into FT as it became incorporated into the Technology curriculum. This study has revealed that in the UK, the origins of this restructure actually go back to the 19th- century, when there existed two schools of thought whose ethos was eventually to influence the development of Technology within the NC. One, the Society of Art Masters, was a hierarchical, subject-centred association of male art school principals, dedicated to presenting drawing as an academic discipline and emphasising classical draughtsmanship and design allied to industrial arts. The other, the Art Teachers Guild, was egalitarian, mostly female, and child-centred in its approach and supported by those who considered creativity, expression, invention and imagination as important, and who

viewed industrial art as suppressive for free creativity. In 1984, these two organisations combined forces to form the National Society for Education in Art and Design (Thistlewood 1988), which commented on the proposed NC for DT in schools. Design was viewed as a third area in education (distinct from, but equal in status, to sciences and humanities) and this view, adopted by the Design Education Forum, was used to impress the working group that drew up the NC on Technology of the importance of seeing design, not technology, as the overarching curriculum activity (McCormick 1994).

Prior to the introduction of the NC, there was a national debate concerning the whole school curriculum, which resulted in the publication of two documents concerning practical subjects: The Practical Curriculum (Schools Council 1981) and The School Curriculum 1981 (DES 1981). Neither of these reports mentioned HE in their plans for the inclusion of Technology. The former report discussed learning through practical experience, but did not include practical cooking skills as a means of enabling children to gain mathematical and scientific experience. Such exclusion ignored the essence of theories on child development, such as those of Piaget (cited in Bullen and Benton 2004), which contend that children learn from familiar, concrete experiences to enable them to process thoughts in an abstract way, thus enabling them to grasp concepts. It also ignored the experiential nature and suitability of FCSE as a vehicle for delivering practical schemes of work and its potential for enabling pupils to develop skills and conceptual capability, through the provision of opportunities to apply the synthesis of theory with practice and the action and reflection needed to solve real life problems (Browne 1997a).

As recounted in Chapter 2, at the time of the restructure of FCSE in the 1980s during the introduction of the NC, NATHE existed to represent the views and protect the interests of its members, whose job it was to interpret and implement the maelstrom of changes that were affecting the very essence of FCSE during this time. During the research process for this thesis, the researcher interviewed four key actors in FCSE for Study 5 (élite interviews). The participants were all FCSE practitioners with many years' experience; two were also principal examiners for KS4 FN courses and two were involved in a government-funded food education initiative. It was considered appropriate to include some of their contributions here, from the detailed discussions that were generated around the RQs during their interviews concerning the restructuring of FCSE during the 1980s. Their very real experiences and perceptions of the extent of the support given by the professional organisations during that turbulent time period for FCSE provided a valuable contribution to the research findings.

There was general agreement amongst the participants that the main reasons for the demise of the subject were the expense of providing it as a stand-alone mainstream subject, doubt cast about its relevance to the lives of children by some politicians, parents and educators, and pressure from other subjects vying for placement in an increasingly crowded curriculum. All four participants felt that gender issues also played a significant role, because as the restructuring of the curriculum

developed, with the introduction of Technology as a subject faculty, there appeared to be resistance from many boy's schools to consider accommodating FCSE into their curricula, therefore many of them continued as they were by providing only the 'traditional' boys Technology subjects. However, girl's schools were being forced to adapt to all the new Technology disciplines by accommodating and building facilities (often by converting one or more HE kitchens into workshops for other Technology subjects). As HE, they considered that the subject had been female oriented, but once it started to lose its identity as it became absorbed by Technology, it rapidly became an integral part of a male dominated subject area, where, in many cases it was the males who held the higher graded teaching posts (i.e. heads of department / faculty) and therefore had a greater control over curriculum allocation. This resulted in many highly skilled and subject specialist HE teachers being required to learn how to teach new subject disciplines, often in the same teaching space in which HE had once been delivered, as one participant expressed:

'….and to do the actual Food Technology you don't actually have to make [the food product], as long as you've got the design and then you can computer simulate your pizza or what have you, and then you can evaluate it at the end. So we were teaching students Technology in a food room and sat this distance away [indicated by an arm span] from a [redundant] cooker and wondering why the children were getting fed up when we were teaching them to [design pizzas without making them or] build bridges.'
(CSEP2)

The two principal examiners reported that they were told by the examination board and representatives from local and national Government, i.e. advisors and inspectors, that change was inevitable and that society needed people who would be able to design, even though at the time their examination board had many thousands of pupils registered on FN courses. It seemed that overnight the numbers dropped to two thousand and there was tremendous resistance from HE teachers who were:

'..so horrified by what they had got to do and what they no longer could do and yet had no opportunity to do anything about it….there were a number of people that I had worked with [as an Examiner] telling me that there was no need for any food preparation facilities at all, that the FT would be able to do it with no cooking facilities, so they took the cookers out and sold them off.' (CSEP4)

In response to the issue of why FCSE abandoned its original focus on cooking skills in favour of Technology, all four participants responded that they felt they were not sufficiently consulted; that it was dictated - a fait accompli – and that everyone had the right to study Technology. One participant reported that:

'I do remember one (FT) training course I went on - that one of the reasons behind it was that in the future no one would need to cook, because there was going to be this massive influx of ready meals, and actually someone quoted that Margaret Thatcher said "we don't actually need this, all we need is for people to be able to open packets,

> *read the instruction, put it in the microwave and what we need is young children to*
> *design new products" '.* (CSEP5)

Another added that:

> *'The big impetus was not being able to produce anything yourself, but to open packets*
> *and design - it was all design, design, design and design.'* (CSEP4)

One of the principal examiners felt that teachers had just been abandoned to *'get on with it'* (CSEP5) and felt helpless in the face of this. She reported that at the time in her teaching area, there was a professional advocate for FT who had access to Government and was very influential in persuading teachers to join DATA and to embrace the FT model. There appeared to be little in the way of organised resistance to this, but *'a lot of people'* (CSEP5) were not happy about the changes – they felt they were *'voiceless'* (CSEP5) and that the Technology programmes of study (PoS) appeared to have been written only by men in a CDT format with CDT language which made sense to somebody else, but was not the language of HE teachers. When asked if NATHE had any influence at the time, the same participant responded that although it wrote articles about the changes, they appeared to be side-lined. She said she *'wrote many letters to NATHE'* (CSEP5) and other people with potential influence, expressing concerns about the situation, but never received a response. Another participant considered that NATHE had '*sold out*' (CSEP1) to the changes by telling Food teachers that unless they went down the Technology route they would lose Food altogether and in doing so, they *'lost the focus'* and *'the importance of actually teaching food and nutrition for families'* (CSEP1). This participant considered that NATHE probably would not have survived unless they joined the Technology route and that:

> *'…we were square pegs going into round holes – we never really fitted. Yes, there are*
> *elements that fitted beautifully…but that shouldn't be the whole story.'* (CSEP1)

Although only a small sample of participants, the reminiscences of these FCSE professionals indicates the strength of feeling prevalent at the time of significant changes to the purpose and place of FCSE in the education of young people, and therefore adds resonance to this analysis.

The policy debate for the provision and retention of FCSE in the curriculum is not new or self-contained. There has been an on-going struggle for adequate funding, academic recognition, advocacy and endorsement since DE first appeared in the curriculum of elementary schools. In the 21st-century, it is still a live policy issue, the dynamics of which involve the State, civil society and the food industry plus numerous stakeholders developing and implementing FCSE initiatives, whole school food policies, and establishing pressure groups to raise awareness. It also has and continues to be influenced by wider societal issues, as discussed in the next section.

4.3 The historical influence of policies and institutions on Food and Cooking Skills Education

The influence of social class, gender and culture on FCSE is recorded in a range of historical and anecdotal accounts. Throughout its history, FCSE provision has variously pioneered social reform or mirrored prevailing social and political structures. The original policy rationale for teaching girls to cook in the 19th-century was to alleviate the problems brought about by poverty and consequent under-nutrition in large sections of the population, by instilling in them the skills required to provide nutritious meals, with minimum income and access to limited availability of good quality ingredients, in an era when most meals were prepared using ingredients that required processing in the home (Kamm 1965, Rutland 1996a, Sillitoe 1933, Vernon 2007, Yoxall 1965).

The influence of social class

Various historical accounts of DE pedagogy, (e.g. Barlex and Rutland 2003, Bird 1998, Daniels 1980, Rutland 1996, Sillitoe 1933, Turnbull [in Hunt 1987], and Yoxall 1965) describe how educationalists such as Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802) and Hannah More (1745–1833) in the years preceding the introduction of FCSE in elementary education, emphasised the importance of the subject in the education of 'well-to-do' girls, even though at the time cooking skills might have had a more significant impact in helping to relieve the plight of poor families, for whom the regular consumption of good quality food was rare. Formal cookery schools, established from 1740 onwards, educated daughters of wealthy families about meal planning and production that in future they would employ someone else to prepare and cook. Two schools of cookery in London were established by a Mr. Kidder, who also taught ladies how to cook in their own homes. Interest in cooking instruction in various formats grew during the 19th-century, including lectures given by a Mr. Mattieu-Williams in the 1850s on the chemistry of cooking, and the publication of Isabella Beeton's Book on Household Management in 1861(Sillitoe 1933).

During this era, cooking was often considered to be 'woman's' rather than 'lady's' work, and although some middle class girls were under pressure to learn how to run a household, many kept their distance from menial chores in order to preserve their class status. Historical and photographic evidence from the late 19th-century illustrates the implicit connection between schooling and service, where elementary school pupils in DE lessons wore dresses with caps and cuffs in the style worn by maidservants (Attar 1990, Turnbull [in Hunt 1987]). Philippa Pullar's account of the gastronomical passions of the 19th-century, (Pullar 1970), describes how many upper-class women regarded eating as an unattractive but necessary bodily function, which was minimally endured in public and never discussed. Consequently, there was a disinclination to cook, and it is unlikely that elaborate foods described and illustrated in contemporary cookery books regularly featured in the meals of many well-to-do households. Pullar quotes a written passage from a Mrs Rundell, which typifies attitudes towards cooking amongst many wealthy women of the time;

'*Young ladies of our time pride themselves upon knowing nothing whatever concerning an art which most assuredly ought to be deemed essential in the mistress of a family. Generally speaking, there is a universal distaste amongst the educated classes of the female community of England to the details of housekeeping.*' (ibid 189-190)

Despite such negativity, the food and cookery section of the 1873 International Exhibition in South Kensington, which made a significant contribution towards the development of practical cookery education, attracted many visitors, one of whom was Queen Victoria and members of the royal family who, it is reported, took a great interest in the subject. Popular lectures in which practical applications to the scientific principles of cookery, were demonstrated to audiences by chefs. In London, it became fashionable to learn how to cook – a fashion which was to spread. Later in 1873, Sir Henry Cole instigated a meeting to discuss the possibility of establishing a permanent school of cookery, which received the Queen's approval and culminated in the granting of part of the Exhibition buildings being used to found and establish the National Training School of Cookery in 1874. The first pupils were women of rank and their teachers were professional cooks, and provision for the training of teachers of cookery was established; the first Teacher's Diploma in Cookery being awarded in 1874. A Mr. Buckmaster lectured countrywide and was influential in establishing cookery schools in Liverpool, Leeds, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester and Leicester between 1874 and 1877 (Sillitoe 1933).

Elizabeth Bird (1998) has traced the history of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Schools of Cookery, and provides insight into social class differentiation that operated in such institutions, which were founded in the 1890s. In response to complaints by the middle and upper classes about a lack of trained domestic servants, both schools made a limited number of scholarships available to girls from state elementary schools, for short residential courses designed for training domestic servants. There was a slow uptake of these scholarships as it was reported that many parents of such girls did not want them to attend the schools to study subjects, such as laundry work, which they regarded as 'rough' work.

The Bristol and Gloucestershire schools both claimed to be teaching women of all social classes, but in fact the social classes were physically segregated into 'ladies' in the afternoon and 'females' in the evening. Manual workers were taught 'artisan' cookery, the middle classes were taught 'household' cookery, and upper class ladies were taught 'high class' cookery. Cooking skills teaching in elementary schools was also highly differentiated according to social class and background, with working-class girls taught 'plain' cookery, middle class girls taught 'household' cookery and upper class girls taught 'superior' cookery.

The main purpose of such schools of cookery was to train teachers in response to the demand in elementary schools where cookery had become a compulsory subject for all girls. This coincided with a growing need for middle class women to earn a living, and the increasing educational opportunities provided by such training schools helped meet this need. The initial three-month training period and examination method were both found to be inadequate as there was no teaching practice or standardisation for the award of diplomas. The Northern Union of Schools of Cookery,

in 1877 produced a general training scheme for cookery teachers, with longer training and a final examination with a much-enlarged scope. Women of all ages attended these courses, the pedagogical method for which was the practical demonstration. Novice cooks were shown to benefit from practice lessons alternated with demonstrations, which required the establishment of more appropriately equipped permanent facilities. There was concern that cookery schools were failing to reach women who most needed to be taught, i.e. those on the borderline of poverty or below the poverty line. Some attempts at teaching cookery in the homes of such women failed to produce tangible improvements, the recipients seemingly incapable of more than passive endurance of their plight, and so attention was turned towards tackling this from another approach – i.e. the inculcation of cookery knowledge and skills into the homes of the poor by teaching girls at public elementary schools. By the end of the 19th century, there were twenty-seven training schools of cookery recognised by the Education Department as centres for the training of teachers of cookery for elementary schools, approximately 2,730 of which had cookery as part of their curriculum.

There was an intense debate in the post-1904 period in girls' grammar schools about the inclusion of domestic subjects in the curriculum for their pupils. This resulted in a round of meetings, organised by the Association for Teachers of Domestic Science (ATDS), and including the Head Mistresses Association (HMA) and the BoE. The HMA concluded that domestic work offered no career prospects for middle class girls (hence a reluctance to allow its inclusion in the curriculum), in contrast to the promotion of DS as a teaching career opportunity. DS teachers were mainly from the upper social classes, possibly due to the fees charged by training schools and also, as Bird (1998) argues, due to the 'ladylike' status of the training colleges, which were women-only, highly respectable establishments that reflected prevalent conservative attitudes of the era.

Between 1900–1918, in order to make domestic subjects acceptable to all social classes, their status was elevated by making them scientific in content and description (hence the change of name to DS). In 1920, the ATDS developed a BSc degree in 1920 and King's College London, developed a Diploma in Household Science, which later became a degree. Despite this, equal status for DS in the curriculum and university approval proved difficult to achieve. Teacher training was still mostly offered in training colleges, which most DS teachers took, although graduates could also become teachers. DS teacher training was classified under 'Special Subjects' and most training schools and colleges had no connection with a University. Its status was further impeded by the 1917 Regulations (partly controlled by the Universities), concerning the School Certificate, which specified the composition of matriculation for the purpose of university entrance and excluded 'Group IV' subjects, including DS, which was not considered to have the same academic status as 'pure' science. The Hadow Report also suggested that attempting to combine physics and chemistry with DS had been a failure and that clever girls would take 'real' science taught by graduate teachers (Bird 1998).

In modern society, social class attitudes to food preparation and consumption are still apparent. Fox (2004) suggests that in the UK, almost all food items come with an invisible class label and that

since the mid-1980s, health-correctness has become the main gastronomic divider, with the middle classes being most susceptible to healthy-eating trends (food taboos being the main means of defining social identity – i.e. you are what you do *not* eat), whilst the highest and lowest classes are largely immune to these, being secure and set in their food preferences. Social class divisions also occur in food culture, e.g. in the naming of foods and meals and food choices and eating habits.

The influence of gender

Bird (1998), recounts that the history of women's education and the construction of a domestic ideology had a significant impact on the development of curricula. The political and ideological tensions brought about in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were the result of certain female educational pioneers supporting the notion of a separate curriculum for all girls (regardless of class) based on the domestic subjects movement (which was allied with controversial movements such as temperance, imperialism and eugenics), in contrast to those who argued for middle-class girls to be educated identically as their brothers, whilst working-class girls should be educated differently.

Attar (1990) contends the existence of HE as a separate girls curriculum subject had an incalculable impact on education as a whole, and that this gender specific identity not only influenced its pedagogy but also people's attitude to it for years. By preparing girls for future unpaid (and undervalued) work within the home, under a patriarchal system of educational policy, its existence in this form ensured that boys' and girls' education and subsequent vocational opportunities became differentiated. Pendergast (2001) invites readers to explore the numerous stereotypes that have been associated with the teaching of FCSE in schools. She contends that with its practical orientation and domestic focus, HE gradually became marginalised by an education system and society that perceived such knowledge and activities as low status. Such a system of gender stereotyping inevitably meant that girls had limited access to the wider curriculum, which harmed the educational opportunities for many. Daniels (1980) reviews the historical significance attached to the vocational aspects of HE, especially training females for entry into domestic service. She also highlights how the philosophy of HE responded to uncertain and changing political and economic climates, such as those after WW1 and WW2, in which the need employ returning soldiers shaped the pedagogical emphasis for education to encourage girls to become providers of essential services for their families.

Rutland (1996a; 1996b) suggests that the range of roles taken on by women during WW1 appeared to have little effect on the attitude of educational policy makers towards the education of girls, citing the Hadow Report, which outlined the role of domestic courses as being necessary to prepare girls for their role in running a home when they left school, and similarly in the Norwood Report (1943). In the post- WW2 era, such attitudes were increasingly challenged by educationalists and feminists, but despite these and recognition of the changes in demographics and life style (e.g. The Crowther Report, 1959 and the Newsom Report 1963); food education curricula remained gender-biased, the justification being that the life roles of males and females were fundamentally different and that educational provision should reflect this (Rutland 1996b).

The Sex Discrimination Act 1975, made it illegal for co-educational schools to limit access to courses to pupils of one gender only. The law was not strongly enforced, which meant its requirements took some time to take effect. In 1980, the EOC acknowledged that the influence of tradition, custom and prejudice could not be quickly eliminated from society and that legislation alone was insufficient. In 1982, it produced a report – *'Equal Opportunities in Home Economics'*, where curricular changes were recommended. It observed that traditional assumptions about gender roles were still evident in curricular patterns, especially in secondary schools, with apparent acceptance and support of teachers, parents and pupils. It suggested that the resultant waste of talent and skills reflected insufficient genuine choice following real equality of access to curricular subjects, and a reliance on traditional assumptions about the 'proper' areas of interest and influence of men and women (Attar 1990, Rutland 1996b).

Wynn (1977) cites an 1878 school log entry highlighting that there was '….*no law forbidding boys domestic economy as an extra subject',* suggesting that there was nothing new in the notion of equality of educational opportunity, specifically in the teaching of craft based subjects. Teaching of cookery to boys who wanted to be chefs was encouraged, but such consideration took years to evolve and be implemented, one disincentive being the significant cost required to update and expand facilities and resources. Wynn also highlights barriers to equal opportunity brought about by the prevalent attitude of society towards gender appropriateness, role and bias, by quoting from the Crowther Report of 1959:

> '*There can be no doubt that at this stage, boys thoughts turn most often to a career and only secondly to marriage and the family, and that the converse obtains with girls….if it is sound educational policy to take account of natural interests, there is a clear case for a curriculum which respects the different roles they play.'*

and from the Newsom Report (1963):

> '*..for all girls there is a group of interests relating to what many, perhaps most of them, would regard as their most important vocational concern – marriage.'*
> (Wynn 1977)

In recognition of the somewhat entrenched position of FCSE in the political, educational and cultural arenas of contemporary UK society in the 1970's, a concern was that there should be no dilution of the aims, objectives and content of food related courses offered to boys, just to be compliant with the Sex Discrimination Act, and that girls should not miss opportunities to study traditionally male craft based courses, and be encouraged to consider a wider range of career opportunities.

Pender (1980) suggests that insufficient planning went into FCSE courses offered to boys at school following equality of opportunity legislation, resulting in many courses bearing a catering title, suggesting career / industry orientation, and being misleading, dull and diluted versions of what was already on offer. The resultant disillusionment did not assist the cause of either equal opportunities nor of FCSE. In a study of HE provision in all post-primary schools in Northern Ireland during the transition from pre- to post NC, McMullan (1989) suggests that gender influence had

problems which were unique to HE, because it tended to remain a largely female-oriented subject, and that gender differentiation appeared to be based on teacher perceptions and societal expectations. In addition, McMullan observed that boys and the more academic girls tended to be steered away from studying HE at GCSE, due mainly to traditionally held views about sexual ideology and the image of FCSE within the social stratification of knowledge, thus contradicting the curricular emphasis on the relevance of content to pupil experience.

The influence of food culture

There are many cultural meanings for and much literature concerning food practices and preferences in all human societies (e.g. Douglas 1975 and 1984; Fieldhouse 1996; Goody 1982; Levi-Strauss 1997; Lupton 1996; Meigs 1997; Mennell 1996). Fieldhouse (1996) notes that despite great diversity between cultures, identifiable characteristics applicable to all cultures exist, which influence food choice and eating habits and have implications for FCSE. Firstly, culture is a learned experience so food habits are acquired in infancy and childhood and are likely to be resistant to change. Secondly, culture is not biologically determined and can be modified and unlearned, e.g. in the process of acculturation, whereby individuals adapt to an alien culture and adopt the eating habits of a host country; the younger they are, the more rapidly and likely they are to change their habits. Thirdly, culture is transmitted through generations (primary socialisation) and is a group phenomenon, so that the acquisition of food habits occurs mainly through the immediate family and children have to learn to like food that is prescribed in the culinary culture in which they are raised. Fourthly, culture would not be continued without socialisation processes; e.g. secondary socialisation and the continued acquisition of food habits occurs through the medium of agencies such as schools, the church, the workplace, advertising campaigns and peers.

To an extent, culture preserves traditions but also develops mechanisms allowing gradual change, e.g. children are often the agency through which new food practices or products are brought into the home, and because of the general tendency to allow children to an extent to deviate from accepted habits, it is more likely that such new practices and products will be tolerated and may eventually become incorporated and accepted into mainstream behaviour. In recent history, there have been numerous significant changes within food culture that raise questions about teaching cooking. These include changes in working patterns (e.g. more women in the work place, more flexible working hours available, increased workloads), increased diversity and availability of social and leisure pursuits, more disposable income for many people, greater opportunities for people to travel within and outside the UK, increases in the availability and choice of fresh and processed foods, increased reliance on third parties to prepare and provide food, increased consumption of snack, takeaway, and fast foods and consequently less connection (i.e. understanding, experience and knowledge) between the provenance of food and its consumption. The last of these has particular significance for FCSE education, for without understanding, experience and knowledge it may be less easy for people to make informed food choices (Caraher et al 1999; Caraher and Lang 1999).

In the UK in the 21st century, the original policy for including FCSE in the education of working-class girls is re-emerging with a new emphasis. Access to a wide range of foods is the norm for a majority of the population, living within a modern society that has for several decades embraced a food culture dominated by food capitalism and consisting of widely available, industrially processed foods, supported by a cheap food policy (Lang et al 2009), and where levels of over-nutrition and consequent NCDs throughout the population, and particularly in poorer communities, continue to rise. Research suggests that being confident in using practical cooking skills is an important determinant of health and that having poor cooking skills could prevent individuals from widening their [healthy] food choices (Lang et al 1999). The developing obesity epidemic, consequent related complications and predicted implications for individuals, the health service and society is currently the subject of much debate and policy focus, as successive governments in the UK and other countries attempt to tackle it via a range of preventative and management policies (e.g. FSA 2006, Labour.org.uk 2008).

The influence of consumerism and consumer culture

'Consumerism' describes the effects of the juxtaposition of personal happiness with the purchase of material possessions and consumption, and the effects and influence that consumer choice has on the economic structure of a society. Variations on the meaning of consumerism include, in developed countries, a moral doctrine ('the good life'), conspicuous consumption (establishing social status), political ideology (championing freedom of choice), a social movement (consumer advocacy) and economic ideology (global economic development) (Gabriel and Lang 1995). Modern consumerism became widespread during the 20th-century, with the expansion of globalisation and neo-liberal capitalism, which resulted in the pervasion of culture and the development of consumer cultures. Theories of culture have increasingly included consumption and consumerism as their focus, with the consumer regarded as the arbiter of production, innovation, politics and environmental protection and the creator of new service sectors, all from the expedient of choice (Gabriel and Lang 1995). The concept of the consumer has become increasingly high-profile, although consumer culture has been gathering weight and importance since the 18th-century (Slater 1997). Trentmann (2006) describes the development of the 'active' or 'citizen' consumer, who is said to be confident, creative and rational, able to articulate personal identity and serve the public interest by their choices.

Consumerism has implications for FCSE in terms of the extent to which people are connected with, have knowledge of and an appreciation about the provenance and means of production of their food. The consumerism theme has been apparent in many FCSE syllabuses in England and Wales, which encourage young people to become responsible citizens through awareness of their choices. When HE was restructured in the NC, design, marketing and promotion of food products became key elements in the FT curriculum, with young people encouraged to identify target groups and develop the idea of branding food products. The industrialisation of food production and the concentration of food retailing, particularly since WW2, has meant that increasing numbers of people in the UK came to rely almost entirely on large corporations to inform them about and supply

them with food in various degrees of readiness for consumption, with correspondingly minimalised personal input in terms of cooking skills.

In modern consumer cultures, a culture *of* consumption, is referred to, in which the dominant values of society are not only organised through consumption practices, but also often derived from them. Modern societies are variously described as materialistic, pecuniary, commoditised, hedonistic, narcissistic or structured by consumer choice. Slater (1997) provides a list of 'signposts' by which consumer culture is identified, the features of which all apply to the consumption of food. Firstly, it exists within a universal and impersonal culture of consumption where there are unlimited and insatiable needs. Secondly, it is intrinsic to the culture of a market society and provides the means to signify identity and status within society. Thirdly, it encourages the expression of personal freedom, choice and privacy and as such, is an increasingly important aspect of the exercise of power. Consumer culture is often equated with mass culture in which the desires and tastes of the majority, who are newly empowered by the acquisition of disposable income and democratic rights, reduce culture to consumption. In this context, 'consumerism' describes the propensity of people to identify with products or services, especially those with brand names and those that enhance their status. It could be argued that many consumer products, including some food products, are unnecessary luxuries, which become social signals to enable people to identify like-minded individuals through consumption and use of similar products, including food. The term 'conspicuous consumption' was coined by Thorstein Veblen in 1899 (Veblen 2007), and is used to describe the overt consumption of goods and services in order to display social status and / or wealth or to inspire envy (so called 'invidious consumption').

Marx argued that capitalist economies inevitably lead to the 'fetishisation' of goods and services and the devaluing of their intrinsic worth, being replaced by a focus on price and the marketplace (De Angelis 1996). The concentration of the means of production under private ownership (i.e. capital) means that the majority of people do not and mostly cannot, produce the means of their own subsistence. These have to be obtained indirectly by the exchange of labour for money, turning workers into consumers. Consumer culture also becomes impersonal as commodities are produced for a mass audience. To try to personalise commodities and enable consumers to identify with them, a great deal of resources are put into design, marketing and promotion and there is a tendency for people to identify with consumer branded or status-enhancing products or services. This tendency is exploited by industries, such as the food industry, which targets specific groups with wide ranging methods, and there is belief by some critics of consumerism that loyalty to a brand name or product is an alternative to the lack of healthy human relationships in dysfunctional modern societies. Alissa Quart (Quart 2003) describes how in recent years there has been an exponential increase in the intensity with which manufacturers sell their goods to the young. Today's teenagers (in the UK and similar countries) are the product of the contemporary luxury economy in which they have been raised, and children are forced to embrace the instrumental logic of consumerism at a much younger age than in the past. For FCSE, the powerful influence of major food corporations on eating

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habits and consumer choice is a major challenge to its effectiveness (Nestle 2002, Ritzer 1996). Such influence could challenge the effectiveness of the task of educating children and young people about food and its relationship to long term health, as pupils' receptiveness to resource-limited, classroom-based healthy eating messages competes with resource-rich, corporate advertising which infiltrates their lives outside of school, and, increasingly within it. In addition, many young people have access to significant disposable income, and, with an inherent need to establish their independence, are an important target of the fast food industry, which provides the affordable and attractive means to practice that independence.

Opposition to economic materialism and consumerism exists and has led to the development of anti-consumerism or 'consumarchy' (ethical consumerism) in parallel with anti-globalisation and environmental activism (Dumas 2006). The rise of large business corporations are considered by anti-consumerists to be responsible for invading personal privacy, influencing politics and governments, threatening environmental sustainability and creating false needs in consumers through the channels of invasive advertising, corporate sponsorship of institutions such as education, health services and democratic elections, and corporate corruption. Consumarchy encourages consumers to consider and combine the proximate attributes of products with their peripheral attributes in order to exert moral authority on large corporations through the enlightened selection of products and services, e.g. Fair Trade and Organically produced food products, or to boycott certain products or corporations. This has a tendency to create niche markets that are only accessible to those with sufficient funds, but is likely to become more wide ranging as awareness of issues relating to environmental sustainability gather momentum.

4.4 Summary of the history of FCSE

This chapter has trawled the literature (academic, documentary and informal grey literature) to explore the educational and policy reasons for the original placement and the development of FCSE in the school curriculum in England and Wales since its inception in the late 19th century. The aim was to establish why it was considered necessary to teach young people a set of skills in school that had naturally evolved in the home and gain a clearer understanding of how the changes to FCSE during the 1980s had been influenced by preceding education and policy transition. A summary of the historical data that was acquired during this process is given in Appendix 3. It includes the history of FCSE after the ERA of 1988 up to the latest curriculum reforms of 2013, and is indicative of the many developments that occurred as different eras elapsed. For FCSE, pedagogical and policy change has been a regular feature of its history; arguments for its inclusion have varied across time and some frequently debated themes have been played out in this context, e.g. the role of women, the workforce, the state of health, poverty, the class system and gender biased education provision. Originally targeted at the poor when it was introduced during the late nineteenth century, with the intention of improving their health, elementary school instruction in DE sought to make working-class girls competent in basic cooking skills. In the Victorian era, social control was exerted by the propertied classes to maintain capitalism and an ordered society, and

the early years of FCSE and policy suggested that the State was becoming interested in the domestic world, which was reflected in its ideas about the role of females, thrift, morality and service to men and families, perpetuating a prevailing cultural persistence of domestic ideology centred on the notion that the place for females was in the service of others. The policy for FCSE advocated the principle that schools are adjuncts of the home, and that whilst they would provide basic practical skill instruction, they should supplement, rather than supersede home education.

As an educational subject, FCSE has had a number issues that continue to make the provision and dynamics of it a live issue, and many of which originate from its historical provenance and the influence of a range of agencies and institutions as its development proceeded along a somewhat convoluted pathway. Historically, FCSE has been subject to scholastic reticence and received limited intellectual attention, which has minimised the available evidence to endorse and justify its place in academia, where many subjects compete for inclusion. Despite campaigns by professional organisations in the past to raise the academic status of domestic subjects at school and university levels, and its credibility and image, insufficient research into subject specific issues, such as the relationship between long-term health and cooking skills, have contributed over the years to the problem of low academic respectability. Any changes to FCSE have mainly occurred by reacting to external criticism and societal changes rather than internal debate (Attar 1990). There has been historical reluctance to afford status to practical subjects, particularly those that have traditionally been the domain of women. During the twentieth century, a liberal education, based on the Greek and Roman classics was promoted by British universities, which were generally opposed to vocational and practical education. This gave practical subjects a low status, which in the case of FCSE, was compounded by long-established and entrenched attitudes towards the status of and associations with anything to do with domesticity and practicality and the disadvantageous stereotyping of the role of women in society.

The inclusion of FCSE in school curricula continued to follow a public health model, whereby it was justified in terms of its value in promoting good health and efficient home management, in order to raise basic living standards and improve the prosperity of the nation, by providing practical instruction in the choice and preparation of the food required for a simple wholesome diet. This influenced the acceptability and equality of FCSE as a curriculum subject and, by preparing girls for future unpaid (and undervalued) work within the home, under a patriarchal system of educational policy, its existence in this form ensured that boys' and girls' education and subsequent vocational opportunities became differentiated (Attar 1990, Pendergast 2001, Rutland 1996c). The minimal impact of FCSE in improving the health of the poor after it was introduced into elementary education, highlighted the fact that there were flaws in its pedagogy and syllabus content.

In addition, there have been difficulties in defining the subject and deciding on an appropriate pedagogical approach and content in a constantly changing and diversifying society and food culture. In contemporary society, where a number of aspects of life have witnessed the gradual equality of males and females, providing opportunities for all young people to participate in informed

experiential learning involving the selection and preparation of foods and the management of food preparation resources (money, facilities, routines and time) for a variety of life-relevant situations only became available to all boys and girls in the relatively recent past. This situation has been exacerbated by the confusion of different subject titles for FCSE that have been used over the decades and the effects this may have had on the image of the subject. Before the changes brought about by the introduction of the NC, the subject title 'HE' was in general use, perpetuating disquiet among members of the profession at the time about the potentially negative and low-status image that such a title continued to project to pupils, parents, the teaching profession and higher education institutions.

As a curriculum subject, the content of FCSE has continued to evolve and expand as new topics reflecting societal and cultural development around food have been added. This is evident in Table 4.1, which compares the syllabus content for GCE (General Certificate of Education) 'O' level in *'domestic cookery'* (Abbey & Macdonald 1963, *x*) in the early 1960s with current GCSE FN and FT courses in 2014. The 'O' Level syllabus focuses mainly on practical cooking skills, with some knowledge of nutrition, food hygiene, kitchen planning and safety included. By contrast, the GCSE FN course far exceeds it in breadth and depth, particularly in terms of the content of the nutrition and health topics, food choice, food science, and consumer education. Gone are the instructions on table laying (Abbey & Macdonald 1963, 38) and the classification and preparation of 'Hors d'oeuvres and Savouries' (ibid, 178), having been replaced by, for example, genetically modified and functional foods (Tull 2009, 125, 128 respectively). The GCSE FT course bears only a limited resemblance to the 'O' Level course in terms of nutrition, cooking processes and some consumer education.

Table 4.1: A comparison of the syllabus content for KS4 food courses in 1963, 2009 and current in 2014

Syllabus content for General Certificate of Education (GCE) 'O'Level Domestic Cookery course, 1963 (Abbey & McDonald 1963)	Syllabus content for GCSE Home Economics: Food and Nutrition Course 2009 (still current in 2014) (Tull 2009)	Syllabus content for GCSE Food Technology Course 2009 (still current in 2014) (AQA 2012)
Principles of Nutrition (nutrient functions, sources, deficiency, excess)

Meal Planning

Meat cookery
Fish cookery
Milk cookery
Cheese cookery
Egg cookery
Fruit cookery
Vegetable cookery
Cereals
Fats and oils
The cooking of food
Pastry making
Cake making
Puddings and sweets
Raising agents
Yeast cookery
Batters
Preservation
Stocks and soups
Sauces
Salads
Hors d'oeuvres and savouries
Presentation of food
Gelatine
Convenience foods

Contamination of food

Kitchen planning

Safety in the home | Coursework Tasks: planning, analysing, evaluating, drawing conclusions

Nutrition and health
Principles of nutrition (nutrient functions, sources, deficiency, excess, recommended daily amounts)
Major diet related health issues and conditions
Nutritional needs of groups

Adapting meals and diets

Commodities - (provenance, composition, uses, storage, cooking): meat & poultry, fish & seafood, eggs, milk, dairy products, fruits & vegetables cereals & cereal products, sugars & sweeteners, convenience, organic & functional foods, genetically modified foods

Food allergies & intolerances

Food choice
Social & economic diversity
Cultural & religious diversity

Food preparation & cooking: heat transfer, cooking methods, effects of cooking

Ingredients in cooking

Raising agents

Acids & alkalis

Food additives

Food spoilage & preservation
Food hygiene & Food safety
Food storage

Consumer education: marketing & advertising, purchasing food, food labelling, food safety law | Designing, making, analysing, evaluating and drawing conclusions

Materials & components

The functional properties of foods
The nutritional properties of foods

The effects of combining different ingredients and the interaction of foods during preparation and cooking

The importance of appropriate proportions on the structure, shape and volume of mixtures

The effects of acids & alkalis

Understand the use of standard components in food processing

Practical food skills / methods / processes

Design and market influences

Design opportunities

The development of a food product prototype

Labelling, packaging, product information and codes of practice

Social, economic, cultural and environmental considerations

The use, need and effect of additives

The impact and effect of using a range of different equipment to produce food items of quality and consistency

Storage of Food and Food Products

Technological Developments |

Sources: Abbey & Macdonald 1963, Tull 2009, AQA 2012; adapted by Researcher

The next and subsequent studies explore the implications of these transitions from an educational and pedagogical perspective in studies two and three and a policy perspective in studies four and five.

Chapter 5: Young people's views of Food and Cooking Skills Education (Study 2)

5.1 Introduction

This study explored the experiences and perspectives of FCSE of thirty pupils at a comprehensive secondary school, using semi-structured interviews; the method for which was detailed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.5: Study 2). It broadly considered education and pedagogy and was conducted in order to elicit young people's views about whether and when they should learn about FCSE, what they thought its purpose should be and the contribution it could make to their overall education.

5.2 Findings from the study

The interviewees for this study articulated a wide range of perspectives about FCSE in a natural and enthusiastic manner and were engaged with the focus of the research. The researcher was unknown to them before the interviews, but none were hostile or reluctant to speak and although some were shy, with encouragement, they were able to offer their views. They contributed detailed and often lengthy answers to the interview questions, such was their engagement with the issues raised. The findings from the study are presented in the following narrative, which, for the purpose of brevity, includes abbreviated coded extracts of the interview transcripts. As set out in Chapter 3, the codes refer to the interviewee's age, gender and number if there was more than one of the same age and gender; e.g. '15M1' refers to a fifteen year old male (1st out of 2), '17F5' refers to a seventeen year old female (5th out of 8).

It was evident that the young people were generally very positive about FCSE, regarding it as a natural and normal part of their education, and they were enjoying the process of cooking and finding out about many aspects of food that they were learning about at this particular school. In answer to the first two questions, *'Do you think young people should learn about food and how to cook at school?'* (RQS3a) and *'What do you think the purpose of learning about food and how to cook should be?'* (RQS3b), all thirty interviewees answered that they thought young people should learn about food and how to cook at school and qualified their answers without prompting. A wide range of rationales for learning about food and how to cook were articulated by the interviewees. These were ordered into thematic clusters; a process that was conducted twice in order to ensure rigour, and grouped under the different issues they represented in relation to FCSE, as summarised in Table 5.1. They were also asked what they thought FCSE contributes to their general education (RQS3c).One interviewee expressed his view succinctly:

> *'It's very important – it's probably one of the most needing* [sic] *things that you need in life, learning how to cook.'* (15M1)

The importance of FCSE to their general education and personal development, in particular its contribution to their food literacy, independence, health and nutrition awareness and life skills were the most frequently given responses. There was general agreement of the benefits of being taught how to cook in a group at school, where they felt that mutual support helped them to develop confidence and teaching expertise enabled skills to be correctly embedded, thus encouraging the transfer of skills into other areas of education. Of course, this positive attitude will have stemmed from their experience of FCSE provided by the school they attended, and was dependent on the available facilities, staff quality, attitude and expectations, all of which will have contributed to their perceptions. There was awareness that FCSE provision between schools is uneven and a general desire to encourage everyone to have the opportunity to learn how to cook.

The interviewees identified a wide range of ways in which FCSE has the potential to develop them as citizens of the future. In particular, they demonstrated awareness of how knowledge of food provenance, provision and preparation is important for understanding sustainability and environmental protection; how food is synonymous with socialisation and culture; how it contributes to skills in the workforce; how it is less often assigned value along gender lines and how it contributes to enabling individuals to have control over and responsibility for themselves.

Table 5.1 summarises the rationales for FCSE that were provided by the participants in this study. The table is shaded to indicate the thematic clustering of the suggested rationales (see legend), i.e. those that are integral to the personal development of individuals; those that highlight the role of individuals as family members and those that highlight the responsibilities and roles of individuals as members of wider local, national and global societies. To provide clarity, the narrative following the table discusses each of these in turn, including selected extracts (according to relevance) from the interviews.

Table 5.1: Thematic clusters of rationales for learning to cook suggested by young people

Rationales with explanations
Food preparation knowledge / cooking skills (food literacy): To increase awareness and knowledge of how food is processed and how to prepare food successfully
Confidence: To build confidence and competence in the choice, preparation, cooking and serving of meals
Independence: To encourage independent living away from home and a gradual decline in reliance on parental support for meal provision
Health / nutrition awareness: To promote knowledge about a healthy diet / healthy eating / nutrition
Life skill: To enable individuals to be prepared for their adult life where knowledge and experience in the provision of food will be of value to them
Family: To prepare for parenthood and the provision of food for a family
Food hygiene: To understand how to handle and store food safely and avoid food poisoning
Economics: To understand how to budget wisely and get value for money when purchasing food
Food provenance awareness: To increase awareness and knowledge of where food comes from and environmental and sustainability issues
Avoidance of fast food / ready meals: To avoid having to rely on fast food / takeaways / ready meals for your daily meals; having control over your food intake
Gender equality: To enable both boys and girls to acquire food preparation skills
Social activity: To understand the importance of the sharing of food as a social activity
Creativity: To develop skills of presentation and entertainment by creating meals for other people
Jobs / career: To develop skills and gain qualifications for working in the catering and food industry
Miscellaneous rationales:
Fun: To enjoy the subject for its own sake
Teaching: To be able to pass cooking skills on to other people / the next generation

Legend:

Rationales for FCSE that are integral to the personal development of individuals	Rationales for FCSE that highlight the role of individuals as family members	Rationales for FCSE that highlight the responsibilities and roles of individuals as members of wider local, national and global societies

Source: Researcher

Food preparation knowledge / cooking skills (food literacy)

Most interviewees felt that it is important for young people to have opportunities to practise food preparation to raise awareness and knowledge of food manufacture, health and successful food preparation. There was recognition that some basic exposure to FCSE may benefit all young people, even if they do not pursue it further academically, or choose not to act upon the information they are taught:

'People need to know how to cook otherwise they could get themselves into all sorts of problems with health…. just basic things should be taught….we should definitely be making children aware of 'five a day' and the 'healthy eating plate'…. It makes them aware of what's going on in the food world ….I guess they could choose to ignore it, but they will have that understanding at the back of their minds.' (17F7)

Although many referred to school as being the assumed venue for such opportunities, other informal options were considered efficacious, e.g. YouTube videos and social networking….

'I watch a lot of cooking videos on the Internet …. I have improved my cooking skills so much from these….they are often made by amateur people who have learnt how to cook and want to pass it on to other people.' (16F2)

…. the intergenerational transfer of cooking skills….

'..my mum and grandma taught me as well as learning it at school' (17F5)

The role of the school in filling the generational skills gap was also considered….

'….you can't figure these things out on your own. Lots of parents don't teach their kids…. If they learn it at school, it sets them up for life.' (16F2)

…. although the issue of uneven provision of FCSE was alluded to:

'I have a really strong opinion on it because my sister's nineteen and she's probably only cooked in Year eight and she does not know how to cook at all. I don't know how she's going to learn, because I've learnt a lot from being at [this school]*… but she never really had that opportunity …. I think 100% of students should be taught to cook at school.'* (17F1)

Developing cooking skills in a non-judgemental environment that allows students to learn from their mistakes was expressed, demonstrating an implicit trust in formal education as an appropriate venue for such learning. This insight raises important issues about having suitably qualified and experienced practitioners available to provide a supportive and comfortable learning environment:

'I think at school…learning to cook is unjudgemental [sic]. *The teachers teach you to cook and everyone is in the same boat, so if you make a mistake it's not looked down on so much as it would be at home, because your mum might say "Oh, you haven't done that right". The teachers are there and if you make a mistake you get shown how to correct it – at home it's more of a hassle.'* (16F1)

'They [the teachers] *teach a lot of skills e.g. how to deal with eggs, flour, how to make cakes and stuff and I think it's hard to learn it if you're not being taught by the right person.'* (17F1)

 Some interviewees discussed being taught about the composition and preparation of specific foods and how the acquisition of such skills and knowledge could influence their ability to tackle other skills. They recognised that the breadth of skills covered by FCSE could be used to provide family support:

'I've learnt how to cook important things like bread ….now I feel I can make a recipe…
and I have a skill for life, for going through student years, and if I want to go to Uni. [sic], *I*
won't have baked beans on toast – I'll bulk buy. I've learnt skills - not just the practicals,
but for example, how the elderly handle food. I just think it's so useful….I've learnt so
much from it now and I can just cook at home when Mum's working - I can cook whole
family meals for her.' (17F1)

They also highlighted the benefits of finding out the 'how' and 'why' of cooking as a way of
enhancing understanding and confidence about practical skills:

'I think knowing what is happening when you are cooking is quite good as well 'cos [sic]
you know when something's gone wrong or why something has happened…. It's made
me more confident.' (17F5)

Several interviewees had specific topics that they considered should be taught, as in the following
examples; the first alluding to the appropriateness of pedagogy for different age groups:

 '….what food goes together, what's good for you , what's bad for you ….this year, we're
doing a lot of the "Eatwell plate", and obviously it's things I knew, but not in great detail,
but it can seem quite boring when you're trying to be taught that in Year seven.' (17F3)

In this respect, younger interviewees tended to focus on specific foods and techniques….

'….maybe something like how to make a roast – like my Dad cooks pork and it's quite
hard to get it right. …. Food for entertainment and stuff like curries, rather than getting a
takeaway.' (12F2)

'Like techniques – how to chop, how to stir, what pans you should use, like non-stick
pans for certain stuff and, sort of the basics of cooking.' (11M5)

….the use of equipment….

'I think they should cover, like, how to use certain bits of equipment and I think they
should do certain foods like maybe do a topic on puddings or different sorts of main
courses.' (11F2)

….or on food hygiene (a topic they had recently been studying) and recipe development:

'I think you should learn about how to make food healthy, but to make it taste nice as well
as make it clean, just in case it's poultry or eggs or meat; and I think a good thing is
making the actual food – learning lots of facts about it –what to put in it or maybe it helps
you to think up your own recipes.'   (11M2)

Some interviewees, particularly those who will be leaving school quite soon and would need to think
about catering for themselves on limited incomes, thought that young people should focus on
learning how to make basic, economical, everyday meals:

'It should definitely be part of the curriculum for most children especially in poverty areas, so that they can think of ways to help themselves get out of the pattern of eating junk food ….they'd be educated how to eat well but cheaply; I think that would really help break the cycle of poverty and things like that.' (17F7)

'I think it's important that when people leave home or whatever they need to know the basics of cooking simple food and staying healthy.' (15M2)

Developing confidence

The role of FCSE in helping to develop self-confidence was suggested by some interviewees. Some talked about this in general terms:

'Well, at a few of my friends' houses we'll go to the shop to get a pizza or something that can be microwaved; whereas if we were at my house I would quite happily make a dish. I know it's convenience, but I do wonder, is it a lack of skills?... I know what we have in our cupboards and what does go together and how I can make a meal that's more interesting….I think they are missing out.' (17F3)

'A lot of my friends cook – even those who are not studying it. Some have done it previously for GCSE, but there's some that are still doing it now outside of school that haven't done it for GCSE.' (16 M1)

One interviewee expressed how regular cooking practice gave her the confidence to experiment and vary recipes:

'It's a skill like driving – once you've got it you'll always have it. It's knowing when things are done and when you can vary a recipe – at home I just put in anything I want – especially for stir fries….I don't really follow the recipe.' (17F6)

Some talked about being able to cook in relation to their levels of confidence:

'I've learnt a lot at school [cooking skills] *and it's given me confidence.'* (17F5)

'Now I cook at home for everyone – it becomes second nature and not difficult. It makes you more confident.' (16F4)

'It's how to not be scared to experiment – knowing what seasonings to add, and don't be scared if it goes wrong.' (16F5)

'It's about building confidence – I don't have much but it's growing!' (16F3)

Independence

The role of FCSE in encouraging independence, by developing the confidence that gradually diminishes reliance on parental support, and a keen desire to be independent was frequently expressed. Self-reliance in the provision of food was considered a positive marker of independence:

'I just think it's [cooking] *a really important skill to have to get your independence and help you look after yourself in every way.'* (17F8)

'A teenager needs to be independent and you must be able to take care of yourself in an emergency.' (16F1)

'Not knowing the basics should be unheard of – how will you learn to depend on yourself? (16F1)

Acquiring cooking skills was considered to contribute to communal living:

'….you never know, maybe one time you get left at home …. you'll know what to cook …. if somebody was ill in your family ….you could always help them. I sometimes help out [with cooking] *at home. I quite like doing roasts – doing the vegetables.'* (11M3)

Some considered that becoming independent would be more challenging without the ability to cook and would limit their food choice:

'I'd like to be able to feel I have a wide choice of meals I can cook without my parents' (17F6)

'It's harder when you're older and you haven't been taught [to cook]*… you need to learn when you're younger to get good at it, then if you keep practising, you'll get better at it.'* (12F2)

One interviewee also recognised the importance of gaining independence to be able to make meal choices outside of the home:

'I think it's more important [to learn how to cook] *in Year nine, because you've got a better understanding of foods and you've got more independence when you go out and what you eat.'* (15M2*)*

Some interviewees felt that without cooking skills, young people will have to rely too much on others:

'….if they don't, they'll get everyone else to cook for them.' (12F2)

'… when you get older, you don't rely on your parents and you cook yourself.' (11M5)

'When you leave home ….you can't rely on everyone to cook for you, you've got to cook for yourself.' (11F4)

Others felt that FCSE would benefit their future independence in relation to others with whom they would interact:

'….you can cook for yourself and your family, make meals for guests when they come round.' (12F1)

'…if your friends want to come round, you need to be able to cook otherwise you'll have your mum hanging around doing the cooking and you won't be able to talk as freely.' (11F1)

With echoes of the original policy intent of introducing FCSE into mainstream education, several interviewees considered it important to teach people to cook basic, nutritionally balanced, inexpensive meals, using a range of cooking methods so that meal preparation could easily to fit in with the requirements of busy lives:

> *'Just basic meals that are quick, but have high nutritional value – that's something that they can cook independently.'* (17F4)

Many made references to FCSE as being beneficial in encouraging an understanding of the role of food in promoting good health and the aetiology of NCDs. They often used terms including 'nutrition', 'healthy eating', 'balanced diets' and 'moderation' in their perspectives. Some expressed this in terms of their future role as parents:

> *'If I have a family I want to give my children a nutritious diet. I would feel bad if I gave them rubbish food – I don't want to be a mum who doesn't know how to cook.'* (16F3)

> *'….if you have children then you want to cook them a balanced meal and help them get a balanced diet.'* (12F2)

One interviewee equated the acquisition of such knowledge with being able to encourage children to lead healthy and happy lives:

> *'….you'd be able to make them good meals and not be worried about how you do it and ….a more balanced healthy life style and you'd know what they would have in their lunch box, and make sure they're not becoming overweight ….and they are just happy.'* (16F5)

Some expressed how learning to cook needed to include nutritional knowledge in theory and in practice:

> *'I think that it helps with learning the good things to eat and the bad things to eat and how to eat in moderation.'* (17F7)

> *'How to create a healthy diet…. so that you know that you're going to get a balanced diet in everything that you do'* (16M1)

There was recognition that responsibility for health in relation to food has implications for individuals and others they interact with:

> *I discuss food with my dad because he's overweight and I was able to discuss with him the reasons why he should eat different foods – it actually helped him lose quite a bit of weight.'* (17F5)

> *'Food and cooking – it's the basis of everyone's life. You'll get ill, and make other people ill if you don't know it….You must take care of your health – you don't realise the damage you are doing. You must take responsibility for that.'* (16F1)

There was concern about people's awareness of NCDs being limited if they were not taught about the relationship of diet to health via FCSE:

> ' I think if it came off the curriculum it would be wrong, because less people are going to be aware and there's this whole thing about obesity rising…. unless you learn about it yourself, you are not going to know ….why it's so important to eat healthily.' (17F5)

Others referred to the personal benefits of FCSE in terms of their health and the wider implications for their emotional health and academic performance:

> 'Well, I think if you eat healthily and learn to look after yourself, then you feel better in yourself – you can concentrate more, you're feeling healthier and I think overall it makes you a more energetic, concentrated and focused person.' (17F8)

One interviewee recognised that their eating habits and preferences were gradually changing as well as their awareness of the composition of foods, which they associated with what they were learning in FCSE:

> 'you learn so much about what food is important for you and I've noticed myself changing what I eat to suit what I've learnt in lessons. I eat much more fruit and vegetables - I used to be a bit of a rebel and wouldn't eat them – they'd go in my lunch box but I'd give them away, but I eat them more now and I do look at labels to look at traffic light systems and what is actually in foods. (17F5)

Life skill

The phrase 'life skill' was frequently used by interviewees in relation to FCSE, and acknowledgement of the necessity of having cooking skills as part of those life skills was articulated as being a valued contributor to their overall education. For several interviewees, this was expressed in general terms:

> 'I think they should definitely be taught- it's setting them up for later life'. (17F8)

> 'I definitely think that young people should learn to cook at school at a fairly young age because it kind of sets you up for life.' (17F7)

> 'It's a skill that you'll never really lose, you know, when you're grown up it will be a really great skill to have. I love it [cooking].' (12F1)

> 'I think it's just one of those things that people need to learn about - it's a fundamental part of life.' (17F7)

> '….it's a life-long skill and as soon as you learn how to cook you won't forget.' (11M5)

> 'It's a skill you will have for life once you've learnt it.' (12F1)

Others expressed the need for life skills in terms of their potential future roles in life:

'It will help me because it's a lifelong skill and also if you have a family, you'll be able to teach them how to cook and you'll be able to make food for them and make sure they have a proper daily diet , keep them healthy and have their five-a-day.' (11M5)

Family

The purpose of FCSE in their future roles as parents and carers where they would need knowledge of food provision, was raised by several interviewees (some quotes for which were included in the preceding text) and some identified its role in the social and extended aspects of family life:

'Cooking is good for family dynamics – you all come together especially when your parents are working hard and you don't see them much, like I cook for my mum and dad and we eat together.' (16F1)

The adaptation of recipes to suit different needs and vary the diet was articulated:

'….it's a very important skill to have when it comes to feeding your children and the rest of your family – if they're disabled or something….you can actually tweak other recipes that you think are good to make things taste different and unique. I have done a lot of cooking at home….I just really, really enjoy it because my mum said I get the cooking bug.' (11M2)

Another recognised the value of her role in a family with two younger siblings, for whom, her ability to cook meant that she could contribute usefully to their care:

'I've got younger brothers and sisters, so I think I should be taught how to feed them instead of just me.' (11F1)

Food hygiene

The need to understand how to handle and store food hygienically and safely and the ability to avoid the risk of food poisoning, were given as reasons for learning FCSE by some interviewees in general terms, e.g….

'How food should be stored and about safety and also where food comes from so you know what you are eating.' (17F2)

….and more specifically, e.g.:

'I think we should learn….not to put cooked foods and raw foods together because the bacteria can spread and like how to keep food safe and you know what germs can do if you don't store food properly.' (11M5)

Economics

Several interviewees expressed views about being aware of the cost of food and how cooking for themselves would help develop budgeting skills, particularly when they live on their own:

'Yes – it's important especially if you going to uni [sic]*, because it will be expensive to buy ready-made food and there is no one there to tell them how to cook.'* (16F3)

'I think perhaps budgeting is important….I think I've learnt a lot of my budgeting skills from doing things like looking at a topic, like, how to eat on a low income and walking around the supermarket and looking at all the different foods and becoming a bit more aware of things.' (17F7)

Some expressed this in terms of achieving a healthy diet, and the need to be aware of the cost of ready-made foods:

'…you need to do more of the practical, so that you start putting words into practice. …and more about the cost side of cooking - how you're able to reach a balanced diet on a lower budget.' (17F2)

'….it's [cooking your own meals] *so much better value for money than having to buy ready meals….it will be better for their health and their pocket.'* (17F8)

Food provenance awareness

FCSE was considered important for raising awareness and providing knowledge of food provenance particularly inherent environmental and sustainability issues. Some interviewees linked this to their own experiences, one from working in a farm shop….

'It's important – you should know where your food's coming from and its upbringing. I read labels more now – find out where it's from, 'cos [sic] *I work in a farm shop and all the fruit and vegetables are local and since working there as well, I've found that there is a difference in taste – I find I prefer local foods. I see them the day they arrive and I know they were picked that morning.'* (17F3)

….and another in a supermarket:

'I work part time in a supermarket and you see a lot of deals around and I just think, is that really good? … I think children should learn about that.' (17F4)

Another raised the issue of knowledge of the provenance of food being limited to people's experiences of purchasing it within the limitations of a supermarket and having no further knowledge of its origins nor composition:

'There's a lot of people that just think that something just comes from the supermarket….so learning about the production of the food and how different companies maybe do different things to make the food taste different.' (16M1)

In relation to supermarkets, the influence of price comparison on purchasing decisions was raised:

'*I think a lot of people aren't aware of what's happening and the supermarkets should make it clear, because at the end of the day it's like the budget - if you can buy two chickens for £10 instead of one for £7 or £8 it's gonna* [sic] *influence you.'* (15M2)

Avoidance of fast food and ready meals

Several interviewees talked about the importance of FCSE in helping young people avoid having to rely on fast food, takeaways and ready meals for their daily meals and having control over their food intake:

> _'It's important otherwise if you can't cook you can't live – ready meals won't be good for you.'_ (16F7)

> _'You don't want to eat rubbish, you want to know how to cook.''_ (16F3)

For some interviewees, having knowledge about the composition of foods and being in control of what they eat was important to them:

> _'I know that when I'm older I won't want to get ready meals and stuff, just because of what I've learnt about them and I think that the satisfaction of cooking and knowing you've produced it is much greater than putting something in the microwave.'_ (17F6)

> _'I don't like not being in control of what I eat or of what I'm cooking. I hate microwaved food because I don't control it.'_ (16F1)

Gender equality

A few interviewees considered that gender equality in terms of access to FCSE was important for their future lives, although this was an issue that was infrequently raised. This suggests that it is a less important issue than it has been in the past, particularly as it is the norm for most children and young people to be co-educated and have equal access to FCSE provision:

> _'I think that everyone should learn about it, because people see it, like, cooking's for the woman of the house, but what happens if you don't have a wife or a girlfriend and then you can't rely on anyone? You just have to do it yourself.'_ (11M5)

> _'People say ladies do the cooking, but it's not always like that…. if the wife is out then the man would need to know how to give his children a proper main meal, so it shouldn't just be girls who get taught food tech. and not boys. What happens if you are a disabled mum and you can't cook as easily?...and if you were to have lots of children, then the husband would have to do it - like when the mum' s in hospital having more children, who's going to do the cooking?'_ (11F1)

> _'Even boys need to learn – cooking their girlfriend dinner will impress girls – they would be stuffed if they can't cook.'_ (16F1)

Social activity

Some interviewees acknowledged the importance of food in terms of social activities and how being able to cook could enhance this aspects of their lives:

> _'Cooking gives you skills to live, healthy eating and a social life – people come to you – your kitchen is a social place and people can gather there.'_ (16F7)

'It teaches you about the social side of food – it's a very good way to learn to do it – to be professional. You want to be able to invite people to your home and impress them.' (16F2)

One interviewee suggested that food is a good conduit for communication:

'…you could communicate by food – you can have people round and socialise and they'd say "oh this really nice!" and when you're cooking, people can come and help you and you can show people.' (16F5)

'…my mum says if you want to be sociable you have to be a good cook because that will make you also a good host.' (11M1)

'For cooking for a family, for dinner parties – your cooking needs to be up to scratch because it shows what type of person you are.' (16F3)

Creativity

A few interviewees talked about the role of FCSE in developing presentation and entertainment skills as being important to them and a natural way of socialising and understanding more about people. For one interviewee, this had been influenced by popular television cookery shows:

'I did a kind of 'Come dine with me' with my friends because we're learning to cook and it's quite nice to be able to trump one of them after learning to cook at school!' (17F5)

For others, the act of commensality was considered to be important for nurturing and cementing social relationships, raising awareness of cultural diversity and understanding other people:

'Like, in our society, eating is a really inclusive and social thing and to be able to have those skills to throw a small party and cater for it would be a nice thing to do, rather than saying, come round and we'll order something….you get that sense of achievement…. and I think that's really nice – it's a sharing thing definitely.' (17F7)

'You break the ice with food and you understand people through their food intake; what they can and can't eat. You make friends through food and become relaxed and chilled.' (16F1)

'I think it's good, because it means you've got a way of making friends – you just say, 'Oh, come round for dinner', which gives you people skills.' (16M1)

'Sometimes, if you have like a big dinner party, it's really nice and you can feel quite proud of yourself.' (11F4)

Jobs / careers

In terms of future employment, there were several references to the possibilities of using FCSE in their future careers, including in education:

'I want to do primary education - I might bring [FCSE] *in to lessons.'* (17F2)

....sports instruction:

'If I'm using [FCSE] *now I will definitely use it later on –I'm a sports instructor now, so I sort of use it get children interested in learning how to eat and how to cook proper food.'* (15M1)

....and in catering:

'I've worked in a restaurant in London for work experience....they've offered me an apprenticeship so I could do that, but I'm trying to keep my options open about what I do.' (15M2)

'It could even be your career, so I reckon they should definitely do [FCSE] *because it could become your career.'* (11F1)

Fun

Two interviewees referred to the enjoyment of the subject for its own sake:

'I think you should [learn to cook] *because you can do it when you're grown up and it's fun.'* (11F2)

'It [FCSE] *all also helps with different areas like science....it helps in PE and different subjects.... it gives people life skills and a fun element.'* (17F7)

Teaching / Passing on skills

The importance of passing on cooking skills was mentioned by two interviewees in relation to friends, parents and siblings:

'..you need to cook for everyday life and if at university your flatmates don't, you can pass on those skills' (17F2)

'...my brother is applying to university and he has no cooking skills so we're having to teach him how to cook basic meals.' (17F7)

The wide range of rationales for learning how to cook given by these young people, demonstrated their awareness of the broad nature of FCSE and how they associated it with their present and future lives. They were also able to relate it to the lives of others, present and future.

The next part of the interviews sought their views about the appropriate age to start learning how to cook (RQS3d), for which all interviewees had an opinion. Table 5.2 summarises their responses given to this question.

Table 5.2: Summary of responses about the appropriate age to start learning to cook

Research question focus	Summary of responses from young people
RQS3d When should young people learn to cook?	**Responses about primary school aged children:** o General consensus that primary school is an appropriate starting point for cooking lessons o Several considered that the younger the age, the better o There were reservations about the safety of children using kitchen equipment and aspects of food hygiene o There were some concerns about the effectiveness of learning cooking skills at this stage of education and the retention and consequent value of FCSE lessons for the future o The purpose of learning to cook may be lost on very young children o Based on their experiences at primary school, some interviewees expressed concerns about the lack of facilities and teachers available to teach cooking; intermittent opportunities to experience it and the limited range of skills and foods they were shown how to use and prepare o Young children should become acquainted with basic cooking skills to build on these as they progress through primary and into secondary school o Learning about the provenance of food is appropriate at primary school level **Responses about secondary school aged children:** o By secondary school age, young people are ready and able to benefit from FCSE o The frequency and continuity of exposure to FCSE lessons is important o Cooking lessons could be offered as part of PSHE lessons o Secondary school is an important window of opportunity to learn, which would benefit young people in terms of their independence

Source: Researcher

The final part of the interviews asked interviewees to consider what they thought young people would want to learn or should learn about food and cooking (RQS3e). Their responses and suggestions are summarised in Table 5.3. Topics relating to the acquisition and practice of practical cooking skills (i.e. knife skills, cooking skills, basic recipes to develop skills and confidence, baking techniques and recipes, recipes for easy to prepare meals and cooking methods) were the most frequently suggested.

Table 5.3: Topics suggested in response to RQ3Se (n=30)

Research question focus	Summary of responses from young people
RQS3e What do young people want to learn about food?	**What do you think young people would want to learn about food and cooking?** o A range of cooking skills, including knife skills, that become increasingly challenging as competence and confidence grows o Cooking skills for social interaction o Food hygiene and safety o Basic recipes to develop skills and confidence o Recipes to help embed food theory o How to use kitchen equipment correctly and safely o How to be proficient with different cooking methods o Baking techniques and recipes o Healthy eating / Eatwell plate o How to achieve a balanced diet o Cooking for special diets o Five a day – why it's important and how to achieve it o Budgeting and how to eat well on a low income o Recipes for quick, easy to prepare, everyday meals using storecupboard ingredients o Nutrition and how it affects the body / which foods supply nutrients o Types of foods o Food production and manufacture o Provenance of food and wider issues around food supply o Safety in the kitchen o Food science – how ingredients react and interact o Cooking demonstrations to reinforce experiential learning o That cooking is for boys and girls

Source: Researcher

5.3 Summary of study findings

The information gathered from this study will inform the discussion, conclusions and recommendations in the final part of the thesis. Although the responses from the interviews do not have the capacity to quantify the weight or strength of the interviewees' feelings about the interview topics and therefore limit the significance of the findings from this study; the frequency with which the topics arose across the sample indicates the areas in which their strength of feeling lay. Future research could explore these topics more deeply and quantify them in order to inform pedagogy and syllabus content for FCSE.

The next study continues with an education focus as it explores perspectives on FCSE from the viewpoint of the food industry and how this compares with those of young people.

Chapter 6: Food industry views of Food and Cooking Skills Education (Study 3)

6.1 Introduction

This study, which focused on education and pedagogy, was conducted in order to elicit perspectives and opinions about FCSE from the retail, manufacture and hospitality and catering sectors of the food industry, via a questionnaire survey, the details of which were given in Chapter 3 (Section 3.5: Study 6). Respondents were asked about whether they considered that young people should learn how to cook at school; the level of importance that the food industry attaches to practical cooking skills education; the contribution they felt the food industry could / should make to it and what they considered its focus should be. The responses to each of the survey questions are presented in the text that follows. Respondents had the opportunity to add comments to these and where these are quoted, respondents were referred to by the food industry sector they represent using a set of codes that are given in Table 3.10; for example, 'FIR1' means 'Food Industry Retail representative number 1', 'FIM6' means 'Food Industry Manufacture representative number 6', and 'FIHC4' means 'Food Industry Hospitality and Catering representative number 4'.

6.2 Findings from the study

Firstly, respondents were asked whether the organisation they represented considered that it is a good thing for young people to be taught how to cook or if they thought it is not needed in contemporary society. Those who responded in the affirmative (see Table 6.1), were then asked Tabout where they considered such teaching should take place, as shown in Table 6.2. All respondents from each sector agreed that it is a good thing that young people are taught how to cook. Of these, fourteen thought that cooking skills should be taught at school, one at home and two thought it should be both at home and school. None of the seventeen respondents said that being taught how to cook was not needed in contemporary society.

Table 6.1: Responses to Question 1 (n=17): What are your organisation's views about whether young people should be taught to cook?

Food industry sector	a It is a good thing	b It is not needed today	c Other
Retail	5	-	-
Manufacture	7	-	-
Hospitality and Catering	5	-	-
Total	17	0	0

Source: Researcher

Table 6.2: Responses to Question 2 (n=17): Where do you think that cooking skills education should take place?

Food industry sector	(a) At home	(b) At school	(c) Other
Retail	-	4	1 both home and school
Manufacture	1	6	-
Hospitality and Catering	-	4	1 both home and school
Total	1	14	2

Source: Researcher

In response to where FCSE should take place, a respondent from the manufacturing sector referred to potential opportunities that should be explored:

'Anywhere possible! Plenty of opportunities to innovate there….' **(FIM1)**

Another respondent summarised their view that FCSE had a range of contributions to offer to the food industry, society and individuals:

'From the hospitality industry's point of view, it is clearly advantageous that young people should learn about food and cookery at school, because it not only gives them a life skill, but it might encourage them into a career in the industry. On a broader point of course, children need to know about food and the challenges of food intake and obesity if the government is to achieve its public health anti-obesity campaign. Despite the plethora of cooking programmes on television, the amount of cooking at home appears to be driving downwards year by year – not surprising, perhaps, since there are so many made up dishes on supermarket shelves.' **(FIHC1)**

Respondents were then asked their views about the extent to which the food industry should be involved in FCSE. Table 6.3 shows that ten respondents considered that the food industry should be involved and seven felt that it can contribute. None considered that it should not be involved.

Table 6.3: Responses to Question 3 (n=17): What are your organisation's views about the role that the food industry should play in educating young people about food and cooking skills?

Food industry sector	a It should be involved	b It should not be involved	c It can contribute	d Other
Retail	2	-	3	-
Manufacture	5	-	2	-
Hospitality and Catering	3	-	2	-
Total	10	0	7	0

Source: Researcher

One respondent felt that their role and involvement should principally be about educating young people on the provenance of food, suggesting awareness of the distance that has developed between people and their familiarity with food:

> *'The food industry has a role to play in reconnecting people to where their food comes from; part of that could be through supporting skills and food knowledge one way or another.'* **(FIM1)**

Another supported the role of cooking skills in public health initiatives to tackle the increasing 9incidence of non-communicable diseases:

> *'If we are to encourage a greater understanding of the role of food in helping make public health improvements, then cooking skills are an essential part of the solution.'* **(FIR1)**

Two respondents felt that the government should take the lead and have overall responsibility for providing education for young people to learn about food and cooking skills, with the food industry having a supporting, collaborative role:

> *'You should give it* [responsibility for FCSE] *to the teachers and the government should provide the resources. I think that education is definitely a government role. There is room for other people to support, but I think that the lead should be with the government. There is a role for us to support what is going on in schools. I also think that parents have a role to play in that, to support the classroom as well. We do think we have a supportive role, but it should be led by Government.'* **(FIM2)**

The second of these respondents was particularly concerned about pedagogy and the need for schools to be helped to manage their resources. This respondent also emphasised the need for a two-way engagement and collaboration between schools, the food industry and other interested parties, particularly in terms of delivering and interpreting the images and messages about food, cooking and healthy eating that are promoted by both and which should be promoted across the curriculum:

> *'Government should have overall responsibility, but it would be valuable to get a broad spectrum of input to manage resources and engage in it so that it develops the content of the subject.* [Schools should] *…engage with industry. If they sell the wrong food, they will go out of business. The role of industry is not to push their bad foods, but to be positive about healthy eating. There needs to be a collaborative group of people involved to make improvements to the style of messaging about food – to develop creative messaging and engage different disciplines* [in the curriculum] *in the process.'* **(FIM3)**

The same respondent considered that FCSE pedagogy should be integrated and contextual and expressed concern about trying to retain FCSE as a subject in its own right. The effects that inappropriate promotion and delivery of food education messages may have on its reception and efficacy were also discussed. The need to contextualise the subject and develop 'bottom up' strategies to deliver healthy eating education creatively, in a cross-curricular format, so that it is viewed positively and not perceived as government interference in people's food choices was

considered to be very important. The importance of the involvement of young people whose input can successfully drive food education initiatives, was emphasised:

> '…don't have it as a stand-alone subject. This mind-set that it must be taught in isolation is a barrier – it is much better to have it integrated. It should be linked to all aspects of the curriculum; it needs to be a contextual curriculum. We should break the subject down and be creative about its delivery; marketing strategies should be involved. Government approaches to food education are not successful because they are overtly seen within the 'nanny state' system. The reason the fair trade initiative was successful is because it was 'bottom up' rather than 'top down' and it was driven by pupils. Also, there is the problem with how healthy eating is being messaged; it is rather negative; 'don't eat this, don't eat that'. It should be positives. It should be 'pull' messages from pupils, rather than push messages from Government. **(FIM3)**

One respondent, however, highlighted the need for the food industry to exercise caution when involving itself with marketing to children:

> 'Well, there is a slight difficulty because there is this whole thing of marketing to children and which age group you and the brand can work to. So there are some restrictions with that and that is tied in with assessing a product – can a brand which is seen to be unhealthy be promoted in schools? So there is that and obviously if we are marketing to children we need to abide by certain rules, so there is a slight restriction in what you can get involved with.' **(FIM2)**

Another respondent focused on the need for adequate resourcing for FCSE and the role that the industry could play in this respect:

> 'Industry spends significant £millions promoting recipes to drive usage of its products; perhaps a fraction of this could be used to promote cooking skills?' **(FIR2)**

This was echoed in terms of the deficit in teaching expertise by another respondent and the possibilities that networking might offer:

> 'Expertise is few and far between. We should link local education departments with regional health departments and community health workers to create connections at a local level.' **(FIM3)**

Respondents were then asked to consider what they thought the general focus and rationales for FCSE should be. Eight respondents indicated more than one category in their answers. Table 6.4 shows that the majority of respondents selected 'general life skills', with 'food industry skills' coming second and catering industry skills last.

Table 6.4: Responses to Question 4 (n=17): On what should cooking skills education focus?

Food industry sector	a General life skills	b Food industry skills	c Catering industry skills	d Other
Retail	5	2	-	-
Manufacture	7	3	1	-
Hospitality and Catering	4	1	2	-
Total	16	6	3	0

Source: Researcher

Three respondents commented on life skills:

> *'Life skills first but food industry skills as a next steps progression.'* **(FIR1)**

> *'As an organisation we don't necessarily have a view on FCSE, but would see knowledge and understanding of food as an essential life skill.'* **(FIM4)**

> *'I think learning to cook is a vital life skill that should have greater importance at school.'* **(FIHC3)**

Two others focused on food provenance and sustainability:

> *'Potentially all of the above. Understanding nutrition and farming / agriculture also...'* **(FIM1)**

> *'Emphasis* [of FCSE] *should be on local organic seasonal food and the sustainability and security.'* **(FIHC4)**

A representative from the retail sector was concerned about the effect a shortfall in skilled personnel might have on the long-term prospects for the food industry in the UK:

> *'There is a gap building in skills and capabilities with respect to all aspects of food production, including cooking. As the food industry is the UK's biggest industry, this needs to be rectified to ensure a thriving industry in the future.'* **(FIR3)**

In the next two questions, respondents were firstly asked about whether or not the organisation they represent provides support for the teaching of FCSE in schools (Table 6.5) and if so, the form(s) in which that support is provided (Table 6.6). Twelve of the organisations represented by the respondents supported the teaching of FCSE in schools and the other five said that they did not. Of those that did, most produced classroom teaching support materials (from the researcher's experience, these were mostly likely to comprise posters, worksheets, recipes, information booklets and sheets, lesson plans, board games, revision guides).

Table 6.5: Responses to Question 5 (n=17): Does your organisation support the teaching of cooking skills to young people in schools?

Food industry sector	a Yes	b No	c Other
Retail	4	1	-
Manufacture	4	3	-
Hospitality and Catering	4	1	-
Total	12	5	0

Source: Researcher

Table 6.6: Responses to Question 6 (n=17): If you answered yes to Q5, please state what form your organisation's support takes:

Food industry sector	a Classroom teaching support materials	b Other publications	c Websites	d Sponsorships	e Other
Retail	3	1	2	3	-
Manufacture	3	1	2	1	-
Hospitality and Catering	2	-	-	4	2
Total	8	2	4	5	2

Source: Researcher

The Hospitality and Catering sector reportedly produced the least amount of classroom teaching support materials, but its respondents gave details of their role in different formats of support, as the following four comments from the survey reveal. One respondent gave details about their organisation's involvement in two high-profile food and cooking skills education initiatives and in influencing government:

'*We support the teaching of cooking skills in schools in principle, but or main role is to lobby Government on behalf of the hospitality industry. As such, we would not aim to provide specific materials, but the Academy of Culinary Arts has run an Adopt a School programme since 1990 and remains one of the few organisations working to improve children's food education, with chefs visiting schools and school children visiting hotels and catering establishments.   The Focus on Food campaign, run by the Design Dimension Educational Trust also operates a state of the art mobile kitchen/classroom, which takes cooking workshops to schools. Both these programmes have been financially supported by the industry's Savoy Educational Trust – in the former, the Trust has provided £230,000 – representing 10-15 per cent of the total cost – since 1996; in the latter, the Trust provided £538,000 over seven years to fund the salaries of two full-time teachers, but its funding was discontinued in 2009 after it was agreed that the campaign had sufficient support to continue on its own.*' **(FIHC1)**

Another two focused on delivering talks and equipment to schools, particularly in primary schools:

'*Many of our members do help with cooking skills at schools.*' **(FIHC2)**

[We deliver] '*Classroom talks.*' **(FIHC3)**

'*Currently what we are doing is* [an] *initiative which targets primary schools and that's helping to get cookery equipment into schools.*' **(FIM2)**

Respondents were also asked to state whether their organisation had evaluated its support, and if so, whether this was evaluated internally or externally and whether the findings of the evaluation were positive, uncertain, negative or 'other'. Table 6.7 shows that there were ten responses to this question. Six organisations had internally evaluated their support for FCSE in schools, with five being positively evaluated. None gave details of these evaluations.

Table 6.7: Responses to Question 7 (n=10): Evaluation of support

Food industry sector	a. Has evaluated its support?		b. If yes, was this evaluated?		c. If yes, what were the findings of the evaluation:			
	Yes	No	Internally	Externally	Positive	Uncertain	Negative	Other
Retail	3	1	3	-	2	1	-	-
Manufacture	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
Hospitality and Catering	2	2	2	-	2	-	-	-
Total	6	4	6	0	5	1	0	0

Source: Researcher

6.3 Summary of study findings

This study aimed to gain the perspectives of the food industry about teaching young people how to cook and seventeen organisations (five from the retail, seven from the manufacturing and five from the hospitality and catering sectors, [n=17]) participated in the survey. The study has provided some useful insights into the food industry's views on FCSE, in particular about the practical cooking skills gap that the industry perceives as significant for its future success and the ways in which the different sectors need to collaborate with other parties to ensure that young people receive positive, clear and consistent messages in relation to food and health. Undoubtedly the food industry will continue influence how people choose their food and how they define the role of cooking in their lives. More in-depth research into the role and extent of influence that the industry wants to have in young people's education in terms of food literacy and food choices needs to be undertaken to ascertain how those influences can be managed.

All participants agreed that it was relevant to teach young people to cook, and the majority considered that school was the appropriate place in which to do so. All felt that the food industry should be involved to some extent in this process, particularly in educating the young about food provenance and as part of public health initiatives. Some respondents were concerned that in order for it to be effective, the Government should provide the lead for FCSE in terms of resources and advocacy, and that along with the supportive role of the food industry and other agencies, should endorse the work of teachers who have responsibility for its delivery. There was also a recognition

of the need for the industry to encourage and promote positive healthy eating messages and to be cautious in its approach to marketing products to children and young people.

The majority of respondents considered that developing life skills in young people should be the main rationale and focus for FCSE, with some suggesting that food industry skills or catering skills should be the focus. Concern was expressed about the growing gap and deficit in a range of skills that are required for a thriving food industry and the need to address this through education of the young. Most of the organisations represented in the survey said they provide support for FCSE in the form of published classroom materials, websites, sponsorships, class talks and practical cooking demonstrations and activities. There was also the view that an important element of their support should be in lobbying Government on behalf of the industry to ensure the provision and continuity of funding for initiatives to encourage young people to develop industry related skills.

Chapter 7: International comparative survey of Food and Cooking Skills Education (Study 4)

This chapter and the one that follows now switch to the policy theme of this thesis. This study was conducted to gather data about FCSE in other countries to compare to England and Wales; specifically about its provision, the rationales and educational aims for its inclusion where this occurred, the content of courses and pedagogical styles utilised, and the key advocates for teaching young people how to cook. The details of the study method were given in Chapter 3 (Section 3.5: Study 4). The findings show the composite data that was acquired from two separate trawls for information. The first data tranche was gathered mostly from either embassies, ministries and / or education departments of the countries in the sample, using a survey which was sent via email, which asked respondents about the status of FCSE in their country and whether and to what age and level cookery was taught in schools, and if not, why. They were also asked about any recent changes to FCSE, key actors in it, how the curriculum was decided and where FCSE fitted within it. Using email proved to be an effective means of acquiring information, as responses were usually received promptly and mostly included attachments or links detailing curriculum content or suggestions for information. A second data tranche was acquired from embassies, written records, existing surveys and education organisations in order to update the first tranche and find out if any further information was available from those countries in the sample for which little or no data had previously been obtained. A large amount of detailed data was acquired. Identification of information sought by each of the survey questions required reading through lengthy and detailed curricula, syllabuses and other policy documents, highlighting key words and terms, and categorising the information. Key words and terms were the same as those used in the first three studies to provide a workable comparison. These were ordered by the researcher into thematic clusters of rationales; a process that was conducted twice in order to ensure rigour, and grouped under the different issues they represented in relation to FCSE.

7.1 Findings from the comparative survey

The first set of findings concerned the extent to which FCSE was taught in primary and secondary schools (RQ2, RQ4, RQS4a, RQS5a), as presented in Table 7.1. The table firstly indicates whether or not FCSE was taught at primary and secondary schools. Where the data obtained from a country indicated that FCSE was potentially included, but did not specifically identify it, for example in Health, Science, Technology or Vocational Education courses, a question mark appears. The nomenclature used for FCSE in different countries is also given, which indicates its policy and pedagogical focus. Where available, a brief description of FCSE provision appears in the notes accompanying the information for each country.

The results indicated that FCSE was included in the curriculum for most countries in the sample, and that England and Wales have not been alone in restructuring the subject from, for example, a change in pedagogical emphasis HE to FT, or incorporating elements of it into other curriculum areas. Of the 35 countries in the sample, 18 (51%) included FCSE in their primary and 27 (77%) included it in their secondary school curricula.

Provision varied considerably; in some countries FCSE was a compulsory subject at lower secondary school level (LSL), e.g. Denmark, Estonia, Malta, Slovenia and Sweden, and in others, an elective subject at upper secondary level (USL), e.g. Australia, Lithuania, Malta, the Netherlands and Spain. Provision either specifically included practical cooking skills lessons (although this depended on the availability of resources and trained teachers), e.g. Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Latvia, the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland, Slovenia and Switzerland, or was mainly theoretical, as in Austria (in academic secondary schools), Greece and Portugal. Some countries offered FCSE as part of elective vocationally oriented courses in the fields of Hotel and Catering and Culinary Arts, often in technical and vocational schools, e.g. Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Latvia, the Netherlands and Slovakia. In some countries such as Belgium, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lichtenstein and Romania, where FCSE was not specified as a stand-alone subject, aspects of its content were included in a range of curriculum areas including Technical and Vocational Education (TVE), Natural and Human Sciences, Arts and Crafts and PSHE.

Table 7.1: Extent and variations of FCSE provision in primary and secondary schools in countries in the sample for Study 1 (n=35)

Country	In primary schools	In Secondary schools	Variations in nomenclature for FCSE	Extent of Food and Cooking Skills Education provision
				Notes Key: X = not taught ✓ = taught ? = food and cooking skills potentially included, but not specifically identified N/S = not specified
Australia	✓*	✓**	HE / FT/ (currently being incorporated into Health and Physical Education)	*Recent and increasing development of food education through kitchen garden programs, incorporating some cooking skills ** Traditionally taught in some states as HE or FT in lower years with the subject being an elective in the upper years. Currently being incorporated into new Australian National Curriculum, although extent of proposed FCSE provision is unclear
Austria	✓	✓*	Primary: integrated subject Secondary: Domestic Science and Nutrition	Food, cooking skills, nutritional issues and health promotion regulated by the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture. In primary schools, these may be included in an integrated programme of skills, environmental and health education. * Existing secondary schools (10 – 14 yrs) : as compulsory part of curriculum New Secondary schools (10 – 14 yrs) : as an elective subject in curriculum Academic secondary schools (10-18 yrs) : as theoretical nutrition and health promotion – no practical cooking skills Secondary Technical and Vocational Education (14-19 yrs) : as theory and practical food, nutrition and cooking
Belgium	?	?	?	At primary level, possibly included in Natural Sciences and Technology, Human Sciences or Arts and Crafts, although not specified At Secondary level, possibly included in Technological and / or Vocational education streams, although not specified
Bulgaria	✓	✓	HE and Technology	Primary and Lower Secondary education organised as single structure system (7 – 15 yrs) with HE and technology included in the curriculum
Canada	X	✓*	HE**	* HE provision is the responsibility of provinces and territories. HE courses offered at junior and / or high secondary schools, except in Quebec (McDowell 2010) ** other names for the subject include: Career and Technology Studies; Human Ecology; Practical and Applied Arts; Family Studies
Cyprus	✓	✓	Primary: Health Education Secondary: Hotel and Catering Studies	Food and Cooking Skills included in Health Education Curriculum, which is compulsory for all pupils in primary education Hotel and Catering Studies and the theory and practice of Culinary Arts taught in Technical and Vocational Schools
Czech Republic	?	?	People and Health: Health Education	Primary and Lower Secondary education organised as single structure system (6 – 15 yrs) Upper secondary Education (16-19 yrs) includes Framework Education Programmes for Vocational education which include practical training (cooking skills not specified) and education for health

Country	Extent of Food and Cooking Skills Education provision			
	In primary schools	**In Secondary schools**	**Variations in nomenclature for FCSE**	**Notes** Key: X = not taught ✓ = taught **?** = food and cooking skills potentially included, but not specifically identified N/S = not specified
Denmark	✓*	✓*	HE	*The entire period of compulsory education is integrated within a single structure called the Folkeskole (10 years schooling). HE is taught within a compulsory subject area called Practical / Creative subjects in levels 4-7 (equivalent to secondary school).
Estonia	✓	✓*	Manual training, Handicraft and HE, Technology studies	Organised as a Single Structure Education (Integrated Primary and Lower Secondary Education) called Basic School, with option to progress to Upper Secondary Education HE taught in Stages 1 (Years 1-3), 2 (Years 4-6), and 3 (Years 7-9) *Not included in Upper Secondary Education curriculum.
Finland	X	✓*	HE	Organised as a Single Structure Education (Integrated Primary and Lower Secondary Education) called Basic School, with option to progress to Upper Secondary Education Schools (General or Vocational) *Not included in General Upper Secondary Education curriculum. Included in Vocational Secondary Education as Food Production and in Hotel, Restaurant and Catering services
France	✓*	✓**	Science and cooking / Ateliers expérimentaux du gout (Experimental Taste Workshops)	FCSE not systematically taught in French schools, however; *****Some Experimental Taste Workshops are taught ******Science and cooking programmes taught in some secondary schools Molecular gastronomy programmes taught in national culinary schools
Germany	X	X*	Food Science	***** Occasionally offered as an elective subject in some schools Some food science taught in Berufliche (career-oriented) Gymnasium secondary schools
Greece	X*	X	N/S	***** Not included in main curriculum, but may be included as part of the 'Flexible Zone Project' (a curricular approach to social integration) whereby interested teachers can apply to run nutrition / cooking classes outside of school hours; however, there are no facilities allocated to support any cooking lessons, so provision may be mainly theoretical. Health promotion taught in a similar format to the Flexible Zone in junior and senior high schools – may include theoretical cooking skills.
Hungary	?*	?*	N/S	***** Not specified, but elements of food and nutrition may be taught within some Key Development Tasks set out in the National Core Curriculum, e.g. '*Self-image and Self-knowledge'; 'Homeland and People's* (culture)'; '*Education for Active Citizenship and Democracy'; 'Education for Environmental Awareness';* '*Physical and Mental Health'; 'Preparing for Adulthood'*

Country	Extent of Food and Cooking Skills Education provision			
	In primary schools	In Secondary schools	Variations in nomenclature for FCSE	Notes Key: X = not taught √ = taught ? = food and cooking skills potentially included, but not specifically identified N/S = not specified
Iceland	√	√*	HE	Organised as a Single Structure Education (Integrated Primary and Lower Secondary Education) with progression to Upper Secondary Education School. * HE compulsory in Primary Education and elective in Lower Secondary Education grades 8-10.
Ireland	√*	√**	HE	* Theoretical (and practical?) Food and Nutrition education included in Social Personal and Health Education **Offered as an elective subject at junior and senior levels in most post-primary (secondary) schools
Italy	X	X*	N/S	* At Upper Secondary level there is an elective Hospitality and Catering pathway in vocational education
Japan	√	√	HE / Homemaking within Family and Consumer Sciences (FCS)	2008-2013 FCS HE curriculum has undergone revision. Includes practical hands-on activities relating to food in both primary and secondary levels. Basic Law on Food Education (2005) requires the promotion of learning about and the selection of healthy foods
Latvia	√	√**	HE (or Housekeeping) and Technology	Organised as a Single Structure Education (Integrated Primary and Lower Secondary Education) called Basic School, with option to progress to Upper Secondary Education Schools (General or Vocational) Programme of HE (Housekeeping) and Technology provided in general education schools. Includes recommendations for teachers on how to teach about food and cooking skills ** Also FCSE provided by some vocational education institutions and overseen by the Ministry of Education and Science
Lichtenstein	√*	√**	Life Skills / Household Consumer	* Basic principles of nutrition education taught – unclear as to whether this includes cooking skills ** Nutrition education and possibly some cooking included
Lithuania	X	√*	FT	* FT is an elective subject from the Technologies options in General Upper Secondary Education schools. Possibly included in Vocational Secondary Education?

Country	Extent of Food and Cooking Skills Education provision			
	In primary schools	In Secondary schools	Variations in nomenclature for FCSE	Notes Key: X = not taught ✓ = taught ? = food and cooking skills potentially included, but not specifically identified N/S = not specified
Malta	✓*	✓**	Health and Physical education HE	*Aspects of nutrition and healthy eating covered in Health and Physical education ** Aspects of HE included in lower secondary school. HE may be offered as an elective subject in final years of secondary education.
Netherlands	X*	✓**	Smakklessen HE and Nutrition	* Possibly included under core curriculum subjects of Life Skills and / or Healthy Living? Smakklessen is an educational programme about food and taste that includes practical lessons ('experiments'). Programme financed by Ministry of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation. More than 2,600 primary schools participated in 2012. ** HE offered as an elective subject and possibly in pre-vocational education and secondary vocational school courses
Northern Ireland	X*	✓**	HE	* Not specified, but some aspects could be included in some aspects of the curriculum e.g. Personal Development; The World Around Us ** Statutory in KS3 only
Norway	✓	✓	Food and Health	Main subject areas are Food and Lifestyle; Food and Culture; Food and Consumption which are taught at three different competency levels in primary and lower secondary school levels (grades 1-10).
Poland	X	X	N/S	Issues concerning food and cooking skills are not taught in one subject but are covered in science and technical classes at secondary level and as part of the general teaching curriculum in primary schools
Portugal	✓	✓	Food and Nutrition	Theoretical Food and Nutrition are integral part of the national curriculum. Practical cooking skills are not emphasised in the curriculum and their provision is dependent on individual school priorities.
Romania	?	?	N/S	At Secondary level, possibly included in Technological and / or Vocational education programmes

Country	Extent of Food and Cooking Skills Education provision			
	In primary schools	**In Secondary schools**	**Variations in nomenclature for FCSE**	**Notes** Key: X = not taught ✓ = taught ? = food and cooking skills potentially included, but not specifically identified N/S = not specified
Scotland	✓	✓	HE (includes Health and FT; Lifestyle and Consumer Technology; Hospitality and Care)	Schools can include FCSE under the core subject 'Health and Wellbeing' in the Curriculum for Excellence which was introduced in 2010.
Slovakia	X	✓*	Cooking and Food Skills (part of Technical Education); Cook, waiter and hotel academy	* Cooking and Food Skills was a compulsory taught subject at lower secondary schools until 2008, when new official state curriculum came into force. Now healthy eating, diet and nutritional needs are included in Natural Sciences and Biology. Cooking and Food Skills only taught in upper secondary schools in specific, elective vocationally oriented subjects, i.e. Economy and Organisation, Trade and services: Cook, Waiter and Hotel Academy
Slovenia	✓	✓	HE	Organised as a Single Structure Basic Education (Integrated Primary and Lower Secondary Education) HE is compulsory – includes Modern Food Preparation and Ways of Eating
Spain	?*	✓	Food, Nutrition and Health	* Possibly included under the objective of children learning about hygiene and health and the natural, social and cultural environment ** Food, Nutrition and Health included as an elective subject in the fourth year of General Lower Secondary Education. In General Upper Education, the subject could be included as an elective depending on the provision of subjects regulated by different Education Authorities.
Sweden	✓	✓	Home and Consumer Studies	Home and Consumer Studies replaced HE in the curriculum reform of 2011, and it is a mandatory subject in compulsory schools for years 1 – 9 which includes planning and preparing foods for different situations and contexts.
Switzerland	X	✓*	HE	* Taught in some schools at lower secondary school level
USA	✓*	✓*	Family and Consumer Sciences (FCS)	*FCSE provision is the responsibility of individual states and school districts. National standards for FCS education (which superseded HE in the mid-1990s) have been developed.

Source: Researcher

From the survey, twelve rationales for FCSE were identified (RQS4b), using the method described in Chapter 3. Table 7.2 details the emerging rationales for FCSE in each country that included these in their curricula and schemes of work. The rationale for FCSE to promote and develop health and nutrition awareness featured most frequently in the curricula of the sample countries, with the acquisition of life skills, confidence, practical competence and food literacy coming second. Consumer literacy and responsibility, personal responsibility and independence, sustainability, environmental awareness and vocational training were emphasised in just over one third of the countries in the sample. Gender equality featured the least, suggesting that the subject was regarded as gender neutral in most countries in the sample. As with Study 2, these were ordered by the researcher into thematic clusters of rationales; a process that was conducted twice in order to ensure rigour, and grouped under the different issues they represented in relation to FCSE. Accordingly, they are classified into three groups in Table 7.2 (see shading on table and legend) to indicate that they were integral to policies that aimed to facilitate and drive the personal development of individuals; raised awareness of the role of individuals as family members and highlighted the responsibilities of individuals as members of wider local, national and global societies. Following the table, each of the three groups of rationales are discussed in more detail.

Table 7.2: Rationales / educational aims for the provision of Food and Cooking Skills Education in the countries sampled (n=35)

COUNTRY	Acquisition of life skills, confidence, practical competence and food	Health and nutrition awareness and education	Personal responsibility and independence	Family function and cohesion	Citizenship	Consumer literacy and **responsibility**	Cultural awareness and development	Gender equality	Sustainability environmental awareness	Technological capability	The development of the workforce	Vocational training
Australia	✓	✓							✓	✓		
Austria	✓	✓							✓			✓
Belgium												✓?
Bulgaria	✓	✓				✓				✓		
Canada	✓	✓		✓								
Cyprus	✓	✓										✓
Czech Republic		✓							✓			✓
Denmark	✓	✓										
Estonia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
Finland	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
France	✓											
Germany	✓											
Greece	✓	✓				✓				✓		
Hungary		✓	✓									
Iceland	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			
Ireland	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓		✓
Italy		✓										✓
Japan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Latvia	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓			
Lichtenstein	✓	✓				✓						
Lithuania										✓		
Malta		✓										
Netherlands	✓											✓
Northern Ireland	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓						✓
Norway	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓			
Poland		✓?										
Portugal	✓	✓										
Romania												✓?
Scotland	✓	✓	✓							✓		
Slovakia		✓									✓	✓
Slovenia	✓	✓				✓				✓		
Spain		✓					✓					
Sweden	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Switzerland	✓	✓	✓									
USA	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓		✓

Source: Researcher

Key to shading:

Integral to policies that aim to facilitate and drive the personal development of individuals	Integral to policies that aim to raise awareness of the role of individuals as family members	Integral to policies that aim to highlight the responsibilities of individuals as members of wider local, national and global societies

The personal development of individuals

Life skills acquisition (including practical cooking skills), the pursuit and realisation of personal responsibility and independence, and health and nutrition education are examples of the rationales for including FCSE to encourage personal development in the curricula of several sample countries. In some, including Canada, Cyprus, Finland, Japan, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland and some USA states, this was approached through interdisciplinary courses, with a health or 'wellness' theme running through them, some examples of which are given below. These courses were mainly developed for secondary education as part of programmes for preparing young people for independence and life in post-compulsory education. Healthy eating was often promoted through health education curricula and the provision of healthy food choices in schools, the aim being to provide students with knowledge, skills and opportunities to become responsible for their own health, in a supportive environment. The nutrition content combined with a 'wellness' perspective, was intended to provide a developmental focus as students are guided towards making progress in the achievement of health enhancing behaviours.

With a focus mainly on primary education, Cyprus, for example, has recently (2011-2012) reformed its health education curriculum (in which FCSE is included), the purpose of which was to promote activities that benefit the health of all people. This was informed by Cypriot participation in a European school and community project ('Shape Up'), which aimed to influence the determinants of health and balanced development in the young. In the past, HE (including practical cooking skills) was taught to young people in the last two years of primary education, and although the new curriculum diminished the teaching hours available for cooking skills, they have been included in the curriculum of all primary school year groups. The traditional pedagogical approach for FCSE, (nutritional values) has been widened to positively and critically consider all aspects of food and cooking skills. Young people are expected to be given opportunities to acquire basic practical skills and analyse the concepts of a healthy, balanced diet, appropriate food choices, personal lifestyle choices and food culture.

The Japanese Government has demonstrated an active interest in promoting personal development through FCSE (entitled 'Shoku-iku'), and since the 1990's, the Japanese Ministry for Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), has promoted health education with an emphasis on life skills. A Council for the Promotion of Food Education was established in Japan in 2002 by three Government ministries (MEXT, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries [MAFF] and the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare [MHLW]). A basic Law on Food Education, enacted in 2005 considered it to be a fundamental aspect of living which should promote learning about healthy eating. Shoku-iku has become a unifying concept covering terminologies and movements in food education, dietary guidance and children's' cooking classes (Yukawa 2007). Cooking is taught at primary and secondary school level in Japan and taken very seriously. HE has been a compulsory part of the curriculum in years five and six of primary school (approximately ages ten to twelve years). At LSL, HE and Technology are compulsory. The overall aims of the HE curriculum are the acquisition of practical awareness, appreciation and knowledge of food; to learn

the fundamentals of cooking and how to apply these skills to daily life; to learn the nutritional value of the essential food groups and the importance of a balanced diet and meal planning. From 2008, a revised HE curriculum came into use focusing on consumer skills, environmental sustainability and the development of creative and practical skills for use in daily life (Watase 2009). At Elementary School level, the course of study emphasises the development of competencies in the *'Basics of Daily Meals and Cooking'.* At LSL, this leads to developing skills in *'Independent Living and Dietary Life'* and at USL, the focus is on consumer skills and environmental sustainability in *'Life Sciences and the Environment'.*

Rees (2007) reported that food and cookery is taught regularly in the curriculum, and that a basic minimum home skills standard qualification ('Katei-ka') is taught to every pupil from the age of twelve years. It includes shopping, budgeting, menu planning and cooking skills as well as other life skills such as sewing and wiring a plug. School dietitians (appointed by local authorities in the ratio of one to every two schools) act as a link between the pupils, teachers, school caterers, LEA and parents, to ensure continuity of the FCSE ethos.

The curriculum for Northern Ireland is set by the Department for Education, Northern Ireland (DENI), with advice from the Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment (CCEA). It aims to *'…empower young people to achieve their potential and to make informed and responsible decisions throughout their lives. It is about helping pupils prepare for life and work.'* (CCEA 2007). HE is considered to make a significant contribution to the overall aims of the curriculum as it '…*aims to equip pupils with the knowledge, skills and values that will help them to make appropriate lifestyle choices'* by *'…helping them explore their health in a practical context, enhancing their potential to live a healthy lifestyle and make responsible choices about their diet and food.'* (NIcurriculum.org 2012). FCSE as HE used to be an optional part of KS3 and 4, and aspects of it were delivered through a Health Education cross-curricular theme, which was compulsory at all KS. In the revised curriculum of 2003, HE (encompassing healthy eating, home and family life and independent living) became a compulsory part of the new area of Learning for Life and Work at KS3 only, where it was divided into three key concepts: Healthy Eating, Home and Family Life and Independent Living. From September 2007 the minimum content for Healthy Eating required the provision of opportunities to develop understanding required in the choice, planning, storage, preparation, cooking and serving of food (DENI 2007). In addition, some aspects of healthy eating were covered in the new area of Personal Development / Learning for Life and Work at primary and post-primary levels and CCEA were involved in developing guidance to support teachers in the delivery of Personal Development and HE.

For Scotland, in 2002, a National Debate on Education resulted in the development and publication of a new 'Curriculum for Excellence', which was implemented in 2010-2011.
The expectations for learning were grouped under eight curriculum areas, including Health and Well-Being and Technologies. Each curriculum area was designed to contribute to developing four

'capacities' in children and young people. For Health and Well Being, the four capacities translate into the need to allow children to experience what it feels like to develop, pursue, enjoy and live a healthy and active lifestyle and it reflected current concern about the health, diet and activity levels of children and young people in Scotland. Guidance has included pupil involvement in practical food activities, such as handling, tasting, preparation and cooking, although the extent of such practical activities was not prescribed. This curriculum area had links with the 'Hungry for Success' initiative, introduced in 2003 as part of the Scottish Executive's drive to establish schools as centres of health promotion and to improve the nutritional quality of school meals. http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/health_wellbeing_experiences_outcomes_tcm4-540031.pdf).

The principal educational objectives in compulsory elementary education in Slovenia have included enabling pupils to acquire knowledge and skills in accordance with their abilities and interests, supporting personal development, and taking responsibility for their actions and health. FCSE as HE, is a mandatory subject in elementary schools. In addition to learning about nutrition and healthy eating, modern food preparation and eating styles are included, the aim being to encourage young people to follow the principles of *'healthy, safe and protective'* eating.

The role of individuals as family members

FCSE as part of the promotion of family function and cohesion was delivered by some of the respondent countries, in a range of interdisciplinary courses. A few exemplars are described here. In Ontario, Canada, secondary school students study food through interdisciplinary family studies courses, which are part of the social sciences and humanities curriculum. At grades nine and ten, family studies courses emphasise acquiring knowledge and skills through practice and experiential learning. Concepts are learned and consolidated through practical, hands-on applications (the frequency and duration of which were not specified), and students are given the opportunity to develop critical and creative thinking skills. In grades eleven and twelve, students have the chance to opt for one of a number of family studies courses (managing personal and family resources, parenting or food and nutrition sciences) which extend their knowledge about food preparation and nutrition.

Japanese teachers are encouraged to link family and school life to ensure that what is taught in school is transferred to pupils' everyday life, and one of the stated aims of HE is to instil in pupils a positive outlook towards housework (including cooking) and a realisation that all family members need to share and cooperate in all aspects of it. Young people are encouraged to try to lead a *'good and comfortable'* home life. An interdisciplinary approach is also favoured in Northern Ireland, where '*Home and Family Life'* is part of the HE and Learning for Life and Work curriculum. Young people are required to *'…explore the roles and responsibilities of individuals in a variety of home and family structures*', in order to give them insight *'…into their own role in the family, how they feel about it and whether their needs are being met.'* (NIcurriculum.org 2012).

In some countries, skills for family life are embedded in the curricula of Basic Schools, for example, in Finland, opportunities for the integration of instruction and collaboration with other subjects are provided to embed knowledge gained in HE into several different fields of practice. The objectives include the desire for young people to *'come to understand the importance of good manners and equality from the standpoint of the well-being of the individual and family.'* The core content is grouped under four areas, the first of which is '*Family and Living together',* where the development of skills in cooperation, interaction and practical work skills are geared towards social responsibility, co-operation, altruism and equality. Similarly, in *Estonia*, young people study HE and are taught to acquire the skills and knowledge to cope with daily life tasks. In addition to practical cooking classes, they learn the basics of healthy eating, how to create balanced diets and understand the need for every family member to participate in housekeeping (http://www.hm.ee/index.php?1511576, National Curriculum for Basic Schools 2011 [general partners and appendices]; Appendix 7: Technology). The course content lists the activities under 'housekeeping skills':

> *'Discussion of a cosy home as an important family value. Maintenance of order in rooms and their adornment. Proper care for clothes and footwear. Personal hygiene. Healthy food choices. Simple cooking. Laying a table, decorating it for a meal and cleaning it afterwards. Polite behaviour. Economical consumption. Sorting of waste*.'

According to the Ministry of Education National Curriculum (Primary) for Iceland (MoE Iceland 2007), the family is the *'cornerstone of society'*. Young people are educated to participate in a range of activities that evolve around the family and are encouraged to take responsibility for their own lives and for others: *'Co-operation and family cohesion is crucial for the welfare of each individual and it is expected that both sexes are able to take care of home.'* Young people receive training and both genders participate in home-based activities and thus become self-reliant in preparation for leaving home. It is recognised that with changing social behaviour, much of the provision of this aspect of education has moved from the home to school, however, the home and family *'remain the backbone of student life.'* The Irish Junior certificate in HE also includes a section on Social and Health Studies, in which the role of the family in society is a taught subject.

The responsibilities of individuals as members of wider local, national and global societies

Aspects of FCSE were included in a range of educational aims for developing the responsibilities of individuals as members of wider local, national and global societies. For clarity, these aims are grouped under four sub-headings, namely; Citizenship, Consumer Literacy and Responsibility and Gender Equality; Cultural Awareness and Development; Development of the Workforce, Vocational Training and Technological Capability; and Sustainability and Environmental Awareness, although it is acknowledged that in practice, there are significant overlaps between them.

These educational aims feature in the curricula of several of the respondent countries, often reflecting the evolution of society. For example, by 2005, the Japanese policy rationale for FCSE was developed in response to a recognition of the increasingly rapid evolution of a consumerist society within Japan. In Finland, the aims of FCSE were intended to develop the '*cooperative aptitudes, information acquisition and practical working skills'* that are needed to manage everyday life and to apply these factors in everyday situations. Pupils are guided to be responsible for their health, human relationships and finances, as well as the *'comfort and safety of the immediate environment'*. Instruction is based on practical activities, where pupils learn to work in a group. '*The consumer and a changing society'* is one of the stated areas of the core content for HE, and in Bulgaria, it is Home Technologies and Economy. In post-Soviet Latvia, educational philosophy is directed towards the development of *'free, creative and responsible personalities'*, where HE practice aims to bring together notions of humanity and family (McGregor 2012). In the USA, the National Standards for Family and Consumer Sciences provide guidelines for developing programmes that give young people the opportunity to acquire knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviours in different areas of study, including *'Consumer and Family Resources', 'Career, Community and Family Connections'* and *'Family and Community Services'*.

One aim of the Health and Well-Being and Technologies section of the Scottish curriculum is that all young people will develop the capacity to become successful learners, effective contributors to society, confident individuals and responsible citizens, by supporting the progressive development of ideas, skills and ways of thinking. Similarly, in Sweden, where Home and Consumer Studies is included as a mandatory subject in the curriculum in compulsory schools, young people are given opportunities to *'develop their ability to assess choices and actions in the home and as a consumer, and from the perspective of sustainable development'*. By means of practical activities in the household, pupils develop an awareness of their own values and an ability to form their ethical views, for example, in the fifth grade, pupils *'should be able to compare prices and recognise the difference between information and commercials'*. For the pupils in ninth grade, the goal is that they should be aware of their rights as consumers and be able to evaluate different sorts of information for various activities in the home. '*Consumer economics'*, from the perspectives of health, resource management (individual, national and global), culture and gender equity is one of four subject knowledge areas that pupils are given the opportunity to study, the others being social relations, food and meals and housing. The Norwegian curriculum includes the subject 'Food and Health', which is taught at three competency levels, within which 'Food and Consumption' is a main subject area. In the national curriculum for Food and Health, the objectives state that *'As a practical subject the teaching in food and health shall stimulate pupils to…become critical consumers so they can take responsibility for food and meals at home, in recreation situations and in working life and social life.'* Similarly, although the HE curriculum in Slovenia is mainly focused on food and nutrition, its aims also include the objective that schools should facilitate young people to take responsibility for their actions, their health and for other people, and the specific consumer content is geared towards

teaching young people about the information on food labels and signs of food quality and recognising various food trademarks.

Although FCSE is not a mainstream subject in Greece, 'Consumption and Health' and 'Consumer Studies' constitute some of the subject areas taught within 'Environmental Studies' and health education programmes in primary and secondary education. This is also the case in Lichtenstein, in which the subject 'Life Skills and the Household Consumer' are taught as cross-curricular subjects. In Ireland, the Junior Certificate in HE includes a main section on 'Consumer Studies and Resource Management'.

The Swedish example also demonstrates how gender equality is promoted through education, as their Home and Consumer studies syllabus also highlights that the subject is an *'excellent arena for learning about variations in values in the Swedish society, both on cultural and historical levels'.* This concerns the role of men and women in the household, because a democratic society with gender equality, such as Sweden, presupposes that women and men have the same rights, obligations and opportunities. Home and Consumer studies also aims to help boys and girls shape their identity by providing experiences and *'knowledge of the connection between gender equality and activities in the household'.* The subject also provides experiences and an understanding of *'variations in household work over time and between cultures'.* The aim is to create preparedness for living and acting together in a diverse society; however, local deficiencies for the provision of Home and Consumer Studies in terms of teacher expertise and facilities have cast doubt on whether all young people are actually able to achieve the overall learning goals of 'knowing in practice' and making informed choices utilizing environmental, economic and health perspectives (Lindblom et al 2013).

The aim of HE in the Icelandic curriculum is to *'help students deal with everyday life and make them conscious consumers'* who are *'informed and deliberate',* and to enable them to *'cope with life in a complex society.'* In the Irish Junior Certificate HE curriculum, the emphasis is on management, creativity and living skills, to ensure that young people will be *'equipped for personal independence and be able to take shared responsibility in the household and community in which he or she lives.'* Consumer competence is regarded as a key concept within HE, *'consequently consumer studies permeates the course.'* Likewise, in the Estonian curriculum, young people are encouraged to become responsible citizens and consumers through the medium of HE as they *'analyse consumer behaviour and value consumers who act in an environmentally friendly manner and know their rights and obligations; and they seek connections and contradictions between health awareness and actual behaviour'.* The stated aims of the Consumer Education section of the HE syllabus include that young people should *'Perceive themselves as participants in group work, project work and other collective work activities'* (Pevkur 2011).

Estonian students are encouraged to work as a team during HE lessons in order to create suitable opportunities for the development of social skills, a *'benevolent and considerate attitude'* towards fellow students, the abilities and skills needed for organisational and teamwork and the skill of analysing and assessing collective work.

Cultural Awareness and Development

As part of their cultural awareness education, the Estonian curriculum aims to encourage young people to firstly *'work together to learn how to take other people into account, adhere to the rules of proper behaviour and defend their personal opinions.'* Familiarity with objective culture, traditions and dietary customs of different countries and the reasons behind their emergence is encouraged in order to *'foster sensible attitudes towards other nations'* and *'allow the students to see cultural diversity in different regions of the world and become aware of their own place in our multicultural world'.* Estonia considers that it is *'important to preserve and develop national cultural traditions in handicraft and HE'* and for young people to *'value and preserve national culture'* whilst learning *'to note the …food traditions of different countries and their connections with history, climate, religion and cultural customs'.* In Finnish schools, cultural awareness is fostered in practical cookery work, under the curriculum heading of *'Nutrition and the culture of food',* which is one of the four areas of the HE core curriculum content where skills taught include knowing the properties of ingredients and most common methods of preparation, and how to prepare basic Finnish foods to assemble meals, taking nutritional recommendations into account. According to the Icelandic National Curriculum Guide for HE, young people are encouraged to be *'familiar with aspects of food culture in Iceland, history and identity, customs and practices'* and to have *'experienced food culture of some foreign countries'.*

At primary school level in Japan, the contents and aims of study in HE aim to encourage the appreciation of everyday cooking and learning how to cook a range of basic dishes such as rice and miso soup. Pupils learn about ingredients and quantities used in recipes and the cooking processes involved. Reflecting the unique and ordered cuisine of Japan, food hygiene, safety, good organisation, systematic working and food presentation are also taught. Yukawa (2007) reported that food education in Japanese schools was one response by the Government to growing concerns about the threat to the sustainability of centuries-old dietary traditions (i.e. regular meal times, the consumption of nutritionally balanced diets, cooking methods with an emphasis on minimal food waste and family meals around the table), which, it was considered, were being increasingly undermined since the 1990's by the move towards a Westernised diet with its trend towards convenience and out-of-home eating. A Basic Law on Food Education was enacted in Japan in June 2005, in which food education is considered to have equal status with intellectual, moral and physical education. Under this law, food education (across all sectors of society – not just in schools) should promote learning about food and the selection of a healthy diet, as well as encouraging the preservation of traditional food culture plus an emphasis on table manners and global food issues (Yukawa 2007).

The objectives of the Norwegian Food and Health curriculum stress the importance of culture; *'Our eating habits reflect individual choices, cultural expressions and religious convictions, and are thus a key part of our identity. In a multicultural society it is important to be aware of Norwegian food culture and Sami food traditions, and to have knowledge and respect for food traditions in other cultures.'* 'Food and Culture' is a main subject area and focuses on eating habits for every day meals, celebrations and holidays. Knowledge of traditional Norwegian food is promoted, as well as food in various cultures and regions. The Spanish curriculum requires young people to *'Know, appreciate and respect the basic aspects of their own and others' culture and history, as well as artistic and cultural heritage',* and whilst not specifically linked to FCSE, may be included under 'Food, Nutrition and Health' in the core curricula for Compulsory Secondary Education schools.

In France and Italy, two countries with distinctive, renowned and well-established food cultures, FCSE does not feature as a curriculum subject in schools. Some years ago, France introduced food tasting lessons into its school curriculum to encourage children to verbalise their own tastes through the experience of the five senses, as a means of encouraging them to select a wider and healthier range of foods from what was available and to help preserve food culture (Jonsson et al 2005). These taste workshops are not offered in all schools. In Italy, the Association of the Slow Food Movement was founded in 1986 by Carlo Petrini, and is an international association that promotes food and wine culture, but also defends food and agricultural biodiversity worldwide. It opposes the standardisation of taste, defends the need for consumer information, protects cultural identities tied to food and gastronomic traditions, safeguards foods and cultivation and processing techniques inherited from tradition and defends domestic and wild animal and vegetable species. It has also promoted and developed teaching activities on sensory education and food culture. Children are educated on the use of the senses and to convey to them the importance of food products as a part of society's culture. One of the first programmes was the Taste Week, first held in 1993. During the seven days, experts and artisans met with students to share their knowledge and thoughts on food, while sensory workshops allowed students to experience first-hand the important role their senses play. The next step was to develop a teaching programme. During the 1998/1999 school year, Slow Food Italy was recognized by the Italian Ministry of Education as a training body in the field of food and sensory education. Since then, the programme has become more permanent, providing training and refresher courses in taste education programmes for teachers in schools at all levels.

The Development of the Workforce and Vocational Training

The instruction of pupils in a range of multidisciplinary courses, in which FCSE was included, was considered by some respondent countries to be important for the development of the workforce.
In 2005, the Japanese government produced a White Paper on Education Reform in which the need for children to be fit to compete in an international community was stressed, with Food and Health being the first priority to be listed as routes to the delivery of such an aim. Rees (2007) acknowledges the *'Japanese Government's clearly stated responsibilities to its children and the way in which its common sense policies and strategies to this end are shared and implemented'*. Rees identified the similarities between the Japanese Ministry for Education, Culture, Sports,

Science and Technology policies and those of the UK's 'Every Child Matters' policy (subsequently incorporated into the 'Every Learner Matters' policy), the main difference being the *'effectiveness of communication and resourcing between Government and local authorities'*.

The Netherlands has a selective secondary school system, whereby education is oriented toward the needs and background of each pupil and divided into streams for different education levels. At secondary level, young people attend one of three types of secondary school according to their academic ability. The Voorbereidend Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs (VMBO) school, which means 'preparatory middle level applied education' - i.e. pre-vocational secondary education for pupils with the lowest ability, are attended by approximately 60% of children aged twelve to sixteen years. The education in these schools is divided into four different academic levels, with each having a mix of practical vocational training and theoretical education. Only a small group of young people aged thirteen years (mainly those who are in the fourth, Praktijkonderwijs [practical education] level) are able to have cookery lessons, but for a limited amount of time. Access to FCSE is therefore limited for many Dutch school students.

In Switzerland, the emphasis in education has long been on preparation for life and work, which has its origins in the Pestalozzian influence and is manifested in the teaching of practical subjects, which, as in the UK in the 1990s, underwent a similar revision when technological progress was at the forefront of educational policy. At LSL, HE is taught in the majority of schools. As well as providing pupils with specific skills, practical subjects have been regarded by Swiss employers and teachers as serving wider ranging educational functions; specifically in raising good work habits and instilling the core skills of perseverance, reliability, care, patience and precision, which were given equal weight with academic qualifications and enabled school leavers to master with relative ease, the complexities of the workplace. Many Swiss teachers regard the teaching of practical subjects as indispensable for many pupils with below average academic ability as it improves and maintains their motivation so that they persevere with their academic studies, and their sense of achievement raises their general motivation and results in high levels of attendance at school (Bierhoff and Prais 1997).

A number of respondent countries reported the inclusion of vocationally biased courses in their FCSE courses. In Canada, Saskatchewan province offers pupils in larger comprehensive schools the opportunity to take Commercial Cooking Vocational courses, which are reported to have high enrolments. In Ontario, the curriculum for Technological Education (Ontario 2009) includes courses in Hospitality and Tourism, in which practical food preparation and culinary and food composition knowledge, as applied in the industry, comprise the syllabus which is vocationally focused. Similarly, in Alberta, the Career and Technology Studies programme is organised around twenty two strands and more than six hundred and fifty courses (including food), and aims to *'help young people develop their daily living skills and nurture a flexible, well-qualified work-force'* through broad career and occupational opportunities.

Once pupils reach the 16-19 age range in Finland, they have the opportunity (where provision is made) to study food for a vocational qualification from a range of vocational study modules (the core curriculum for each being decided by the Finnish National Board of Education [FNBE]) The FNBE has revised all national requirements of vocational qualifications since 2010 and they stress the importance of the acquisition of transferable skills that serve the labour market needs, but that also promote lifelong learning. These modules include food production, basic hotel and restaurant services; restaurant kitchen and speciality food functions and the preparation of restaurant dishes.

In the USA, the National Restaurant Association Educational Foundation (NRAEF) and state restaurant association partners, have worked with schools to develop a curriculum called 'ProStart', to train students to be able to work in the restaurant industry upon their graduation from high school (secondary). This programme educates more than ninety-five thousand students in nearly two thousand high schools across forty seven states, Guam, and U.S. military bases. This came about because of the Carl Perkins's Grant, which requires schools to develop curricula that lead students down a pathway to a career, so that they can start a job at a rate higher than the minimum wage when they leave school. Students spend two years in the classroom mastering the fundamental management and culinary skills needed for success in the food industry, then are trained on specific skills that can be used in all aspects of the restaurant and food service industry. Students also leave the program with employability skills – like leadership, accountability, teamwork and responsibility – that they can take with them to positions in all industries. Many schools also teach Entrepreneurship classes to students to give them skills in starting small businesses in the food industry. In California, Home Economics Related Occupations (HERO), courses focus on preparing students with skills for earning a living and careers through different pathways, the food related ones of which are: Food Science, Dietetics and Nutrition; Food Service and Hospitality; Hospitality, Tourism, and Recreation. The feature of both the HERO and Family and Consumer Sciences courses is the direct link that is made between the applications of science, technology, career-technical and life management skills to prepare students for careers as well as for managing work and family roles.

In Scotland and Wales, some schools offer Hospitality courses. In Wales, there is an emphasis on the place of schools in providing pupils with opportunities to develop appropriate skills, to support the politically acknowledged importance of food to employment and the economy of Wales, particularly in the agricultural, food manufacture and catering sectors of the food industry.

The Development of Technological capability

Technology as a curriculum subject has been radically changed in nature and status in recent years. The aims of technology are given different priorities and emphases in different countries with various curriculum models in operation. According to Black (1998), the differences occur partly because of varied traditions, which are promoted by competing interest groups, each claiming technology education as being unique to it, as illustrated in Table 7.3:

Table 7.3: Aims and priorities for Technology in different countries

Aims / priority for Technology	Emphasis	Illustrative country
Technical skills	Craft skills	Finland
Craft	Preservation of cultural and personal value of manual skills, aesthetics, tradition	Sweden
Technical production	Control and organisation of modern mass production	Eastern Europe former socialist traditions
Modern technology	The nature of work; strong emphasis on ICT	France
Science and technology	Both studied closely together	Denmark
Design	A central concept in technology	Northern Ireland
Problem solving	Nature of social needs; cross-disciplinary approach to tackling issues	Scotland, USA
Practical capability	Active involvement of young people tackling realistic problems	Various
Technology-society nexus	Technological innovation as a driving force for social change	Science, Technology and Society movement

Source: Researcher adapted from Black (1998)

The development of technological capability was evident in several respondent countries in this study by the change of emphasis in FCSE curricula from domestic to industrial food production, by way of FT. It is likely that resource implications and political influence are some of the reasons for this change of emphasis. The change in FCSE terminology towards a technological emphasis, also became evident from the survey. Terms such as 'kitchen', 'cookery', 'cooking', 'eating', 'practical', 'recipes' and 'family meals' were infrequently used, being replaced by more technological terminology, e.g., *'a technical laboratory course'* (USA –Texas); *'students practice food preparation skill in the laboratory setting'* (Canada, Alberta, and Montana)*; and where in a Family and Consumer Sciences curriculum (Canada, Montana), in which Nutrition and Wellness are an integral part, the recommendation is that students will use *'reading, writing, listening, speaking and technology skills'* to understand concepts such as '*safety and sanitation processes in the kitchen', '*[how to] *interpret recipes', '*use kitchen appliances and equipment'* and *'incorporate management of time, money, energy, skills, space and food choices in planning a meal'*. The terms 'practical' and 'cooking skills' were not used.

Following a major restructure of Australian national primary and secondary school curricula in the mid to late 1990s, FCSE underwent a series of changes, resulting in the main provision being FT. Cooking as a practical skill has not been taught in secondary schools very much and not at all in primary education in many states. In some states there has also been a system of allocating points to different examination course subjects (GCSE equivalents) according to perceived academic status, with practical subjects such as FCSE, given fewer points. The number of points that a student ultimately acquires has implications for their access to the next stage of education, therefore opting for subjects with a higher points allocation has been the preferred option, with implications for the uptake of FCSE. Undergraduate teaching programmes also underwent restructuring, and although some included DT (including FT), there has not been a defined requirement for teaching food. Indeed, a number of Universities have stopped including food within their education degree courses.

In the updated 'Curriculum for Excellence' and new national qualifications framework, Scottish National Qualifications courses aim to enable pupils to develop a range of practical and organisational skills and abilities including technological capability and the acquisition of knowledge and understanding of food, nutrition and safe and hygienic practices. The expectations for learning include a Technologies area, in which food and practical food preparation is taught in a *'technological context'.* Learners are required to identify/describe contemporary food issues and technological developments, which may influence consumers' choice. Similarly in the USA in Texas, the Food Science and Technology course that students progress on to is geared towards modern food production systems that employ specific and technological solutions to provide food, and although the relationship of cultural food patterns to personal health is covered, the main emphasis is industrial, not domestic.

The Estonian curriculum requires young people to acquire technological competence, the subject fields for which are divided into actual technology studies (technology in our daily lives; design and drawing; and materials and their processing); HE (10% allocation); and project work. Similarly, in Lithuania, at secondary school level young people can choose from a range of technological programmes, including FT where it is offered.

Sustainability and Environmental Awareness

The results of the survey indicate that sustainability and environmental awareness are terms that are more frequently being incorporated into school curricula, either in general introductory statements of objectives for the education of children and / or as specific curriculum topics and learning objectives for FCSE. In Sweden, for example, the curriculum for upper secondary schools requires that *'Environmental perspectives in education should provide students with insights so that they can not only contribute to preventing harmful environmental effects, but also develop a personal approach to overarching, global environmental issues.'* Specifically, teaching in Home and Consumer studies should give young people opportunities to develop their ability to *'assess choices and actions in the home and as a consumer, and from the perspective of sustainable development.'* In Switzerland, the natural sciences, humanities and civic education are taught under the collective concept of *'Man and the Environment'* with additional interdisciplinary areas such as environmental education. The aims and general objectives of Spain's primary education curriculum includes the requirement for young people *'to know and value the natural, social and cultural environment as well as the possibilities for action and protecting it'.*

The Technologies curriculum in Estonia requires students to acquire the skills of coping with today's rapidly changing world of technology by *'taking into account sustainable development'* and understanding *'how what they learn at school is connected with the living environment'.* During HE lessons young people are encouraged to *'analyse consumer behaviour and value consumers who act in an environmentally friendly manner and know their rights and obligations.'* For Austria, the *'critical values of society that should guide all our actions'* are *'humanity, solidarity, tolerance, peace,*

fairness and environmental consciousness'. Schools are required to *'encourage pupils to develop an open mind and an understanding of the existential problems of humankind and their shared responsibility'.* The FCSE curriculum in Norway acknowledges that *'Greater diversity in the food market places greater demands on consumer competence so that consumers may make their personal choices with more awareness of what will benefit their health and their environment.'* The Junior certificate for HE in Ireland includes a section on the *'Consumer and the Environment'* in which there is an increased emphasis on re-cycling and re-use of resources.

The underlying values of Finland's Basic Education curriculum include the *'preservation of environmental viability'* and the general objectives of their HE curriculum require young people to *'learn to perform basic tasks* [that are] *compatible with sustainable development'* and also includes in the core content, a section on the 'Consumer and a changing society', in which the *'environmental impacts of consumption'* are taught. Similarly, in Slovenia, the Basic School objectives include the requirement to *'facilitate sustainable development and to take responsibility for one's actions …and the environment'*, and the HE curriculum defines the aims and objectives that young people are supposed to achieve within four thematic modules, one of which is *'Living and the Environment'*. Protection of the environment is also included as an objective in the Slovakian curriculum for *'Cook, waiter and hotel academy'.*

In Japan, political emphasis on sustainability was evident, as under the 2005 Japanese Basic Law on Food Education, the requirement is for food education to encourage appreciation of food production in harmony with the environment, improvement in food self-sufficiency and the revitalisation of rural communities engaged in food production. School children are encouraged to recognise the importance and function of meals in terms of social functions and health value, and to show interest in the food they eat and make dishes using easily and / or locally available and accessible ingredients (Yukawa 2007).

Recent changes to the provision of FCSE in countries sampled (Ref: RQ3)

In answer to the question concerning how FCSE was being developed (RQ3), Table 7.4 describes recent changes to its provision in those countries in the sample for which this information was available. Several countries have undergone curriculum reforms, with varying implications for FCSE. These include the extent of availability of qualified practitioners to deliver FCSE (e.g. Canada, Australia), the extent of provision of practical cookery lessons (e.g. Austria, Germany, Slovakia) and the change from compulsory to elective inclusion of FCSE in curricula (e.g. Slovakia, Spain). In response to concerns about public health issues, some countries (e.g. Cyprus, Czech Republic, Iceland, Norway, Portugal and Scotland), have redirected the central focus of FCSE onto healthy eating and healthy lifestyles.

Table 7.4: Recent changes to the provision of FCSE in sample countries for Study 1 (n=35)

Country	Recent changes to the provision of FCSE N/S = not specified
Australia	Provision of FCSE was different in each state, but the development of a new Australian National Curriculum in 2012-2013 means that the Federal Department of Education is increasingly taking control of education provision for all subjects, but is putting little focus on FCSE in the new curriculum. However, the Federal Department of Agriculture is funding development of food curriculum resources and the Federal Department of Health is funding kitchen garden programmes in primary schools as part of an obesity prevention strategy. (Yeatman 2013)
Austria	National Nutrition Action Plan 2010-2020 (Austrian Federal Ministry of Health) includes measures, activities and projects in school settings. A planned new type of secondary school will mean less food and cooking skills will be taught. This will also affect teacher education courses.
Belgium	N/S
Bulgaria	Law on National Education aims to implement EU priorities and targets within the Strategic Framework for European Cooperation "Education and Training 2020" which aim to achieve the targets of the Europe 2020 Strategy (**Republic of Bulgaria, 2011).** New study content of single structure education curriculum includes guiding principles which emphasise making study materials more practical oriented. This has implications for the inclusion of HE in the curriculum.
Canada	Emphasis for HE has changed from a technical, skill development, scientific approach to including critical thinking and social responsibility. The concept of 'home' has been widened to incorporate post-modern plurality and global and sustainable issues. Numbers of students electing to study it are increasing, but there is a serious shortage of qualified practitioners to teach it (Smith 2010).
Cyprus	FCSE is now taught in all classes of primary education (used to be last two years only). FCSE now included in the newly reformed Health Education curriculum with a shift in emphasis from considering food only in relation to its nutritional qualities to approaching it from all its everyday aspects, including aesthetic and social aspects of eating, food culture, food provenance and accessibility.
Czech Republic	The national targets of the Czech Republic in the area of education have been set and aim to implement EU priorities and targets within the Strategic Framework for European Cooperation "Education and Training 2020", which aim to achieve the targets of the Europe 2020 Strategy. Health Education and Vocational Education feature within these, with implications for FCSE
Denmark	N/S
Estonia	N/S
Finland	N/S
France	Molecular gastronomy programmes were introduced for national culinary schools from 2002, and the results of these were used for developing new curricula in these schools. Old ideas, e.g. concentration cooking etc., were dropped in favour of molecular gastronomy (chemistry based).

Country	Recent changes to the provision of FCSE N/S = not specified
Germany	After a steady decrease in the teaching of FCSE during the last sixty years, there is a renaissance in some elementary schools with some programmes being developed to try to address the loss of these practical skills, although the extent of actual practical cooking experience is limited (Kessner 2008).
Greece	N/S
Hungary	The national targets of Hungary in the area of education have been set and aim to implement EU priorities and targets within the Strategic Framework for European Cooperation "Education and Training 2020", which aim to achieve the targets of the Europe 2020 Strategy. A new National Core Curriculum is to be introduced in September 2013, but there are no specific details about FCSE.
Iceland	NC revised in 2008. Emphasises a balance between academic and practical studies and stipulates that all school activities shall encourage a healthy lifestyle.
Ireland	Junior Certificate HE syllabus revised and rebalanced in 2008, with several topics removed or reduced in the Food Studies and Culinary Skills section. Revised syllabuses for the Leaving Certificate HE and Hotel, Catering and Tourism have been introduced.
Italy	N/S
Japan	HE syllabus revised for all levels of education from 2011-2013, to be comparable to the Family and Consumer Sciences syllabus in the USA
Latvia	N/S
Lichtenstein	N/S
Lithuania	The General Curriculum Frameworks for Primary, Basic and Secondary Education have been updated as part of a National Education Strategy from 2003–2012. No specific details given for FCSE
Malta	New National Curriculum Framework implemented in 2012
Netherlands	As of 2008, all primary and secondary schools are required to allow individual teachers to be fully responsible for their own work and the quality of education provided (NCEE 2013)
Northern Ireland	Revised NC introduced in 2007/2008 and applies to all 12 years of compulsory education. HE now compulsory for all KS3 pupils.
Norway	Major reform in 2006 across all of the 10 compulsory years of schooling, called 'Knowledge Promotion Reform'. This resulted in HE becoming 'Food and Health'. All subjects, including Food and health, are now required to focus on the core basic skills, i.e. ability to express oneself orally and in writing, literacy, numeracy, and the ability to use digital tools.

Country	Recent changes to the provision of FCSE N/S = not specified
Poland	N/S
Portugal	Not many changes to curriculum, but healthy eating has become a priority with a national priority vertical programme put in place by the Ministry of Health.
Romania	N/S
Scotland	Curriculum for Excellence introduced in 2010 in which FCSE can be included within the core subject 'Health and Wellbeing'
Slovakia	The subject 'Cooking and Food Skills' was taught in lower secondary schools until 2008, when a new Education Act and official State curriculum was implemented. Cooking and Food Skills became part of compulsory 'Technical Education'. Topics such as healthy eating, balanced diets and nutritional needs are now part of Natural Sciences and Biology. Cooking and Food Skills are now only taught in upper secondary schools as an elective 'Cook, Waiter and Hotel Academy' option within a field of education called 'Economy and organisation, trade and services'.
Slovenia	N/S
Spain	From 2011, a change to the core curricula for Lower Compulsory Secondary Education meant that Food, Nutrition and Health became an optional subject in the fourth year. It is not specified in the Upper Secondary Education curriculum.
Sweden	New Swedish Education Act implemented from 2011. Home and Consumer Studies is included as a compulsory subject in years 1-9 in both public and independent schools.
Switzerland	In 2011 an Intercantonal Agreement on Harmonisation of Compulsory Education (HarmoS Agreement) was implemented, which obliges the cantons to coordinate and ensure harmonised national regulation of certain benchmarks in education. No specific details given for FCSE
USA	National standards and competencies for Family and Consumer Sciences Education revised in 2008

Source: **Researcher**

In all countries where FCSE is a curriculum subject, the State oversees curriculum provision and decides priorities and the focus for different levels of education (RQ3, RQS5a). As in England and Wales, there are different groups of people and organisations who have an interest in promoting various aspects of FCSE and who offer support and in many cases, resources to facilitate its provision (RQs 3 and 5, RQS5b). Table 7.5 identifies key actors with an interest in FCSE and State organisations which oversee curriculum provision in those countries in the sample for which this information was available.

Table 7.5: Key actors with an interest in FCSE and State organisations in countries sampled for Study 1 (n=35)

Country	Key actors with an interest in FCSE and State organisations which oversee curriculum provision in countries sampled (N/S = not specified)			
	State	**NGOs**	**Academic organisations**	**Professional Associations**
Australia	State and Federal Ministries of Education and of Agriculture and Health	Stephanie Alexander Kitchen Garden Foundation (SAKGF)	Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority	HE Associations e.g. HE Victoria; HE Institute of Australia
Austria	Austrian Federal Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture Austrian Federal Ministry of Health Austrian Federal Office for Safety in Health Care	Official Servicepoint for Educational Professionals Austrian Nutrition Society Parents organisation: Elternvereine	Dept. of Nutritional Sciences, University of Vienna Examinations organisation: Kreidekreis	
Belgium	The communities, regions and provinces of Belgium have separate Ministries / Departments for Education	N/S	N/S	N/S
Bulgaria	Ministry of Education, Youth and Science	N/S	N/S	N/S
Canada	Education is the responsibility of each of the ten provinces and three territories.	Canadian HE Association Foundation (registered charity)	N/S	Canadian Symposium of HE / Family Studies Educators Various HE / Family Studies Teacher city or provincial groups exist
Cyprus	Ministry of Education and Culture Directorate of Technical and Vocational Education	N/S	N/S	N/S
Czech Republic	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports Regions responsible for education in their territories.	N/S	N/S	N/S
Denmark	Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation	N/S	N/S	N/S
Estonia	Ministry of Education and Research	N/S	N/S	N/S
Finland	Finnish National Board of Education	N/S	N/S	N/S

Country	Key actors with an interest in FCSE and State organisations which oversee curriculum provision in countries sampled (N/S = not specified)			
	State	**NGOs**	**Academic organisations**	**Professional Associations**
France	National Department for Public Education French National Institute for Agricultural Research	Parent organisations (N/S) Some concerns about cooking skills and their impact on health and sustainability is rising in NGOs (N/S)	N/S	N/S
Greece	Ministry of Education	Kids Cooking Club Greece – provides cooking lessons for children in the home or in schools if invited. Paideatrofi by Epode provides cooking lessons at municipality level to tackle obesity.	N/S	N/S
Hungary	Ministry of National Resources	N/S	N/S	N/S
Iceland	Ministry of Education, Science and Culture	N/S	N/S	N/S
Ireland	Department of Education and Skills	N/S	National Council for Curriculum and Assessment State Examinations Commission HE Inspectorate	Association of teachers of HE Ireland
Italy	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Japan	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF) Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW)	Citizens (mainly parents and Parent Teacher Associations) help to organise children's cooking classes. School Nutritionist Association (local authorities employ dietitians / nutritionists to work in schools)	Council for the Promotion of Food Education jointly established by MEXT, MAFF and MHLW	N/S
Latvia	Ministry of Education and Science	N/S	N/S	N/S
Lichtenstein	Office of Education Ministry of Education	N/S	N/S	N/S
Lithuania	Ministry of Education and Science	N/S	N/S	N/S

Country	Key actors with an interest in FCSE and State organisations which oversee curriculum provision in countries sampled (N/S = not specified)			
	State	**NGOs**	**Academic organisations**	**Professional Associations**
Malta	Ministry of Education and Employment	N/S	N/S	N/S
Netherlands	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science Ministry of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation	N/S	N/S	N/S
Northern Ireland	Department of Education Northern Ireland; Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment (CCEA)	N/S	N/S	Consumer Council for Northern Ireland
Norway	Ministry of Education and Research	Association for Teachers of Food and Health in Schools	N/S	N/S
Poland	Ministry of Education	N/S	N/S	N/S
Portugal	Ministry of Education Ministry of Health	Parent organisations (N/S) NGOs (N/S)	N/S	National School of Public health
Romania	Ministry of Education, Research, Youth and Sports	N/S	N/S	N/S
Scotland	Education Scotland Scottish Executive Learning and Teaching Scotland	N/S	Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA)	General Teaching Council for Scotland
Slovakia	Ministry of Education	N/S	N/S	N/S
Slovenia	Ministry of Education, Science and Sport	N/S	N/S	The National Education Institute of the Republic of Slovenia
Spain	Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport	N/S	N/S	N/S
Sweden	National Agency for Education	N/S	N/S	N/S
Switzerland	Swiss Conference of the Cantonal Ministers of Education Individual Cantons decide education strategies	N/S	N/S	N/S
USA	National Association of State Administrators for Family and Consumer Sciences Education controlled at individual State level	NGOs e.g. 'The Cooking Room' initiative in New York City	N/S	N/S

Source: Researcher

7.2 Summary of study findings

Data was collected from twenty eight OECD countries and seven non-OECD countries (n=35) using a survey and document search. It was expected that FCSE would be a curriculum subject in some countries and the study revealed that over half (51%) of primary school curricula and over three quarters (77%) of secondary school curricula in the sample include it; although the extent of its inclusion and of the amount of practical skills taught was not always clearly specified. The study showed that FCSE provision in the different countries is very mixed in terms of:

- pedagogical emphasis (domestic or industrial food production)
- whether it is compulsory or elective
- whether it is mainly theoretical or practical
- whether it is a stand-alone subject or integrated into the general curriculum across various subject areas
- whether it is only offered as a vocational option for some individuals or taught to all
- the availability of resources and teaching expertise

Provision tends to reflect policy priorities and rationales for education, and in the study the most frequently given rationales for its inclusion were the importance of FCSE to the personal development of individuals, in particular its contribution to their health, nutrition awareness, life skills and knowledge of food provenance and composition (so-called 'food literacy'). Of particular note were the frequency of rationales given for FCSE that are focused on the responsibilities of individuals as members of wider local, national and global societies, i.e. educating young people to become responsible citizens rather than just consumers, with the capacity to embrace their own and other cultures. In line with policies that have for some time supported gender equality in many spheres of modern societies, this was rarely mentioned as a rationale for the inclusion of FCSE in the sample countries.

Concerns about the determinants of health, and in particular, young peoples' eating habits, were the drivers and rationales for FCSE in many of the countries in the sample. This emphasis focused on empowerment to enable young people to make informed and responsible decisions that will influence their future well-being. Exposure to and opportunities to participate in practical cooking experiences was an integral element of such empowerment in many of the countries sampled.

The study demonstrated that many countries acknowledge, through their curricula content, the broad spectrum of learning opportunities and cross curricular links that FCSE has the capacity to offer. This was particularly the case in the information given for Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Japan, Norway, Sweden and Northern Ireland. The importance of FCSE in fostering cultural awareness was also stressed in several (20%) of the countries in the sample. Most countries acknowledged their multicultural demography and the influence of diverse food cultures on their own. Some countries (e.g. Finland, Norway, Estonia and Spain) specify a requirement for their curricula to teach and encourage young people to develop tolerant attitudes towards other cultures, for which FCSE

is regarded as an appropriate conduit, whilst aiming to preserve and develop their own traditions and customs. Japan, in particular, was concerned to preserve centuries-old dietary traditions, which it recognised as being under threat from a move towards a Westernised diet. For France and Italy, which have distinctive, historically entrenched food cultures, the teaching of cooking skills in schools is not included in school curricula, however, in an attempt to preserve tradition, both countries have introduced teaching activities that encourage young people to develop sensory awareness, cultural identity and the ability to select a balanced diet through tasting traditional foods.

In just over one third (34%) of the respondent countries, developing the workforce and providing vocational opportunities was a rationale for including FCSE in the curriculum. Switzerland and Japan regard practical skills as being key elements for developing good work habits and ensuring that young people are ready and able to compete in the complexities of an international workplace. Vocational FCSE courses and career opportunities in hospitality and catering were offered in several countries, usually only in schools attended by young people at lower academic ability levels. Only a few specified that they offer other food based career paths, such as in dietetics, nutrition and technology.

Chapter 8: State and Civil Society élite interviews on the policy world (Study 5)

8.1 Introduction

This policy-focused study was designed to capture the views and perspectives on the questions posed by the research from a range of actors from the State-related and Civil Society sectors with expertise, experience and knowledge of various aspects of FCSE and FCSE initiatives, or related curriculum disciplines. From the Civil Society sector, nine participants were enrolled and interviews arranged. Arranging interviews with representatives from the State sector, however, proved more challenging. Several attempts via email request were made to arrange an interview with a representative from Government with responsibility for education, including the Minister of State for Education, the request for which was passed in succession to three other persons, culminating in a zero response. A response was eventually received from the Secretary of State for Children, Schools and Families office, in which it was regretted that due to 'heavy pressures on the Minister's diary' it would not be possible for anyone to take part in the research. Eventually, from the State-related sector, a public health professional, a representative from a Government related agency and a government funded FCSE initiative leading practitioner participated in the research. Details of the research method used for this study was given in Chapter 3 (Section 3.5: Study 5).

8.2 Findings from the élite interviews

It is noteworthy that the study participants contributed detailed and often lengthy answers to the interview questions, such was their engagement with the issues raised. For the purpose of brevity, some contributions from the twelve interviewees are presented in the following text as abbreviated extracts from their responses to each of the four main research questions (and supplementary questions as appropriate, which are detailed in Chapter 3, Table 3.2 and Appendix 14); they are distinguished by the codes given in Chapter 3, Table 3.15, e.g. 'SSILP' means State Sector Initiative Leading Practitioner and 'CSEP3' means Civil Society Education Professional 3. As with the preceding studies, issues raised by interviewees were identified and key words associated with them such as 'cooking skills', 'nutrition', 'life skills', 'funding', 'trained teachers' and 'facilities' highlighted and colour-coded on the interview transcripts. This enabled the frequency with which such terms were used and rationales for FCSE suggested to be ascertained and grouped under the different issues they represented in relation to FCSE. Common themes and issues could then be identified, categorised and clustered according to meaning and relevance; a process that was conducted twice in order to ensure rigour. The findings are summarised in Table 8.1.

There was general agreement that practical cooking skills should be an integral part of young people's experience of food education….

> *'I feel that there should be cooking lessons throughout primary and secondary schooling and cooking clubs out of school.'* **(CSNGO3)**

> *'Yes – I will argue for food right through* [the KS]. *It's a life skill; it's something they are going to need.'* **(CSEP2)**

> *'It is simple – they just love to cook! I haven't found one child who doesn't like to cook.'* **(CSPOR)**

….with a range of responses about what the focus of these should be, e.g. the development of responsible individuals, emphasising *'…you, as an individual – what do <u>you</u> need to survive, to feed yourself for the rest of your life?* '(CSNGO1) and recognition of the power of knowledge, *'but if they don't have that* [knowledge] *then they are not going to be able to meet the daily requirements of their lives.'* (CSPOR).

Raising young peoples' awareness and developing their knowledge of issues concerning food production and sustainability was raised, with interviewees suggesting that it is *'vital that kids learn about the wider issues like where food comes from and sustainability issues'* (SSGAR) and that *'it is not just about cooking….but food skills more generally - growing and environmental issues, farming, trade; because food is central to all those and if you leave school without any knowledge or skills, then frankly you are going to struggle as a human being.'* (CSNGO2). Another interviewee had firm views on the value of practical cooking skills and cautioned on the need to be cognisant of the reality of people's lives in relation to their level of cooking skills, food purchasing choices and eating habits:

> *'I believe very strongly that it is essential that all children have experience of practical cooking skills in both primary and secondary school. Learning to cook; understanding where ingredients come from; basic nutrition; reading and understanding food labels - as we must acknowledge that a lot of people will buy processed foods and drinks at some time - and basic food hygiene are essential life skills. These skills are unlikely to be taught to every child in the home so we must do so in school.'*
> **(SSILP)**

One interviewee, acknowledging that there may be a perception that in some practical cooking courses, young people are taught to make food products that do not meet the ideology of healthy eating, nevertheless felt that inspiring their interest in cooking and healthy eating has to be a gradual process:

> *'It's not necessarily OK for children to make lots of cakes, but if they enjoying making cakes, they might enjoy making bread another time and so on. If you are nurturing that*

enjoyment and they suddenly get the satisfaction out of making, it's surprising how you can
then bring in other [healthy] *things.'***(CSEP4)**

Another expressed frustration about the tasks young people were asked to carry out without the benefit of practical skills experience:

'This technology bit where they say 'Design a new food'. How can you design a new food if
you don't know the ingredients to start with or the science of the ingredients and what goes
together? ' **(CSEP2)**

<u>Responses to RQ3 – the pedagogical model and content for FCSE</u>

It was felt that the content and pedagogy for FCSE needs to be relevant for modern life and that it should have consistent and sustained provision and delivery, long enough for relevant skills to be firmly embedded, *'The latest offering of the "Licence to Cook" for six weeks is just farcical, because what can you teach in the six weeks? It doesn't cover all of the food skills that are required for modern living.'* (CSNGO1). This should be delivered within a nationally appropriate, engaging and consensual framework that focuses on individual responsibility, developing independence and raising awareness of food provenance and sustainability. Several interviewees expressed the view that FCSE should begin as early as possible in young people's education so that it becomes a normal, *'natural process'* (CSPOR) and everyday part of their education and lives, and there was concern that home education alone would not guarantee this because: *'…that relies on the enthusiasm of the parents and what their relationship with food is like.'* (SSHP).

The views of young people were considered to be an important aspect of planning the content of FCSE pedagogy, and the careful training of practitioners was emphasised:

'I think young people need something that they can associate with; they need to relate to
what is going on. So everything that needs to be delivered needs to target what kids are
going through at the moment, but then also importantly, think about how we can engage
them in learning that food isn't just for now, but it is forever.' **(SSGAR)**

One interviewee was actively incorporating the views of young people about the content of their practical skills learning into a FCSE programme:

'Well, I find that a lot of my students want to find out about food from different places –
international food is what they want to do.' **(CSEP4)**

For reasons of clarity, another interviewee was keen to see government take the lead and produce a basic format for delivering FCSE that could be rolled out nationally, with the proviso that schools could add to this according to their situation:

'I think that there are so many [FCSE models] *out there, and what the government needs*
to do is identify the one that is right to take right across the whole of the nation, and say
that is the basic format – it needs to be agreed what that is, and then they can add on as
much as the school wants to.' **(CSPOR)**

A similar view was held by another interviewee, although it was felt that there should be flexibility built into the model in order to balance it, and that the focus should not be just on diet and health:

> *'Well, it's obviously a very delicate balancing act, because you don't want kind of Stalinist-style policies; every child shall be taught the same food lesson, in the same method. You need to strike a balance and allow flexibility to schools for how that happens, as long as standards are robust and it's properly monitored and enforced. There is no subject where you cannot include a food and agricultural dimension.'* **(CSNGO2)**

Those interviewees who had been involved with developing, implementing and delivering FCSE initiatives, were asked to comment on the outcomes and reflect on what they have learnt from their participation. One interviewee reflected on the need for complementary initiatives and support at the local level (SSGAR). Another highlighted the somewhat disjointed nature of initiatives and the need to produce local, workable networks (SSHP). An extensive account was provided by one practitioner (SSILP) about their involvement with the Food in Schools programme, reporting that *'The programme was extremely well received by the teachers',* and explained the importance of the provision of appropriate and accessible resources for young people in an initiative of this type:

> *'Teachers particularly liked the interactive website which could be used as an excellent assessment tool. The programme was also particularly helpful for schools with limited resources and also teachers who were not trained food tech.* [sic] *specialists as there were detailed lesson plans, shopping lists, costings, equipment lists and risk assessments. There were also a variety of recipe layouts to follow…'* **(SSILP)**

The interviewee also felt that *'..great progress was made training and educating specialist and non-specialist teachers in practical cooking skills in particular.'* (SSILP).

The stark reality of head teachers needing to balance the books in times of fiscal restraint was also discussed in relation to the issue of the perception and image of healthy eating and how initiatives need to use subtle strategies to embed the messages:

> *'We became a healthy school for a short amount of time and I worked with the school canteen to get the school meals healthy. And then we found that the children weren't choosing healthy meals, and we were losing £80 a day; the Head said to me "I can't afford to do this; we're going to have to stop it, so sort it out." So I did a survey and the key reason why the children weren't choosing healthy food, was because if you are seen eating an apple you are* [labelled] *a wimp. You get bullied – it is much better to be seen eating your chips. So, it goes back to an attitude thing – it's not cool to eat healthily. But, if you get them making something or tasting something - subversively you are getting healthy eating in by doing the tasting, because that is the bit they really enjoy. We have got kids tasting all sorts of things, not by calling it 'healthy eating' - it's the making that they love.'* **(CSEP4)**

The impact of FCSE initiatives in primary schools in comparison to secondary schools was highlighted by one interviewee, who was concerned about maintaining the momentum gained in primary schools and ensuring that FCSE is given a higher profile in secondary schools:

'In our primary schools, under healthy schools, what they do for healthy eating and how much food they do, it's had a really positive impact, because to get healthy schools [status]*….the children have to cook and make things; they have to pass that criteria, and in primary schools that's worked very positively. But, then you go into secondary schools, and it's an entirely different picture….it doesn't have anywhere near the importance or impact.'* **(CSEP5)**

Issues around the sustainability of funding initiatives were also discussed:

'I am pleased that the resources are available [for the Food in Schools programme]*, but disappointed that the interactive element is no longer available. It is a great shame, but inevitable, that when the money runs out, everything just comes to an end'* **(SSILP)**

Another interviewee had a related perspective about how initiatives are evaluated:

'Short-term funding means that there is often inadequate funding to allow evaluation of cooking initiatives. The problem is that impacts from such initiatives are often marginal and so projects are started again rather than funding them so that continual evaluation and improvements can be made. There should be more consideration of how we evaluate such initiatives with aim of developing develop wider preventative health strategies.' **(CSNGO3)**

There was recognition that healthy eating messages incorporated into FCSE programmes and initiatives need to be relevant to the young people to whom they are targeted and delivered in an appropriate and effective way:

'Kids don't engage or react that well when people talk to them about food and healthy eating, and it needs to be cleverly intertwined into other issues they are more interested in, and some of the work that we've done around magazines has really opened our eyes about how to communicate these messages." **(SSGAR)**

In relation to pedagogy and the need for consistency, reliability and credibility in the messages that are delivered to children, the use and funding of teaching resources in the classroom was discussed:

'In terms of resources that teachers may use in the classroom, there is no formal accreditation for things that they may use. There is a lot of good stuff out there, and I guess the monies which they use to prepare their education resources come from a variety of different sources; they all do their own educational social responsibility programmes, so a lot of money is funnelled into the education system that way. I think we need to be careful about that and whether there are any opportunities there for more formal mechanisms.' **(SSGAR)**

There was also concern about the misinterpretation of healthy eating messages, and this all came back to the importance of training and specialist practitioners:

'I think it's going to have to be done sensitively, because of the whole issue of eating disorders and people getting hold of the wrong messages; but as long as you've got properly trained people doing it, it shouldn't be a problem.' **(SSHP)**

The same interviewee also considered the use of the word 'healthy' and how this should be used in messages:

> *'I think "healthy" is OK to be using, but it's knowing who you are targeting. So for teenagers, rather than it being about calories, it's about "It's going to make your skin look nice", or "It's going to give you nice teeth" - about appearance; tagging onto the image thing. So I think that "healthy" is fine, but we have to define what healthy means with the group you are working with.'* **(SSHP)**

Sufficient and appropriately trained practitioners were considered to be key to FCSE provision, although it was felt that healthy eating messages should also be delivered and reinforced by other agencies, including parents, and the need for 'joined-up thinking' for such a strategy was reiterated. There was a general wariness about the extent to which the food industry should be involved in FCSE. In response to the question about the involvement of interviewees or the organisations they represent in FCSE initiatives, one discussed the importance of community groups and schools networking and training together so that they deliver consistent messages and information:

> *'At the moment I'm working on an obesity strategy…we are encouraging community groups to set up cook and eat projects for various age groups…we support and provide a free course for community group leaders to run* [them]. *Food in schools is the county council's responsibility and it is going to be part of the obesity strategy, but equally the district councils will support local groups. Hopefully our strategy will pull all those together. I have been quite surprised that there is a lot more going on that we realise. I think the difficultly is there is going to be quite a variation between the quality of who is running it, which is why we are trying to encourage any community groups to go on our course, so then at least everybody is being trained at the same level.'* **(SSHP)**

The need to develop community links was also raised by other interviewees:

> *'We have been expected to do access to the community – some new initiative that has been introduced. It was suggested to me, what about opening the food room for one afternoon a week, and we could get various parents in and try and educate them.'* **(CSEP4)**

> *'It strikes me that with proper organisation and supervision it would be a terrific opportunity to either start or extend school community links. There are people in the community who will have food and growing-related knowledge and skills that could usefully be brought into the school to share their experiences; you can do multi-cultural stuff, inter-generational stuff and it could, potentially, be fabulous!'* **(CSNGO2)**

Another interviewee was keen that the government should not be permitted to diminish their responsibilities for FCSE by allowing NGOs to take on the roles of facilitators, funders and implementers for FCSE initiatives in schools and in the community:

> *'I think the job of organisations like ours is to make a noise and get the policy changed. I don't think it's the job of charity funded organisations to do statutory work.'* **(CSNGO2)**

<u>Responses to RQ4 – the relevance of FCSE in formal education</u>

There was general agreement that FCSE is important for young people, in order to embed life-beneficial skills and develop competency. School was considered to be an appropriate place in which to deliver it, although it was felt by several interviewees that it was important for it to occur in places other than the school, to broaden the potential uptake of food literacy and cooking skills in the wider population, e.g. young parents, low income groups and the elderly.

A number of barriers to and gaps between the intentions of FCSE initiatives and their implementation were identified by all the interviewees, which, although there is overlap between them, fell into four areas, i.e. school management (pressure on the curriculum, provision, academic standards, raising achievement); attitudes (subject perception and image, gender bias); resources (financial constraints and funding issues affecting resources, and a shortfall in specialist teacher training and expertise) and pedagogy (commencement and duration of FCSE, frameworks, competencies). These are summarised in Table 8.1, but some perspectives are quoted below, because of the frequency with which this issue was highlighted. Interviewees were asked about how barriers to FCSE could be overcome, and the contribution that they or the organisation they represent has or could make. The generational gap in food and cooking knowledge and experience was addressed, and it was felt that FCSE initiatives should also target parents, especially young parents, to equip them with the skills, knowledge and confidence to take forward what their children learn in school:

> *'Parents and families have got a massive role to play. Targeting young mums and dads and getting them skilled up so that they are in a better position to engage with their kids about food - that is something that may become more important over the next few years. If the school system sorts itself out, and food is back on the curriculum, the onus will be on parents because kids will be more informed; they will be striving to engage the parents, and it is important that the parents feel up to that challenge and are able to respond and help their children.'* **(SSGAR)**

The pressures placed upon school management by curriculum crowding, which has developed over a number of years in response to education policy initiatives that have required increasing breadth and depth of educational opportunities and the raising of standards, was discussed, e.g. in relation to exposure to FCSE:

> *'With a lot of schools they have them for seven weeks per year in KS3 and only for one-hour or fifty minute lessons - well, you can't cook in fifty minutes!'* **(CSEP1)**

One interviewee reflected on the amount and complexity of the expectations placed on schools by government educational policy and the impact this may have on their ability and willingness to incorporate FCSE initiatives into a complicated system:

> *'There is so much on the curriculum that the teachers don't know which way to go….Some teachers say "Don't force us to make it* [FCSE] *compulsory….not a compulsory session every week or every month that we have to deliver." But I think that you've got to make it*

compulsory, because if you don't then they will take the easy option not to do it, because they feel that they have got to get all those other subjects dealt with first before they can even start on cooking.' **(CSPOR)**

School and parental attitudes towards the academic level of FCSE was suggested as a significant barrier, particularly in relation to decisions that have to be faced by schools in terms of their inclinations, priorities and resources;

'There are lots of factors which can prevent somebody making a decision… From a head teacher's point of view, you've got to want to do it for the right reasons.' (CSPOR).

Attitudes to various aspects of FCSE, and the effects these can have on its provision were raised by several interviewees, particularly school management attitudes. It was felt that their perception of the content and academic status of FCSE, in relation to resource availability and politically generated and societal pressures to raise academic achievement and standards, which have priority, have a very real influence on FCSE's survival. It was suggested that enforcement by inspection may be needed:

'My understanding is if the head wants it to happen then it will and if they don't, then it won't….which brings it round to inspections, I suppose. If Ofsted inspect it, then we do it.' **(CSNGO2)**

The identity and image of FCSE in relation to the perception of the subject was raised, in particular its name:

'We asked for the new [GCSE course in 2009] *not to be called 'Home Economics'…. we wanted it to be called 'Food and Nutrition' or 'Food Studies', but QCA said no. When I ran training before we wrote the new* [GCSE] *specification, I did a questionnaire with all the teachers … and to change the name was one of the major things people wanted; that's the off-putting part for so many people.'* **(CSEP4)**

In relation to the outcomes of education in terms of young people deciding on pathways for future employment, one interviewee raised concerns about public perception of and attitude towards the food industry in general, which is still subject to gender stereotyping (*'men grow the food and women cook it'* [CSNGO2]), low wages and status, short contracts and poor job satisfaction. This may discourage young people from considering it as an option.

There was also concern about attitudes to food and health by the general population and the extent to which food is valued by society:

'I don't think we value it [food] *enough…. It depends what the head teacher's beliefs are and how far they want to go down roads such as having a healthy school. We have some schools where they say, "What's that got to do with raising achievement? We're not interested".'* **(CSEP5)**

By under-valuing food, some interviewees felt that convincing parents of the importance of FCSE to their children's education was a barrier to its success, especially if parents are reluctant (or have difficulty) to provide ingredients for lessons. This could be partly explained by an inter-generational gap in cooking skills experienced by a generation of parents, for whom opportunities for cooking in

school were minimal and whose own parents may have lacked the ability or time to pass on to them:

> *'You have got the attitude of parents, who have gone through the old 1980s system of FT, not really being as supportive as they might be in sending things in* [ingredients for their children to cook]' **(CSEP4)**

The issue of resources for practical cooking lessons was frequently raised in the interviews, including the suggestion that facilities can be shared:

> *'Well, I got a letter from another school and she* [Food teacher] *says that a local school which has no facilities has asked if they can use their Food rooms, and she said they are only free one hour in a whole week, so how can another school do it* [share facilities]*?* **(CSEP3)**

The issue of costs involved in facilitating FCSE was frequently raised as a barrier and considered to have implications for other barriers, including attitudes, provision of resources, staffing and timetabling:

> *'….It is facilities; space to work in; money to fund projects; training of individuals; giving time to those individuals for preparation for delivering the sessions - it needs designated individuals to make it work properly.'* **(CSPOR)**

> *'I'll go back to costs. Cost is a big barrier; time on the curriculum…. there aren't the HE staff available, there aren't the rooms, the resources, the kitchens.'* **(CSNGO1)**

The vulnerability of FCSE on the grounds of cost and perceived inability to deliver it due to the shortage of specialist teachers concerned some interviewees, who felt that some leadership teams may use this as an excuse to abandon the subject altogether:

> *'Cost of food rooms; that is the biggest. But it's not just having the rooms, it's persuading senior management that it's important. You see senior management quite often say "Now, if we can't get a teacher then that's it, let it go." '***(CSEP3)**

> *'Food rooms are expensive, and now we have got the business of "Well, we won't worry about Food, because we can't get specialist teachers", so there's a staffing barrier.'* **(CSEP5)**

Parental difficulties with funding practical cooking lessons were discussed, and this was regarded as a significant barrier to young peoples' access to FCSE. Financial pressures on parents and carers in times of fiscal constraint, especially in areas of high unemployment, and the effects this might have on their willingness and ability to enable their children to participate fully in practical cooking lessons concerned several interviewees:

> *'Cost for parents sometimes is a barrier as they bring their own ingredients in. Funding is a barrier both in and out of school, and sometimes parents' attitude is a barrier – "What do you need to learn that for? You can go to a takeaway, you can get a microwave meal."* '**(CSEP2)**

'Finance on all sorts of levels is an issue.' **(CSEP4)**

One interviewee was concerned that cost had become a barrier to schools delivering a wider education about food, particularly about how it is produced and felt this was contributing to a general lack of knowledge about food provenance:

> *'So there is a good deal of investment that will need to go into the rooms, the grounds; every school grounds should grow food. They used to have school farms. That was a good idea - what happened to that?! And for all that I think it is a good idea for children to visit working farms; that is going to be a one-off visit at best. You need to have something routine, so you need to have some cash invested to make sure that that is available to all schools…. we are not talking huge amounts of money, we are talking about some cookers and some soil. That's not got going to break anybody!'* **(CSNGO2)**

The same interviewee was concerned that gender related associations with FCSE and a recent trend in negativity towards food production might impede its acceptability and progress:

> *'I think there is a gender problem with cooking - still….and also with growing – "That's a boy thing" - no! Or it's to do with the view of agriculture and rural affairs that's not flattering and they think "Why would I want to do that?!" The whole food industry is riddled with low wages, low status, short contracts and lack of job satisfaction in that it's not an industry apart from at the celeb* [sic] *chef end, that any ambitious school child would think 'Now that's a career for me'.* **(CSNGO2)**

With reference to curriculum and timetabling pressures, one interviewee suggested that an extended school scheme and generational initiatives could offer some solutions:

> *'The extended schools scheme is giving us extra hours for after school activities and maybe making it less formal and a bit more fun, and that could link with the community. There is more going on around generational work, and a few health professionals locally have said it would be really good to do an "adopt a granny" scheme, where you are linked up with an older person so they can do some things that they are lacking, e.g. what appropriate eating would be.'* **(SSHP)**

Another interviewee **(CSPOR)** also discussed making use of after school clubs and local resources, facilities and people outside of school to deliver initiatives, and felt that many such initiatives are 'preaching to the converted' and so need to spread their nets wider to attract greater participation.

The shortage of trained FCSE practitioners was a frequently raised issue, e.g.:

> *'Lack of trained teachers; if you have got the facilities can you actually get a food teacher? Because there are not many places training them and that's the problem'* **(CSEP3)**

> *'So if that is the generation* [of trainees] *that are going through, unless they are really interested, you do wonder what their knowledge will be.'* **(SSHP)**

The training of FCSE practitioners was discussed and it was felt that given the right training, they could successfully deliver the subject, but there was concern that all teachers should set the right example to their pupils to embed healthy eating messages:

> *'The young teachers of today are the gap that has been missing and they are going to be the ones who need moral support and training in developing their knowledge. What we do find is that we have teachers who are sending the wrong signals, whereby they are refusing to taste the foods in the classroom. So it is about reminding them what the purpose of this session is and speaking in the correct language to help and support the session, not to hinder it.'* **(CSPOR)**

The insights of one, relatively recently trained, FCSE practitioner highlighted the potential shortfalls in the training of teachers for this subject:

> *'I was trained as a technology teacher with a focus on food. It was a four year degree and I think I cooked twice. It didn't really teach me anything about delivering food. It didn't teach any of us anything about delivering food. When you get into school you realise that you need time management, you need to know what you can teach within that time.'* **(CSEP2)**

There was concern that as qualified FCSE teachers gradually leave the profession through retirement, the gap in availability of trained teachers will widen, even though there have been governmental pledges to recruit and train suitably qualified replacements, and that it may be considered unnecessary to have specialist practitioners:

> *'So many people think it's easy and anybody can teach it* [FCSE]*….A lot of food teachers make it look very easy, because they are incredibly organised - we almost do ourselves a disservice, because a good food teacher will have a class working like clockwork, and people come in and say, 'Well, isn't it easy to do this?'.* **(CSEP5)**

This problem was also felt to have resulted from the policy of abolishing county subject advisors, whose roles were to support teachers and champion the subject:

> *'…Now suddenly we are really noticing the absence of those levels of advisory people who had access to support at higher levels to fight the cause. It is difficult for teachers to be doing it alone without the support of head teachers or the Authority or other people'.*
> **(CSEP4)**

It was considered vital that all practitioners are trained to communicate healthy eating messages effectively to help ensure their correct interpretation and to challenge people to think about them, so that they understand why they are given:

> *'We can't always use the obesity angle. I think we need to get across the importance of food education to people - the understanding and the reasons why - and that is what I say to children…if somebody says to you "You should have five-per-day", you should be asking <u>why</u>, what are the reasons to have five-per-day?'* (**CSPOR**)

> *'And just things like what does 5-a-day mean, because lots of people are confused. I think most people know 5-a-day is what they are aiming for, but actually think that potatoes in there or tomato ketchup and soup is fine – it is clarifying what that message is.'* **(SSHP)**

There was particular concern that the interpretation of 'healthy' by those practitioners from a catering background may significantly vary compared from that of other practitioners:

'I know from some of the meetings I've been to that there have been quite a few school cooks involved and they are actually teaching within schools, so that is useful…but it would be useful to check out what they are saying…. a lot of chefs may think you can use as much olive oil as you like because it is healthy, but that is not helping with obesity, so I think the catering sector have got a slightly different take on what is healthy. Having done work with chefs in the past, it is what the food looks like on the plate, which is more important than the nutritional composition.' **(SSHP)**

The cost of developing, implementing and sustaining FCSE initiatives was raised. Prevention of NCDs was regarded as a priority and a justifiable reason for teaching people to cook:

> *'An opportunity I see at the moment to try and push for food education in school is that we have the huge explosion in numbers of obesity and other diet related diseases; can't remember how much – is it £200million is going to be spent on the NHS on diet related diseases? If that number of people and that amount of money is going to be spent …why can't we prevent that problem getting worse now? Is that an economics statistic that can be used?'* **(CSNGO1)**

The question about the potential problems for young people if they do not learn how to cook and who might benefit from that received a number of responses. Food retailers and manufacturers were given as the principal beneficiaries of a lack of practical cooking skills (SSGAR, SSHP, CSNGO1, CSPOR). One interviewee discussed the effects of the absence of parents to teach children about food:

> *'Unfortunately with mothers working and the fast pace of life, if there isn't an educator rather than somebody on the TV, there isn't hands on work or activities with food, then a lot of children aren't going to find out about how wonderful food is, how it can be used and how we can enjoy it.'* **(CSNGO1)**

In response to the question about how, when, where and by whom FCSE could be delivered, there were mixed views. One interviewee recognised the need for other practitioners to deliver some aspects of the subject in curriculum areas such as PSHE, although had reservations about their ability to deliver practical skills as part of their role:

> *'In our place, we get put into PSHE and it's becoming a part of the caring for yourself, healthy eating, and making sensible choices section. So I suppose, other than the examination side of it, there isn't any problem with it going under that umbrella, only that umbrella allows in all sorts of non-specialists teaching it. A specialist* [to teach food] *has got to be someone with sufficient knowledge and sufficient practical ability.'* **(CSEP4)**

Another was adamant that the place for FCSE for young people should only be in schools:

> *'I don't agree, and the* [NGO] *wouldn't agree with food education being "taught" out of school – i.e. after school by whichever groups, whether is lottery funded, school food trust or such as "Lets Cook" or any of these organisations. No. We would want it to be funded as part of the normal school day.'* **(CSNGO1)**

The complexities involved in developing policy for facilitating FCSE provision, the protracted nature of implementing curriculum development and the necessity to involve and convince a wide range of people of its significance were highlighted (SSGAR), and the power that celebrity campaigning can have on raising awareness and pushing forward policy making decisions discussed. There were also suggestions about the possibilities that pooling resources could contribute to FCSE initiatives:

> *'We developed food competencies so that all organisations who were delivering or developing resources for schools could use them…* [to] *create a more progressive learning cycle for kids. That is very aspirational and I think that there are lots of champions around.'* **(SSGAR)**

Having a suitable framework to ensure pedagogical consistency for FCSE was frequently raised (SSILP, SSGAR, CSPOR). The use of a list of developmentally relevant food literacy and practical skill competencies was suggested as being an appropriate format from which to develop FCSE. Several interviewees drew attention to the potential for confusion brought about by the large numbers of initiatives available, the roles of people involved in them, the complexity of the logistics for accessing resources and their intentions and objectives in terms of delivering messages about food and healthy eating:

> *'…. a lot of people on the local and regional level can sometimes get confusing – Who is doing what? What is the best for this? What should I look up? What should I pick up? We want people to utilise government healthy eating messages that have been researched and proven. Some resources don't use those and can cause confusion. We are trying to tackle what local and regional people are faced with in terms of confusion. We are trying to be proactive in helping them understand where everything fits in.'* **(SSGAR)**

> *'I think that there are so many bodies out there – if you go on a website, there is this body, that body, that organisation. You are thinking, who is the official body who is responsible?* [for deciding the content of FCSE initiatives] *And there has been more than one person who has voiced that opinion. There is too much information… and mixed messages…. it is confusing for the children.'* **(CSPOR)**

It was suggested that forming mutually supportive partnerships and community links to develop a framework would be beneficial on a number of levels. Concern was also expressed that even with a framework available, actually implementing it across all schools was potentially problematic: *'….it can take a long time to change a curriculum. I think the framework is there, but whether or not it's robust, consistent and progressive enough for children to start learning about food….that is where the work needs to be done'* **(SSGAR)**.

As to who should be responsible for the provision and delivery of FCSE, there was a general consensus that the Government should have overall responsibility and take the lead in ensuring that a national strategy to develop an appropriate framework was put into place and supported by relevant resources, with the possibility of formal coercion. Interviewees were asked to consider whether FCSE should become a comprehensive, appropriately resourced and embedded

curriculum subject for all pupils in primary and secondary education and who and what would be required to facilitate this. Some responses focused on whose responsibility this might be, and for several interviewees, specialist teachers in schools were considered to have the ultimate responsibility for provision and mode of delivery, with Government being considered as mainly responsible for the provision of resources (SSHP, SSGAR, CSNGO1):

> *'I think that Government has responsibility to make sure that the framework, procedures, and the systems are in place…As a government department, we wouldn't see that it is our primary responsibility to help kids; what we do try and do is work with those organisations that are already working with children and schools.'* **(SSGAR)**

It was felt that the responsibility for delivering healthy eating messages should not be place solely on teachers:

> *'It really has to be everybody. It can't be done from one body alone. Starting off with the parents and then schools helping parents to enforce those messages and skills, and ensuring the government has got everything in place for the parent and children to have information. We are finding that schools are putting the onus on the teachers, whereas it should be coming from the home as well.'* **(CSPOR)**

One interviewee felt strongly that there was much being done on the periphery, but that the government should take the lead to ensure that FCSE is delivered with best practice in place:

> *'The government is ultimately responsible for food education to provide compulsory food studies for children. At the moment the* [NGO represented] *is one of many organisations who are doing things on the periphery and are trying to support food education, but we are doing it as volunteers….not doing it as a regular job, but from a love of trying to get people to appreciate food and how to eat well. Some of them are ex-HE teachers, ex-caterers. But yes, they are 'ex', retired and therefore will not be up-to-date, perhaps do not have the best practice. It needs to be government leading it, with schools who want properly trained and qualified food educators, and that is what we are campaigning for.'* **(CSNGO1)**

This view was reiterated by other interviewees, one of whom felt that a national strategy for delivering FCSE should be implemented by government and the other who suggested that schools may not deliver FCSE without formal coercion:

> *'Well, it's got to come down to the government hasn't it? We might not always like it, but I think there has to be a national strategy in place. I think there is quite a lot of things going on in primary school initiatives, but then it all seems to stop when they go to secondary schools, to different places, and whatever good has been done is suddenly stopped.'* **(CSEP1)**

> *'I think that the fact they've* [the government] *made it compulsory in 2011, I think they've suddenly realised that it does have an impact. It is a life skill, which we always said. Schools are always going to take, I won't say the easy way out, but we've got so many pressures on us, that unless it is made compulsory, schools are not going to bother to do things that they don't have to.'* **(CSEP2)**

There was some concern over the potential for rigid prescription if the government were to have ultimate responsibility for the provision of FCSE:

> '*I think within schools you really need some specialists and that's where you've got a problem, because we haven't got enough. Why could* [FCSE] *not just be part of the NC, but in the way that* <u>we</u> *want it to be taught; but could that be a stumbling block? If government is responsible, would it be too specific?*' **(CSEP3)**

The policy of decentralisation and devolving responsibility for important issues, such as public health, to other authorities and organisations, such as NGOs, was considered inappropriate and deleterious to the quality, extent and duration of FCSE provision:

> '*There is a really worrying trend in government policy….described as the 'hollowing out' of the State, so national Government is increasingly saying: "Not our responsibility, it's you at local level", either because they are devolving power down to local level or up to European or even global level, leaving the State saying that it is incapable of doing anything, which I think is absolutely scandalous!*' **(CSNGO2)**

On the issue of how FCSE could and should be resourced, there was wariness of the motivation behind the contribution that the food industry provides for FCSE initiatives and the resultant messages about healthy eating:

> '*Let's take Sainsbury's, who use a voucher scheme. They say, "Spend so much in the store and we'll give you vouchers towards funding projects." Now, I disagree with that. I agree with the principle, but not the outcome. What they should be saying is, "We'll give you a voucher if you buy so many healthy products." So if you are buying lots of vegetables and fruit, then you increase the vouchers you get. I think that needs to be addressed, but we can use companies like that to help in a positive way.*' **(CSPOR)**

Concern over the role of the food industry in this respect was also voiced by another interviewee:

'*Does it need to be linked with the NHS and health?....could there be perhaps a division in funding in education and the health service? Is that one way? Obviously there would be difficulties if it was a supermarket sponsoring, you would get the supermarkets promoting their foods – they have a vested interest.*' **(CSNGO1)**

The development of appropriate, practical and feasible resources was a priority for another interviewee who also had ideas for how the provision of appropriate practical facilities could be streamlined:

> '*There should be a template or a basic requirement from government saying "If you build a new school, it has got to have these elements to it. It's got to have space and facilities". They need to use corporate companies as examples of how to develop a template for particular facilities.*' **(CSPOR)**

8.3 summary of findings

Table 8.1 shows the focus of the RQs and summarises the interviewees' responses to each question:

Table 8.1 Summary of elite interviewees' responses to RQs and supplementary questions
Source: Researcher

Research question focus	Summary of responses from élite interviewees
RQ2, RQS2a & RQS2b Importance of practical cooking skills for school pupils at all KS of education	• General agreement that these skills should be an integral part of young people's experience of FCSE • Young people cannot be asked to carry out practical tasks without the benefit of practical skills experience • Necessary for FCSE to be cognisant of the reality of people's lives in relation to their cooking skills, food purchasing choices and eating habits • Pupils should be educated about the provenance and cost of food
RQS2c Potential problems of not receiving FCSE	• Food retailers and manufacturers would be principal beneficiaries of a lack of FCSE and practical cooking skills • Reliance on food industry with related costs
RQA2S1 Delivery of FCSE	• It may be necessary for other practitioners to deliver some aspects of the subject in curriculum areas such as PSHE • Specialist practitioners should only teach practical cookery skills
RQA2S3 Training of FCSE practitioners	• Teachers should be trained to be role models in order to embed healthy eating messages • Trainees need to learn time management
RQ3, RQS3a, RQS3b, RQS3c Pedagogical model for FCSE	• For pedagogy to be effective, young people should be able to relate to its content • The views of young people about the content of their practical skills learning should be incorporated • Government should produce a national, basic format for FCSE, with built in flexibility according to individual school needs and circumstances • Links between FCSE and other curriculum subjects should be forged • The focus should not be just on diet and health • Young people should Learn to cook, understand food provenance, basic nutrition, reading and understanding food labels, basic food hygiene
RQS3d When should young people learn to cook?	• As early as possible • Good FCSE practice in primary schools should be continued into secondary schools
RQA3S1–RQA3S4, FCSE initiatives	• Healthy eating messages need to be relevant target group and delivered in an appropriate and effective way in order for them to be accepted • Concern expressed about the misinterpretation of healthy eating messages, reiterating the importance of training and specialist practitioners • The definition of 'healthy' needs to be defined for the target group • Consistent, reliable and credible teaching resources and messages should be used in the classroom • There is a need for complementary initiatives and support at local level • Short-termism means that there is often inadequate funding to allow evaluation • Numerous and complex expectations placed on schools may impact on their ability and willingness to incorporate FCSE initiatives
RQ4:Relevance of FCSE	• General consensus that food education, and in particular, cooking skills, should form part of the education of young people • School considered to be an appropriate place for FCSE, but recognition that home education was equally important, but difficult to ensure in terms of exposure to consistency of information and experiential learning • Concern that because of exposure to obesogenic environment (Powell 2010), FCSE should provide young people with an understanding of what constitutes an appropriate food intake
RQS4a: Extent of FCSE provision	• FCSE should be delivered within a framework to engage young people and enable nationally consistent teaching, for them to achieve competency • FCSE should also be located outside of school environment to ensure that food provision is linked with FCSE • FCSE should begin as early as possible in formal education so it becomes a normal, everyday part of young peoples' lives • Enforcement of provision by inspection may be required

Research question focus	Summary of responses from élite interviewees
RQS4b: Suggested focus and content of FCSE	• Content should be relevant for modern life with consistent delivery and sustained long enough for relevant skills to be firmly embedded • To develop responsible individuals and encourage independence • Raise awareness and develop knowledge of issues concerning food production and sustainability • Practitioners should be trained to communicate healthy eating messages effectively to help ensure their correct interpretation by an audience
RQS4c: Potential barriers and options / opportunities for FCSE	**Barriers:** • Complexities involved in developing policy for facilitating FCSE provision, the protracted nature of implementing curriculum development and the necessity to involve and convince a wide range of people of its significance • Maintaining the momentum gained for FCSE initiatives in primary schools when pupils start secondary school • An overcrowded curriculum and pressures on young people to choose from and study a wide range of subjects • Timetabling restrictions and resultant constriction of lesson duration • Availability of appropriate resources and requisite costs • Attitudes of parents and schools towards FCSE • Financial pressures on parents and carers in times of fiscal constraint affecting their willingness and ability to enable their children to participate fully in practical cooking lessons • The perception of the identity, image, content and academic level of FCSE by parents and schools • The image created by the subject title • Parental experiences of FCSE when they were at school • Societal attitude towards food and its effects on health and the value placed on FCSE • A significant shortage of specialist trained teachers • A knowledge and practical experiential gap that may have implications for the effectiveness of newly qualified FCSE teachers **Options / opportunities:** • Celebrity campaigning can raise awareness and push forward policy making decisions • Pooling resources and different organisations working together could contribute to FCSE initiatives • FCSE initiatives need to use subtle strategies to embed the healthy eating messages they wish to instil • Inspiring young peoples' interest in cooking and steering that interest towards health eating has to be a gradual process • Important to clarify what healthy eating messages actually mean to people in their everyday lives • FCSE initiatives should also target (young) parents, to equip them with skills, knowledge and confidence to take forward what their children learn in school • Extended school schemes and generational initiatives could offer solutions to curriculum and timetabling problems
RQ5: Responsibility for provision and delivery of FCSE	• Government should be mainly responsible for resources • Specialist teachers should have main responsibility for provision and mode of delivery in schools • Government should take the lead to ensure that FCSE is delivered with best practice in place • Parents and carers should help instil skills and reinforce healthy eating messages; Government needs to ensure they are appropriately informed • Onus should not be place solely on teachers to deliver healthy eating messages • Importance of community groups and schools who are developing and implementing FCSE initiatives, to network and train together so they deliver consistent messages and information
RQS5a: The place of FCSE in general education policy	• Government should be mainly responsible for resources for FCSE provision • Government should be prevented from diminishing their responsibilities for FCSE, e.g. by encouraging and allowing NGOs to facilitate, fund and implement school and community FCSE initiatives • Concern that FCSE is vulnerable because of Government decentralisation and devolution of responsibility for it • Specialist teachers should have main responsibility for provision and mode of delivery in schools • Community groups and schools developing and implementing FCSE initiatives should network and train together so that they deliver consistent messages and information
RQA5S3: Provision and delivery of FCSE	• Government should lead in ensuring that FCSE is delivered with best practice in place, possibly by implementation of a national strategy • The development of appropriate, practical and feasible resources should be prioritised • Wariness about the motivation behind the contributions of the food industry to FCSE initiatives

Chapter 9 Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings from the five studies presented in Chapters 4 to 8, and analyses what can be learnt from them to advance and develop the initial policy and pedagogical positions that emerged from the literature reviews in Chapters 1 and 2. It presents a structured and more academically literate set of answers to, and interpretations of, the core question posed by the thesis. The chapter picks up on the gap exposed in Table 1.4 (in Chapter 1) which presented the huge academic and interdisciplinary interest in food matters but, noting that there was almost no academic interest in the rationale for formal education in this sphere, pulled out impacts that the various disciplinary perspectives had had on FCSE. This chapter now tries to fill the gap and to explore, map and provide a first theorisation of FCSE. The chapter outlines key reasons for teaching cooking and finds clusters of reasons emerging from the fieldwork. These provide a kind of cultural 'bank' from which policy makers can draw at different times and in different social circumstances.

9.1 The rationales for teaching (young) people to cook

The literature research (Chapters 1 and 2) of this thesis identified a dearth of academic research about the purpose of teaching cooking, yet the core question being posed remained unanswered and intriguing, and thus worthy of further academic research. An initial distinction suggested that there were two levels of problem within FCSE; firstly pedagogic (the practical and purposive issues of teaching cooking), and secondly its role within food policy (the decision-making and societal purposes framing the teaching of cooking). The interim proposal, before any fieldwork was undertaken, was that the NC, introduced in the ERA, represented an important change of emphasis from the value of domesticity to the centrality of industry and the wider economy. This epitomised the dominant political ideology of Thatcherism, requiring education to align itself with 'the market', thus emphasising technology over the home, work skills over domestic skills, marketability over pleasure, and making consumers rather than protecting public health. This shift of emphasis fundamentally altered the societal rationale, role and purpose for FCSE in formal education, and sparked debate about its apparent diminution as a practical skills subject in the early 1990s. From admittedly scant literature, Chapters 1 and 2 concluded that the two elements of the central research question - pedagogy and policy – revealed four potential or interim rationales for FCSE:

- To address the apparent decline in the practice of cooking in the population
- To address the issue of de-skilling
- To address the change in focus from home to industrial cooking brought about by the introduction of Food Technology in the National Curriculum
- To contribute to public health policies for tackling diet related disease

Whether these were actually used in the NC was something to be researched; this infused the studies undertaken and reported in Chapters 4-8 (referred to as Studies 1 – 5). It should be noted that the fourth rationale barely featured in the debate about the NC or cooking in the 1990s, which was ironical given that this was the period when evidence about the growing incidence of diet-related NCDs was consolidating and concerning public health specialists (e.g. COMA 1984, COMA 1994, WHO 1990).

The research undertaken and reported in Chapters 4-8 allows a more complex analysis of the rationale for FCSE, the subject of this chapter. The focal question posed by the thesis in fact does not have a singular, straightforward answer. At one level, this is unsurprising, because the answer to why cooking is taught is influenced by the perspectives of the person, organisation, institution or society to whom the question is addressed. The fieldwork found more than just four rationales for FCSE, and suggests that these are multi-faceted and spread wider than was first scoped. The findings from all five studies revealed the repeated emergence of <u>seventeen</u> rationales for FCSE, both nationally and internationally, which are shown in Table 9.1. Column one lists the original four rationales which represented public discourse about cooking in the 1990s and early 2000s. These are compared with, in column two, related rationales provided by the study participants. These suggest their perceptions are that FCSE has a significant role in individuals' personal development, particularly, as Kolb's theory (see Figure 1.4) suggests, their experiential learning; the acquisition of their cultural capital as proposed by Bourdieu (see Figure 1.4); reinforcement of their position as family members, and their responsibilities within local, national and global societies. The general picture indicates the discourse becoming more sophisticated, broader and complex; e.g. the de-skilling issue has been widened to suggest the role of FCSE in varied life skills around food, not just cooking skills. This certainly reflects the views of the élite interviews in Study 5, the perspectives of young people in Study 2, and the reasons for including FCSE in the curricula of other countries in Study 4.

Table 9.1: Rationales for teaching young people to cook: a comparison of initial discourse with the research findings

Rationales for teaching cooking in initial review	Rationales for teaching cooking from research findings	Comment
To address the apparent decline in the practice of cooking in the population	• To promote the acquisition of food preparation skills • To raise awareness and develop knowledge about food (food literacy) • To promote creativity and pleasure • To understand how to handle food hygienically and safely for eating	Study participants talked less about the decline in the practice of cooking, but wanted to talk about the promotion of cooking skills.
To address the issue of de-skilling	• To avoid dependence on processed foods made by the food industry • To promote vocational skills for the food industry • To develop consumer skills • To develop independence • To understand how to eat economically	Study participants frequently discussed and linked cooking skills to the wider issues addressed by 'life skills'.
To address the change in focus from home to industrial cooking brought about by the introduction of Food Technology in the National Curriculum	• To promote family function and cohesion • To promote commensality • To promote cultural awareness and tolerance • To promote technological capability • To promote gender equality	Participant perspectives were mainly focused on home cooking rather than industrial cooking.
To contribute to public health policies for tackling diet related disease	• To develop understanding about the relationship between diet, nutrition and health • To promote personal responsibility, life skills and citizenship • To promote sustainability and environmental awareness	The relationship between diet and health featured strongly in study informants responses.

Source: Researcher

The general opinion is that FCSE is good and enjoyed by its recipients; and that within an appropriately resourced environment, learning occurs. However, the reasons <u>why</u> people are taught to cook are significantly influenced by wide-ranging, complex, interrelated issues that complicate the focal research question. Additionally, the research established that pedagogy and policy for FCSE are closely interwoven, which may partly account historically for its vulnerability in terms of provision and sustainability in formal education.

A key objective of this research was to clarify the role of cooking as a policy problem and to ask why should a society teach its people (young or old) to cook, whose interests would be served by doing so and how should it be done? The research has been located within the food policy terrain, and in that respect has raised interesting issues about the model of policy analysis associated with the CFP map in Chapter 2 (see Figure 2.2). This was taken as a starting point to locate goals and actors in the debates about the practice of cooking and potential implications for teaching cooking. The map viewed policy actors within a systems model as engaged in potentially conflicting roles and interventions. Actually, the research revealed less conflict among actors than anticipated, with

surprising consensus about the rationales for FCSE. This may have been influenced by sampling, or campaigns to raise FCSE's profile.

Lang et al (2009) describe how, historically, competing positions and debates in the food policy terrain have vied for attention, resulting in diverging opinions, policy direction and emphasis about which evidence should have priority in shaping future policy. This research has identified that FCSE has and continues to contribute its own complex debates within a general consensus that cooking education of some sort is important. A recommendation is that the extent of this consensus should be quantitatively assessed nationally, using a representative sample. Study 1 revealed that, historically, the influence of external pressures (such as campaigns to improve health or job prospects) and the transitory nature and focus of education and food policy in relation to FCSE has, and continues to influence its purpose, provision, pedagogy and sustainability in the education of specific cohorts of young people in England and Wales, alongside societal transitions in culture, public health, gender roles and equality, consumer, workforce and technological development, and associated de-skilling of people. The food systems map does not reflect these transitions – it is a-historical and does not give a sense of FCSE's evolution. The rationales for FCSE suggested by study participants demonstrate how it meets multiple policy needs and intersects health, the economy, consumerism, education, society, culture, citizenship, gender and environmental sustainability, all of which were highlighted in Table 1.4 as having been studied by academics but not in relation to why we teach people to cook. The current policy driver for FCSE to be part of the strategy for tackling NCDs echoes the original driver to improve public health through improvements to inadequate diets, characterised by under-nutrition, in the working class (Boyd-Orr 1936, Spring-Rice 1939). Consequently, historical rationales and the contexts in which they were (and continue to be) proposed, historical access to food and the evolution of the food system have added huge complexity to FCSE pedagogy, as demonstrated in Table 1.4. The subject remains relevant, viable and responsive to societal change, and is supported by many advocates. As a curriculum subject, it has evolved into a broad, multi-layered, complex and detailed subject, as additional syllabus content extends its scope (see Table 4.2); the most recent being about issues around environmental sustainability.

9.2 Cooking education as the food politics of control

A theme that has emerged from the fieldwork, in particular Studies 1, 3, 4 and 5 is that FCSE is a battleground of interests, in keeping with the arguments made by food policy analysts (e.g. Cannon 1987, Nestle 2002, Morgan et al 2006, Lang et al 2009), with tensions apparent between who is responsible for the provision of FCSE, who teaches cooking skills, who should be taught them (and where, when and how), and what they should learn. These tensions are summarised in Table 9.2. The model used for the selection of actors for the studies was the food policy contested space triangle (Figure 3.2), which identified actors from three different, apparently discrete sectors: State and State-related, Civil Society and the Food Supply Chain. The research revealed that in fact these

sector boundaries are somewhat blurred by the overlapping interests of advocates for FCSE; e.g., the Get Cooking! Campaign in 1992, which was developed by the NFA (a NGO) was funded by the DoH, and the RSA Focus on Food Campaign was sponsored by the supermarket chain Waitrose. The studies have shown subtle factors raised for consumers about the extent to which they can control their food and the wider political issue of control at the State level and increasingly by companies and the cultural industries (TV, media, advertising, and marketing) (Short 2006, Scrinis 2008,Trentmann 2006). The importance of this food politics of control for cooking education is reinforced by recent policy events, illustrated by the following update on the current (Coalition) government's policy rationale for FCSE.

On a rising tide of concerns about the public's, and particularly young people's, lack of knowledge about food, a supposed decline in cooking skills and real concerns about public health, the last Labour government became involved in the cooking education debate by pledging in 2008 (Labour.org.uk 2008) to make cooking compulsory at KS3 in State secondary schools in 2011. The focus was to be to instruct young people in the preparation and cooking of nutritional, balanced, home-cooked meals. The pledge was widely publicised and promised a more stable future for the subject. GCSE courses were revised as part of the government's reform of 14-19 learning and from September 2009, 'new' GCSE courses became available including HE: Food and Nutrition, the content and aims of which continued the return to teaching cooking skills within a domestic context.

The Coalition government announced a new education bill in autumn 2010, in which changes to the NC (for England and Wales) were considered, including which subjects should be made statutory. Labour's 2008 pledge was not upheld because *'the Government* [did] *not want to pre-empt the outcome of the current review of the National Curriculum'* (DfE 2011). At that point, the future for FCSE in schools was unclear, however DfE funded food curriculum programmes such as the 'Licence to Cook' continued to run (Farrell 2010). On 20th January 2011, the Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove, announced that it was the Government's intention to commence a NC review, the impetus being the Government's belief that recent changes to the NC, *'such as the inclusion of skills development and the promotion of generic dispositions'* had *'distorted* [its] *core function'* and *'diluted the importance of subject knowledge'* (www.education.gov.uk 2011b). A consultation took place and Gove appointed an Advisory Committee and Expert Panel to guide the review and frame the recommendations (www.education.gov.uk 2011b). Phase two of the review covered non-core subjects (including Food within DT). The majority of respondents to the consultation thought that DT should be retained within the NC and approximately a quarter specifically stated that FT and cooking should be retained, to help ensure that children made healthy lifestyle choices (www.education.gov.uk 2011c). There was also concern that by not making it compulsory, there was a real risk that schools would not commit to teaching DT.

In 2012, alongside the NC review, the Government began developing a strategy to address the escalating incidence of NCDs in the population, which costs the NHS approximately £6 billion

annually (Ensor 2013), which had prompted a coalition of prominent restaurateurs, food manufacturers, broadcasters, policy makers, health experts, charities and journalists to research and demand a cross-party campaign to improve children's eating habits. A qualitative research study by YouGov of 798 teachers and 497 parents (commissioned by baby food company Ella's Kitchen [2013]), reported that 70% of teachers and 87% of parents agreed that cooking should be included in the NC. The report also called for a resident 'food enthusiast' for each school, especially at primary level (Ella's Kitchen 2013, Paton 2013 [1]). As part of an initiative entitled the 'School Food Plan', the DoE ordered a review into school meals and appointed Henry Dimbleby and John Vincent, co-founders of the Leon restaurant chain to lead it, with the aim of encouraging children to eat good food at school and increase the teaching of cooking in primary and secondary schools (Ensor 2013). The latest PoS for the NC in England for DT (DfE 2013b) were informed by the results of the review (The School Food Plan [Dimbleby and Vincent 2013]) and as a result, the Government pledged to make practical cookery a compulsory element of the NC up to the end of KS3 from September 2014. In the DT KS3 document, Cooking and Nutrition were separated from DT and its aims encapsulated in an introductory paragraph:

> *'As part of their work with food, pupils should be taught how to cook and apply the principles of nutrition and healthy eating. Instilling a love of cooking in pupils will also open a door to one of the great expressions of human creativity. Learning how to cook is a crucial life skill that enables pupils to feed themselves and others affordably and well, now and in later life.'*
> (DfE 2013b)

In 2013, in excess of 32,000 candidates entered for GCSE HE: Food and Nutrition courses (Ofqual 2014). However, in June 2014, as part of the DfE's reform of examination qualifications, Ofqual published a proposal to discontinue this course, GCSE Catering, AS and A Level HE: Food, Nutrition and Health courses from 2015, and to continue only with GCSE DT: Food Technology, AS and A Level DT: Food Technology (Ofqual 2014). Ofqual's justification was that where subjects *'overlap a lot, or appear to be subsets of more established subjects',* [they should be discontinued] *'unless or until a good case can be made to keep and reform them'* (ibid, 3). The consultation process reported that:

> *'Experts felt that including FT within this* [DT] *GCSE, as currently, does not allow enough space for food science and nutrition and skilled practical cooking that are in demand from students and employers. As a result, a distinct GCSE in cooking and nutrition has been developed.'* (GOV.UK 2014)

On the 25th September 2014, the DfE and Nick Gibb (School Reform Minister) published a press release in which a new GCSE in Cooking and Nutrition (the title of which has subsequently changed to Food Preparation and Nutrition), to be taught from September 2016, was announced (GOV.UK 2014a). The proposed content (GOV.UK 2014b) has been developed with input from the School

Food Plan (Dimbleby and Vincent 2013), including that it will *'...require pupils to acquire a proper understanding of the scientific principles behind food and nutrition, and use a number of practical cooking techniques to prepare and cook food.'* (Ibid.), and, according to Mr. Gibb, the focus of any food qualification should be on *'...developing practical cookery skills and a strong understanding of nutrition....* [so that] *.... rather than designing food packaging, students will now learn the essentials of food science, nutrition and how to cook healthily...* [and the qualification] *will give young people the preparation they need to succeed in the food and hospitality industries as well as giving them vital life skills.'* (Ibid.)

This then, is the current situation for FCSE in State schools in England and Wales. The arguments and policy issues about FCSE that have emerged from recent policy discourse and from this research, suggest a blurring of the interface of pedagogy and food policy. Whereas pedagogy is mainly concerned with the practicalities and purpose of FCSE, policy is all about how rationales for teaching cooking are interpreted, implemented, and whose interests are served by them. The NC, and arguments about its content and purpose, illustrates a wider battle of democracy versus control about pedagogy. There are parallel politics of control occurring in school meals provision, with similarities to the work presented here (GOV.UK 2014c, School Food Plan 2014). The influence of informal media and social networking modes of learning have added complexity to the question of how we teach cooking and what vision society has of the citizen/consumer. The research has also identified an intense debate about who is taught and by whom. Lastly, there is an emerging political issue about the environmental impact of food and cooking, which surely will become a prominent political topic.

Cultural theorists of food have convincingly argued the significance of the rise of 'personal politics' within consumerism, highlighting food choice (e.g. Coveney 2006, Trentmann 2006), feminism (e.g. Charles and Kerr 1988, Kaufmann 2010), cultural commodification (e.g. Van Esterik 2013), and declining class politics (e.g. Nichols Clark and Lipset 2001). Food has become an expression of people's status, location and aspirations; and inevitably, FCSE is caught up in that politics. Wider debates about cultural theory go beyond the realm of this thesis, but are referred to in order to suggest that, in its humble way, the battles of cooking education symbolise these big societal changes. The arguments over whether and how to teach cooking represent significant differences of view of society and progress, way beyond food *per se*. While the studies suggest a broad consensus about the case for FCSE, apparently for the general population, the desire or need to cook has diminished. However, it is evident from the results of this research, that practical cooking skills remain regarded as highly important in young people's education; the most frequently suggested rationale for FCSE being to promote the acquisition of food preparation skills in designated practical cookery lessons (ref.RQ2), and there was general agreement that FCSE should be an integral part of young peoples' formal education at all KS of education (ref.RQ4). The majority of young people in Study 2 regarded FCSE as a normal part of their education, not an elective subject only to be studied by a minority of pupils (ref.RQ4). All food industry participants in

Study 3 agreed that young people should learn how to cook and the majority said that this should happen in schools (ref.RQ2). Most of the countries surveyed in Study 4 included FCSE in their curricula, but not at all Key Stage equivalents, the tendency being to teach it in the upper years of primary and the lower years of secondary education. All participants in Study 5 contributed views on teaching practical cooking skills to young people, particularly in relation to diet and health, food provenance, purchasing, eating habits and the function of ingredients.

If policy makers engage with FCSE, how they regard their role in terms of control about who should be taught, what they should be taught, where, how and by whom, all remain pertinent issues. The history of FCSE shows that initially, the State took control in deciding who should be taught how to cook and the structure and content of that teaching (Sillitoe 1933, Yoxall 1965, Digby and Searby 1981). It took on the role of overseeing and formalising what (poor) people (women) cooked in their homes for their families. As society changed and FCSE evolved, the role of the State in FCSE diminished and changed, probably irrevocably. It left the realms of domestic food production and moved on to mass industrial production. The resultant void for domestic cooking education has gradually been filled by the private sector. Domestic cooking is not dead; indeed it has been popularised, put in the media spotlight and subjected to various 'makeovers'. The mode of teaching cooking has changed: from a formal school classroom and training environment to ever-increasing informal modes including celebrities, media, peers, lifestyle politics, social networking and mobile phone technologies. There is an ongoing cultural and political battle between the two in terms of who is in control of FCSE and why the State should be involved in peoples' food choices, which is a private, domestic matter. Modern life has generated myriad choices, not least in the realm of food, which consumers are unlikely to give up, even if critics of consumerism think they should for environmental reasons (e.g. Gabriel and Lang 1995, Garnett 2008, UNEP 2009).

FCSE is formal in that it is sanctioned by the State and conducted in classrooms or other official settings. With a captive audience of thousands of potentially receptive minds, schools were still considered by numerous participants in this research to be logical places for FCSE (RQ4). In Study 2, there was general agreement amongst interviewees of the benefits of being taught how to cook at school, where they felt that mutual support developed confidence, and teaching expertise enabled skills to be correctly embedded, thus encouraging the skills transfer into other areas of education (e.g. 16F1, 11F1). Of course, this positive attitude will stem from their experience of FCSE provided by the school they attended, and is dependent on available facilities, staff quality, attitude and expectations, which contribute to student perceptions and expectations. There was awareness of uneven provision of FCSE and a general desire for everyone to have opportunities to learn to cook (17F1, 17F7, 16F7, 15M1). All food industry participants in Study 3 agreed that it was relevant to teach young people to cook; the majority considering school to be the appropriate place to do so. All respondents considered that the food industry should be involved, particularly in educating about food provenance and as part of public health initiatives (FIHC4, FIM1, FIM2, FIM3) (ref. RQ2, RQ3, RQ4). An important element of their support was considered to be in lobbying

government to ensure the provision and continuity of funding for initiatives to encourage young people to develop food industry-related skills.

In Study 5, views were mixed about whether schools were the only suitable venues for FCSE (ref.RQ3, RQ4); the value of outreach into the wider community to reach other recipients, notably young parents, the elderly and low income individuals and groups, being emphasised (SSHP, CSNGO1, SSNGO2) as the need to address over-, under- and mal-nutrition in society continues to grow (Murray and Lopez 1996, Lang et al 2009). Privatisation of informal FCSE has increased over recent decades as cooking became a staple of TV and now ICT. The word 'privatisation' is only part of the story. The 1990's NC certainly gave greater emphasis to an industry-orientation in cooking education, but responsibility for cultural transmission, as described by Bourdieu and Patterson (1990) had been given to multiple actors long before that. Mrs Beeton for example, writing for Victorian householders in the 19th century (Hughes 2006), was not appealing to the State; housekeeping (including cooking) was the moral responsibility of the (female) house-manager. Yet 'privatisation' is an apt word to convey part of what happened in late 20th century England and Wales. The tacit message was that the State had no place in consumer choice; that lifestyle and food choice were firmly in the consumer's personal realm, but that the 'cooking business' – TV chefs, cookery writers, gadget companies, food manufacturers/retailers – would answer and solve their food provision concerns. Philpott (2008) suggests that if the UK really wants to change eating habits and health, *'it would seem logical to provide training in cookery skills to adults as well as to children'* and that apparent wariness of government about possible public perception of cooking classes for adults as actions of the 'nanny state', has prevented them pursuing such policies. However, this has created opportunities for private cooking classes to flourish, which in Philpott's experience, are over-subscribed, indicating a demand for learning about healthy eating and associated cooking skills; although the prohibitive costs of such classes exclude people of lower socio-economic status who often have greatest need for them. With increasing numbers of people in the UK being admitted to hospital with malnutrition, according to the Faculty of Public Health, food-related ill health is apparently worsening, because people cannot afford good quality food, due to increased prices and wage reductions (Buchanan 2014). This situation is prevalent in many countries, causing increasing concern and debate (ICN2 2014). Being taught how best to provide an economical, nutritious and sustainable diet (Lang et al 2009), is an important element of teaching cooking in this respect.

Privatisation within culinary pedagogy currently shows little sign of diminishing. Despite previous research suggesting that TV cookery shows and celebrity chefs were regarded as entertainment rather than reliable sources of advice on food-related health matters (Caraher et al 2000), the phenomenon of modern celebrity chef culture, with its huge political and cultural support generated by fans, is more robust and global than ever (Henderson 2011, Rousseau 2012). Surprisingly, in the studies for this research, there were virtually no references to the celebrity cooking culture; only one élite interviewee referring to Jamie Oliver in relation to his media campaign about school meals

and children's diets (SSGAR) and another in Study 2 (16F2) talking about learning to cook from watching video clips. It is important, however, to acknowledge the potential influence of informal teaching. Rousseau (ibid) and Hansen (2008) argue that in an increasingly image dominated culture, celebrity chefs are overwhelmingly media products, but their fame tells us more about consumers and their relationships with food than about the celebrities. This implies an arbitrary relationship between food and celebrity; the real product of food media being the consumer (Bourdieu 1984, Gabriel and Lang 1995). Powell and Prasad (2010) suggest that the rise and recent challenges to neo-liberalism have caused the proliferation of a new breed of celebrity experts, who act as culinary intermediaries, transferring knowledge of particular lifestyles to ordinary people in an age of social anxieties. Thus, food media has created a cohort of consumers whose appetites are kept wanting, which is the new business of food (ibid), as conceived in cultural theory, where food becomes a signifier of taste and identity.

Rousseau (2012) suggests that recent food scares and media representation of obesity as a health risk have helped to consolidate a new authority for chefs and other food media personalities. Focusing on Jamie Oliver and his 'Ministry of Food' TV series, Hollows and Jones (2010) explore this suggestion in relation to how Oliver's celebrity image has undergone various transformations that can be located within debates about lifestyle, class and neo-liberalism. They suggest that his apparent shift from lifestyle expert to moral entrepreneur, through involvement in various social enterprises, has appealed to a public who are responding to current social and public health crises and demanding direct action by an inspirational figure. Such celebrities have a competitive advantage in gaining consumer's attention in that they both entertain and educate, and consumers have apparently submitted to the idea that they need help when feeding themselves. This, Rousseau contends, is the central paradox: that there is a disconnection between the rapidity with which the food media industry has grown in the last few decades and the increasing extent to which consumers apparently continue not to learn. This is not to denigrate the significance of television, which is a genuine means for teaching and inspiring culinary improvement and change. Rousseau suggests that with the insatiable popular appetite for all things food-related that television caters for, it cannot be presumed that there is no value in the purely aesthetic experience of watching cooking skills in action, nor that people do not take knowledge away when they watch it. Food tourism is another culinary phenomenon within the privatisation sphere of cooking education, the market for which has expanded annually (Sharples 2011), and has generated another type of consumer: the 'food-explorer'. Cookery school holidays have a strong cultural dimension and offer multi-faceted products to suit different needs and wants across a range of tourism typologies, i.e. leisure, hospitality and gastronomy within formal accredited courses and recreational pursuits.

Historically and currently, the low status of cooking work (other than highly paid celebrity chefs) and 'home economics' is also an indicator of social class. This is something that warrants more research than was possible in this thesis. Cooking is something which in the past the rich paid others to do (Pullar 1970, Mennell 1996, Symons 2004), either in homes or restaurants. Learning how to cook

at state school was only for working-class girls. Now cookery lessons are available for all social classes and in the celebrity world, they are promoted by and competed in by people of diverse origins. Modern life and the food supply chain has enabled ordinary, low-waged people to eat in similar but distorted ways to wealthier citizens, with others (food workers) available to provide cheap, ready-made food at the touch of a keypad or a visit to the drive-in fast food outlet or supermarket, rather than cook for themselves; recent television advertisements imploring people to, *'Don't Cook, JUST EAT'* in their quest to *'stop the world from cooking rubbish food and leave it to the professionals - the takeaway chefs'* (https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLE-Sao5i0IiBVh8Lc9rKZrZd9gf-MYH_C). There is a hidden labour force providing this instant access to food, which, as was shown in Chapter 1, is now huge with 1.44 million working in catering alone; the biggest employer in the UK food system's 3.7 million workforce (Defra 2014), catering for all age groups and societal cohorts. Sharpe (2010), for example, has highlighted the industrialisation behind low wages in sandwich factories, which saves commuting workers the need to plan and make their own lunch. Also, the school meal service was massively expanded in WW2 in part to entice women to work, but also not to have to be at home to service the family at lunchtime (Lang 1983, Berger 1990).

One issue not covered by the fieldwork, but which emerged in some of the studies, particularly Studies 2, 3, 4 and 5, was the significance of FCSE in relation to environmental impact and sustainability of domestic and industrial cooking. This is now a decisive issue within food policy and pertinent for future research within the FCSE terrain. Concerns about environmental impacts of food production were raised by some study participants (e.g.11M2 16M1, 17F2, CSNGO2) (ref. RQ3). Environmental impact and sustainability studies have previously focused on problems resulting from the globalised food supply chain, in particular food transportation (food miles). More recent research and debate (e.g. Foster et al 2006, FoE 2007, Garnett 2008, Palmer 2011, DECC 2013) has widened the perspective to consider the impacts and interrelationships of food throughout its life cycle from production to final disposal; so-called Life Cycle Analysis (LCA). It is not within the scope of this research to explore this issue in depth; however, the increasingly significant environmental impact of food provenance and provision, including domestic food preparation, have implications for the education of young people and should form the basis for further research around FCSE.

Table 9.2 summarises how the politics of FCSE has evolved. This table is now a complete reworking of the simple, preliminary model conceived in Chapter 2 (Figure 2.3) from the literature review. Column one lists the issues that have been the focus of policies and control over the provision and delivery of formal cooking skills education since it began in the 19th century. The research findings have demonstrated that the rationales for teaching cooking have implications for other population cohorts beyond formal education and the politically controlled school environment. It is acknowledged that the teaching of cooking and the acquisition of practical skills are not the exclusive territory of schools, specialist school teachers or school pupils. Columns two, three and

four show how the politics of each issue has evolved and how other, less formal options for cooking education are emerging. Cooking can be taught and learnt in a range of informal settings, by different providers (increasingly technologically based), at any age and for different purposes, in a wide range of variations. The emerging options demonstrate how the politics of personal choice are becoming more prominent and the teaching of cooking, less politically controlled.

Table 9.2: The old, new and emerging politics of teaching cooking

Issue	Old (C19th)	New (Mid C20th)	Emerging
What is the style?	Formal Training Teacher centred	Formal Technological Pupil centred	Informal Entertainment Customer / audience centred
What is the pedagogy?	Theory-based Profession-led State countenanced Domestic	Design based Profession / pupil-led NC controlled Industrial	Practical-based Industry-led Celebrity endorsed Home / economy / fun
Who has responsibility?	Public / State School Mothers	State School Ofsted	Private Family as self-reliant Individuals
Who does the teaching?	Paid Specialist teachers Mainly women in schools Mainly men in industry	Teaching assistants School meal providers Volunteers DT teachers (all DT disciplines) Specialist teachers (declining numbers)	Unpaid / unwaged NGO Volunteers Family Highly paid media personalities
Who is the target audience?	School age Working class girls	Pre-school School age – mainly compulsory to KS3 equivalent Young parents Older age groups	Life-long learning TV audience etc. adverts Young professionals Single people Modern families Aspiring artisans Low income groups Students
What are the technologies?	Domestic cooking equipment Specialist Classroom	Computers Industrial processes Specialist rooms / kitchen laboratories Industrial food production equipment	Any space (adapted to suit) Industrial training facilities Web-based: apps, forums, video clips, remote tutorials etc. Computers Environmental pressures
Who has control?	The Head teacher The School Board	Local Education Authority State / Ofsted	Battle between State, corporates, media and consumers
What are the core ideological battles?	National efficiency	Domesticity and the role of women Availability and use of time	Consumerism, information, environmental sustainability

Source: Researcher

9.3 The de-skilling debate and role of cooking education

There was consensus in all five studies for this research about the significance of the role of FCSE in developing a range of skills, both practical and cognitive. The literature review and Study 1 revealed that historically, changes to FCSE imposed by the introduction of the NC in the 1980s, and societal and technological developments that influenced and changed the skills required for food preparation, gradually diminished the extent of young people's exposure to, and influenced

the pedagogical style for cooking and other practical skills in schools. These changes are a feature of modern food culture and have contributed to debates about what is considered to be the negative process of de-skilling (Chenall 2010, Jaffe and Gertler 2006, Kornelsen 2009, Stitt 1996) and the 'de-humanising' and routinizing effects of modern society on skills proposed by thinkers as diverse as Marx and Ritzer (1996). Frances Short (2006, 2007) and Andrew Gatley (2012) have argued that what is occurring today is not a lack of practical skills, but a redefinition of them and a crisis of confidence; knowing when and how to use what are essentially quite simple skills. This is the essence of what people learn when they are taught how to cook, either by their mothers or a classroom teacher. They can learn by trial and error, by experimentation, by gauging their success based on the feedback from the recipients of their efforts. While accepting these arguments, the studies reported in this research in their different ways firmly reconnect FCSE with a societal role by the provision of lifelong skills, including, but not exclusively practical cooking skills; the means for subsistence; daily living. Without pushing this too far, the FCSE debate dovetails with other 'big' arguments that academics have explored about the labour process and the role of skills in modern work (e.g. Gabriel 1988, Sennett 2008, Crawford 2009). The studies have found that much of the perceived rationale for teaching and learning cooking lies in the arguments that FCSE improves choice, consumer control, and empowerment. FCSE is thus an educational area which is a civilising force, making citizens rather than consumers (Packard 1981, Gabriel and Lang 1995), and provides them with opportunities to develop a range of skills including practical cooking skills.

As reported in Chapter 1 (section 1.2), concern has been expressed about a deficit of food knowledge and cooking skills among young people and the diminishing expertise available to teach them. The studies found limited evidence of a decline in cooking skills being reported, but the topic of cooking skills was raised frequently in terms of affirming their importance. In studies 2, 3, 4 and 5, food preparation skills were considered to be important life skills that young people should have opportunities to acquire. In Study 4, the acquisition of life skills, practical skills confidence and competence were the second most frequently suggested rationales for FCSE in the sampled countries. The majority of countries that included FCSE in their curriculum gave young people regular opportunities to explore issues around food and health in relation to their lives through the practice of cooking skills. Young people in Study 2 considered that they should be taught about the composition and preparation of foods and focus on learning how to make basic, economical, everyday meals (e.g. 17F1, 17F3, 17F4, 17F7, 16F1, 15M2, 12F2, 11M2, 11M5, 11F1), and referred to how the acquisition of such skills and knowledge could influence their ability to tackle other skills (17F1, 17F5) (ref.RQ3). Being able to cook was cited as a significant contributor to their future independence and several interviewees considered that it would be more challenging without cooking skills. In Studies 2 and 5 participants also referred to the significance of the inter-generational transfer of cooking skills and acknowledged that the decline in this aspect of the socialisation of young people has important implications for including FCSE pedagogy in schools (16F2, 16F7, 17F5, SSHP, SSILP, CSNGO1).

In section 9.2 of this chapter, the separation of cooking skills education into formal and informal modes was discussed. What has become clear from this research is that variations in the mode, location and practitioner involved in the delivery of practical skills in cookery lessons is as important as having the opportunity to access, view and practise them. In response to RQ3, study participants raised several issues in relation to cooking skills pedagogy. There was a general consensus that FCSE should start from an early age and be developmentally relevant (SSGAR, CSPOR). This was supported by many of the interviewees in Study 2 who thought that being taught at primary school was appropriate, but had reservations about safety (11F1, 11F4, 11M5, 12M1, 16F3), aspects of food hygiene (11M1, 17F2) and the effectiveness of learning cooking skills at this educational stage and its effect on the retention and consequent value of FCSE lessons for the future (17F1). This was particularly the view of some interviewees, who had experienced cooking lessons at primary school and expressed concerns about lack of appropriate facilities, intermittent opportunities to cook and the limited range of skills and foods that they experienced (11F2, 11M2).

Undoubtedly the wide range of variations for teaching practical cooking is adding richness to the various styles of learning that suit different people. Several interviewees in Study 2, for example, referred to the benefits of being taught by people with specialist expertise (17F1, 17F5, 16F1, 11F1). They felt this gave them confidence and enabled them to correct or avoid problems, but they also suggested that the influence of friends and family were equally important. Also, one interviewee described how Internet video clips and social networking sites exchanging cooking ideas, had been more instrumental in improving her practical skills than had formal school lessons, although she acknowledged the positive contribution they had made. Interviewees in Study 5, however, were concerned about the shortage of trained and skilled practitioners and the apparent reduction of practical skills training on teacher training courses.

Whilst many young people do not witness the traditional practice of cooking skills in the home, the seventeen rationales that were suggested for FCSE by this research (see table 9.1) indicate that the perception and definitions of 'skills' have become broader in scope, and have been influenced by economic, and cultural conceptions of food (see Table 1.4), and that FCSE needs to teach young people a wider range of skills in addition to those required in the kitchen. The studies suggest that it should be acknowledged that contemporary cooking, which for many people utilises the developments of food and kitchen technology, involves the use of different skills which can be incorporated into modern FCSE pedagogy to accommodate the realities and needs of contemporary living, e.g. making use of ready-made convenience ingredients (e.g. pastries, sauces, stocks); recipes that utilise quick cooking methods (e.g. stir frying, sautéing, microwaving) and recipes for quickly produced complete meals, with minimal preparation, equipment and practical prowess required (e.g. risottos, stir-fries, pasta meals).

All state funded schools must offer a curriculum which prepares young people for the *'opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of later life'* (www.gov.uk 2013). Inherent in this is the need to

develop the skills that encourage increasing independence in a range of activities and processes as pupils proceed towards school leaving age. The role of FCSE as being an integral part of 'life skills' education was frequently mentioned by participants in the research studies and is discussed here because it has direct relevance to the requirements of the aims and objectives of the NC. Rationales one to seven and nine to eleven (inclusive) from the research studies in table 9.1 for FCSE, are all elements of the current policy driver in England and Wales to develop responsible citizens (Gabriel and Lang 1995, DfE 2012). They are focused on providing young people with opportunities for acquiring realistic and grounded life skills that can contribute to their ability to become independent, thoughtful and competent individuals, who can make positive contributions to society. This is a policy driver that has priority in other countries, according to the findings from Study 4, in which provision of FCSE tended to reflect policy priorities for education, and the most frequently given rationales involved its contribution to the food literacy of individuals. Of particular note were the frequency of rationales that focused on educating young people to become responsible citizens rather than just oblivious consumers, with the capacity to embrace their own and other cultures in terms of food choice and eating habits. Also in Studies 2, 3 and 5, the majority of participants considered FCSE to be pivotal in the personal development of individuals, and many referred to its importance as a life skill-based subject.

The term 'life skills' has been adopted by a number of organisations and included in numerous education policy initiatives that seek to promote the personal development of young people. It is variously entitled and defined as either 'Life Skills' (WHO 1997, WHO 1999, UNESCO 2005, UNICEF 2006), 'Skills for Life' (DfES 2003 / 2006), 'Key Skills' (direct.gov.uk (a) 2010), 'Functional Skills' (direct.gov.uk(2) 2010) or 'Personal, Learning and Thinking Skills' [PLTS] (QCA 2010). WHO (1999) recognises that life skills are abilities for positive and adaptive behaviours, which enable people to deal with the demands of everyday living. They suggest a core set of skills including decision making, problem solving, creative and critical thinking, effective communication, interpersonal relationship skills, self-awareness and increasingly, environmental awareness. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) use the term 'life-skills' to refer to psychosocial and interpersonal skills that enable people to make informed decisions, communicate effectively and develop skills to enable them to lead productive and healthy lives (UNICEF 2006).

In England and Wales, life skills education has been debated in educational circles for many years, and successive policies and initiatives developed, e.g. the 2003 DfES initiative 'Skills for Life,' focused on literacy, numeracy and ICT (DfES 2003), and the 2006 the DfES White Paper promoting skills for life and to boost the national shortage of workplace skills through a major programme for 14-19 year olds (DfES 2006). In 2010, the Government defined 'Key Skills' as:

'….skills that are commonly needed in a range of activities in education and training, work and life in general. They are transferable skills: once you've got them, you can use them in different situations.' (direct.gov.uk [a] 2010)

These were classified as 'main key skills' (application of number, communication and ICT) and 'wider key skills' (working with others, improving your own learning and performance, and problem solving). The 'Functional Skills' (direct.gov.uk [b] 2010) initiative was launched as a new qualification for learners aged 14+ years; designed to *'help you build the practical skills to get the most out of work, education and everyday life*.' (direct.gov.uk [b] 2010). It was defined as practical skills in English, maths and ICT, and focused on *'…knowing when and how to use the knowledge in real life situations.'* (direct.gov.uk [b] 2010). Functional Skills were made part of the new secondary school curriculum for all young people, with qualifications available from 2010, which included a number of food-related courses at KS4 and 5 (i.e. elective). PLTS were added to the list of life skill initiatives that schools were expected to incorporate into the curriculum, and comprised six groups of skills that, when added to Functional Skills, were regarded as *'...essential to success in learning, life and work'* (QCA, 2010) and intended to develop young people to become independent enquirers, creative thinkers, reflective learners, team workers, self-managers and effective participators.

In the definitions given for life skills by the organisations discussed above, it is notable that cooking skills and the ability of informed individuals to feed themselves are not specified. However, they can be and have been effectively incorporated into life skills initiatives, e.g. the 'Can Cook' initiative in Liverpool (Caraher et al 2011), which demonstrated the significant impact that cooking skills can have on promoting healthy eating habits and lifestyles; a study by Gatenby et al (2011), which concluded that multicultural after-school cooking clubs can play a key role in the development of essential life skills, as well as increasing the knowledge and understanding of peers from different cultural backgrounds; and a study by Larson et al (2006) that showed that adolescents who are more involved in preparing food for their family made healthier food choices.

9.4 The role of cooking education in developing food literate citizens

The role of FCSE in the development and acquisition of food literacy was frequently raised in the findings of this research, particularly Studies 2, 4 and 5. The term 'food literacy' has recently emerged to describe what people know and understand about food and how such knowledge can empower individuals to become responsible citizens through their food choices. The component domains of food literacy include access, eating, planning and management, selection, and knowledge of food provenance and nutrition, each of which includes multiple sub-components that add to the complexity of the term. Food literacy is being increasingly used by health professionals, policy makers, community workers, educators and the public (e.g. Kolasa et al 2001, Hindin et al 2004, Livingstone and Helsper 2006, Smith 2009, Pendergast et al 2011, Thomas and Irwin 2011),

despite being a poorly defined and understood term (Vidgen and Gallegos 2010), and accompanied by a range of definitions (e.g. Vidgen et al 2011, Cullerton 2012). Vidgen et al (2011) suggest that the term has been over-used and that the development of literacy strategies may be an attempt by various professional groups to help people interpret the unlimited amounts of freely available information, for which they have limited skills, and that what people need to know and understand about food seems to be mostly contextual, rather than a universal set of competencies that can be applied to everyone in all settings.

However, the notion of food literacy is useful for FCSE pedagogy as it embraces and encourages the understanding and knowledge about food in its widest sense. It is not enough to assume that people know about where their food comes from and what is in it. As a term, 'literacy' has certain connotations, which could make its use controversial in the context of FCSE, and so caution in its use is wise. To be literate implies that an individual is well-informed, educated and knowledgeable in a particular field; whereas to be illiterate implies the opposite, and suggests an individual is marked by inferiority to an expected standard of familiarity with language or a branch of knowledge, and is therefore uncultured and ignorant. The term 'alliterate', by contrast, refers to individuals who are literate, but indifferent to learning in general or to a particular field of knowledge. These problems with definition and connotation have implications for pedagogy and add to the complexity of what is meant by terms such as 'cooking' and 'healthy diets'. They also bring into question the morality of placing value judgements on people's eating and cooking habits that policy makers and professionals may impose on the curriculum content and assessment criteria for FCSE.

A current focus for education is the development of responsible citizenship, and curriculum subjects aim to furnish young people with skills in this respect (GOV.UK 2013). FCSE is no exception, and as the research studies revealed, has much to contribute to the learning and development of young people by raising awareness of choices available to them; especially in terms of developing them as citizens who are capable of taking control of their choices, and to counteract the centrality of pre-processed food and eating out of the home. International curricula in Study 4, frequently referred to FCSE's role in this respect with various references to the types of citizens they hoped to produce, e.g. free, creative and responsible personalities (Latvia); critical consumers, taking responsibility for food (Norway); young people who are responsible for their actions (Slovenia); informed, deliberate, conscious consumers, able to cope with complex lives (Iceland) and environmentally friendly consumers who know their rights and obligations (Estonia). In Study 5, some élite interviewees referred to the importance of FCSE for developing responsible individuals and their knowledge of issues concerning food production and sustainability (CSNGO1, SSGAR). Some interviewees in Study 2 showed awareness of how knowledge of food provenance, provision and preparation has the potential to enable individuals to have control and personal responsibility for their food intake (17F6, 16F1, 16F7, 16M1, 12F2, 11M3). A keen desire to be increasingly independent was frequently expressed; the need to be self-reliant in food provision considered to be a positive marker of independence (17F8, 16F1, 15M2, 12F1, 12F2, 11M3, 11M5, 11F1, 11F4).

In Study 3, the need to develop in young people the skills and capabilities for food in its widest sense (FIR3) was discussed.

Academics have highlighted and critiqued the dynamics of the modern food system and consumer-led society (e.g. Pyke 1950, Packard 1981, ACARD 1982, Goodman and Redclift 1991, Ritzer 1996), but have not engaged with how FCSE can educate and empower young people about their role as consumers in dealing with it and the skills associated with consumerism. The requirement to teach these skills continues to exist in FCSE syllabuses, demonstrating further the breadth the subject is required to cover and its important role in developing the types of citizens that different societies aspire to promote. The policy driver for FCSE to develop the consumer has continued to evolve since its heyday in the mid-20th century, when the emphasis was, according to Attar (1990), to *'make sensible consumers out of adolescent girls'* through promotion of a *'store-catalogue comparative survey approach to life'* (ibid 141). The post-WW2 burgeoning of the food and domestic technology industries provided the context for this aspect of FCSE pedagogy, and continued to inform the content of syllabuses until the emphasis began to move towards technological capability in the 1980s.The transition from educating young people to be consumers to being citizens is now a requirement of the NC in England and Wales (GOV.UK 2013). Much of the content of the Citizenship programmes for KS3 and 4 revolves around UK law, finance, justice and democracy. Personal responsibility in terms of food is not specified, however part of the subject content for KS4 requires young people to be taught about *'diverse national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the UK and the need for mutual respect and understanding'* (ibid), which lends itself to the subject of food. Gabriel and Lang (1995) have examined the tensions that exist between the notions of citizens and consumers; the idealised definition of the former implying responsibility, mutuality, morality and control and the latter implying the freedom to choose, unburdened by guilt, responsibility to others or social obligations. That the notions of citizen and consumer have converged to become part of the same discourse, Gabriel and Lang suggest is the result of the blurring of their definitions in relation to polarised political views. Thus, consumers have been persuaded and guided by the Left to become socially responsible and aware citizens, and for the Right, the citizen has become an influential voter and therefore shaper of the marketplace according to the extent and profile of their consumption.

In the studies for this research, there were several references to the role of FCSE in teaching consumer skills (ref. RQ3, RQ4). For example in Study 4, this included developing in young people, 'critical consumer competence' (e.g. Iceland, Norway), the aims of which would encourage responsible citizenship, including the ability to differentiate between information and commercials, and to be responsible for food and meals eaten in the home. Various FCSE syllabuses from the countries in the sample referred to educating young people in 'Consumer Economics' (Sweden), 'Consumer Studies and Resource Management' (Ireland), 'Consumer Education' (Estonia), 'Consumer Studies – Consumption and Health' (Greece), 'Life Skills and the Household Consumer' (Lichtenstein), 'The consumer and a changing society' (Finland) and 'Consumer and Family

Resources' (USA). In Study 2, young people referred to aspects of being a consumer in terms of managing their money and living independently (17F2, 17F4, 17F7, 17F8, 16F3, 12F1), whilst in Study 5, understanding food labels, knowing what action to take as a consumer and concern about the formal accreditation of consumer-oriented FCSE resources were all raised in relation to consumer education (SSGAR, CSNGO1, CSNGO2, CSPOR). Some of the participants in Studies 2 (17F2, 11M5) and 5 (CSNGO1, SSGAR) also recognised the contribution that FCSE could make to young people's knowledge of food hygiene and safety; a topic which continues to comprise a significant part of consumer education content in FCSE initiatives and syllabuses. Studies have been conducted to measure the effectiveness of such teaching and suggest that children generally have a good knowledge of food hygiene, but have misconceptions about micro-organisms and how they render food harmful (Eves et al, 2006); consumers who scored better in basic food safety knowledge had better food hygiene practices and less reported incidences of food-associated illness (Kennedy et al, 2005) and consumers' attitudes towards food safety are diverse and do not necessarily lead to increased food safety behaviours, thus informed professional guidance is required (Wilcock et al, 2004).

Syllabus content is continually expanding as consumerism is linked to responsible citizenship, in which topics including food provenance, environmental sustainability, low income eating and informed food choice become increasingly high-profile. Food, cooking and their related topics provide identifiable, realistic scenarios and contexts to which young people can relate, meaningfully explore consumerism and navigate their way round the complexities of the food system. Laudan (2008) suggests that contemporary debates about and attitudes towards food and morality unconsciously derive their positions from long-standing themes about processed, refined food versus plain, unrefined food (the consumption of the former having been associated with being conducive to moral behaviour; the latter being considered more conducive to creating an ethical society), which in the current food policy climate are relevant topics for FCSE to address through consumer studies, with public and ecological health being high-profile topics. The development and dissemination of authoritative discourses on food and cooking, which have increased in recent years, require individuals to make choices about what and how to cook and consequently establish moral pedagogies about 'good' and 'bad' cooking. Food literacy programmes further extend such obligations to cook 'properly', and this emphasis on cooking knowledge and skills has encouraged the development of formal and informal FCSE pedagogies (Coveney et al 2012).

Barriers to acquiring food literacy (including the ability to cook) were identified by participants in all of the studies for this research and highlight existing tensions in FCSE provision, i.e. insufficient, inconsistent and short-lived funding to develop, implement and sustain FCSE initiatives (17F8, CSPOR, CSNGO1, CSNGO2, CSEP2, CSEP3, CSEP4, CSEP5, FIR2); insufficient availability of expertly trained practitioners to deliver FCSE (SSHP, SSGAR, CSEP1, CSEP3, CSEP4, FIM3) and culturally influenced, negative or indifferent attitudes towards its provision (17F1, CSNGO1, CSNGO2, CSPOR, CSEP4, CSEP5) (ref. RQ4). Studies (e.g. LDCP 2013) have also identified the

social and psychological environment, the learning environment, the food environment and living conditions as barriers to the acquisition of food literacy for school leavers and young parents. Some élite interviewees in Study 5 expressed the view that FCSE content and pedagogy needs to be relevant and appropriate for modern life and should have consistent and sustained provision and delivery, within a consensual framework focusing on individual responsibility, developing independence and raising awareness of food provenance and sustainability (SSGAR, SSILP, SSHP, CSNGO1, CSNGO2, CSNGO3, CSPOR, CSEP2, CSEP4) (ref.RQ3). Participants were also concerned that young people should have opportunities to learn about wider issues around food provision to empower them to take control of their food intake (ref RQ2). With the loss of subjects such as rural studies from the curriculum in many regions, FCSE's role in educating about food provenance was considered very important (CSNGO2). In Study 2, young people were particularly concerned that they may be misled about the true composition and origin of foods if they are not educated about them (11M2, 15M2, 16F1, 16M1, 17F3, 17F4). Participants from the food industry in Study 3 were also concerned that people should be reconnected with their food and educated more about locality and sustainability issues (FIM1, FIHC4) (ref. RQ3) and also for access to careers in the food industry (FIHC1, FIR3, FIR1).

9.5 The role of cooking education in promoting cultural and culinary diversity

This theme emerged from the literature review and findings from all five studies for this research, which demonstrate that the debates about the acquisition and content of food literacy become more complex when cultural and culinary diversity is added to the mix. The UK is no longer an island when it comes to food, since the UK has not fed itself since the late 18th century, according to Defra (2006), and currently only produces about two-thirds of what it consumes (Defra 2014). The combined influences of Europeanisation, globalisation, café society, fast-food, ex-colonies and ethnicity have produced a diverse multicultural culinary mixture that has been widely embraced across the UK, but which leaves some commentators concerned about the risks of losing culinary distinctiveness (Henderson 2014). Numerous commentators have seen and studied the enormous changes in what people eat; how food is produced, processed, distributed, cooked and consumed (e.g. Pelto and Pelto 1983, Drewnowski and Popkin 1997, Popkin and Gordon-Larsen 2004, Astrup et al 2008). Popkin's notion of the Nutrition Transition (Popkin 1993) is pertinent. Popkin argued that, as they get richer, populations shift their diets from simple to complex diets, eat more pre-processed foods, consume more sugary, fatty, salty diets, and then begin to exhibit higher rates of NCDs. Scrinis (2008) suggests that nutritionism is increasingly framing dietary choice. But is this a nutrition transition only? Perhaps it is really a cultural transition, in that it is an alteration in the societal norms, in which the meaning of food and cooking, and the values embedded, are changed.

The studies conducted for this research certainly confirm some of the arguments raised by Gabriel and Lang (1995), in that they suggest some fragmentation and plasticity in the role of cooking. Over

time, and across societies, the purpose of cooking education varies. Ultimately, respondents to the studies seemed to be concurring that a society can be judged as in control of its destiny if its people can cook. In Study 4, for example, most countries acknowledged their multicultural demography and the influence of diverse food cultures on their own, and the importance of FCSE in fostering cultural awareness was stressed in several of them. For example, Finland, Norway, Estonia and Spain specify a requirement for their curricula to teach and encourage young people to develop tolerant attitudes towards other cultures, for which FCSE is regarded as an appropriate conduit, whilst aiming to preserve and develop in young people an appreciation and understanding of their own traditions and customs. Japan, in particular, was concerned to preserve centuries-old dietary traditions, which it recognised as being under threat from a move towards a Westernised diet.

Despite the complexity that multiculturalism adds to the content of FCSE, it offers an opportunity to educate young people about cultural diversity and tolerance through food. Geertz (1973) contends that culture is a set of control mechanisms, including plans, recipes and rules for governing behaviour; Symons (2004) suggests that viewed another way, the activities of those who cook is culture, and that culture is reinforced by the rituals, repetitiveness, routines, regulations and reproduction associated with cooking. For Symons, recipes and resultant plates of food are connected by those who cook, to become the fusion of culture and nature; for Levi-Strauss (1975), cooking marks the transition from nature to culture, fire and cooking being the basic distinguishing features. Thus cooking becomes the means by which nature is sustained and culture is maintained and developed as recipes become adapted and shared. The role of FCSE in perpetuating culture by these means becomes increasingly significant as the inter-generational transfer of cooking skills and local food culture diminishes. In Studies 2 and 5, there were no specific references to the role of FCSE in promoting cultural relativism (Fieldhouse 1996); however, the responses of young people in Study 2 demonstrate that they consider FCSE to be a normal and valued element of the culture in which they are being educated, and they frequently mentioned cooking culturally diverse foods and recipes, indicating their regard for these as routine components of their food experiences (17F7, 16F1, 16F7, 15M2) (ref. RQ2). Interviewees in Study 5 regarded FCSE as an integral element of food culture in terms of developing skills and educating about food provenance and food choice (CSEP4, CSNGO2) (ref. RQ4).

In some contemporary westernised societies, an appreciation of the diversity of food cultures maybe somewhat lessened because of the tendency to view food as an inert matter, dissociated from its human producers and natural context because of a lack of interaction with them (Meigs 1997). National cuisines are traditionally associated with preparation and cooking methods, distinctive foods, and eating styles, typical for a particular country and an aspect of group identity for populations (Fieldhouse 1996). The development of nationalism, as a signifier of identity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, led to the invention of traditions and the establishment of social cohesion, although culinary nationalism was least studied in this respect (Rogers 2003). National cuisines used to be easier to define than they are in modern times where the tendency to

utilise ideas from other cultures has resulted in the easy acceptance and incorporation of new food products, cooking techniques and eating habits, as evidenced by the vast array of ethnically diverse food outlets and availability of ready-made products and ingredients that are a predominant feature of contemporary westernised countries. Such culinary multiculturalism is notable in the UK; a result suggested by Gatley (2012) of *'Britain's colonial history, its industrial revolution and openness to both foreign trade and immigration along with its alleged lack or neglect of any culinary anchor'* which *'have all contributed to the faster evolution of Britain's culinary cultures towards a more homogenous and industrialised food system often bereft of regional differences.'* Changes to UK food culture cannot be viewed in isolation, for they occurred against a backdrop of significant societal changes that were prevalent from the late 1950s to the mid-1970s, notably the rise of multiculturalism, entrepreneurialism and individualism, technological advances, increasing international exchange, the formation of new sub-cultures, improvements in material living, the growth of business corporations and the increasing influence of young people (Marwick 1998). The origins of food in the UK, which have been gathered from all over the world have resulted in a complex food culture that has been influenced by multiculturalism. This is reflected in the tripartite categorisation of cookbooks that have been published in the past century and a half, i.e. firstly, those overtly focused on English/British recipes (which in practice use many 'traditional' ingredients of foreign origin), secondly, those which provide 'general' recipes with no specified nationality but an emphasis on good cooking (and usually incorporating many recognised international recipes and ingredients), and thirdly, those specialising in specific national and ethnic cuisines (Panayi 2008).

It is possible that where formal teaching about cooking is considered to be necessary that it may reflect the state of a country's culinary culture – its strength (or weakness) or the importance of food to people's sense of self. Culture is in a permanent state of development and flux. It cannot be expected to be static. The initial argument presented in Chapter 2 was that the NC in England and Wales was proposing a fundamental shift from a home-oriented food culture to an industry-shaped one, which has introduced a multiplicity of cultural variations for food. The domestication of foreign food that took place in the UK over the decades following the end of WW2 has led to a diverse range of pastiche versions of multicultural dishes and that the burgeoning of a whole branch of the food industry that supplies 'authentic' foreign ingredients and ready-processed foods and their British interpretations, feeds the desire to eat multicultural dishes (Panayi 2008). The multicultural nature of culinary culture should not necessarily be regarded as a weakness, but an opportunity to celebrate diversity and set an example of tolerance to young people by how cooking is approached. Perhaps the two greatest variables in the decision to try different foods are the motivation to learn and openness to new experiences (Brown 2009), both of which can be encouraged and inspired by cooking lessons. What is special about food in this respect is that the opportunities to taste, handle and work with foods from around the world is grounded in reality and gives young people a live insight into the eating habits of other cultures. Food is an integral element of culture, and exposure to other cultures, via food, can broaden tolerance and help in understanding how other

people live (Fieldhouse 1996). Food literacy can be appropriately and meaningfully taught across the multicultural spectrum. FCSE is a natural pathway for promoting the celebration of cultural diversity as its pedagogy is given additional depth and breadth when young people are introduced to the diversity of foods, recipes and cooking methods from different cultures that exist in modern Britain. It can also promote an understanding of how societies develop and the mechanisms and implications of integrating diversity. The ability to match content and pedagogy to local requirements and cohorts of pupils affirms FCSE's important contribution in the curriculum for developing responsible and informed citizenship. The studies for this research demonstrate this by the way that different ideologies within and between nations emphasise particular rationales for teaching FCSE, according to the perceived importance and value of food-centred and related attitudes and behaviour.

Gatley's cross-cultural study found that even in France with its well established food culture, cooking was being changed by technology, yet the meaning of the eating experience remained as centred on sociability (Gatley et al 2014). French women might be using some shortcuts when cooking, but the purpose of eating – family, friends, and social life – remained more central, compared to the English sample. In this sense, Gatley echoes what others have found, that cooking reflects a culture (e.g. Levi Strauss 1975, Douglas 1975, 1984, Mennell et al 1992, Fieldhouse 1996, Kaufmann 2010), in which case a culture that chooses not to teach its young people to cook is perhaps choosing to make them more dependent on other providers. For France and Italy, which have distinctive, renowned and well-established food cultures, the formal teaching of cooking skills is not included in curricula *per se*; however, in an attempt to preserve tradition, both countries have introduced teaching activities that encourage young people to develop sensory awareness, cultural identity and the ability to select a balanced diet through tasting traditional foods. In France, policies in relation to FCSE are more concerned with educating young people about the cultural, gastronomic and pleasure aspects of food and culinary knowledge (Gatley 2012), whereas aspects of nutrition, diet and food hygiene have been taught in science. In the 1990s a French government initiative established the 'Semaine du gout' (week of taste) into its school curriculum to encourage children to verbalise their own tastes through the experience of the senses, to encourage them to select a wider and healthier range of foods and help preserve food culture (Gatley 2012, Jonsson et al 2005). In Italy, food education in schools is commonly confined to nutritional coursework. One aim of the Slow Food Movement in Italy is to promote and develop teaching activities on sensory education and food culture. Slow Food education focuses on the senses and introduces the principle of pleasure; discovery, playfulness and conviviality at the table. This approach also leads to discussions about food cultures, regions and seasonality as well as the differences between industrial and artisanal products (Slow Food Movement 2014).

As Short (2006) notes, in order to influence cooking practices, the focus of food initiatives should be on food and cooking culture in its entirety, not just specific cooking skills, and that effective strategies designed to promote change in food choices and eating habits are cohort-specific and

work within people's food experiences, rather than imposing a 'top-down' approach. In a discussion about health promotion, Caraher et al (1999) suggest that making cooking an accepted part of everyday life and culture rather than only being an issue for marginalised groups (e.g. low income groups), may provide more opportunities for health promotion practice. They suggest that FCSE could usefully contribute towards generating a common food culture rather than reflecting one that is divided by issues such as access to food. Caraher (2012) suggests that there has been insufficient focus on the role of cooking within food culture, partially because many cooking initiatives have been funded by the health sector, whose objectives focus on improving health outcomes. The inclusion of multicultural recipes and ingredients in cooking lessons has therefore become a regular and accepted part of FCSE content. The subject thus reflects the profile of multicultural food choice which is now a normal feature of UK culture.

9.6 The role of cooking education in leisure

The theme of cooking as a leisure activity was highlighted by the young people in Study 2, several of whom talked about the significance of the kitchen as a social place into which to invite friends to share food that they had prepared and cooked. They considered this a good way to 'break the ice' in social relationships and make friends, share ideas about food and impress their friends (16F1, 16F2, 16F7). It was considered that as eating is an inclusive activity, it was important to have the appropriate skills and the opportunity to express their creativity and experience a sense of achievement in doing so (17F5, 17F7, 16F1, 16M1, 11F4). There were also perceptions that cooking is a fun subject that can be enjoyed by everyone (17F7, 11F2). In Study 5, the value of teaching cooking skills in inspiring children was discussed, and the way it encourages young people's sense of achievement and self-esteem was considered important, especially for academically low-achieving pupils (CSPOR, CSGAR). One interviewee was concerned that the absence of parents at meal preparation times would mean that children will not develop an appreciation of food in its widest sense (CSNGO1), reinforcing the importance of formal FCSE in this respect.

In many westernised societies, food has acquired a leisurely role, being associated with and bringing pleasure to people who can afford to participate in activities such as dining out, cooking for leisure, sensory analysis, purchasing high-value food products, watching cookery programmes and buying goods from the associated 'cooking business' (Short 2006). Cooking as a basic life activity, is one which people often feel pressurised to pursue within the temporal pressures of everyday living (Ragaert et al 2004, Jabs and Devine 2006, Daniels et al 2012). People's attitude towards home cooking can influence the amount of time they devote to it and what they regard is its purpose. The enjoyment of cooking may be a predictor for the extent of cooking skills practised in the home, and although often regarded primarily as a household chore, cooking can also be viewed as a pleasurable, creative activity for the cook and the recipients of the food (Sidenvall et al 2000, Heldke 2001, Short 2006, Daniels et al 2012, Hartmann et al 2013). The leisure connotations

associated with cooking have become increasingly popularised with the widening of informal cooking education and the influence of its associated products. Food and cooking are now regarded as much as forms of leisure, relaxation, enjoyment, cultural acquisition, performance and fun as they are about the biological requirement to eat (Short 2006); the suggestion being that the sole purpose of the cook's task is to bring sensory gratification and pleasure to the recipients of their work as it is about making it chemically healthy (Symons 2004). In her book on the culinary pleasures of cookbooks, Nicola Humble (2005) suggests that there is pleasurable perversity in reading the instructions for recipes and in imaginary tasting of food, but also the intense satisfaction of active engagement which brings recipes to life. Two systematically contrasting, but often overlapping culinary action regimes - the pleasurable, creative, 'different', weekend cooking of complex meals and the repetitive, mundane world of weekday 'chore' cooking of quick and easy meals - are distinguished by their associated feelings by domestic cooks; the former being associated with pleasure (especially for men) and the latter with mundane obligation (especially for women) (Kaufmann 2010, Hartmann et al 2013). Pleasure derived from cooking is constrained by time limitations that increase pressure on people when they try to fit cooking and eating into the schedules of different family members; particularly for women, who tend to spend their spare time completing household tasks, compared to men, who tend to use theirs for leisure activities (Daniels et al, 2012). The involvement of adolescents in family food preparation may increase the likelihood that they will make healthier food choices (Hartmann et al 2013, Walters 2009, Woodruff 2013), a theme raised by several young people in Study 2.

9.7 The role of cooking education in promoting public health

Of all the rationales for FCSE gathered from scoping the terrain for this thesis and the fieldwork, the role of cooking skills education in supporting and promoting public health policy, by enabling the development of an understanding of the relationship between diet, nutrition and health, featured frequently and strongly in informant's responses in all five studies. The prevalence of people's inability to prepare meals at home was considered to be predictive of poor dietary habits that often lead to NCDs in Studies 2,3,4 and 5 (17F5, 17F6, 17F7, 16F1, 16F5, 12F2, SSHP, CSNGO1, CSNGO2, CSEP2, CSEP4, FIHC1, FIR1, FIM3). Data for the five studies was gathered between 2008 and 2013 at a time in which the context for FCSE was set against educational policy focused on developing and educating citizens to take responsibility for aspects of their lives, for which they have varying degrees of control and choice, including health, lifestyle and eating habits, as expounded in the aims of the NC in 2007:

> '....the curriculum should:
> - encourage learners to take responsibility for their own health and safety, and to appreciate the benefits and risks of the choices they make' (DCSF 2007)

and in 2012:

> 'The National Curriculum.... should enable all young people to become:
> - confident individuals who are able to live safe, healthy and fulfilling lives
> - responsible citizens who make a positive contribution to society' (DfE 2012)

The findings from Study 1 on the recent history of education policy in relation to FCSE, reveals how the good intentions of policy makers to provide FCSE as a strategy to improve public health often have restrictions and barriers which limit their efficacy. For example, the limited 'shelf-life' of policy makers, and the delays in implementing policies, which become entangled in bureaucratic red tape, often stymies the momentum for policy change. However, the onus on schools to encourage young people to adopt healthy lifestyles is persistent. Healthy food provision and FCSE are one sector of a raft of healthy lifestyle initiatives that schools are encouraged to adopt.

Schools have the potential to educate large numbers of children about healthy eating habits through the integration of nutrition education in the curriculum (Whitby, 2010) and cooking classes have been identified as one a range of preferred methods for delivering nutrition education messages (Beets et al 2007). In the five studies for this research, opportunities to learn about food and experience practical cooking skills were given as examples of a range of conduits through which messages about nutrition, healthy eating, lifestyles and empowerment over food choices can be delivered to individuals as part of public health policy. Some élite interviewees in Study 5 highlighted the complexities of teaching young people about diet and health by raising a number of issues. Firstly, context and relevance were considered to be important in terms of what is considered to be an appropriate food intake. There were suggestions that the development of a set of food-related competencies for pupils in different Key Stages (e.g. FSA 2010), has provided a workable framework to encourage pedagogical consistency in this respect (CSGAR, SSILP). Secondly, the issue of how the ideology of healthy eating can be met whilst inspiring young people to cook was raised (CSEP4, SSGAR, SSILP). Thirdly, it was emphasised that the content and delivery of messages about healthy eating need to be clear and consistent (SSGAR, SSHP, CSPOR, CSNGO2, CSNGO3). Concern was expressed about who delivers the messages and what their perceptions of 'healthy' might be (SSHP, CSPOR, CSEP4); an issue raised in other studies, e.g. Fordyce-Voorham 2011 and Caraher et al 2013. Although not specifically applied to FCSE, the theories of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), and Herbert Bowles and Samuel Gintis (Bowles and Gintis 1975, 2001), are useful and intriguing for considering its purpose, content and pedagogical style; in particular, the extent and ethos of overt and covert messages the school transmits to young people about food choice and cooking practices. Whereas Bourdieu highlights the symbolic and social stratification of food, Bowles and Gintis offer a 'harder' interpretation of education as producing culture to fit capitalist society. Does this apply to FCSE? If couched in the unfamiliar language and terminology of the dominant culture, the crux of FCSE might on the one hand be imposing messages or on the other hand run the risk of being missed, ignored or dismissed by young people who do not possess that cultural capital, or of alienating them if insufficient thought is given to avoiding overt or implicit criticism of their familial eating habits, which may be diametrically opposed to the content of these messages.

In connection with this, some participants in Study 5 raised the issue of the image of and negative attitudes towards healthy eating perceived and portrayed by many young people (SSGAR, CSEP4),

suggesting that the value placed upon the relationship between food intake and health could present both opportunities and challenges to embedding health education. There were suggestions that the amount and variations of cooking skills and healthy eating initiatives that have been and are currently being promoted and implemented throughout England and Wales, whilst admirable for many reasons in their own right, have the potential to cause confusion and deliver mixed messages (SSGAR, SSHP). Forming mutually supportive partnerships and community links to develop a culturally appropriate framework was considered as potentially beneficial on a number of levels. The need to inspire young people to enjoy being able to cook and gradually steer them towards healthy eating was discussed, and it was considered that for pedagogy to be effective, young people must be able to relate to its content and be inspired by how it is taught (ref. RQ5). In addition, the importance of defining what is meant by 'healthy' and ensuring that messages are given by trained practitioners to provide consistency (SSHP) was raised. In Study 3, all respondents considered that the food industry should be involved to some extent in the process of teaching young people how to cook (ref. RQ3), particularly in educating them about food provenance and as part of public health initiatives. There was recognition of the need to encourage a greater understanding of the role of food in order to support public health improvements, for which cooking skills were considered essential (FIR1, FIHC1) and references were made to the importance of identifying, improving and implementing the most effective strategies for delivering healthy eating messages (FIM3). To avoid confusion and mixed messages, participants in the élite interviews and food industry studies for this research also suggested that the aims, objectives and pedagogy of FCSE initiatives would benefit from being developed from a State endorsed, consensually agreed template, with built in flexibility to allow for teacher / school autonomy in its delivery. There was wariness, however, about a total 'top-down' approach from some participants in Study 5 (CSPOR, SSILP).

In Study 4, a number of issues were raised about the role of nutrition as a subject in health education. Firstly, it was suggested that the focus should not just be on nutritional values and individual nutrients, but to promote an all-round view of food and diet to develop within young people the capacities to experience a healthy and active lifestyle (e.g. in Japan, Cyprus, Northern Ireland, Estonia, Slovakia). This is the argument that Gyorgy Scrinis (2013) proposes in his critique of the concept of 'nutritionism'; the approach to understanding the relationship between diet and health that, in recent years, has come to dominate nutritional science, dietary advice, education and the marketing of food. Nutritionism, for Scrinis, is the promotion of a reductive understanding of nutrients as the key indicators of healthy foods and diets, and he argues that the way in which the relationships between nutrients, whole foods and bodily function have been interpreted in a nutritionally reductive style, has contributed towards the disconnection of people with their ability to choose a healthy diet; dietary choice has been made neurotic, he argues, when it ought simply to be the result of a solid, confident food culture. Here is where FCSE ought to have a role, surely. In order to achieve a wider understanding of food, defining and promoting intrinsic concepts such as 'healthy', 'balanced diet', cohort-appropriate food and lifestyle choices, meal planning, budgeting

and food culture were considered by participants in the studies to be essential to provide context (ref. RQ3). Secondly, several countries considered it important that health is explored in a practical context, although the extent to which this occurred was not always obvious from the information they supplied, especially when health education was taught across curriculum disciplines. Thirdly, the contribution of outside agencies such as health professionals and NGOs, and the important role of parents were emphasised as being integral to the implementation of diet and health curricula in some countries such as Australia, Austria, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Japan, Norway, Portugal and USA (ref. RQ5).

Some élite interviewees in Study 5 felt that basic, useful and realistic skills (such as reading food labels, budgeting, food hygiene and nutrition) should accompany cooking skills in order to reinforce knowledge and understanding (SSGAR, SSILP, SSHP) (ref. RQ3). The importance of having a government-led framework for FCSE was reiterated, with a proviso that it should be flexible and could be adapted to meet individual schools' requirements. The views of young people were considered to be an important aspect of planning the content of FCSE pedagogy, and the careful training of practitioners emphasised (ref. RQ5). The contribution and influential role of FCSE in initiatives involving young people in experiential culinary skills activities aimed at preventing and tackling NCDs is frequently cited (ref. RQ2), however, there is limited empirical evidence of the efficacy of FCSE interventions in modifying obesity-related risk behaviours in young people (Cunningham-Sabo 2014, Hartmann et al 2013, Nelson et al 2013, Lukas 2011). Initiatives such as those reported in Caraher et al 2011, Gatenby et al 2011, Larson et al 2006 and the perspectives of the participants for this research, reinforce the argument that being taught how to cook provides opportunities to equip individuals with the knowledge, understanding, confidence and skills to have control over their food intake and to take ownership and responsibility for their health and well-being. In addition, this research has demonstrated that the rationale to include FCSE in the curriculum was considered by the majority of study participants to be an essential element in public health strategies to promote healthy eating and lifestyles, encourage understanding of food and tackle NCDs. It was encouraging to hear from young people in Study 2 for example, that they acknowledged and were enthusiastic about the potential role of FCSE in enabling them to gain knowledge about food and nutrition, their awareness of the benefits of eating a variety of foods (17F7, 16M1), and that it potentially contributes towards helping them make healthy eating choices (17F3, 17F5, 17F6, 17F7, 16M1, 16F1, 12F2, 11M2), although it is recognised that the articulation of such knowledge and awareness is not necessarily matched by actions (Caraher et al 2013). Some felt that by understanding more about food and nutrition it would help them as future parents (16F1, 16F3, 16F5, 12F1, 12F2, 11F1, 11M2, 11M5) and also as individuals (17F4, 15M2, 12F2, 11M3, 11F4), and that such knowledge would make them feel good about themselves (17F8, 17F5) (ref. RQ3).

Studies 3, 4 and 5 for this research showed that there is concern about how the public receives messages about food and healthy eating and that those messages need to be consensual. There

appeared to be agreement from the study participants that the gap between evidence of poor diet-related ill health and cooking education should be narrowed. Although not an easy rationale to accurately measure in terms of effectiveness in positively changing long-term behaviour and health outcomes, and despite empirical evidence for positive outcomes of cooking initiatives in terms of reductions in diet related diseases being insubstantial (Caraher 2012); nevertheless, there is evidence that FCSE can make a positive contribution to public health strategies. Undoubtedly it is a curriculum subject that has the capacity to raise awareness of these issues in a grounded, experiential reality to which young people can relate and become involved with at different stages of their cognitive development. The counter, neo-liberalism argument – that cooking and health are private matters and the responsibility of the individual, not the State – was not voiced in these studies. This is something that ought to be tested in a quantitative study to see whether it is actually representative of public opinion.

A dominant approach to health promotion techniques has focused on changing knowledge, attitudes and behaviour (Klepp and Wilhelmsen 1993, Pender 1996, Bullen 2004). Caraher et al (1999) suggested that by bringing these elements together, cooking skills provide opportunities to achieve this, but without practical cooking skills education, individuals will not be empowered to change their eating habits and lifestyle, and the increasing reliance on pre-prepared foods unwittingly increases the intake of fats, sugar and salt, which health promotion projects seek to diminish. Caraher and Lang (1999) and Lang and Caraher (2001) argued that changes to FCSE, away from practical skills, would have a differential impact on people with low incomes, as people with higher incomes can afford pre-prepared 'health food' composed of greater quantities of fruit and vegetables and lesser amounts of fat, sugar and salt. They suggested that cooking skills courses that are aimed at the poor, without reference to this differential, run the risk of disadvantaging them further and may fail to realise the wider reasons why a proportion of such groups cannot or choose not to cook.

In the USA, health education initiatives explicitly acknowledge the pivotal role of FCSE in empowering individuals to make healthy eating choices, and the training of health professionals includes enhancement of their food and culinary knowledge and competencies in cooking skills, recipe development and modification, and communication about food (Begley and Gallegos 2010a). However, one of the challenges for FCSE is whether this is still applies in cultures, such as the UK, that are witnessing an *'Age of Nutritionism'* (Pollan 2008, Scrinis 2008), where the food system provides opportunities for the consumption of ready-made products, many of which are promoted as contributing towards a healthy diet by the addition, reduction or adaptation of a key ingredient or nutrient, and which are often favourably priced to encourage regular consumption. There is a suggestion that in attempting to create distance and distinction between health advice legitimised by a rational scientific approach (such as that traditionally provided by dietitians) and the teaching of healthy cooking skills that may not need a strong scientific base, health professionals have inadvertently created support for the trend towards the use of convenience foods, ready-made

meals and components, resulting in *'an epidemic of culinary ineptness'*, (Gussow, cited in Begley and Gallegos 2010) and the over- (and under-) consumption of the very foods and nutrients that cause most concern (Caraher and Lang 1999).

The notion that nutrition education from an early age is a key element to promoting lifelong healthy eating has been frequently cited (e.g. Bullen 2004; Bullen and Benton 2004; Buttriss et al 2004; Klepp and Wilhelmsen 1993; Perez-Rodrigo and Aranceta 2001; Suzuki and Rowedder 2002). O'Dea (2005) suggested that the role of health educators in tackling nutrition education is complicated by concerns that they must avoid inadvertently creating food concerns, body image issues and weight stigma, prejudice or eating disorders. There should also be cognisance of the simplistic dichotomies applied to foods by children because of their limited cognitive development, pre-existing knowledge and social/cultural influences, which can be inadvertently reinforced and contribute towards unhealthy attitudes towards food choices (Hart et al 2002, Bullen 2004), and of contemporary food culture and peoples' perceptions of what 'a meal', 'good/healthy food' and 'cooking' is.

This argument – that FCSE is a powerful health education tool – justified a wide range of food education initiatives targeted at young people in and out of schools across the UK in the 1990s, many of which incorporated practical cooking skills, but empirical evidence of their effectiveness in terms of changing attitudes towards food, eating behaviours, and enhancing health is scant. The importance of participation in 'hands-on' practical cooking activities for the promotion of healthy eating practices has frequently been advocated (e.g. Brown 2000, Bullen and Benton 2004, Burke 2002, Buttriss et al 2004, Fisher et al 2011, Fordyce-Voorham 2011, Klepp and Wilhelmsen 1993, Oogarah-Pratap et al 2004, Suzuki and Rowedder 2002, Valentine 2000, Walters and Stacey 2009). However, in a review of the links between food, cooking skills and health, Engler-Stringer (2010) reported that few assessments focus on food preparation practices and the influence of cooking skills on dietary quality. In particular, there is a deficit of direct measures of domestic cooking practices. Most initiatives and evaluations are of different types of food skills programmes, aiming to improve individual health behaviours, such as those conducted in schools and low-income communities. The results of these generally indicate small changes in positive dietary change and increased confidence with cooking skills at the time of their evaluation, but few monitor these outcomes beyond a few months following completion of the programme.

Short (2006) refers to the *'heterogeneous mix'* of food types that people use when they say they are cooking and the ambiguousness of the term *'cooking from scratch'*, which is often used to endorse a perceived superiority of using 'fresh', 'traditional', 'authentic' ingredients, rather than those perceived as 'industrial' and 'processed'; words that also create ambiguity when used in relation to food. This again highlights the complexities of cooking, and the importance of the context in which it is defined and practised by the recipients of FCSE. This must be acknowledged and incorporated into course content and pedagogy in order to dispel such ambiguities, and provide a

balanced view of cooking to develop young peoples' understanding of food provenance and confidence in selecting their food.

Since this thesis began in 2004, the diet-related public health crisis has considerably worsened, most obviously and publicly with regard to obesity, but also to other NCDs, notably diabetes. Public health specialists began to express alarm at this insidious crisis in the early 2000s and various reports on the problem were published (e.g. NAO 2001, Donaldson CMO Report 2004, Healthcare Commission 2007) and strategies discussed (e.g. Foresight 2007) before the first concerted effort in the form of Healthy Weight, and Healthy Lives (2008), but this was cut by the Coalition government in 2010. The emphasis since 2010 has been more individualistic, with the Responsibility Deals (DoH 2014) stressing the behaviour and responsibility of individuals, and how private and voluntary sectors and industry are key to tackling obesity. The Responsibility Deals have been much criticised as too weak, and as handing power over attempted behaviour change to sectors which are implicated in their creation (Gilmore et al 2010, Ginn 2011, Limb 2013, Panjwani 2014). Apart from the implications for health, the rising prevalence of obesity and concomitant NCDs in children and adults in the UK has serious fiscal implications, with estimated annual increases of £1.9 – 2 billion medical costs associated with treating these diseases by 2030 (Wang et al 2011). Income inequalities are also widening significantly (Brewer et al 2008, Dowler 2008, Hills et al 2010). They directly affect the quality of food consumption for low income earners. Various approaches have been used to tackle such inequalities, e.g. New Labour's minimum wage and enhanced welfare benefits. Gabriel and Lang (1995) argued that the 'Fordist Deal' that gave workers better wages, enabling more consumption, was unravelling, and confirmed this in the second edition of their book. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) has funded studies showing that since the banking crisis of 2007-2008 and the recession, living standards have been squeezed for the average UK worker, e.g. its Poverty report (JRF 2014), states that between 2008 and 2014, a basket of essential goods (including food) rose by 28%, but that average wages only rose by 9%. Across the Western world, work has become more impermanent and harder to find especially for young people.

The public health crisis has many complex causes and proposed strategies for tackling it are numerous. As was noted in Chapters 1 and 2, it was both sad (to this researcher) and ironical (in policy terms) that the NC restructured FCSE to diminish and alter practical cooking education, just when evidence grew of the need for England and Wales to tackle their NCDs (COMA 1984, COMA 1994, WHO 1990). This 'disconnection' between health policy and education policy has been much cited among proponents of FCSE over the last decade. In recent years, policy in relation to FCSE has focused on addressing concerns about the composition of modern diets and consumption patterns, their influence on the rising incidence of NCDs and a decline in people's knowledge about food. The Healthy Weight, Healthy Lives (2008) report highlighted the responsibilities of Government and by implication, an appropriate role for FCSE: *'However, the Government has a significant role to play too: not in hectoring or lecturing but in expanding the opportunities people*

have to make the right choices for themselves and their families; in making sure that people have clear and effective information about food, exercise and their well being.', (ibid, xi). Teaching people how to cook is one of the conduits by which such 'effective information' can be transmitted, but the evidence for this is minimal. The familiar results of poor dietary choices are a major cause of concern for policy planners and governments. The model of Evidence Based Policy Making referred to in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3: Policy Analysis), has a potential role in future research for determining the contribution that FCSE can make towards tackling NCDs, but it will need to incorporate the complexities of the FCSE terrain in order for policy to be grounded in reality.

There is some evidence that teaching young children to cook can influence what they eat, as demonstrated by Wu et al (2008,) in the first intervention trial of its type. Another study, conducted and reported after the present thesis research had begun by Seeley, Wu and Caraher, (2009) involved a small intervention conducted in primary schools. It evaluated the effectiveness of the Chefs Adopt a School (CAAS) initiative on children's attitude to food and cooking, cooking confidence, vegetable consumption and confidence when asking their parents to purchase vegetables. It concluded that interventions with more practical cooking sessions have the potential for greater long term impact for these outcomes, but although there is wide acceptance that learning through practical cooking enables learners to eat a healthier diet, the evidence base for this premise is limited. The overall impact of such interventions has not been systematically assessed. Their review identified very few relevant studies, but those that evaluated children's knowledge showed an improvement in knowing about a variety of topics related to nutrition, healthy eating, food safety and food preparation. Only one study evaluated the practical cookery component separately from the education component and found that these had a much greater impact on older primary school children than the education sessions, demonstrating the efficacy of practical experience in reinforcing knowledge, as the theories of Kolb (1983) and Crawford (2009) suggest. There was also some evidence, albeit limited, that participation in practical cooking sessions influenced children's food selection and preferences for plant foods; findings similarly reported in subsequent studies, (e.g. Walters 2009, Caraher et al 2013, Hartmann et al 2013, Nelson et al 2013). In addition, an independent evaluation of the impact of the first five years of the FFLP initiative reported that:

> *'Pupils had healthier eating habits following their participation in FFLP, with a 28% increase in the proportion of primary school-age children reporting eating four or more portions of fruit and vegetables, and the proportion reporting eating four or more portions increasing by 30%'* and that *'The findings show statistically significant associations between higher participation in cooking, growing, sustainable food education and farm-based activities – and positive eating behaviours.'* (FFLP 2011)

The rarity of these studies speaks volumes about how policy still sits at a rhetorical rather than an evidence-based level. Yet evidence-based policy is the frequently voiced aspiration (Cartwright and Hardie 2012, Colebatch 2009). Wu et al (2008) suggest examples of good practice that are recommended for school-based cooking interventions and encompass a whole-school approach. These include educating pupils about the value of whole foods and food provenance, nutrition, food

preparation and food safety in a series of, rather than one-off, practical cooking sessions – preferably between five and twenty sessions; teaching small groups for cooking sessions; involving school kitchen staff and facilities; including new foods introduced in cooking sessions into school lunches; providing opportunities for staff and children to sit together and eat a meal they have prepared; choosing appropriate recipes for which children can access ingredients and equipment to make them again at home and involving parents. Although this would be the preferred scenario, for many schools, tackling the logistical challenges that such provision requires presents major problems. Notable initiatives such as the CAAS scheme (Stanes 2006), the FFLP (whose catering standard now covers 1m public sector meals served in the UK), and the Focus on Food FSA-funded cooking bus initiatives (FFLP 2011) have provided valuable, but limited, temporary solutions to provision shortfalls. As is the usual case with such initiatives, the provision of sufficient, consistent and sustainable resources is the limitation.

Several studies concerning children's knowledge, understanding and perceptions of food have been conducted (e.g. Bullen 2004; Bullen and Benton 2004; Caraher, Baker and Burns 2004; Frobisher, Jepson, and Maxwell 2003; Hart, Bishop, and Truby 2002; Lakin 2002; Suzuki and Rowedder 2002) and three of these (Frobisher et al; Hart et al, and Suzuki and Rowedder) focused on children's awareness, attitudes towards and understanding of nutritional knowledge, whilst the others considered the opportunities and challenges presented by attempts to change/develop children's food and health concepts. A key theme running through these studies, in line with developmental theories of learning (e.g. Piaget 1953, Bloom 1956, Bruner 1996), is the transitional nature and development of children's conceptual understanding of food and its relationship to health. Hart et al (2002) identified two essential criteria for effective pursuit of healthy eating guidelines – motivation and understanding. Motivation tends to be erratic for children because of their perceived lack of urgency and foresight associated with long-term health. Cognitive barriers tend to affect understanding of the issues and cognitive development (as demonstrated by Bloom 1956), is a major internal effecter of health awareness, but prime external influences (such as parents, carers, advertising, media messages, media personalities and peer group) will act as barriers to opportunities, 'gatekeepers' and sources of reinforcement for children's food choices. However, self-efficacy for cooking and family meal attitudes and behaviours have been significantly associated with family meal frequency (Nelson et al, 2013, Woodruff 2013). Other studies about motivation and behavioural change and the influence of nutritional knowledge on food and eating behaviours (e.g. Miller and Rollnick 2002, Worsley 2002, Hamilton-Ekeke et al 2007) indicated that evidence is mixed and that knowledge of nutrition is a necessary but insufficient factor for changes in food behaviours, which are influenced by environmental and intra-individual factors including motivations; and that there is no significant relationship between children's (especially primary aged children) choice of food and their knowledge of a balanced diet. Hamilton-Ekeke's study (2007) suggested that children do make healthy food choices, but they need underpinning knowledge in order to influence their attitude towards healthy eating. Worsley's study (2002) suggested that in order for nutrition knowledge to play a pivotal role in the adoption of healthier eating habits, greater

attention needs to be paid to the development of children's and adults' knowledge frameworks, and in this respect, there is a need for a renewed proactive role for the education sector. Taste and preference are consistent influences, especially in younger children and many idiosyncratic misconceptions and mistaken attitudes towards food and health are developed during the primary years, which once embedded, are hard to relinquish. However, with cognitive development, the transition to a form of abstract thinking identified by Piaget (1953) as formal operational thought, enables conceptualisation of food groups, characterised by features other than immediate sensory experiences. Thus, abstract nutritional terms can increasingly and more easily be understood by older children, accompanied and enhanced by increasing exposure to formal vocabulary from other areas of the curriculum, particularly science. Of equal significance is the tendency for children to develop and express dichotomies about foods, which can impede their understanding of terms such as a balanced diet. The cultural dichotomies of good food versus bad food, which are often a feature of children's food perceptions, may inadvertently be reinforced by nutrition education material and pedagogy, potentially leading to negative attitudes towards foods that some health messages may suggest should and should not be eaten (e.g. those containing fat); a potential danger point in the aetiology of eating disorders and misunderstanding of the importance and role of all nutrients in the body.

Persuading individuals to adopt healthier lifestyles is one issue, but persuading food companies whose products feed the development of obesity to help resolve the crisis is another. There is some evidence that big food industry companies are becoming involved in public health strategies. For example, Tesco's 2013 Tesco and Society report (Tesco 2013) pledges support to *'improve health and through this help to tackle the global obesity crisis'* and *'Our ambition is to help improve health for our customers, colleagues and wider society. We want the nutritional profile of shopping trips around the world to get healthier, year after year.'* This is encouraging, but is only one example, albeit from a major supermarket company. The Public Health Responsibility Deal (DoH 2014) has been established to support and enable people to adopt a healthier diet by providing information, monitoring food composition, improving the food environment and promoting healthier choices. Businesses and other influential organisations are being encouraged to make a significant contribution to improving public health by registering with the DoH and signing up to all the core commitments and supporting pledges set out in the strategy by, for example, reducing the salt and sugar content in their products. Does the State need to intervene more proactively and appoint a champion to tackle the nation's eating habits? Do dietary guidelines need to be re-written to promote cooking? The example of Brazil is worth considering in this respect. Brazil's latest public nutrition guidelines, published in March 2014, present a no-nonsense, upfront approach to trying to avert the real possibility of a similar public health crisis as that witnessed in countries like the UK and USA. This is a health ministry acting firmly to halt the nutrition transition. The 'Brazil Food Guide', issued by the Brazilian Federal Ministry of Health (Monteiro 2014), boldly sets out the principles for achieving healthy, sustainable diets and focuses on home cooking, unprocessed foods, and the pleasures of eating, as shown in Table 9.3:

Table 9.3: Brazilian Ministry of Health national nutritional advice

'Ten steps to healthy and sustainable diets - For everybody, everywhere'
'1 Make a variety of plant foods the basis of your diet
2 Use oils, fats, sugar and salt in moderation to convert foods into dishes
3 Limit or avoid ready-to-consume products
4 Eat freshly cooked meals regularly, mindfully, in pleasant places
5 Enjoy meals in company
6 Buy food in places that offer a variety of fresh, locally produced foods
7 Learn, value, practice and share the art of cooking
8 Give the pleasure of eating a central place in your life
9 Choose places to eat out that serve freshly cooked meals
10 Beware of information and orientation from sources with conflicted interests'

Source: Brazilian Ministry of Health, summarised in Monteiro (2014)

Brazil's strategy suggests that a new 'hard-line' approach to promoting cooking is emerging; debating whether this is appropriate and how to do it perhaps heralds a new phase in the politics of control over cooking education in England and Wales, as outlined in section 9.2 above. Perhaps this is the role for cooking education in the UK, and not just in schools; that it should be re-cast not as a consumerist 'choice', but as an essential element of strategies to protect public health to promote better, low environmental impact diets. What is needed is a stronger focus from public health and other sciences in public policy and better recognition by them that FCSE offers a potential route to better public education. This, as Rayner and Lang (2012) argued in their overview of the history of public health (Rayner and Lang 2012), is what is required; the emphasis has to be, not on getting everyone to behave similarly, but on changing the conditions in which diversity of human behaviour occurs to favour public health rather than ill-health. This starts with young people. Teaching people how to cook cannot solve the public health crisis but it is an essential part of the armoury for tackling it.

9.8 Resourcing cooking education: drivers and barriers

Whatever the theoretical issues and justifications for teaching cooking, FCSE (like all curriculum subjects), is susceptible to the problem of limited resources. This issue repeatedly arose in the findings of the five studies for this research, and is discussed here because it has direct relevance to the core question: even if the teaching of a subject is justified, it cannot be effectively delivered if its resources are too limited. Pedagogy of any variety requires facilities, equipment, finance and personnel; these cost. Meeting the unique (and relatively expensive) requirements in terms of provision and upkeep of appropriate classroom and technological facilities and equipment, and specialist teaching and support staff practitioners with expertise and experience to run lessons

effectively, are challenging targets for any organisation that wants to teach people to cook. Set out under DT in the proposed new NC (DfE 2013a), is the intention that all pupils will *'understand food and nutrition and, where possible, have opportunities to learn to cook'.* At KS1 and 2, the proposals require that pupils will be taught the principles of balanced diets, preparation of healthy meals, basic cooking techniques, with an emphasis on savoury dishes, and that they *'should be encouraged to develop an interest in cooking'* at KS2 and *'a love of cooking'* at KS3, by being taught to cook a repertoire of savoury meals and a range of cooking techniques (DfE 2013a, Ensor 2013, Griffiths 2013). No mention, however, appears in these proposals as to how this will be funded or how the persistent shortage of skilled FCSE practitioners will be addressed. Rather, the proposals suggest that in meeting the requirements, *'schools without access to a teaching kitchen, nearby kitchen or mobile kitchen may have to adapt the repertoire and techniques they teach accordingly to the facilities available.'* (DfE 2013a), which implies that there are no plans for the Government to fully fund their provision in the foreseeable future, rendering the proposals potentially non-viable and impracticable for schools without adequate practical cookery facilities and thus inaccessible for their pupils.

The key practical issues of teaching formal practical cooking lessons (facilities, funding, budget, expertise, training and time) in schools and informal ones in the community are inadequately championed within food policy discourse. NGOs are proactive in this respect, but struggle to secure sufficient long-term funding. With reference to RQ5, the issue of resources for practical cooking lessons generated much discussion and was clearly a high-profile concern in both formal and informal cooking education. It was raised in all of the studies for this research, but the majority of comments about resources for FCSE came from the élite interviewees in Study 5. There was concern over the limitations imposed by insufficient funding for new FCSE facilities and the continued maintenance of existing facilities (CSPOR, CSNGO1, CSNGO2, CSEP3, CSEP5). The resource requirements of FCSE were recognised as putting school management teams under increased pressure, and concern was expressed that this significantly increased the vulnerability of the subject to marginalisation and potential extinction in some schools. The proposed suggestion that different schools could share resources to enable greater access to practical cooking classes (Davies 2006), was met with irritation by some interviewees, for what was considered to be its sheer logistical impracticality. Parental difficulties with funding practical cooking lessons were discussed, and regarded as a significant barrier to young people's access to cooking skills, especially in areas of high unemployment. The shortfall in subject specialist expertise was raised, and concern expressed about the potential knowledge and practical experiential deficit of newly qualified teachers, who have been trained to teach a range of DT subjects, but have not acquired in-depth specialised skills in FCSE. Some interviewees acknowledged the prohibitive costs and logistics of providing FCSE in the curriculum and suggested that extra-curricular, outreach opportunities (such as making use of after school clubs and local resources, facilities and people outside of the school to deliver cooking lessons) should be investigated as a way of ameliorating provision issues, with the proviso that the government should not be allowed to relinquish their responsibility for providing funds for this purpose (SSHP, CSPOR, CSNGO1, CSNGO2, CSEP1, CSEP2, CSEP4). There was

also disquiet about teachers being able to access suitable resources to enable effective and sustained delivery of FCSE.

It was suggested that alternative solutions need to be considered for delivering practical cooking skills, such as the extended school scheme which operates in some areas; however, it would still require appropriate resourcing (SSHP) (ref.RQ5). The use of school kitchen facilities was also suggested, possibly utilising the skills of the school meals staff, although caution was recommended in terms of the perspective (e.g. their definition of 'healthy eating') (SSHP, CSEP4), training and skills of the practitioner and the method of delivery and content of the information that would be relayed to pupils in such an initiative (ref. RQ2). There would also be significant administrative issues to overcome in terms of appropriate training, the use of the facility and the requirement for someone to oversee that responsibility. A range of alternative, lower budget, temporary solutions for tackling the deficit of facilities in   school buildings have been developed, notably the Focus on Food 'Cooking Buses' (http://www.focusonfood.org/cooking_buses), the 'Can Cook' initiative Pop-up Studio kitchen/classrooms (http://www.cancook.co.uk/community-schools-cookery/cookery-for-schools/pop-up-studio-for-schools/) as well as more permanent facilities such as 'VegPod' modular teaching kitchens (http://www.pkl.co.uk/foodservices/seed-to-fork-kitchenpod.asp).

Participants in Study 3 also considered the problem of resources in terms of available expertise. It was suggested that some of the money the food industry spends on promotion of its products could be spent on the promotion of cooking skills (FIR2), and that the industry could be involved with forging links between local education and health departments in order to enhance the supply of expertise (ref. RQ5). Most of the organisations represented in the food industry survey said they provide support for FCSE in the form of published classroom materials, websites, sponsorships, class talks and practical cooking demonstrations and activities. However, caution was expressed by some élite interviewees in Study 5 about the use of such classroom resources produced by various organisations and available from the Internet and other sources, which are designed to assist busy FCSE practitioners. The importance of appropriate and continuous resources for developing and improving the subject pedagogy was considered vital; whereas the policy of decentralisation and devolving responsibility for important issues, such as public health, to other authorities and organisations such as NGOs, considered inappropriate and deleterious to the quality, extent and duration of FCSE provision (CSNGO2).

In Studies 3 and 5, the pressing need for adequate funding to allow for facilitation and continuity for teacher training was frequently raised (CSPOR, CSNGO1 CSNGO2, SSGAR, CSEP3, CSEP4, FIM2) (ref. RQ5). The importance of having specialised FCSE practitioners was emphasised by several participants; in particular, the limitations imposed on provision by a shortage of specialist trained teachers. In Study 4, provision of FCSE varied according to the availability of resources and teaching expertise. A serious shortage of qualified practitioners to teach FCSE has been reported in Canada (Smith 2010) and alluded to by other countries. In Japan, where FCSE is taken very

seriously, expertise in the form of nutritionists is provided in many schools. Some participants in Study 2 considered that having cooking lessons at school meant that skills and methods would be correctly taught (17F1, 17F5, 16F1, 11F1), which would help to embed them and avoid mistakes being made. Some considered that the frequency and continuity of exposure to FCSE lessons was important for all young people, but especially those who are about to move on to independent living (ref RQ2, RQ4). Having a sufficient supply of trained FCSE teachers has come under strain for some years in England and Wales, with recruitment of DT trainee teachers (which includes training in FT) being at the lowest level for any subject in 2013. Only 48% of the allocated training places were filled, i.e. only 410 new DT teachers entered the profession in September 2014, by comparison with over 1000 qualifying in 2010 and 2011 (DATA 2013a). There is concern that this may be exacerbated by a reduction in the number of Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) places at well-established and respected higher education institutes with DT education centres, many of which also provide continual professional development (CPD) in teaching communities. If forced to close, DATA consider that their loss will significantly hinder the development of DT (DATA 2013b).

The suitability of current teacher training for new DT teachers was a significant concern for some participants in Study 5, particularly about the knowledge and practical experiential gap from minimal experiential opportunities to hone their practical skills. This may have implications for their effectiveness as they are expected to be able to teach all disciplines in DT, including food (CSPOR, CSEP2, CSEP4, CSEP5, SSHP, FIM1). For some years DATA (2010) has produced a document providing a framework detailing the minimum competences for trainees to teach DT in secondary schools, within an accepted approach that requires teachers to become proficient in teaching two specialist fields of knowledge. The aim is to provide *'…an up-to-date description of the sophisticated range of knowledge and skills possessed by professional DT teachers'* (ibid), and the competences have been used by Government bodies, e.g. Ofsted, when planning and inspecting teacher training provision and by those involved in CPD. In terms of practical cooking skills, the FT competence emphasises industrial food production and requires that trainees can *'Prepare and cook innovative food products that take account of the needs of specific members of society'*; *'Work individually or in a team to prepare, shape, form, mix, assemble and finish ingredients or component products'* and *'Understand and apply systems and procedures used in food manufacturing (e.g. CAM* [Computer Aided Manufacture]*, Quality Control)'.* How much time is expected to be spent in a kitchen classroom facility learning how to teach basic practical cooking skills to young people is unclear.

In some respects the policy battle over whether and how to teach (young) people to cook, and who should do that teaching (if any), is a battle over available time. Whether or not there is time in the curriculum is partly a pedagogical and partly a policy choice. Teaching time in a school or classroom broadly follows from whether policy-makers include a subject in the curriculum; but time as an issue goes further. Part of the triumph of convenience foods, pre-prepared meals, and 'instant' ingredients is an appeal to save the consumer precious time. Formal recipes almost always give the time

required and as this thesis was being finalised, a veritable rash of celebrity cookbooks showcasing 'fast', 'easy', 'instant' and 'simple' meals were being published to capture the growing demand for speedy meal provision (e.g. Clancy 2013, Hay 2013, Lawson, 2009, Oliver 2012, Pascale 2012, Slater 2013). This is now an almost 'traditional' appeal of the TV show or women's magazine recipes. The picture is of hard-pressed mothers (mostly), juggling competing demands from domestic, parental, and work spheres, resulting in a dramatic change in food preparation and the time devoted to it; from around two hours a day in previous years down to 20-40 minutes (Popkin 2009). The challenge for FCSE is to incorporate the reality of life into its pedagogy by teaching realistic and useful home cooking solutions that meet the demands of time, economy, consumer needs and aspirations (and reduce environmental impact) to inspire young people to repeat in their own lives. This is an area for future research.

The constraints of time imposed by the school timetable and curriculum pressures have led to what might be called 'curriculum overload', which has developed over a number of years in response to education policy initiatives that have required increasing breadth and depth of educational opportunities. This has had implications for FCSE, e.g. core NC subjects take up to sixty percent of curriculum time in primary schools, which means that little time is devoted to DT (including FCSE) (Wyse et al 2008), although recent curriculum reforms have aimed to lighten the load by slimming down the curriculum content (Harrison 2013). In addition, as with all curriculum subjects (and other professions and organisations), teachers are increasingly accountable to stakeholders including LEAs, School Improvement partners, Ofsted, school leadership teams, parents and pupils for the delivery of the curriculum and the perpetual raising of standards (Galton and MacBeath 2008). Intrinsic to such accountability are performance management/development, performance testing and rating (of both teachers and pupils), school league tables, and the requirement to produce supportive data, all of which encroach on the quality and amount of time available to teach. Research conducted by Pelletier and Sharp (2009), suggests that the more teachers perceive that school administration thwarts their autonomy by imposing pressures on them, the less autonomous they are in their motivation for teaching, the more they become controlling in their teaching, and the more students demonstrate a controlled motivation orientation. Galton and Macbeath (ibid) suggest that a pervasive anxiety about aspects of recent educational policy cast doubt on the government's view that the testing regime raises standards.

The effects of curriculum overload were raised by interviewees in Study 5, even by some who are not directly involved in education (SSHP, SSGAR, CSNGO1) (ref. RQ3). Interviewees who were involved in education discussed the deleterious effects they considered this has had on practical subjects in terms of consistency and sustainability of delivery and experiential learning opportunities, as it has reduced curriculum share, course duration and lesson time and allocation at all KS. This has often necessitated practical subjects being rotated in order to enable limited access to all disciplines within DT by all pupils, which exacerbates the problem. The requirement to raise academic achievement, with its associated accountability, was considered by some

interviewees to stifle spontaneity in practical subjects and deter more exploratory practical opportunities, because of the need to be able to assess and provide evidence (often theoretical) of academic achievement (CSEP5, CSNGO1).

There were no specific suggestions in the studies that young people should *not* be taught how to cook. However, a number of barriers to and gaps between the intentions of FCSE initiatives and their implementation, which can potentially undermine the subject, particularly in respect of teaching people how to cook, were identified. Firstly, the need for political will to implement practical food education policies, the protracted nature of implementing curriculum developments and the time and energy required to convince potentially influential people of the worth of FCSE were raised as significant barriers to developing the subject (SSGAR, CSNGO1, CSPOR) (ref. RQ2, RQ3). Élite interviewees in Study 5 raised several issues in relation to FCSE pedagogy in this respect (ref. RQ3); firstly, attitudes to FCSE. Head teacher and school management attitudes were regarded as being key criteria for the portrayal of the subject's image and the extent of its provision in different schools. In particular, their perception of its educational value in relation to the availability of resources and the varied pressures imposed by the NC and Ofsted had a very real influence on the profile, status and survival of the subject, and it was suggested that perhaps enforcement by inspection may be needed for ensuring the implementation of the government's policy to make the teaching of cooking compulsory up to the end of KS3 from September 2014. Secondly, in relation to the outcomes of education in terms of young people deciding on pathways for future employment, concerns were raised about public perception of and attitude towards the food industry in general, which is still subject to gender stereotyping ('men grow the food and women cook it'), low wages, short contracts, poor job satisfaction and low status (CSNGO2). This may discourage young people from considering FCSE as an examination course option. In Study 3, there were some suggestions that sector relevant food industry skills should be the focus of FCSE (e.g. FIR3). In some countries in the sample for Study 4, there was still evidence that FCSE provision is based along the lines of academic streaming with practical cookery courses only available to limited numbers of young people as vocational electives. For example in Austria, aspects of FCSE are taught in Academic Secondary Schools as theoretical nutrition and health promotion without practical cooking skills and in Secondary Technical and Vocational Education as theory and practical food, nutrition and cooking. In Finland, FCSE is not included in General Upper Secondary Education curricula, but in Vocational Secondary Education as Food Production and Hotel, Restaurant and Catering services courses. In other countries, such as Australia, Iceland, Lithuania and Malta, FCSE is only offered as an elective subject in upper secondary school years. This also applies to Slovakia, where Cooking and Food Skills are only taught in specific, elective vocationally oriented subjects, i.e. Economy and Organisation, Trade and Services: Cook, Waiter and Hotel Academy; and in the Netherlands, HE is offered as an elective subject in secondary schools and possibly in pre-vocational education (VMBO) and secondary vocational school Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs (MBO) courses. In some states in Australia, elective subjects have been allocated points according to perceived academic worth. The aggregation of points gained at the end of such courses

influences access to the next stage of education. Under such a system, FCSE courses are ranked lower than others, so the incentive to study them is diminished.

Concern was expressed about the growing gap and deficit in a range of skills that are required for a thriving food industry and the need to address this through the education of young people (FIR3). In Study 4, just over one third of the respondent countries suggested that developing the workforce and providing vocational opportunities was a rationale for including FCSE in the curriculum (ref. RQ2). For example, Switzerland and Japan regard practical skills as being key elements for developing good work habits and ensuring that young people are ready and able to compete in the complexities of an international workplace. Vocational FCSE courses and career opportunities in hospitality and catering were offered in several countries, usually only in schools attended by young people at lower academic ability levels. Only a few specified that they offer other food based career paths, such as in dietetics, nutrition and technology. Some of the young people in Study 2 referred to the possibilities that having cooking skills might present in terms of future career prospects, recognising the need to have a range of options to pursue (17F2, 15M1, 15M2, 12M1, 11F1) (ref. RQ2, RQ4).
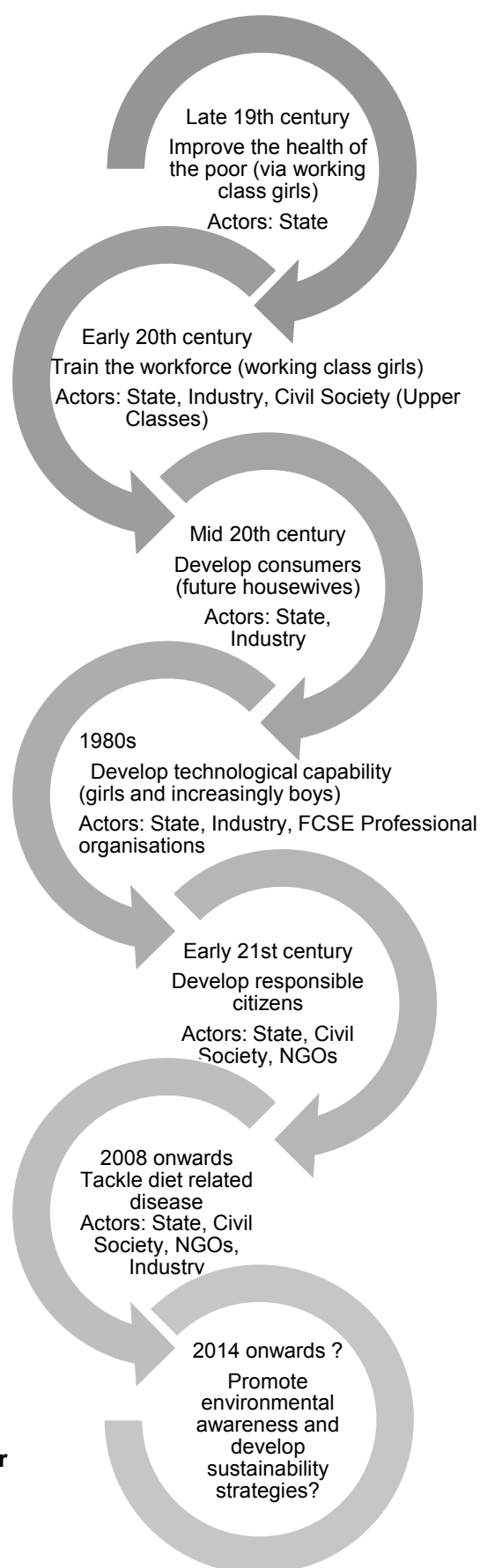
For many young people, gaining practical skills and knowledge through experiential learning in a supportive environment, will encourage positive outcome expectations and a sense of achievement and instant gratification from successfully creating meals within the time frame of a lesson (Nelson et al 2013). This is will be enhanced if inspirational, supportive, constructively critical and experienced practitioners are involved in teaching young people how to cook. Some young interviewees in Study 2 felt that in FCSE, they could learn from their mistakes without being negatively judged (16F1), although some had experienced negative attitudes about choosing to pursue FCSE as an elective subject from peers who considered it to be superficial and unnecessary (17F1) (ref. RQ2, RQ4).

9.9 Is the reason for teaching cooking historically relative?

The account given of the history and development of FCSE in Study 1 (Chapter 4) could lead to an interpretation that the reasons for teaching cooking are inevitably historically relative; they will vary with the times. In Chapter 2, a preliminary historical model of the policy aims for FCSE was introduced (Figure 2.3). This depicted a linear progression of the rationales for the subject and for the contexts in which the preparation and production of food has been taught since the inception of the subject in schools. The study in Chapter 4 revealed that, in fact, different policy arguments for FCSE emerged at different times, each coming to prominence at a specific time, in a particular societal context, to be superseded but not entirely replaced by another. Having decided that Figure 2.3 was too simplistic, a second conceptualisation was developed, represented by the model in Figure 9.1. The circular representation suggests that elements of previous policy drivers remained in FCSE pedagogy and re-emerged as society developed, with varying degrees of emphasis according to the agenda of proponents and the perceived needs of recipients. This second model has some attraction, as it highlights the importance of policy context and could be used to explain

how FCSE has met multiple policy needs at particular times. It provides a link in FCSE over time with health, the economy, consumerism, society, culture, citizenship, gender and, more recently as has emerged from the studies for this research, environmental sustainability. However, even with the inclusion of additional rationales identified during this research, this model also has the weakness of portraying the evolution of FCSE as linear and unidirectional. This does not fit the research findings, which suggest a more complex, fluid and 'messier' situation. Figure 9.1 implies a 'Whig' interpretation of history (Butterfield 1965), i.e. that different historical periods build upon the previous, in an a-historical policy learning process. In fact Chapters 1 and 2 and Studies 4 and 5 showed that the rationales for teaching cooking are societally and ideologically relative and framed. Different societies have different reasons and modes for teaching people to cook. An essential argument that has emerged from this entire thesis is that <u>there may be a universal range of reasons for teaching cooking</u>; a repertoire which almost certainly crosses cultures and boundaries. What does not, however, is why one society chooses to teach its people – young or old – at a particular time and in a particular mode, i.e. why it emphasises a specific reason for doing so. This, above all, is why the model in Figure 9.1 has to be put aside. Societies may vary considerably in whether they transmit cooking skills, practicalities, confidence, recipes and the repertoire of cooking that makes up culinary culture in either *formal* (school, classes) or *informal* (domestic, social media) modes. Even those societies, like the UK, which went down the formal route, still retain the informal. If the attempt to produce a simple graphic model to capture the findings of this thesis appears elusive, the need for an evidence-based overview suitable for policy makers and educators remains strong. The rest of this chapter now attempts to produce that overview.

Figure 9.1: Emerging rationales for teaching people to cook during phases of its evolution

Late 19th century
Improve the health of the poor (via working class girls)
Actors: State

Early 20th century
Train the workforce (working class girls)
Actors: State, Industry, Civil Society (Upper Classes)

Mid 20th century
Develop consumers (future housewives)
Actors: State, Industry

1980s
Develop technological capability (girls and increasingly boys)
Actors: State, Industry, FCSE Professional organisations

Early 21st century
Develop responsible citizens
Actors: State, Civil Society, NGOs

2008 onwards
Tackle diet related disease
Actors: State, Civil Society, NGOs, Industry

2014 onwards ?
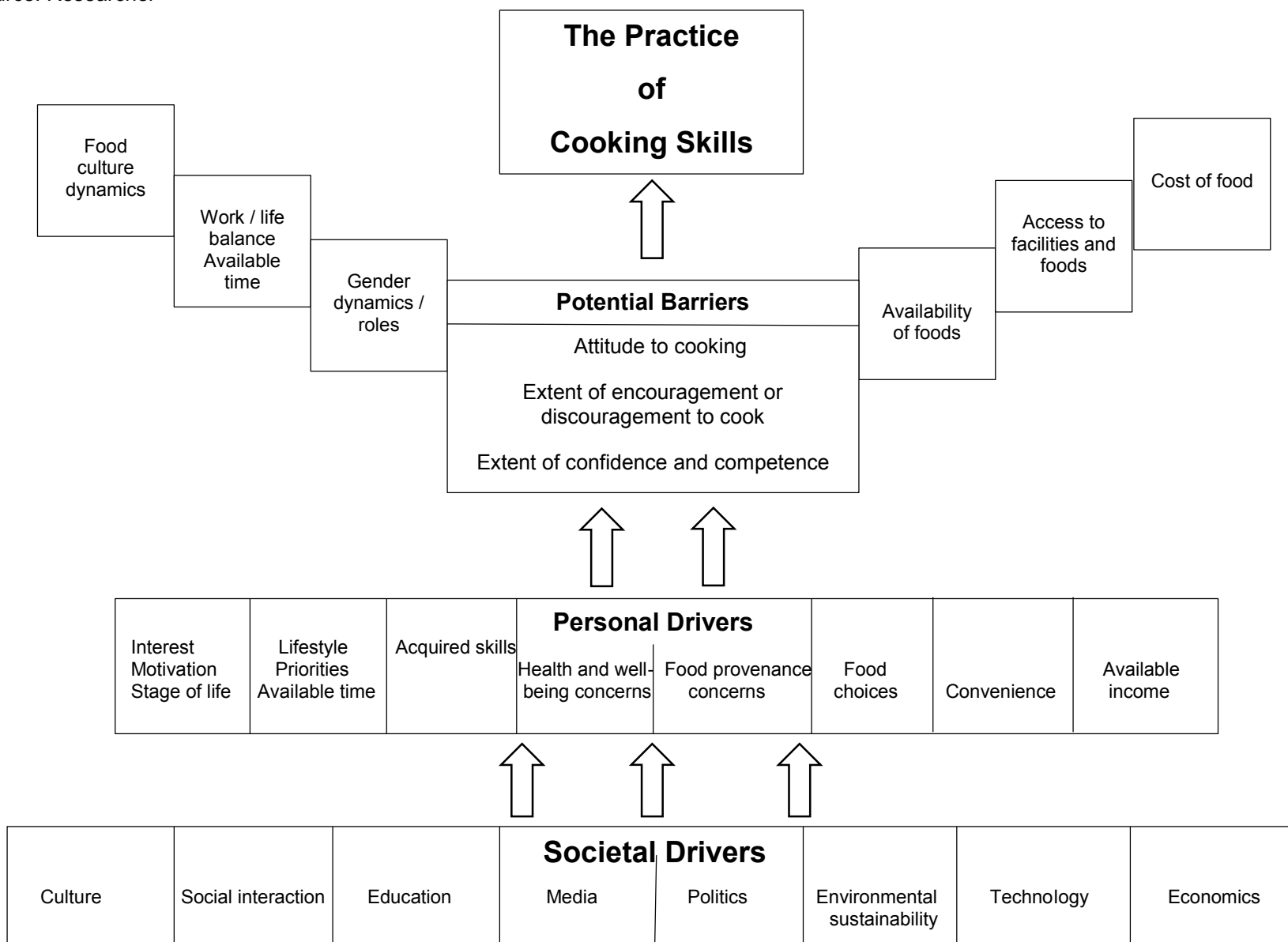Promote environmental awareness and develop sustainability strategies?

Source: Researcher

9.10 Towards an Overview: why teach (young) people how to cook?

This research has demonstrated that the *practice* of cooking and the formal and informal *teaching* of cooking skills are each driven by a complex variety of individual, local, national and international influences and priorities. There are intrinsic barriers to each, which create tensions within and between them about the extent to which it is necessary to be taught how cook in the 21st century, what cooking means to people and society, and what can be usefully taught within the constraints of the school, community and home. These tensions have implications for FCSE provision and pedagogy in terms of the approaches taken and skills developed. A summary and conceptualisation of the drivers and barriers for the practice and teaching of cooking skills formally and informally is provided in Figures 9.2, 9.3, and 9.4 respectively, drawing on the five studies for this research and the conceptual framework provided by Figure 2.1 in Chapter 2. The figures depict and summarise the societal and personal drivers and the potential barriers that influence the practice of and teaching of cooking skills, and which have implications for why and how people are taught to cook.

Each figure depicts the complexity of cooking skills and cooking skills education and the tensions that can occur, because the drivers should not be viewed in isolation as each is influenced by others, any of which could generate a barrier (or perhaps an opportunity) depending on time, place and individual circumstances. For the practice of cooking, Figure 9.2 shows that the motivation or disinclination to cook derives initially from the influence of one or more national or global drivers that structure and influence society and in turn these are shaped by any number of personal drivers. For example, people may be interested in cooking and have concerns about food provenance and the effects of food on their health, but their available income limits their opportunities to access and buy organically/locally produced foods and/or enough fresh fruit and vegetables to meet current dietary guidelines. Others may be motivated to cook, but because of their limited exposure to formal and/or informal cooking skills education, may lack the confidence and competence to expand their repertoire of skills and/or the time or available income to participate in a cookery course to facilitate this. Likewise, a low income and/or limited interest in cooking may influence parental ability or willingness to experiment with home cooking which their family may not want to eat, or to provide ingredients for their children's participation in cookery lessons at school. The influence of and exposure to social media and ICT have raised the profile of cooking which may, depending on their motivation, available income and facilities, confidence and competence, encourage some people to take up or increase their practice of cooking.
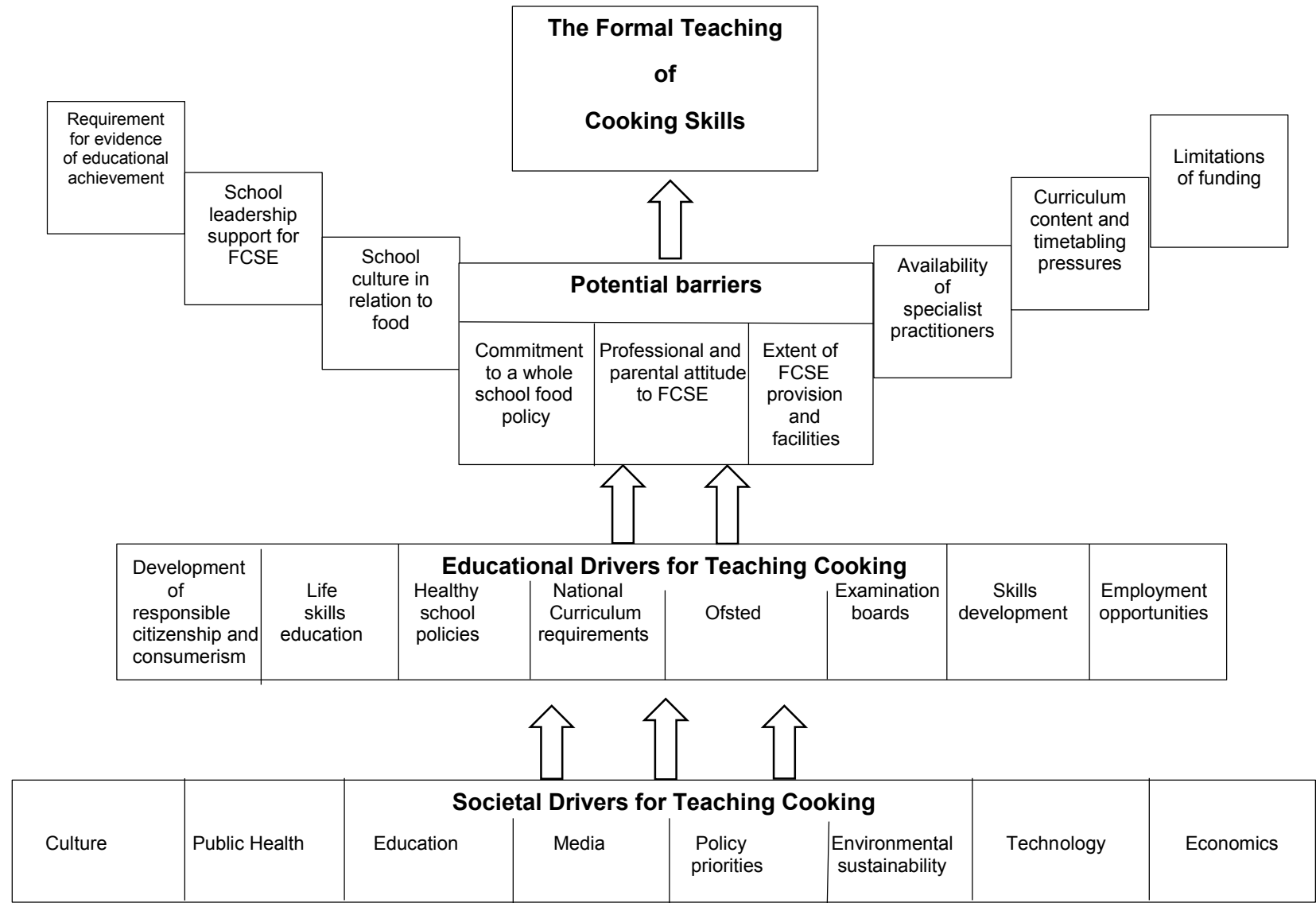
Figure 9.2: Drivers and potential barriers that influence the practice of cooking skills
Source: Researcher

The Practice of Cooking Skills

Food culture dynamics

Work / life balance Available time

Gender dynamics / roles

Potential Barriers

Attitude to cooking

Extent of encouragement or discouragement to cook

Extent of confidence and competence

Availability of foods

Access to facilities and foods

Cost of food

Personal Drivers

| Interest Motivation Stage of life | Lifestyle Priorities Available time | Acquired skills | Health and well-being concerns | Food provenance concerns | Food choices | Convenience | Available income |

Societal Drivers

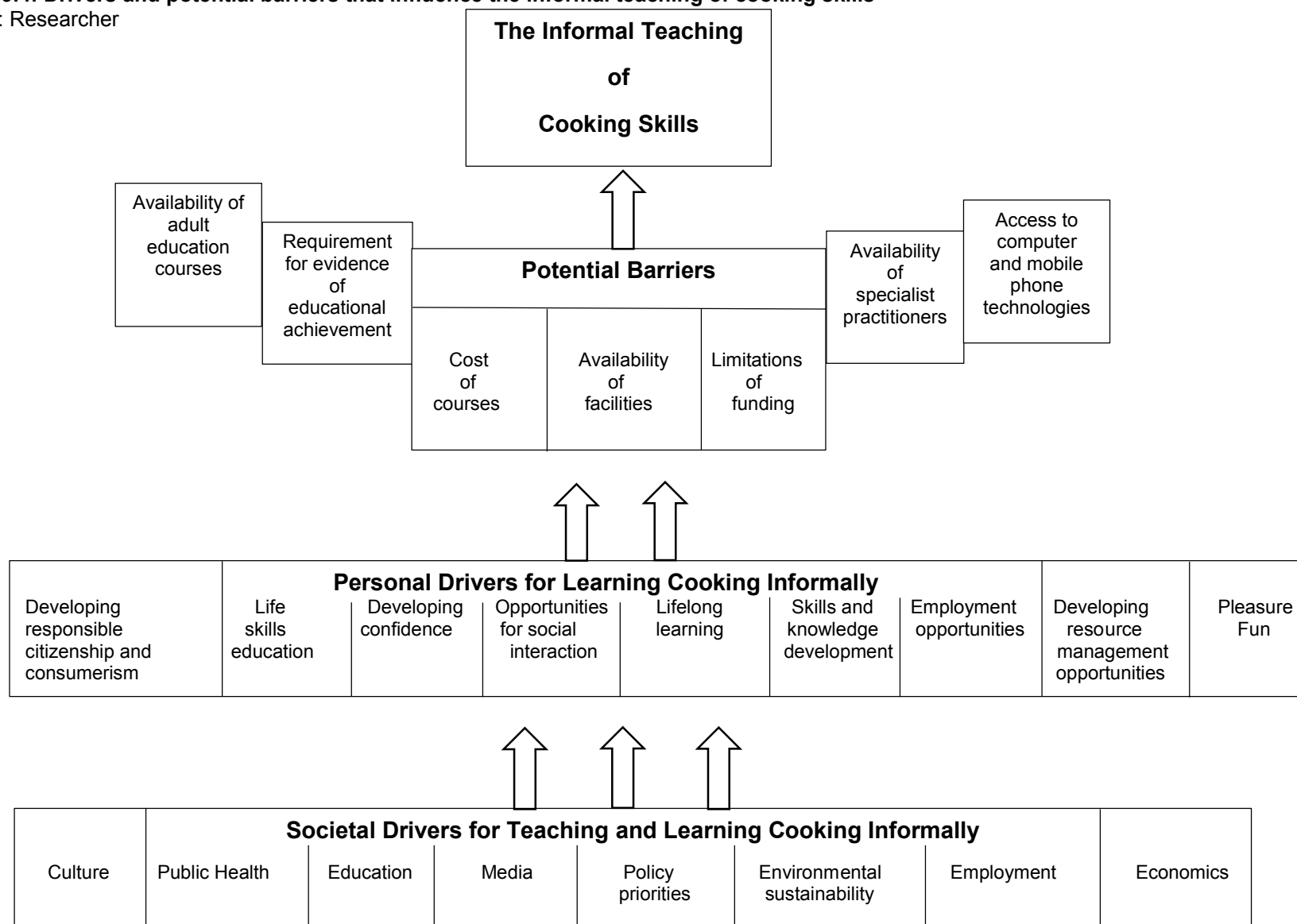| Culture | Social interaction | Education | Media | Politics | Environmental sustainability | Technology | Economics |

The models in Figures 9.3 and 9.4 depict and summarise the societal and educational drivers and potential barriers that were identified as influencing the formal and informal teaching of cooking skills. As with the practice of cooking skills, they illustrate the complexity of the teaching of cooking skills and the tensions that can occur, again because the drivers should not be viewed in isolation as each is influenced by others, any of which could generate a barrier. For example, a school leadership team may fully support FCSE, but have limited funding available to update existing or provide additional specialist facilities (or any, in the case of a primary school), and may struggle to appoint suitably qualified, skilled and experienced specialist FCSE teachers. A school may be committed to implementing a whole-school food policy, but meet with resistance from parents who may regard FCSE and school policies in relation to food provision as interference in their role in this aspect of their children's lives. The requirements of the NC, Ofsted and examination boards also pressurise school leadership teams, who must provide a broad and balanced curriculum as well as evidence of academic achievement, thus limiting available lesson time and course duration for all subjects. In informal cookery classes, the costs of enrolment and materials for courses may deter participation, and the availability of funding, volunteers and facilities and may limit continuity. It appears that a postcode lottery is in operation in respect of cooking skills teaching.

Figure 9.3: Drivers and potential barriers that influence the formal teaching of cooking skills
Source: Researcher

Figure 9.4: Drivers and potential barriers that influence the informal teaching of cooking skills
Source: Researcher

The Informal Teaching of Cooking Skills

Availability of adult education courses

Requirement for evidence of educational achievement

Potential Barriers

Availability of specialist practitioners

Access to computer and mobile phone technologies

Cost of courses

Availability of facilities

Limitations of funding

Personal Drivers for Learning Cooking Informally

| Developing responsible citizenship and consumerism | Life skills education | Developing confidence | Opportunities for social interaction | Lifelong learning | Skills and knowledge development | Employment opportunities | Developing resource management opportunities | Pleasure Fun |

Societal Drivers for Teaching and Learning Cooking Informally

| Culture | Public Health | Education | Media | Policy priorities | Environmental sustainability | Employment | Economics |

The introduction of the NC in 1988 imposed a transition and restructuring directly onto the rationales, content and practicalities of teaching FCSE, the dynamics and complexity of which are captured in a third conceptualisation in Table 9.4 from the pre-NC era. The table is divided into four columns. The first column identifies a range of features of FCSE that experienced transition as the subject developed and was restructured. The first eight of these have a pedagogical focus. The next two features overlap both pedagogy and policy and the final seven have a policy focus. The second and third columns summarise the transitions that occurred to these aspects of FCSE as it changed from pre- to post-NC. The fourth column looks ahead and postulates its future features. The table shows the extent of the changes that were imposed on a once autonomous subject and its once autonomous practitioners. In terms of pedagogy, the changes had sudden, direct and challenging implications and effects for the practitioners who had delivered the subject when it was HE. The changes were numerous, non-negotiable and affected every aspect of how the subject was delivered, assessed, its content, its approach to food, the amount and type of practical work that would be undertaken, and even the language it used. This was illustrated in Study 1 by Table 4.2, which showed how the breadth of the subject content was greatly increased after the NC was introduced. Advocacy also became less subject-focused as more interest in the implications of the changes became the focus for wider interest groups, including the media. In terms of policy, the Table 9.4 shows how the expectations of FCSE have become complex and multi-layered, particularly for the rationales and policy focus that the subject is expected to educate young people about. It also shows how the subject has become influenced and advocated by outside, informal education commentators and providers. The future features for the subject postulated in column four contribute to the CFP's approach to the challenge of encouraging the development ecological public health (Lang et al 2009), and demonstrate how FCSE has a significant contribution to make to this through the education of society's young people. Table 9.4 therefore demonstrates how the preliminary model in Figure 2.3 has been modified to highlight the complexity of the teaching of cooking and show how it is historically relative and responsive to changing times and contexts.

Table 9.4: Dynamics of the transition of Food and Cooking Skills Education

Feature PEDAGOGY Focused	Old FCSE (pre-National Curriculum)	New FCSE (post-National Curriculum)	Future FCSE?
Subject identity	Domestic Economy, Housecraft, Domestic Science, Home Economics	Food Technology / Food Home Economics: Food and Nutrition (title given by some GCSE and A Level examination boards)	Food Technology only? Cooking and Nutrition courses?
Style of learning	Teacher centred\n\nRecipe demonstration followed by hands-on practical work\nSome practical work chosen by pupils within a set of fixed criteria\nTeacher assessed	Pupil centred\n\nTheoretical product design process followed, involving product development and practical work chosen by pupil according to design brief\nEvaluation techniques applied by pupils\nPupil and teacher assessed	Enriched by outside agencies?\n\nMore practical work to revive domestic cooking skills and instil understanding of sustainable diets and health?\n\nAssessment in terms of public health policy?
Participation by recipients	Selected pupils (only girls pre. equal opportunities and sex discrimination legislation); usually classified as and directed towards less academic pupils	All boys and girls up to the end of Key Stage 3 Elective beyond Key Stage 3	All boys and girls beyond Key Stage 3?
Approach to food	Food as nourishment and sensory enjoyment\nFood as part of family life\nFood as part of creativity and leisure\nFood as a consumer product	Food as a material\nSensory analysis of food products\nFood processing\nFood provenance / Sustainable provenance\nFood for health	Food as a scarce resource?\nEcological public health?
Linguistics	Ingredients, recipes, methods, cooking methods	Components, specifications, product design, processes, production	The role of food in ecological public health – unprocessed, low-carbon, local?
Range of foods used	Mostly seasonal, basic unprocessed ingredients	Ready-made components increasingly used	More plants, less animals?
Purpose of practical work	Meals for individuals and families / recipes for specific dietary needs / occasions	Development of food products for purchase by specific target groups\nMeals for health and dietary needs	Meal preparation within limited / finite resources?
Consumer education	Use of cooking equipment, gadgets, appliances, new materials and new foods, consumer law	Product information, food safety practice and legislation, sustainability, environmental impacts	Responsible citizen-consumerism?
Dynamic PEDAGOGY and POLICY Focused	Old FCSE (pre-National Curriculum)	New FCSE (post-National Curriculum)	Future FCSE?
Subject expertise	Subject specific theoretical and practical training and teaching\nSome negativity towards practitioners	Design Technology (DT) multi-disciplinary training and teaching required\nTraining of teaching assistants to deliver practical cookery lessons\nShortage of expertise	Limited availability with limited practical skills?\nMore subject specific skills training?
Advocacy	Central Government, professional organisations (e.g. ATDS, NATHE), examination boards, food industry, subject advisors	Central Government, but increasingly individual school leadership teams, professional organisations (e.g. DATA), NGOs, civil society interest groups, food industry, media, FSA, Ofsted, Ofqual	Central Government, but increasingly NGOs, civil society interest groups, food industry, media, private provision? Directors of Public Health, Chief Inspector of Schools?

Dynamic POLICY Focused	Old FCSE (pre-National Curriculum)	New FCSE (post-National Curriculum)	Future FCSE?
Skills training	Training in domestic practical cookery skills using mainly non-processed ingredients	Increasing use of ready-made components and processed foods More vocational courses for the catering industry Recent revival of practical skills to make wholesome, nutritious meals	About food in its widest sense?
Rationale and policy focus	Individual and family health and well being Domestic food production Consumer education	Technological competence Industrial food production Recent revival of domestic food production Personal responsibility / citizenship Health and well-being Consumer education	Responsible citizenship Public health + externalities Ecological public health?
Curriculum placement	Autonomous	Included as a DT discipline Certain aspects taught in other parts of curriculum, e.g. science, humanities, PSHE	Cross curricular?
Curriculum allocation	*Primary education:* included at discretion of teacher and dependent on available resources *Secondary education:* throughout academic year for minimum double lessons in lower secondary school and elective in upper secondary school exam courses (non-statutory pre-National Curriculum)	*Primary education:* taught as part of DT in KS1 and 2 (statutory) *Secondary education:* part of rotation with other DT disciplines during academic year for often maximum single lessons in KS3 (within statutory DT Resistant Materials and Systems and Control, schools must also offer Textiles OR Food); DT and Food optional in KS4 Proposal to make practical cookery lessons compulsory at KS3 from 2014	???? Post Key Stage 3 for all?
Advocacy	Central Government, professional organisations (ATDS, NATHE), teacher training colleges, examination boards, food industry, subject advisors	Central Government, FSA, Ofsted, Ofqual, school leadership teams, professional organisations (DATA), NGOs, civil society interest groups, cooking skills initiatives, food industry, media, celebrity chefs	Central Government, Directors of Public Health, Chief Inspector of Schools?
Influences	Needs of family members, tradition, food fashions / trends, exploration of newly available foods and cuisines	Celebrity chefs, cookery shows, the Internet, mobile phone applications, advertising, incorporating contemporary food culture	Food scarcity, Ecological Public Health, Energy supplies
Gender	Taught to girls only until Equal Opportunities legislation. Gradual access available to boys.	All boys and girls have equal access to FCSE	All boys and girls

Source: Researcher

The current policy drivers for FCSE are, therefore, multiple. Preceding rationales for FCSE and the contexts in which they were (and continue to be) proposed have added complexity to pedagogy. There are echoes of the original policy driver to improve public health through improvements to inadequate diets characterised by under-nutrition in the working classes of the 19th century, but they now reflect a different perspective and have more urgent objectives for all classes of society. Masked by the simplicity of the central research question has evolved a broad, multi-layered, complex subject, as more rationales continue to be added, the most recent being the need to educate young people about issues around environmental sustainability. The Government is using the State to shape culture via the NC, which acts as a quasi-regulation in that it imposes a fixed framework, which gives teachers in different subjects little room for manoeuvre. It requires schools to be part of the strategy for tackling NCDs via physical education and FCSE, but provides limited resources and time to do so. It requires schools to produce responsible citizen-consumers who understand the need to make informed choices, spend their money wisely and proactively support environmental sustainability. It requires schools to encourage diversity and tolerance. The subject therefore remains relevant, viable and responsive to societal change, and is supported by many advocates, but it needs commitment by policy makers for it to contribute effectively towards government targets.

Although learning how to cook has been viewed positively in the studies for this research, it is important to acknowledge that elsewhere there are opposing views and to provide a balanced debate by considering arguments for and against the teaching of cooking. The question of appropriate pedagogy for teaching cooking becomes complicated when considering how the term 'cooking' is interpreted and the perspective of who is defining it, as explored by researchers including Andrew Gatley (2012) and Frances Short (Short 2003b, 2006). Technological developments in industrial food production have ensured that buying ready-made complete meals, meal components and processed ingredients removes individual and family food provision anxiety for consumers, because they make the process of providing meals predictable, repeatable and reliable, and people should not be negatively criticised for utilising these options. Indeed, depending on the chosen definition, they are in fact still cooking, because many of these options require consumer input to make them ready to eat. People have the right to choose whether or not they cook their food from 'scratch' and their ability, confidence and motivation to do so will influence the extent to which their preferred means of food provision is part of their normal routine. In relation to this, Gatley's research suggests that whilst food continues to be transformed in the home into culturally appropriate meals, there is undoubtedly a trend towards increasing simplicity and substitution of more processed and convenience foods with people choosing to cook with a mix of raw and fresh foods and pre-prepared, convenience foods fairly interchangeably. Short (2006), argues that the complexity and diversity of cooking skills, the varied approaches towards skills and ability and the numerous ways in which the word 'cook' is understood and can be interpreted, need to be included in debates about whether or not people should be taught how to cook and also in decisions about FCSE pedagogy.

People are also eating out of the home far more than in the past, as the Economic Summary of the Food Chain in 2013 demonstrates as it reveals that a similar amount of money is spent by consumers on meals out of the home to that spent on food for consumption in the home (Defra 2014, see Figure 1.1). There is thus competition about who is feeding people, without them needing to cook. It appears that Charlotte Perkin-Gilman's utopian aspiration (Perkins Gilman 1898) that progress would be made if women were liberated from the kitchen is partly being realised – women are apparently not cooking (although the situation is more complex than this), so it is not so surprising that the teaching of cooking is changing in response. A second argument against cooking thus originates from the issue of women's emancipation from their long-established role as the sole providers of food in the home, and the dissolution of an entrenched system of gender division, in which women were solely responsible for the needs and comfort of their male partners and families and the running of the home, and men were the sole financial providers, who expected not to concern themselves with such routine domestic tasks. Kaufmann (2010) argues that in contemporary society, the trend towards individual emancipation, whereby adults no longer automatically accept gender defined roles, has gradually taken over and young people are now usually regarded primarily as individuals, whose practices are autonomous and not defined or influenced by tradition and gender-biased role models. Kaufmann describes how this trend is gradually, but slowly, equalising the division of labour in the home, in particular the cooking of meals, with many more men becoming involved (either in partnership, or less commonly alone). This trend is particularly a feature of societies where the amount of time spent on cooking meals has declined, due to the rise of individual autonomy and increased availability of convenience food products, rather than any permanent trend towards domestic equality, which remains, according to Kaufmann, an ideology rather than a reality.

It was notable that in the studies for this research, the issue of gender in relation to FCSE was raised infrequently, which may reflect the gradual acceptance and normality of gender equality in domestic matters (ref. RQ4). In Study 4, gender equality education was highlighted in Sweden in terms of rights, obligations and opportunities to perform household tasks; in Norway and Slovenia in terms of personal responsibility for meals and other people in the home, and in Ireland, shared responsibility in the household. In Study 2, the issue of gender was raised in terms of equal access to FCSE (11F1), a balanced curriculum (11F1) and the need for males to avoid relying on other people for their meals (11M5, 16F1). In Study 5, the need to promote gender equality in FCSE and in the perception of farming and food production was raised (CSNGO2). It was also notable that there was no real division of thinking about class in relation to cooking in the studies. It is possible that society is now developing cooking as a gender and class-free consensual activity and that the sociological and cultural theory of class has been transcended or is being demonstrated in different ways. This consensus may be superficial as other tensions around food and cooking, such as environmental sustainability, are emerging. This is an area for future research.

If Tables 9.2-9.4 above provide a theorisation of the practical pedagogy, the research question posed by this thesis demands a policy answer. Based on the rationales given for FCSE from the findings of the research, Table 9.5 offers arguments for and against the formal teaching of cooking. This in effect is the answer to the research problem posed by the title: why teach people to cook? It groups the issues and gives rationales in a way which allows for historical relativity, international differences, and policy change. It highlights the complexity of the problem, the different competing interests involved and the expected outcomes for FCSE within limited resources. The first column in Table 9.5 uses the themes that have emerged from the research and developed in this chapter (sections 9.1–9.9 above), with the addition of environmental sustainability, which has also emerged from the studies. The case for teaching cooking for each of these themes, identified from all five of the research studies is given in column two. Column three provides counter-arguments for teaching cooking formally or informally for each theme. These have been identified mainly from the literature review and also from the discussions with élite interviewees in Study 5, who identified a number of barriers that could work against the formal teaching of cooking. Column four considers each side of the arguments for and against and provides comments on aspects of each that need to be included in the debate as well as suggesting opportunities for further research that these arguments present.

Table 9.5: Arguments for and against the teaching of cooking

Theme	The case for teaching cooking	The case against teaching cooking	Comment
Rationales	Multiple reasons for doing so formally and informally for different groups / ages	Food industry can supply all needs	The complexity of the subject complicates arguments for and against The food industry needs to be included in the debate
Politics of control	People need guidance about what to eat	Personal politics: people are free to choose what they eat	Personal choices have implications and externalities for wider society
Skills	Inspires confidence Enhances food choices Retains culture Enhance career choices	Food industry skills save people time, effort and energy Expectations and low confidence cause anxiety	Lack of practical cooking skills experience in new recruits starting Hospitality and Catering Courses and newly qualified Food teachers
Food literacy	Allays anxieties about what to eat Encourages informed choices and confidence Enhances practical skills	Can be formally taught in other curriculum areas without the need for practical pedagogy. Can be informally taught outside of the school curriculum.	Practical skills develop confidence and enhance food choices. Formal teaching usually based on an educationally formulated structure and expectations to provide consistency. Informal education may deliver mixed messages.
Cultural / culinary diversity	Encourages commensality Encourages understanding and tolerance Retains and enhances national cultural identity	UK has well established multi-cultural cuisine catered for by food industry Well established food cultures do not need to teach cooking	Is the reason the UK tries to retain cooking education because it lacks confidence in its culinary culture?
Public health	To tackle non-communicable diseases	Limited evidence for its efficacy in changing eating habits	An area for future research
Resources	Helps people make effective use of their resources Enable skills development Enhances learning	Costs Resource heavy	A major limitation on cooking skills formal and informal education provision An area for future research
Pleasure	Provides opportunities to be creative and have fun	For many people it is a chore It can be an expensive hobby	An enrichment opportunity in young people's education
Environmental sustainability	Informs and educates about food provenance and making best use of resources	Domestic cooking is energy inefficient and environmentally damaging Mass industrial cooking provides a more logical solution	Future research for FCSE pedagogy needs to address ecological public health

Source: Researcher

Chapter 9 has provided the beginnings of a theory for the reasons why (young) people are taught how to cook. This thesis began by finding virtually no existing academic research about why people should be taught how to cook, from which to select and pursue a particular line of inquiry. It was therefore necessary to start with, what in policy and pedagogical terms, was almost a blank sheet and to begin the task of filling the academic gaps in this area of knowledge about cooking, such as those highlighted in Chapter 1 in Table 1.4. The decision was made to map the terrain rather than to conduct one in-depth study within that terrain. This exploration has identified interesting complexities, derived from the multi-method approach. Particular breadth came from the International Study (4) which put the particular conditions of England and Wales into context. The fieldwork (five studies) has helped to clarify and consolidate the discourse about the teaching of cooking. If this research had to undertake primary mapping research, its value is that it helps lay the foundations for future research about this integral part of human life and education; the transmission of cooking knowledge. Whether conducted formally or informally, a wider set of rationales for cooking education than was expected have been found. Currently, for example, the public health crisis in the UK suggests the need for policy to lead from the top and adopt a multi-pronged attack on the causes and potential solutions to NCDs, in which education has to be an integral part. People need to know the reasons why they should be concerned about what they eat. They do not tend to use their instincts when they choose food, there being many external factors that exert influence (Garcia-Bailo et al 2009, Glasser 1997, Wansink 2010) and complicate peoples' relationship with food, which can result in physical and psychological food-related illnesses (Gibson 2006, Shepherd and Raats 2007). In today's supermarket dominated food culture, many people never taste, smell, touch, handle, manipulate or see the production of the components of their diets. Modern eating patterns and food choices, blurred by the dynamics of food culture, have centralised the importance of processed foods for many people. Some countries, such as France and Italy and recently, Brazil (Monteiro 2014), encourage their population to eschew such industrially produced foods and focus more closely on local or national cultures.

The complexity of the terrain suggested by using the CFP systems map (Figure 2.1) has been confirmed. The preliminary model of the evolution of the aims of FCSE given in Chapter 2 (Figure 2.3) was too simplistic and has been substantially superseded as Tables 9.4, 9.5 and 9.6 show. FCSE is a battleground of competing interests; it is one of the many areas of 'contested space' in food policy (Lang and Heasman 2004, Lang et al 2009). A lot of people have influence over whether people learn to cook at the societal level, what they are taught about food and how they manage their role as a consumer in an age when responsible citizenship is the aim of education. The Government ultimately holds the reins over this societal level of food education, because why and how food is taught depends on educational policies and funding. This is not to underplay the role of homes, peers or media. A world which handed over food education to virtual companies or TV chefs would be a diminished one. There remains a role for the State. The question is what does it do? Whom does it work with? How? Resource and educational policy constraints in State education will obviously be a deciding factor in cooking education provision, shaping what can be learnt and

by whom. Private informal cooking education is rising – TV, twitter, apps, online courses, etc. This is interesting, and needs to be researched, but it is likely that this can only realistically reach a small proportion of people. Perhaps the role of State FCSE is to provide the baseline, the common space, the general guidance, which others then build upon and enhance. The involvement in and opinions of so many actors homing in on this educational subject suggests that for England and Wales, policy about why it is taught and how best to do so, is 'hot' but it would be short-sighted if government allowed it to become muddled. That said, there is room for some diversity to continue. Many food and cooking skills initiatives have been developed and rolled out in schools and the wider community by a varied range of interest groups, but their shelf-life, continuity and good work is often cut short by the limitations and/or withdrawal of funding.

The chapter has proposed some of the dynamics in these arguments, but also highlighted the transition of cooking education from the old to the new and the emerging. Nine themes have been derived from the analysis:

1. There are complex and multiple rationales for teaching people how to cook – there is no single, straightforward answer to why (young) people are taught how to cook.

2. Cooking education is a battleground of interests and demonstrates the politics of control over what, why, how, when and where people eat their food.

3. Cooking education has a societal role in the provision of a range of skills.

4. Cooking education is a key element for developing food literacy and citizens who have the skills to make informed choices.

5. Cooking education is important in cultural and culinary diversity.

6. Cooking education is an important element in leisure.

7. Cooking education is an integral part of the armoury for tackling diet-related public health issues.

8. The efficacy of cooking education for all of the above themes is vulnerable to the limitations of resources required to provide it in both formal and informal modes.

9. The rationales and dynamics for cooking education are historically relative and the subject remains relevant, viable and responsive to societal change.

The question posed – why teach people to cook? - can receive a preliminary answer, which Table 9.6 provides. Rather than present the rationales for FCSE as changing every few decades, as in Figure 9.1, Table 9.6 takes a broader historical sweep and returns to the policy and pedagogical debates in Chapters 1 and 2. Column one lists all the policy themes that have emerged from the rationales for teaching people to cook, identified in the studies and discussion above, contrasting 'old' rationales for FCSE (column two) with those for the current NC era (column three); and in column 4, suggesting emerging 21st century rationales. This table is both useful theoretically in that it lends itself to future research (e.g. are these rationales for FCSE being found in all societies in similar ways? or, which of these has dominance within policy debates in different societies?). In short, this table is testable.

Table 9.6: The changing rationales for FCSE

Policy theme	The 'old' rationales	The NC era rationales	Emerging C21st rationales
Politics	It's good for you	To serve industry	Still being fought over!
Role of education	Instil formal knowledge of domestic matters To help individuals live responsibly	Develop technological capability To be employable Life skills education	Develop food literacy and confidence in food choices To be self-reliant in a changing world
Health	To feed and nourish the family Skills for the family	Health as science; linked to some health education	To link environment and human health (ecological public health) To tackle NCD epidemic
Citizenship	Training consumers	Training for Work	Food literacy as a right and a responsibility
The role of skills	As practicalities	To serve industry	All-round knowledge, life skills and leisure
Culture	To stand on your own feet	To participate in the café / service society	For cultural cohesion and multi-cultural tolerance
History	Knowledge and practice in everyday survival	Cooking is not needed today; industry does it	Will it be inconceivable that people were ever NOT taught to cook?
Pleasure	Functionality – a means to an end	Convenience – cook when you want to	Identity – you are what you do and do not eat
Gender	Cooking is women's work	Training for all	Non-discrimination
Academic level	Something for the less academic	For all levels	For all levels
Learning venue	Home Domestic	School Formal	Everywhere Informal / private
Environment	The domestic environment Disease prevention Minimising waste	The national environment Implications of the 'throw-away' economy	The global environment Implications of food production and processing

Source: Researcher

Chapter 10: Conclusions, Reflections and Recommendations

10.1 Conclusions

Why then, should a society teach (young) people how to cook, and why should policy makers support it? The research has shown that the rationales are numerous, complex and interlinked and have implications for individual and collective responsibility in terms of food choices and change over time. A key argument of this research is that if a goal of education is to produce well-informed, responsible citizens, then teaching young people about food throughout their formal education in dedicated FCSE lessons, which allow them varied opportunities to understand and relate to the ramifications of their food choices, is a vital element of that goal. Whether taught formally or informally, for individuals, FCSE broadens the content and style of learning experiences and offers the opportunity and encouragement to take ownership of their food intake by practical experimentation with food, so that they adopt a more self-reliant and confident approach to food choice. For society, FCSE provides a realistic platform from which to explore a broad range of issues about food that have implications for the collective health of local, national and global communities. The research has demonstrated that there is a widely held perception by a range of actors from the State, civil society and food industry that teaching people how to cook and learn about food provenance is a natural and important element of everyone's education and that schools are a logical choice for formal FCSE provision, but that there are also increasingly varied opportunities for informal cooking education.

The arguments for who should be responsible for teaching people how to cook range across a spectrum, from formal to informal, individual to cultural, consumerist to citizenship, paternalist to social welfareist, feminist to cultural consensus, neo-liberal to Stateist. Neo-liberalism promotes individualism and the pursuit of self-interest and eschews the intervention of government in aspects of society where it is considered that responsibility can and should be the province of individuals and their families; although the counterpoint to this in terms of education is that government has a legal and social responsibility to educate the children in its population, based on the principle of collective responsibility (McGregor 2001). As such, neo-liberals might hold the view that teaching young people how to cook at school encourages unnecessary interference by the 'nanny state' in a personal aspect of people's lives and that it should be left to families in the domestic sphere and to the market and the food industry in the business sphere. Social Welfarism views education as a social responsibility whereby all young people should be given life skills education by the state (including FCSE) so that none are disadvantaged because of their home backgrounds. This research has shown that it is Government that is regarded as the logical institution to be given the chief responsibility for advocating and providing the means for formal FCSE to thrive, but that in view of the complex dynamics of the food system, other individuals, organisations and institutions

must be part of the process, in particular families, local communities, NGOs, public health policy makers and the food supply chain.

What is needed is a system to allow all the rationales identified for FCSE to be implemented and available for everyone to access during their education and post-education. Were this to be facilitated, responsibility for such a policy would need to be shared and effectively co-ordinated to ensure consistency, with built-in local flexibility, in all areas of the country. There have been, and continue to be, a wide range of FCSE initiatives created nationally and locally for implementation in schools and wider communities, many of which focus on developing cooking skills and engagement with healthy eating. These have been provided by various agencies and interest groups with diverse amounts of funding to initiate and sustain them. However, a number of recurrent barriers persist in limiting this provision, notably inappropriate levels and frequent discontinuity of funding, inadequate provision of suitably trained practitioners and / or inappropriate / non-existent infrastructure in which to deliver it, inadequate time allocation across all key stages of formal education; and, importantly, inadequate/inconsistent commitment to the subject on the part of some policy makers, school leadership teams and parents.

In the research studies, the enhancement of young people's awareness of nutrition and the effects of food choices on long-term health was a frequently suggested rationale for teaching cooking. Research into the efficacy of practical cooking skills opportunities for achieving such aims is still evolving and the results and conclusions so far are mixed; the relationship between cooking and reductions in the incidence of NCDs being as yet unproven (Caraher 2012). In this respect, low self-efficacy and self-perceived inadequate practical cooking skills were infrequently reported by the study participants, but have been elsewhere identified as significant barriers to food choice (e.g. Chenall 2010). The situation is further complicated by difficulties in clarifying terms and concepts such as 'cooking', 'balanced diet' and 'meals' when teaching people from a wide range of food and family cultures. The need for clarification, focus and 'joined-up' thinking to enhance the efficacy of FCSE in this respect was identified by this research and the development of a State-endorsed, consensually agreed, flexible template for achieving this aim, frequently suggested by study participants. If teaching people how to cook (formally or informally) is to contribute efficaciously as part of the Government's strategy to tackle the incidence of NCDs through education, as current educational policy for FCSE intends (Begley and Gallegos 2010b, DfE 2013a / b, Dimbleby and Vincent 2013), there needs to be advocacy and commitment at all levels, and sufficient, long-term, consistent, sustained, and appropriate means for it to do so, principally funded by the State.

The future for FCSE in schools will depend on three crucial elements. Firstly, having sufficient suitably trained practitioners, who have appropriate experience of developing, delivering and effectively managing groups of people in practical cookery programmes. Secondly, the provision of adequate, consistent, continuous and sustainable funding and resources, including suitable practical classroom facilities and the provision of ingredients where a deficit of available funds would

prevent some individuals from participating in practical activities. Thirdly, having available adequate curriculum time and continuity to deliver experiential opportunities for all young people to be informed about the composition of their diet and learn how they can take ownership of it, without differentiating their access to such opportunities on the basis of prejudgement about the status of FCSE in relation to other curriculum subjects.

Teaching people how to cook and take responsibility for their food choices will not produce fast results in this respect. Food choices and eating habits, once embedded, are challenging (ethically and practically) for outside agencies to influence. The transition into an obesogenic environment with concomitant and continually escalating rates of NCDs, for which the UK has one of the highest incidences in the world, has taken several decades (NOF 2014). During that time, the rationales for FCSE were largely focused on developing the consumer and technological capability, rather than on food choices and the effects of over-consumption or the composition of the products of advances in food technology. Embedding self-reliance and responsibility for personal health and well-being through education (FCSE being but one strand of a complex process) is, therefore, a long-term aim that would require a definitive acknowledgement by society and the food industry and an indefinite commitment by policy makers in successive governments, to take responsibility for and provide consistent support, if the objective of reducing the mounting and multiple costs of NCDs is to be achieved. This is the objective of a current campaign by Jamie Oliver (Oliver 2015), who is calling for all G20 countries to make practical food education a compulsory part of every school curriculum across the world, in an effort to encourage governments to take action on the rise of NCDs.

It is acknowledged that people do not have to prepare and cook their own food 'from scratch' all the time or at all. People have many choices in respect of the provenance of their food. However, if a significant aim of education is to produce well-informed, responsible citizens, then opportunities (including practical experiential opportunities) to receive information about the composition and source of foods in their diet need to be available in order to assist the decision making process. Such opportunities need to be grounded in reality and appropriate for specific cohorts of people in terms of their real life access to food and facilities, cultural influences, budgetary limitations, available time, and life and work commitments, with realistic expectations about what they can achieve within these constraints.

10.2 Reflections on the research process

In modern educational parlance, it is common practice to refer to a student's 'journey' or 'flight path' as they proceed through a course of learning. For the researcher, the journey through the research process as a part-time PhD student has been a 'long-haul', necessitated by the demands of full-time teaching and other personal obligations. Despite the length of the process, the experience has been enlightening and rewarding. As a FCSE practitioner with nearly four decades experience, and from commencing the research with perspectives about learning to cook that were influenced and

shaped by the limitations and frames of reference of specific HE training and employment, a deeper and broader understanding of the complexities of cooking and the teaching of cooking from the perspective of a food policy researcher has been gained.

This research set out to conduct a critical policy analysis and provide an overview of why young people are taught how to cook in England and Wales. The dearth of academic research about the question of *why* cooking lessons are included as part of young people's formal education in State schools, meant that there was no benchmark against which this research could be conducted to address this gap in the body of knowledge about cooking; therefore the researcher needed to manufacture an outline of the issues considered appropriate for inclusion in the analysis in order to establish how the research process should be approached. This was initiated by identifying and exploring the two basic elements of the central research question (Why teach young people how to cook?), i.e. pedagogy and policy. The research resulted in a vast amount of work. Having started with virtually no academic research to refer to and diving into the core focus (FCSE) to seek an answer to the central question, revealed a complex, dynamic and 'messy' terrain of competing interests, concerns, initiatives and opinions to comprehend and rationalise. At this point in the process, it was uncertain as to which direction the research should follow and how best to investigate and represent the complexity of FCSE. It perhaps would have been more straightforward to have mapped out a sequential methodology earlier on in the research process, but gradually this evolved as the mining of the terrain continued. The five qualitative studies were developed as the range of actors in the FCSE terrain began to emerge and it was decided that their perspectives should be included. The research had to be more fundamental than was originally planned, and breadth rather than depth was chosen; however, in doing so, it has contributed to the body of knowledge about the reasons for teaching people to cook by clearing and mapping the terrain posed by the central research question, highlighting the need for and paving the way for more in-depth qualitative and quantitative studies to be conducted within the themes that have emerged.

Ritchie and Spencer's framework analysis five-step process was used to analyse the data collected from the studies (Ritchie and Spencer 1994, 2002, Ritchie et al 2003). The five studies in total produced a large amount of detailed data which needed to be systematically organised in order for an analysis of it to be undertaken, and framework analysis provided an invaluable and appropriate structure within which to conduct the task. Using this type of qualitative data analysis enabled the rationales for and dynamics of FCSE to be mapped according to associations identified between the experiences and attitudes, circumstances and motivations of the study participants. The elements identified from the central research question (pedagogy and policy) were used as the central themes for analysing the data. As specific data from the studies that resonated with these themes was identified, it was located within the framework. Of the five studies, the food industry

survey (Study 5) produced the least data, having only a relatively small number of respondents from each of the three sectors, although useful insights were gained from their responses.

It was originally intended that the research process would be completed within five years, but the fact that, for various reasons, it has taken twice that length of time has not been disadvantageous to the research objective. The increased time span has provided further insight and the opportunity to capture the continuing influence of political and societal dynamics on the status and progress of FCSE, the acquisition and practice of cooking skills and the extent of food literacy in young people and the general public, which, over the years of the research, have rarely been out of sight from media attention and public awareness. The susceptibility of the teaching of cooking in schools to different political ideologies and Government policies has been highlighted, and the duration of the research process in the last ten years has witnessed a series of notable changes which have supported this conclusion. This research has advanced the CFP's analysis that it is a good thing to learn how to cook, by demonstrating firstly, that the teaching of cooking now embraces a wide variety of formal and informal modes and styles that inhabit both the real world and the virtual worlds of the computer, the media and social networking; the limiting factor for any being the extent of people's access. Secondly, and somewhat unexpectedly, that there are good arguments for being more logical about when it is appropriate to cook and when it is not: e.g. when the logic of using a consistently reliable product that is efficiently manufactured by the food industry, outweighs the time and effort involved in making the same product at home 'from scratch' with variable results. The analysis from this research about why people are taught how to cook is thus more sophisticated, but less black and white.

10.3 Recommendations

In the following sections, a range of suggested recommendations for the role of various actors and institutions identified in the CFP's systems map (Figure 2.1) are presented, based on the research studies and in connection with why (young) people should be taught how to cook. These reflect the range and complexity of issues that arose during the research process and are intended to help inform future policy decisions for this aspect of education.

Recommendations for Institutions in the food system

National Government

1. There is a need for positive, joined-up thinking to ensure that all sections of society recognise and acknowledge the important role of food, food education, food choice and eating habits for many aspects of life. The appointment of a commissioner to champion the importance of food would signify the government's recognition of the seriousness of these issues.

2. A national review for cooking education is needed, perhaps by the Chief Inspector of Schools, to explore the possibilities for a State-endorsed, consensually agreed, flexible system and template to allow the rationales for FCSE identified in this research to be accessible to all young people during their formal education.

3. If teaching young people about food and how to cook is considered to be an integral part of tackling the escalating costs of diet related disease, the subject needs to be appropriately, consistently and sustainably funded beyond the lifetimes of current and future governments.

4. Directors of Public Health could start to engage with the cooking education debate and become agents of change to link education with public health.

5. Appropriately, consistently and sustainably funded practical cooking initiatives should also be extended beyond the school leaving age in community settings, in order to benefit other cohorts of people in society, particularly young parents and low income groups.

6. Appropriate, effective and consistently funded teacher training in FCSE needs to be given high priority to address the deficit that exists, in order for schools and community to groups to recruit well-trained and competent specialist practitioners.

Local Government

1. In view of the relatively high costs of FCSE and uneven provision of practical cooking facilities in schools and communities in some areas, there is a need to explore creative ways of accessing and providing suitable and shared facilities within communities. The use of existing community buildings or the purchase / hire of temporary classrooms such as cooking buses or modular classroom 'pods' could be considered.

2. Schools and community outreach groups should be encouraged to pool resources and expertise in order to provide practical cooking opportunities for a variety of cohorts of recipients.

3. The appointment of a suitably qualified and experienced co-ordinator for such an initiative would encourage effective provision and ameliorate the workload of already hard-pressed school and community personnel.

School Leadership Teams

1. There is a need for schools to continue to promote the principles and well-established model of whole-school food policies, which aim to provide a pro-active and coherent approach to encouraging young people (and their families) to take an active interest in their food and follow healthy eating guidelines.

2. Providing opportunities for cross curricular links with food as a focus will encourage joined-up thinking and awareness about its importance in society.

3. Giving FCSE equal status with other subjects via the messages conveyed by leadership teams to teaching staff, governors, parents and pupils, in terms of its curriculum allocation, opportunities

for young people to access practical cooking lessons and its stated role in the ethos of the school, will encourage the perception that the study of food is a natural and important aspect of education for all people.

Recommendations for shaping forces in the food system

The food industry: Catering and Hospitality sector

1. There is a need for the food industry to continue to campaign for appropriately funded practical cooking skills to be taught in schools, particularly in view of the proposed discontinuation of Catering qualifications at GCSE, which will limit opportunities for those wishing to pursue a career in the Hospitality and Catering sector.

The food industry: Manufacturing and Retail sectors

1. The development of consumer food literacy through the improvement of labelling and product information should continue to be pursued.

The consciousness industries: media, advertising, ICT

1. A serious and realistic review of the style, content, extent and implications of food advertising and messages conveyed to young people, in and out of school, about food choices and eating habits should be considered in relation to strategies for tackling the escalating incidence of diet related diseases.

2. In view of their popularity and the extent of their outreach, these companies should continue the development of informal cooking education through mobile phone applications, virtual learning environments etc., to enable access to cooking and food literacy opportunities for greater numbers of people.

Civil society organisations: NGOs, charities

1. These organisations who have worked hard to raise the profile of cooking education should continue to engage with food education for sustainable diets.

2. NGOs whose work focuses on environmental sustainability could pool resources and work together to promote sustainable diets.

10.4 Suggestions for further research

The studies for this research suggest that the complex interplay of influences that inform the formal and informal modes of cooking education offers a variety of areas for future research.

The research has raised questions about the future emphasis of FCSE in terms of environmental sustainability. This term has entered the language and curriculum in a range of subjects and has increasing resonance for many aspects of life, not least the supply and consumption of food. Although it is feasible to suggest that food should be prepared and cooked *en masse* in order to reduce the carbon footprint of domestic cooking, there is a role for FCSE to teach people how to

cook sustainably in the home. This is a suggested area for future research about the purpose, content and extent of FCSE provision, which would also need to address aspects of food provision such as biodiversity, the use of water, CO_2 emissions and the efficient supply and retention of nutrients. Research into the advantages and disadvantages of energy usage for cooking in the home, the restaurant and the factory could be used to inform the development of FCSE programmes to address this aspect of sustainability. International comparisons in this aspect of education would help to inform future policy as all societies grapple with the challenges of diminishing natural resources. Effective ways of familiarising young people with concepts and strategies for the efficient use of resources will be integral to such research, as will focusing on the rationales for their food choices and exploring the persistency of class and cultural influences, in particular, the effects of low income on personal food provision options.

This research has identified that there is a general consensus that cooking education of some sort is important and that this consensus appears to be gender and social class neutral. A recommendation is that a quantitative study with a representative sample to establish the extent of this consensus should be conducted nationally. In connection with this, a national audit of food and cooking skills would establish where good practice and deficits in cooking skills exist, and the implications of this for culture and industry. The counter, neo-liberalism argument against cooking education – that cooking and health are private matters and the responsibility of the individual, not the State – was not voiced in the studies for this research. This is something that ought to be tested in a quantitative study to see whether it is actually representative of public opinion.

The problems around resourcing FCSE was frequently raised in the studies, in particular, about the shortage of well qualified and skilled specialist practitioners. An international campaign on the training of FCSE teachers by the DfE would inform best practice and suggestions for improvements in training courses and recruitment. Research into economical and sustainable ways to accommodate and equip food education facilities in different communities would also be beneficial, especially for primary schools where specialist facilities are less likely to be provided.

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Appendix 1

Table 2.2: Examples of FCSE initiatives promoting practical cooking skills

Organisation	Title and type of initiative	Target group
Academy of Culinary Arts	*'Adopt a Chef Campaign'* - developed in 1990, this campaign aims to teach school pupils practical cookery as a life skill and emphasise the importance of food provenance. Chefs, who are members of the Academy of Culinary Arts, are adopted by schools to deliver (voluntarily) a series of practical workshops, which aim to integrate with the NC, where pupils are actively involved in food preparation. The Academy's ethos, through its campaign, is that teaching children about real food, basic cooking skills and nutrition is vital to restoring cooking to its place in the cultural heritage of the UK, enhancing family life and improving the health of the nation, and it believes that FCSE should be a subject in its own right in the NC (Stanes, 2006).	Mainly primary schools
NFA (funded by the DoH)	*'Get Cooking! Campaign'* 1992-1994, set up to promote the national goals outlined in the Government 'Health of the Nation' White Paper. The project was supported by a wide range of interest groups to promote good food, good diets and to encourage everyone to cook and enjoy their food. The campaign produced an information pack including advice on how, where and what to cook and encouraging people to start cooking clubs.	Primary and secondary schools and other organisations
RSA	*'Focus on Food Campaign'* (started in 1998) was developed from two previous initiatives (the QCA's 'Food in Schools Project' and the RSA's 'Cooking Counts'), both of which strongly supported the continued inclusion and development of practical food activities in schools. It aims to make food preparation a key experience in learning about the social importance of food, and to raise the profile of FCSE. It also aims to support, develop and demonstrate examples of good practice in FCSE. According to its director, Anita Cormac, the effectiveness of the campaign relies on the satisfaction that children derive from being involved in making food in a shared social context (Cormac 2001). The initiative includes the production of teaching materials disseminated to schools that register with the campaign, a research fellowship looking into the effectiveness of planned food education in primary education, a 'cooking bus' which converts into a mobile food classroom and visits schools, and a Focus on Food week which is a celebration of practical food-based work delivered through the DT curriculum.	Primary and secondary schools
BNF	*'Food – a fact of life'*– website launched in 2005 offering a variety of resources for pupils and teachers including recipe suggestions, interactive games, interactive tutorials and cooking videos. **Notes:** Website set up with input from the following organisations: All Saints Educational Trust; DairyCo; Horticultural Development Company; HGCA (part of the Agriculture and Horticulture Development Board; Meat and Education and The Potato Council; Contributions to the administrative support of the website are provided by: British Sugar plc; Cadbury; Dairy Crest Ltd; Danone; J.Sainsbury plc; Kellogg Company of Great Britain Ltd.; Kraft Foods UK Ltd.; Meat and Livestock Commercial Services Ltd.; Nestle UK Ltd.; PepsiCo UK Ltd.; Premier Foods; The Ryvita Company; Tate and Lyle plc.; Unilever plc.; Wm Morrison Supermarkets plc.	3-5 years 5-8 years 8-11 years 11-16 years
BNF	*'Food Life Skills'* – resources for teachers to use for a structured food skills and cookery course *'Cook Club'* – differentiated recipes for use in lessons or after school cookery clubs	14-19 years Primary and Secondary Schools
BNF, DATA and Sainsbury's	*'Active Kids Get cooking'* – initiative that recognises, supports and promotes healthy eating education and cooking in early years through to secondary education and special schools. Children collect certificates to demonstrate their healthy eating knowledge and cooking capability. Free information and resources supplied to schools.	3-4 years through to 16+ years
FFLP: Soil Association Focus on Food Campaign Health Education Trust Garden Organic	*'Food For Life Partnership'* **–** promotes the transformation of food culture across a network of schools and communities in the UK through initiatives such as Cooking Buses. Mission statement: *'Our mission is to reach out through schools to give communities access to seasonal, local and organic food, and to the skills they need to cook and grow fresh food for themselves. We want a new generation to explore how their food choices impact on their health and that of the planet, and to rediscover the pleasure of taking time to enjoy real food.'* Ref: http://www.foodforlife.org.uk/about-us	Schools and communities

Source: Researcher

Appendix 2

Table 2.3: Examples of Campaigns to promote whole school food policies (in which food education forms an integral part)

Organisation	Title and type of initiative	Target group
Expert Working Group on Nutritional Guidelines for School Meals	Established in 1992 by the Caroline Walker Trust (CWT), the group published a set of recommendations for the implementation of guidelines, the first of which was that every school should adopt and implement a school nutrition policy covering both the teaching of nutrition and the provision of food; a forerunner of whole school food policies.	All schools
School Meals Campaign	Established in 1992 as an alliance of over fifty health and public interest organisations and individuals concerned about the nutritional quality of school food provision. They campaigned to re-introduce nutritional guidelines for school meals and published a report in 1996 (School Meals Campaign 1996) in which they identified that the teaching of food and nutrition and the provision of healthy food are the two essential components of a whole school food policy. The report went on to identify and detail some five hundred initiatives being carried out in schools throughout the UK.	All schools
Health Education Trust (HET)	The HET pioneered much of the work to promote the development of whole school food policies whereby what is taught about food in the curriculum shares common objectives with food provision, so that parents, teachers, school managers and pupils, receive consistent messages about healthy eating. The HET has encouraged the development of School Nutrition Action Groups (SNAGs), which are school-based alliances in which teaching staff, pupils, caterers and parents, in conjunction with health and education professionals work together to review and expand the school food service, social eating and the curriculum, with the aim of increasing the uptake of healthy eating (Harvey 2001).	All schools

Source: Researcher

Appendix 3

A summary of the history of Food and Cooking Skills Education

Date	Key policies informed by reports / proposals/ committees	Aims / objectives of key policies	Advocates / champions of policies	Societal issues and educational debates informing policies	Impact of policies on FCSE provision and pedagogy	Target recipients of policies and pedagogy
Late 19th century	1870 - first Education Act: Establishment of School Boards and the compulsory provision of elementary education.	Civilising power of State provided mass elementary education to improve future home lives and increase their employability	Dr. James Kay-Shuttleworth Secretary of the Education Department

Matthew Arnold

Edwin Chadwick | Breakup of domestic based system of industry

Movement of significant percentage of the population from rural areas into overcrowded, cramped, poor living conditions of towns and cities leading to:

poor health, under nourishment

disintegrated home life | | |
| 1870's | Government informed of the links between poor diet and diseases such as rickets and scurvy | Theoretical Domestic Economy included in curriculum help to improve basic living standards and health through the preparation of basic but nutritious meals | Medical profession | educational and cultural inequality

high rate of infant mortality

Advocates believed the cause was impoverished living conditions and the improvidence of the working-class poor, particularly the women | **Domestic Economy (DE)** Training for service in homes of the wealthy

Preparation of plain, basic, nutritious meals Large classes given demonstrations but limited access to practical cookery sessions | Poor working class girls |
| 1875 | Code of 1875 for Specific Subjects | Domestic Economy included in Code of 1875 for Specific Subjects | Pioneers including a Miss Calder of Liverpool, a Mrs. Buckton of Leeds and a Mrs. Clarke of London | | | |
| 1878 | | Domestic Economy made compulsory element of formal elementary education | | | | |

Date	Key policies informed by reports / proposals/ committees	Aims / objectives of key policies	Advocates / champions of policies	Societal issues and educational debates informing policies	Impact of policies on FCSE provision and pedagogy	Target recipients of policies and pedagogy
1879		Domestic Economy further divided into elementary housewifery, hygiene and food only			**DE** Pedagogical model used for delivery of Domestic Economy in many schools was entirely theoretical	Poor working class girls
1881	Royal Commission on Technical Education appointed	Final report advocated education in practical subjects for all types of schools, including elementary schools		Traditional pure science pedagogy and resistance to redirecting that pedagogy and curriculum planning towards burgeoning trades and industries, led to concern that the UK was starting to fall behind its foreign competitors, many of whom were following more vocationally inclined educational policies. Schools pressurised to include more practical and technical instruction in their curricula		
1882	Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools	Recognised cookery as a subject and made provision for a grant to be paid for pupils attending lessons Establishment of practical cookery as a curriculum subject			**DE** Gradual reduction in class sizes and provision of specialist rooms (hired or in some cases built in new schools).	Poor working class girls
1892	Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools	Education should be relevant to its recipients. Establishment of practical cookery as a curriculum subject in the code of regulations for Public Elementary Schools.			**DE** Enabled some practical work to be carried out. Syllabuses complex, over-full and excluded teachers from their compilation. Most tuition revolved around Needlework	Poor working class girls

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1899	Boer War recruits unfit due to poor nourishment and inadequate diets	Improve nutritional status of future potential army recruits		Women blamed for poor state of recruits Attention conveniently deflected away from ignorance of the importance of diet and limited cooking skills in all classes of society. Apparent that the inclusion of FCSE in the curriculum in previous years had yet to make an impact.	**DE**	Poor working class girls
20th century 1904	Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration	Increase domestic training in elementary schools and introduce it into the secondary education for girls	Social-Darwinists, Eugenists Health professionals	Societal obsession with Empire and national efficiency and a concern about the effects of the quantity and quality of the population on the influence and success of these. High rates of physical deterioration, infant mortality and low birth rates Women perceived to be responsible for, and the guardians of racial progression through their role in the production of children and the running of the home. Women largely blamed for the poor state of health and high infant mortality in sections of the population and became scapegoats for society's failure to make effective provision for its most vulnerable members	**DE** Criticism frequently made of the inappropriate-ness of the curriculum content and teaching in preparing girls for working-class life as women.	Poor, working class girls
1909		Domestic Economy / Housewifery) should be compulsory for older girls at school and regularly inspected		Opposing view considered that Housecraft was not educative and out of place in secondary schools whose role was to produce educated women rather than competent cooks Pressure applied for girls to be taught pure science subjects rather than housewifery, cookery and laundry-work	**DE** Inspections found cookery teaching found to be unsatisfactory and profligate, mainly due to insufficient practical sessions, poor and inadequate resources, and the over-frequent production of high fat, high sugar foods rather than cheap nutritious meals.	Mainly poor, working class girls
1911	Board of Education Select Committee report on Housecraft in Girls' Secondary Schools	Systematic and regular inspection process for the teaching of domestic subjects instigated.			**Change of name to Housecraft** Interim Report of the Select Committee considered Housecraft to be an integral part of the curriculum that required definition, development and encouragement.	Girls

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1913	Board of Education Consultative Committee on Practical Work in Secondary Schools	Subsequent enforcement of a series of new regulations for the teaching of domestic subjects in elementary schools that included more structured and prescriptive courses, with an emphasis on simple practical cookery and an avoidance of scientific theoretical instruction.		Concern expressed by some housecraft teachers that practical cookery was suffering because it was too closely allied with science teaching Concern expressed by some science teachers that intellectual training in science was being sacrificed by teaching schemes that taught 'Domestic Science' Consultative Committee report promoted the belief that a general education for girls should contain some training in domestic subjects. Advocated the principle that school is an adjunct of the home and that practical subjects would be further developed by practice at home	**Change of name to Domestic Science (DS)** Practical cookery lessons were recommended to be of at least two hours' duration, over not less than three (preferably) consecutive terms in order to include experience of the seasonality of foods.	Girls
1919	Ministry of Reconstruction Women's Advisory Committee Report	Lack of training for domestic servitude was the main reason for deficit. Recommended greater provision for state financed domestic training facilities for girls on leaving school		Post WW1 middle class concerns about the deficit of domestic servants. Changes in social and economic conditions encouraged parents to push for greater opportunities for their daughters to undertake more academic subjects and qualifications at school and to access a wider range of job opportunities. Debate about the desirability of curriculum differentiation for boys and girls in secondary education.	**DS** Domestic subjects (apart from needlework) struggled to match such parental aspirations and perceptions.	Girls
1926	Hadow Report The Education of the Adolescent	New structure for secondary education. Public health model reiterated		Domestic subjects became a more integral part of the curriculum. Seen to contribute towards promoting good health and efficient home management in order to raise basic living standards and improve the prosperity of the nation.	**DS** Status of both the subject and specialist teachers raised. General aim of Domestic Science should be to provide practical instruction in the choice and preparation of food required for a simple, wholesome diet	Girls

Date	Key policies informed by reports / proposals/ committees	Aims / objectives of key policies	Advocates / champions of policies	Societal issues and educational debates informing policies	Impact of policies on FCSE provision and pedagogy	Target recipients of policies and pedagogy
1941	Board of Education: appointed Committee of the Secondary Schools Examinations Council: The Norwood Report (1943)	Every girl should have the opportunity to take a minimum, intensive course in the *essential elements'* of needlework, cookery and laundry work before leaving school		Girls considered to be the potential makers of homes and it was assumed that they would not receive sufficient training at home for this purpose. Domestic subjects considered to provide a practical approach to theoretical work by teaching 'thinking' through 'doing' and a career path for girls considering taking up courses at Domestic Science colleges	**DS**	Girls
End of WW2	The 1944 Education Act	New tripartite secondary school system introduced	R.A.Butler	Domestic education of girls was once again focused upon as a means of restoring the health of the nation after a period of austerity and to rebuild family life.	**DS** Grammar schools tended to exclude domestic subjects from the curriculum of the more intellectual pupils Many secondary modern schools did not have facilities for domestic science lessons.	Girls / some boys
1960s		Introduction of comprehensive education		Economic changes required a significant increase in the skilled labour force and led to an expansion in craft and technical training provision for less academic and predominantly male secondary school pupils. Curriculum provision of four practical based craft subjects - woodwork, metalwork, needlework and cookery Craft, Design, Technology (CDT) evolved	DS renamed as **Home Economics (HE)** Little input from HE teachers	Girls / some boys
1988	Education Reform Act	The National Curriculum introduced in all state schools in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. NC prescribed what children should be taught to ensure the same standard of education. GCSE exams for 16 year olds are taught for the first time.	Keith Joseph Kenneth Baker	The origins of Design and Technology stemmed from a belief amongst civil servants and policy makers that technology based projects would enhance the development of cross-curricular learning and that technology ought to be part of the general education of all pupils up to the age of sixteen year	**HE** required to become **Food Technology** (FT) and fit into the Design and Technology pedagogical framework. Traditional teaching about domestic production of food replaced by teaching about the industrial production of food. FT should enable pupils to become informed consumers; provide a realistic context for the work-related curriculum; enhance opportunities for future employment	Girls and boys

Date	Key policies informed by reports / proposals/ committees	Aims / objectives of key policies	Advocates / champions of policies	Societal issues and educational debates informing policies	Impact of policies on FCSE provision and pedagogy	Target recipients of policies and pedagogy
2000	New NC came into force in schools in England, Wales and Northern Ireland.	D&T, including FT, became a compulsory part of the NC for children at KS 1 and 2, but not at KS3	National Curriculum Council D&T Advisory Group and the School Curriculum Assessment Authority's (SCAA) KS3 Committee	Resource implications for a minority of schools that did not teach FT at KS3 made the Government decide not to make it compulsory.	**FT** FT vulnerable to exclusion from the curriculum in some schools where the pressures of accommodating and providing compulsory subjects allowed little space for elective specialised resource subjects.	Girls and boys
2004	Government14-19 Opportunity and Excellence consultation QCA consultation on changes to the KS4 curriculum	D&T ceased to be statutory for KS4 students. Schools had to provide pupils with access to a minimum of one D&T course, including FT, Hospitality and Catering or HE		The teaching of FT was also linked to the opportunities for teaching nutrition, health and hygiene under the new framework for Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE).	**FT**	Girls and boys
2005	School Meals review Panel report on school meals	The reintroduction of practical food preparation lessons in schools under consideration	Education Secretary, Ruth Kelly	Review called for reforms in school meal provision to be accompanied by classroom reforms.	**FT**	Girls and boys

Date	Key policies informed by reports / proposals/ committees	Aims / objectives of key policies	Advocates / champions of policies	Societal issues and educational debates informing policies	Impact of policies on FCSE provision and pedagogy	Target recipients of policies and pedagogy
2006	Ofsted Report on Design and (Food) Technology provision in primary and secondary schools	Recommendation that pupils need and should have more opportunities to learn the practical skills of buying, cooking and storing food, which should be well secured before pupils start GCSE FT. Central Government, working through the QCA should take effective steps to rationalise this situation Specialist teacher shortfall should be identified and training opportunities facilitated and implemented. Guidance should be developed for organisational and resource requirements and management for items such as funding ingredient purchase, lesson duration and frequency and class sizes in practical rooms.	Ofsted Inspectorate	Inadequate coverage of practical cooking. Most FT courses fell short of government policy on healthy eating – this was an issue that was frequently criticised by head teachers who saw a failure to meet a fundamental social need in their schools (for pupils to know how to cook and eat well within the boundaries of their individual circumstances) Too little time spent on learning to cook nutritious meals Too much time devoted to low level investigations and lengthy and time consuming written work without a clear purpose or value Pupils required to focus on and engage in complex food product development before they were cognisant of the nature of food commodities, nutrition and food hygiene and had acquired competent and confident food handling skills Some pupils did little cooking because they could not afford or would not bring ingredients to school Lack of funding available to address this issue made consistent teaching and learning very challenging Increases in class sizes led to impacts on resources, health and safety and pupil / teacher experiential satisfaction	**FT** In primary schools, Food found to receive less attention than other aspects of D&T because of: - curriculum organisation - timetabling constraints - inadequate provision of appropriate facilities and resources. FT pedagogy had become distorted due to the inclusion of aspects of design, manufacture, systems and control, which are common elements of other D&T disciplines.	Girls and boys

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2006	Department for Education and Skills (DfES)	From 2008 pupils in all State funded secondary schools to be offered an Entitlement or 'Licence' to Cook : part of a government scheme to get children to improve their diet and culinary skills	Alan Johnson, Education Secretary	The DfES wanted to see a 'resurgence in the art of cookery' and that 'all kids will now get the chance to learn hands-on cookery.' Louise Davies, published a briefing paper, which sought to clarify the situation for FT teachers. She expressed DATA's view that only qualified food teachers or trained staff should deliver these lessons, but there was a shortage of trained Food teachers and an increasing number of schools (15% in 2006) without specialist food rooms or teachers	**FT** Twenty-four, one-hour voluntarily attended practical cookery lessons would be available for pupils aged 11-16 years to learn basic cooking skills through dedicated lessons in food preparation techniques, diet and nutrition, hygiene and safety and food shopping.	Girls and boys
2006	Design and Technology Association (DATA)	Briefing Paper: Only qualified food teachers or trained staff should deliver these lessons	Louise Davies Deputy Chief Executive	There was (and remains) a shortage of trained Food teachers and an increasing number of schools (15% in 2006) without specialist food rooms or teachers. Other issues that required clarification: -cost and provision of ingredients -training of existing teachers -the need to carry out adequate risk assessment -capacity of schools to deliver such a programme for all the pupils who might want to take up their entitlement -what a '*licence to cook*' would actually mean in practice	**FT** Likely that only a limited number of pupils would benefit	Girls and boys

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2008	Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF)	Cookery lessons in the eighty-five per cent of secondary schools in England that were currently offering FT classes, were to be compulsory for children aged 11 – 14 years. By 2011, the remaining fifteen per cent of secondary schools currently not offering FT would be expected to teach these compulsory classes. Purchase of ingredients for poorer pupils would be subsidised to the sum of £2.5 million a year by Government, shared between all State secondary schools. All secondary schools would also build, modernise or share good food preparatory areas for young people to cook in every school by 2011.	Ed Balls Secretary of State	Part of the Government's strategy to tackle obesity and improve health by giving pupils hands-on cooking advice and lessons on how to make cheap and healthy meals from fresh ingredients. Policy vulnerable to economic downturn. Government aim was to train higher-level teaching assistants to do some of the teaching and to train eight hundred new cookery teachers (not clarified)	**FT** For the first time, practical food education was to become a statutory part of the education of every young person Pupils to learn to cook for an hour a week for one term.	Girls and boys

Date	Key policies informed by reports / proposals/ committees	Aims / objectives of key policies	Advocates / champions of policies	Societal issues and educational debates informing policies	Impact of policies on FCSE provision and pedagogy	Target recipients of policies and pedagogy
2008/ 2009	Office of the Qualifications and Examinations Regulator (Ofqual)	GCSE qualifications reviewed and revised. 161 GCSE specifications covering 60 subjects were accredited for first teaching from September 2009		Specifications for these new courses designed to cover the domestic production of food for a range of individual and dietary needs and to include theory and practice about the content, provenance, preparation and cooking of a wide range of foods. FT continued as a separate qualification.	**HE: Food and Nutrition + FT** New syllabuses were published, and included revised HE: Food and Nutrition GCSE courses provided by some examination boards, e.g. OCR, WJEC and AQA.	Girls and boys
2010	Coalition Government Department for Education (DfE)	New Education Bill to consider changes to NC	Michael Gove, Secretary of State	Previous Labour administration's pledge to make cooking compulsory at KS3 in 2011 not upheld by Coalition administration *'because the Government does not want to pre-empt the outcome of the current review of the National Curriculum'* (DfE 2011). Department for Education funded food curriculum programmes such as the Licence to Cook continued to run.	**HE: Food and Nutrition + FT** Existing NC had D&T as a compulsory foundation subject, KS1, 2, and 3. At KS3, Food (previously referred to as FT) became one of four components (Systems and Control, Resistant Materials, Food and Textiles), the first two of which were compulsory. Pupils also required to study at least one of either Food or Textiles.	Girls and boys
Jan. 2011	NC Review announced: Advisory Committee and Expert Panel appointed	NC review for pupils aged 5-16 years in England. Consultation document produced - Phase 1 of review: Intention to introduce an English Baccalaureate (EB) from September 2013	Michael Gove	Government believed that recent changes to the NC, *'such as the inclusion of skills development and the promotion of generic dispositions'* had *'distorted the core function'* of the NC and *'diluted the importance of subject knowledge'* (www.education.gov.uk 2011b).	**HE: Food and Nutrition + FT**	Girls and boys

Date	Key policies informed by reports / proposals/ committees	Aims / objectives of key policies	Advocates / champions of policies	Societal issues and educational debates informing policies	Impact of policies on FCSE provision and pedagogy	Target recipients of policies and pedagogy
Dec. 2011		Phase two of review: To cover remaining subjects (including Food within D&T) to decide which should form part of the NC and which should be non-statutory Responses to the call for evidence were published in a summary report		Summary report of call to evidence stated: Most respondents thought D&T should be retained within the NC because it develops skills in creativity, making judgements, testing, evaluating and working independently. Approximately a quarter of respondents specifically stated that FT and cooking should be kept within D&T in order to help ensure that children made healthy lifestyle choices. Respondents considered D&T vital because it combines practical and life skills by teaching children essential 'hands on' practical skills. Concern that not all pupils had the ability to excel in academic subjects and that by not making D&T compulsory, there was a real risk that schools would not commit to teaching it as it is a resource intensive subject.	**HE: Food and Nutrition** + **FT**	
2012	DfE	School Food Plan: Review into school meals to encourage children to eat good food at school and increase the teaching of cooking in primary and secondary schools	Henry Dimbleby John Vincent	Part of Govt. strategy to address escalating incidences of obesity and diet related disease, which is costing the NHS approximately £6 billion annually	**HE: Food and Nutrition** + **FT**	Girls and boys

Date	Key policies informed by reports / proposals/ committees	Aims / objectives of key policies	Advocates / champions of policies	Societal issues and educational debates informing policies	Impact of policies on FCSE provision and pedagogy	Target recipients of policies and pedagogy
Feb. 2013	DfE	Plans to introduce EB Shelved. Slimmed down NC to be introduced.	Michael Gove		**HE: Food and Nutrition + FT** KS1 and 2: pupils will be taught the principles of balanced diets, preparation of healthy meals, basic cooking techniques, with an emphasis on savoury dishes, and they *'should be encouraged to develop an interest in cooking'* (DfE 2013a) and *'a love of cooking'* at KS3, by being taught to cook a repertoire of savoury meals and a range of cooking techniques	Girls and boys
10th Feb. 2013		Compulsory cookery lessons will be introduced in State schools for pupils aged 7-14 from September 2014, where children will learn to cook up to 20 dishes and master a range of cooking methods		All pupils will *'understand food and nutrition and, where possible, have opportunities to learn to cook'* (DfE 2013a) No plans given for the Government to fund the provision of compulsory cooking classes in the foreseeable future: *'…schools without access to a teaching kitchen, nearby kitchen or mobile kitchen may have to adapt the repertoire and techniques they teach accordingly to the facilities available.'* (DfE 2013a).		

Sources: Atkinson 1990; Attar, 1990; Barlex and Rutland 2003; BBC News / Education 2006a ; BBC News 2008; Black 1998; Black and Harrison 1985; Browne 1997a/b; Caraher 2012, Crawford 2000; Crawford 2009; Davies 2006; DfE 2011; DfE 2013a; Digby and Searby 1981; Dyhouse 1981; Ensor 2013; Farrell 2000 a / b; Farrell 2010; Griffiths 2013; Martin 1998; McCormick 1994; McMullan 1989; NUT 2005; Ofsted 2004; Ofsted 2006; Paton 2013a; Philips and Harper Jones 2002; Rowbotham 1973; Rutland 1996a; Rutland 1996b; Sillitoe, 1933; Smithers and Robinson 1997; Somekh 2000; Stitt et al 1997; SUSTAIN 2006; Turnbull – in Hunt 1987,83-100; The UK Technology Centre 1996 a / b; Valentine 2000; www.ed.gov.uk 2011a,b,c; www.labour.org.uk, 2008 Yoxall, 1965 **Edited by Researcher**

Appendix 4

Study 2: Young people's views of FCSE- Headteacher Information Sheet

CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON

Northampton Square, London, EC1V 0HB

From: Anita Tull,

Dear Headteacher,

I am conducting a research project for a PhD thesis at the Centre for Food Policy at City University, London into food and cooking skills education in schools. The title of the research project is as follows:
Why teach young people to cook? – a critical analysis
The research considers the complex issue of educating young people about food and teaching them how to cook while they are at school, and whether providing opportunities to handle, prepare, cook and sample a range of foods should be a part of the life skills education of all young people. The research aims to explore the policy implications of this issue by finding out and analysing, through a series of studies, the perspectives of a range of stakeholders on food and cooking skills education. This will include a series of interviews with individual pupils from years 7 – 13 (up to 30 pupils in total) during which we will talk about the subject and in which pupils will be able to contribute their ideas to a discussion about the following topics:

- Do you think that young people should learn about food and how to cook at school?
- What do you think the purpose of learning about food and how to cook should be?
- At what age do you think that young people should start to learn about food and how to cook at school?
- What would you want to learn about food and cooking?
- What contribution do you think food and cooking skills education has made or could make to your general education / life skills?

Pupil participation will be entirely voluntary and no pupil will be identified by name or the school they attend and anything they contribute to the interview will be anonymous and non-attributable, and pupils will be free to make any relevant comment that they want.

The interviews would take place on a pre-arranged date during a lunch break in the Food and Nutrition room and last for about 30 – 45 minutes. Interviews will be recorded on a digital voice recorder in order to facilitate transcription and will then be deleted from the voice recorder once the information has been used.
In order to take part, pupils and their parents / carers will be given an information sheet and a consent form to sign. Pupils will be able to withdraw from the study at any time if they wish to do so.

If you are in agreement with allowing me to conduct these interviews, please will you read and sign the attached consent and return it to me at your earliest convenience?

Thank you for considering my request.

Yours sincerely,

Anita Tull

The University complaints clause:
If you would like to complain about any aspect of the study, City University has established a complaints procedure via the Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee. To complain about the study, you need to phone ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ You can then ask to speak to the Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee and inform them that the name of the project is 'Why teach young people to cook? – A critical analysis.'
You could also write to the secretary at:
Anna Ramberg
Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee
Academic Development and Services
City University
Northampton Square
London
EC1V 0HB
Email: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Appendix 5

Study 2: Young people's views of FCSE - Information sheet for school students

Dear Student,

I am carrying out a study at a university into what young people think about being taught about food and how to cook whilst they are at school. I would like to invite you to take part in an interview at school with me, where we will talk about this subject and in which you will be able to tell me your ideas about these questions:

- Do you think that young people should learn about food and how to cook at school?
- What sort of things should learning about food and how to cook teach people?
- How old do you think children should be when they start to learn about food and how to cook at school?
- What would you want to learn about food and cooking?

If you to take part in the study, I will not use your name in the research, so anything that you say will be anonymous and you will not be identified, and you will be free to make any relevant comment that you want.

The interview will take place at your school and will last for about 30 – 45 minutes. The interview will be recorded on a digital voice recorder to make it easy for me to use the information for my study. It will be deleted from the voice recorder once the information has been used.

Please let your teacher know if you wish to take part. If you do volunteer to take part, but decide afterwards that you no longer wish to do so, you will be able to withdraw at any time, even during the interview.

You will need to complete the form below in order to take part, so please take it home and read it carefully then return the form to your teacher before the start of the interview.

Thank you.

Mrs. Anita Tull

✂……..

Dear Mrs. Tull

- I would like to take part in an interview about learning to cook at school.

- I understand that my name and the school's name will not be used anywhere in the research, so anything I say during the interview will be anonymous and will not be traced back to me.

- I understand that I am able to withdraw from the research at any time I want to, even during the interview.

Signed:_____Date:_____

Name and tutor group (please print)_____

Appendix 6

Study 2: Young people's views of FCSE - Information sheet and consent form for parents /carers of pupils who volunteer to participate

CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON

Northampton Square
London, EC1V 0HB

From: Anita Tull,

Dear Parent / Carer,

I am carrying out a research project for a PhD thesis at the Centre for Food Policy at City University, London, the subject of which is the issue of educating young people about food and teaching them how to cook while they are at school; and whether providing opportunities to handle, prepare, cook and sample a range of foods should be a part of the life skills education of all young people.

I aim to explore this issue by finding out the opinions and experiences of a range of people in a series of studies, including some interviews with school pupils at Bennett Memorial School, for which the Head teacher has given his consent. During the interviews, which will be held during school hours, we will talk about the subject of the research and pupils will be able to contribute their ideas to a discussion about the following topics:

- Whether they think that young people should learn about food and how to cook at school
- What they think the purpose of learning about food and how to cook at school should be
- At what age they think that young people should start to learn about food and how to cook at school
- What they would want to learn about food and cooking at school
- What contribution they think food and cooking skills education has made or could make to their general education / life skills

The results and analysis of the interviews will be included in my PhD thesis and submitted for examination. Pupil participation will be entirely voluntary and no pupil or the school they attend will be identified by name. Anything pupils contribute to the interview will be anonymous and non-attributable and pupils will be free to make any relevant comment that they want.

Pupils have had the purpose of the study explained to them at school, and your son / daughter has volunteered to take part. The purpose of this letter is to inform you about it and ask that if you agree to him / her participating, please will you complete the consent form at the bottom of this letter and return it to the school to your son's / daughter's teacher?

Interviews will take place at school in the next few weeks and will last for about 30 – 45 minutes. Each interview will be recorded on a digital voice recorder to enable me to use the information for my research. It will be deleted from the voice recorder once the information has been used. Neither your son's / daughter's name or the school name will be used in the write up of the study, so anything they say during the interview will be anonymous, non-identifiable and non-attributable. Pupils will be able to withdraw from the study at any time without sanction.

At the start of each interview they will be asked if they still want to be involved and will have the option to withdraw at any point during the interview.

Thank you for taking time to consider the contents of this letter.

Mrs. Anita Tull

The University complaints clause:
If you would like to complain about any aspect of the study, City University has established a complaints procedure via the Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee. To complain about the study, you need to phone [REDACTED] You can then ask to speak to the Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee and inform them that the name of the project is '*Why teach young people to cook? – A critical analysis.*'
You could also write to the secretary at:

Anna Ramberg
Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee
Academic Development and Services
City University
Northampton Square
London
EC1V 0HB
Email: [REDACTED]

✂……………………………………………………………………………………………………

Please read the following before signing this form to give your consent to allowing your son / daughter to take part in this research:

•   I understand that any information my son / daughter provides during the interview is anonymous, non-identifiable and non-attributable to them in person or their school and any responses they make will be attributed only by reference to their age and gender

•   I understand that no information that could lead to the identification of my son / daughter will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party, and that no identifiable personal data will be published or shared with any other organisation

•   I understand that once recorded, the interviews will be removed from the digital voice recorder and transferred to a USB computer storage device at the researcher's home to facilitate transcription, and that once transcribed onto a stand-alone PC (not a lap-top or part of an Intranet) at the researcher's home, the recorded interviews will be deleted from the USB computer storage device

•   I understand that my son / daughter has the right to have digital voice recording suspended temporarily or stopped completely at any stage of the interview

•   I understand that I can request a transcript of the interview for my approval before it is included in the write up of the research.

•   I agree to City University recording and processing this information and understand it will be used only for the purpose set out in this letter and my consent is conditional on the University complying with its duties and obligations under the Data Protection Act 1998

•   I understand that pupil participation in this study is voluntary, that they can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that they can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.
I agree */ do not agree* to the conditions set out in this consent form
I give permission* / I do not give permission* for my son* / daughter* to take part in this research study
(* delete as applicable)
Name:_____ (please print)
Parent / carer of (your son's / daughter's name):_____

Signature:_____ Date: _____

Appendix 7

Study 2: Young people's views of FCSE - Participant Consent Form: Headteacher as gatekeeper

CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON

 Northampton Square
London, EC1V 0HB

From: Anita Tull,

In depth interviews on perspectives on the importance of being taught how to cook whilst at school by a group of school pupils aged 11 – 18 years:
Informed Consent Form
Research Title: *Why teach young people to cook? – a critical analysis*

I, as gatekeeper, agree to allow pupils at XXXXXXXXXXX School to take part in the above City University research project. I have had the research project explained to me, and I have read the Information Sheet, which I may keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to allow pupils to:

- be interviewed individually by the researcher (Anita Tull) at an agreed location in the school and date for a period of between 30 - 45 minutes each
- allow the interviews to be transcribed for later analysis and possible publication
- allow the information discussed during the interviews to be non-attributable and non-identifiable to the pupils or the specific school that they attend

Data Protection

 This information will be held and processed for the following purposes:

- To carry out a written analysis of the results of the interviews in order to inform the main research question of whether young people should be taught how to cook while they are at school.
- From this, a written analysis will consider what drives the process of policy change, what and who is driving current food and cooking skills education and the prospects for the implementation of an effective, appropriate, realistic and feasible food and cooking skills education programme for UK primary and secondary education.
- The results and analysis of the interview will be included in the PhD thesis of the researcher and submitted for examination.
- Potential publication of the research in an academic journal.

Please read the following before signing this form to give your consent to allowing pupils to take part in this research:

- I understand that any information the pupils provide during the interviews is non-attributable to the interviewees or the specific name of the school they attend and that participant responses will be attributed only by reference to their age and gender

- I understand that pupils and the parents / carers of pupils who volunteer to take part will be given a separate information sheet and consent form to sign before they agree to be interviewed.

- I understand that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party, and that no identifiable personal data will be published or shared with any other organisation.

- I understand that for purposes of analysis, the researcher will code the non-attributable interviews, and that details of the coding will be available to the researcher only and will be stored on paper in handwritten format in a secure office at the researcher's home only – they will not be stored on any computer or electronic data storage device.

- I understand that once recorded, the interviews will be removed from the digital voice recorder and transferred to a USB computer storage device at the researcher's home to facilitate transcription, and that once transcribed onto a stand-alone PC (not a lap-top or part of an Intranet) at the researcher's home, the recorded interviews will be deleted from the USB computer storage device.

- I understand that transcriptions of the interviews will be stored on a stand-alone PC (not a lap-top) at the researcher's home ready for analysis and that hard copies of the transcriptions will be stored in a lever arch file and once the research is completed, the transcriptions will be deleted from the stand-alone PC and hard copies will be shredded.

- I understand that pupils have the right to have digital voice recording suspended temporarily or stopped completely at any stage of the interview.

- I understand that I can request a transcript of the interviews for my approval before they are included in the write up of the research.

- I agree to City University recording and processing this information about pupils at the school for whom I am gatekeeper. I understand that this information will be used only for the purpose(s) set out in this statement and my consent is conditional on the University complying with its duties and obligations under the Data Protection Act 1998

Withdrawal from study

I understand that pupil participation is voluntary, that they can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that they can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I agree to the conditions set out in this consent form:

Name:_____ (please print)

Position as gatekeeper at Bennett Memorial
School:_____

Signature:_____ Date: _____

Appendix 8
Study 2: Young people's views of FCSE - Interview questions

The following questions, which were adapted to become cohort appropriate from the supplementary RQs (see table below), were asked to initiate conversations about food and cooking skills education during the interviews:

1.   Do you think that young people should learn about food and how to cook at school?

2.   What do you think the purpose of learning about food and how to cook should be?

3.   At what age do you think that young people should start to learn about food and how to cook at school?

4.   What would you want to learn about food and cooking?

5.   What contribution do you think food and cooking skills education has made or could make to your general education / life skills?

Research questions (RQ)	Supplementary research questions (RQS)
RQ3 Is there an appropriate pedagogical model that could / should be implemented to meet the needs and realities of the current and future end providers and recipients of FCSE – teachers and young people?	**RQS3a** Do young people think they should learn about food and how to cook at school? **RQS3b** What should be the purpose of learning about food and how to cook? **RQS3c** At what age do young people think that they should learn about food and how to cook at school? **RQS3d** What do young people want to learn about food? **RQS3e** What contribution do young people think FCSE has made or could make to their general education?

Appendix 9

Study 3: Food Industry views on FCSE -   Participant Information Sheet

CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON C1V 0HB

From: Anita Tull,

Dear…..

Food Industry survey

I am conducting a research project for a PhD thesis at the Centre for Food Policy at City University, London into food and cooking skills education in schools. The title of the research project is as follows:

Why teach young people to cook? – a critical analysis

Background to the research

The teaching of practical cookery skills to young people in schools in England and Wales has traditionally been a component of the subject of food education, as Home Economics / Food Technology. A lack of knowledge about the provenance and production of food and the effects of a globalised food system on local, national and international communities are perceived to be commonplace amongst consumers whose food is provided by modern agro-food industries. This is considered by some commentators to lead to deskilling, whereby consumers are perceived to have diminishing knowledge, practical cookery skills and confidence to enable them to make discerning decisions about their food choices and eating habits, which may have negative effects on their long term health.

The research considers the complex issue of educating young people about food and teaching them how to cook while they are at school, and whether providing opportunities to handle, prepare, cook and sample a range of foods should be a part of the life skills education of all young people. The research aims to explore the policy implications of this issue by finding out and analysing, through a series of studies, the perspectives of a range of stakeholders on food and cooking skills education, including the Food Industry (catering, food manufacture and retail sectors). Representatives of the Food Industry will be asked to comment on the extent to which they view the importance for their workforce and the wider public of being taught how to cook whilst at school and the input which their organisation has into teaching young people to cook.

Procedure

You are invited to consider taking part in one of the studies, in which you will be asked to complete the survey attached to this invitation, via email.

A consent form for taking part in the research is also attached and should be read and signed before completing the survey.

Confidentiality and data protection

In order to ensure confidentiality, the survey will be anonymous and non-attributable.

Participant responses will be attributed only to the sector they represent, i.e. catering, retail or manufacture.

No information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the studies, or to any other party.

No identifiable personal data will be published.

No identifiable personal data will be stored on a computer or electronic storage device.

For purposes of analysis, the researcher will code the completed surveys according to the sector they represent.

Details of the coding will be available to the researcher only and will be stored on paper in handwritten format in a secure office at the researcher's home only – they will not be stored on any computer or electronic data storage device.

Once the research is completed, email responses and hard copies of the completed surveys will be deleted from the PC on which they are stored or shredded.

The results and analysis of the surveys will be included in the PhD thesis of the researcher and submitted for examination at City University, London.

Thank you for considering taking part in this survey.

Yours sincerely,

Anita Tull

The University complaints clause:

If you would like to complain about any aspect of the study, City University has established a complaints procedure via the Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee. To complain about the study, you need to phone ⬛⬛⬛⬛ You can then ask to speak to the Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee and inform them that the name of the project is '*Why teach young people to cook? – A critical analysis.*'

You could also write to the secretary at:

Anna Ramberg
Secretary to Senate Research Ethics Committee
Academic Development and Services
City University
Northampton Square
London
EC1V 0HB
Email: ⬛⬛⬛⬛
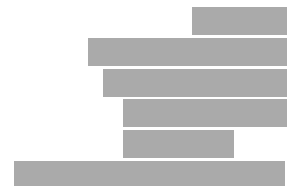
Appendix 10

Study 3: Food Industry views on FCSE - *Participant Consent Form*

CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON

Northampton Square,
London, EC1V 0HB   **From: Anita Tull,**

Food Industry Survey Informed Consent Form
Research Title: *Why teach young people to cook? – a critical analysis*

I agree to take part in the above City University research project. I have had the research project explained to me, and I have read the Information Sheet, which I may keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- Complete a survey and return it to the researcher via email or post

Data Protection

This information will be held and processed for the following purposes:

- To carry out a written analysis of the results of the survey in order to inform the main research question of whether young people should be taught how to cook while they are at school.
- From this, a written analysis will consider what drives the process of policy change, what and who is driving current food and cooking skills education and the prospects for the implementation of an effective, appropriate, realistic and feasible food and cooking skills education programme for UK primary and secondary education.
- The results and analysis of the survey will be included in the PhD thesis of the researcher and submitted for examination.
- Potential publication of the research in an academic journal.

Please read the following before signing this form to give your consent to taking part in this research:

- I understand that any information I provide in the survey will be non-attributable to myself and the organisation that I represent and that only generic names for organisations according to the sector of the food industry that they represent will be used in the analysis of the surveys.
- I understand that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party, and that no identifiable personal data will be published or shared with any other organisation.
- I understand that for purposes of analysis, the researcher will code the non-attributable surveys according to the Food Industry sector that they represent, and that details of the coding will be available to the researcher only and will be stored on paper in handwritten format in a

secure office at the researcher's home only – they will not be stored on any computer or electronic data storage device.

- I understand that hard copies of the survey responses received by post or printed from emails replies (which will then be deleted) will be stored in a lever arch file at the researcher's home address and that once the research is completed, these will be shredded.

- I agree to City University processing this information about me. I understand that this information will be used only for the purpose(s) set out in this statement and my consent is conditional on the University complying with its duties and obligations under the Data Protection Act 1998

Withdrawal from study

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I agree to the conditions set out in this consent form:

Name:_____ (please print)

Signature:_____ Date: _____

Appendix 11
Study 3: Food Industry views on FCSE - Survey

CITY UNIVERSITY LONDON

A survey of food industry commercial views

This is a short questionnaire asking for your organisation's views, involvement with and practices concerning food and cooking skills education for young people.
All answers are confidential and are purely for the purposes of a PhD research study by Anita Tull, under the direction of Profs. Martin Caraher and Tim Lang at the Centre for Food Policy, City University, London

Please place an [X] in the answer which most fits your organisation's views or practice.

1. What are your organisation's views about whether young people should be taught to cook?

   a. It is a good thing ☐

   b. It is not needed today ☐

   c. Other? (please state)...

2. Where do you think that cooking skills education should take place?

   a. At home? ☐

   b. At school? ☐

   c. Other? (please state)...

3. What are your organisation's views about the role that the food industry should play in educating young people about food and cooking skills?

   a. It should be involved ☐

   b. It should not be involved ☐

   c. It can contribute ☐

   d. Other (please state)...

4. On what should cooking skills education focus:

   a. General life skills? ☐

   b. Food industry skills? ☐

   c. Catering industry skills? ☐

   d. Other? (please state)...

5. Does your organisation support the teaching of cooking skills to young people in schools? ☐
    a. Yes
    b. No ☐
    c. Other (please state)..

6. If you answered yes to Q5, please state what form your organisation's support takes:
    a. Classroom teaching support materials? ☐
    b. Other publications? ☐
    c. Websites? ☐
    d. Sponsorships? ☐
    e. Other? (please state)..

7. If you answered yes to Q5, please state whether your organisation:
    a. Has evaluated its support? Yes ☐ No ☐
    b. If yes, was this evaluated? Internally? ☐ Externally? ☐
    c. If yes, what were the findings of the evaluation?
        i. Positive? ☐
        ii. Uncertain? ☐
        iii. Negative? ☐
        iv. Other? (please state)..

8. Have you any other comments on food and cooking skills education that you would like to make? ....
....
....

THANK YOU
Your name: ....
Organisation / company: ....
Your position: ....
Company / organisation address: ....
...
...
Email:...
Would you like to be sent details of the findings when the final thesis is completed?
Yes ☐ *No* ☐

Appendix 12

Study 5: State and Civil Society Elite interviews Information sheet

Institute of Health Sciences

Northampton Square

London EC1V 0HB

I am conducting research for a PhD thesis at the Centre for Food Policy at City University, London, into the implications of the most recent major reforms and restructuring of food education in UK schools for current and future teaching of this subject. For the purposes of the research, the term '*food education'* is defined as practical and theoretical instruction, appreciation and knowledge about the production, processing, nutritional value, preparation and consumption of food.

The research concerns a range of issues about food education, namely:

- The current relevance of food education to policy

- The extent to which in the current political, educational, societal and cultural climate it is appropriate to educate school pupils about food and how to prepare and cook it

- The organisations that have been and are currently concerned about food education (e.g. Government, NGOs, health professionals, teachers organisations); and the influences on their concern

- How external views on food education compare with those of the stakeholders – pupils and teachers

- Why the provision of food in schools has become a recent political issue; who is driving current policy and whether (and where) food education fits into current concern about children's food intake and eating habits

- Whether or not, and for whom it may be a problem if school pupils receive little or no food education

- The potential benefits and consequences if pupils are educated about food, and also if they are not.

- What appropriate food education pedagogical model could / should be implemented

The research considers the issue of educating children about food within the context of the gradual and accelerating change in food culture and lifestyles that the UK has witnessed in the 20th and continuing into the 21st century, one of the effects of which has been a switch from under- to over-nutrition, especially amongst many of the poorer members of society and children and young people.

There are major concerns about the long-term health of individuals in UK society, with evidence based predictions about the increasing numbers of people who will develop a range of life threatening and debilitating diet related diseases at younger ages in the next few decades, rising to epidemic proportions. This has serious and significant implications for the sustainability of an effective National Health Service and workforce.

Whilst the multi-risk factor aetiology of these diseases and the cultural setting in which they occur must be taken into account when considering prevention and treatment, the research considers the role that the

acquisition of knowledge about and the appreciation of the origins and qualities of food, combined with the opportunity to handle, prepare, cook and sample a range of foods on a regular basis from a young age could play as an element of disease prevention and whether food education, provided within the school curriculum, should be at the centre of life skills education for all pupils.

The research has so far:

- Traced the history of Food Education in UK schools
- Conducted a survey on Food Education in other countries
- Conducted a small survey of students past experiences of Food Education

The final phase of the research will take the form of a series of elite interviews with a variety of people, using the following criteria for their selection:

- They or the organisation which they represent have either been engaged in or have the potential to become engaged in the development, implementation, facilitation and / or evaluation of food education initiatives in schools
- They or the organisation which they represent have relevance to resource distribution and /or curriculum planning, development and implementation in primary and / or secondary school education
- They or the organisation which they represent have relevance to any broad based provisions and / or disciplines linked to food education, such as school food provision and PSHE

Interviewees will be asked to consider the following questions within the context of the potential arguments in favour of food education in terms of its content and activities and its contribution to a pupil's overall education:

1. *When major changes to the school curriculum were occurring in the 1980's, why did food education not rise to the challenge of holistic education? - i.e. why did it abandon its original focus on basic cooking skills and food appreciation in favour of a technological / industrial focus in a Post-Industrial era when the UK was de-industrialising?*
2. *Is it relevant and appropriate to include a continuous comprehensive programme of food education in the primary and secondary curriculum?*
3. *Who should be responsible for food education?*
4. *What are the options for food education?*
5. *What are the barriers to food education?*

Interviews will be conducted in the following manner:

- Interviews will be conducted at a mutually agreeable location and time
- It is intended that the duration of the interviews should be between forty five minutes and one hour
- Interviews will be recorded on a digital voice recorder.
- Information obtained during the interviews will be non-attributable.
- For purposes of analysis, the researcher will code the non-attributable interviews.

- Details of the coding will be available to the researcher only and will not be stored on any computer or electronic data storage device.
- Recorded interviews will be transcribed, analysed and stored.

An analysis of the results of the interviews will compare and consider the viewpoints of those who support substantial curriculum placement for food education, including practical cooking skills and those who oppose it or who are content with the status quo.

From this, an analysis will consider what drives the process of policy change, what and who is driving current food education and school food provision policy and if, how and should policy be steered towards addressing the issue of the implementation of an effective, appropriate, realistic and feasible food education programme for UK primary and secondary education.

The results and analysis of the interviews will be included in the PhD thesis of the researcher and submitted for examination.

Thank you for considering taking part in this research as an interviewee. I enclose a consent form, which, should you agree to being interviewed, will need to be completed and signed before the interview takes place.

Yours sincerely,
Anita Tull

The University complaints clause:

 If there is an aspect of the study that concerns you, you may make a complaint. City University has established a complaints procedure via the Secretary to the Research Ethics Committee. To complain about the study, you need to phone ▓▓▓▓▓▓▓ You can then ask to speak to the Secretary of the Ethics Committee and inform them that the name of the project is:

The implications of educational reforms and the resultant restructuring of food education; the appropriateness of, options for and barriers to a comprehensive programme of food education in twenty first century UK schools.

 You could also write to the Secretary at:

Dr Naomi Hammond
Secretary to Senate Ethical Committee
Academic Development and Services
City University
Northampton Square
London
EC1V 0HB
Email:▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓

Appendix 13

Study 5: State and Civil Society Elite interviews-Informed Consent Form for Project Participants

From: Anita Tull
Dept Health Management & Food Policy
Institute of Health Sciences
Northampton Square
London EC1V 0HB

Informed Consent Form for Project Participants

Project Title: *The implications of educational reforms and the resultant restructuring of food education; the appropriateness of, options for and barriers to a comprehensive programme of food education in twenty first century UK schools.*

I agree to take part in the above City University research project. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I may keep for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- be interviewed by the researcher at an agreed location and time for a period of between forty five minutes and one hour
- allow the interview to be recorded using a digital voice recorder
- allow the interview to be transcribed for later analysis and possible publication
- allow the information discussed during the interview to be non-attributable to me or the specific organisation that I represent
- make myself available for a further interview should that be required

Data Protection

This information will be held and processed for the following purposes:

- To carry out a written analysis of the results of the interviews in order to compare and consider the viewpoints of those who support substantial curriculum placement for food education, including practical cooking skills and those who oppose it or who are content with the status quo.
- From this, a written analysis will consider what drives the process of policy change, what and who is driving current food education and school food provision policy and if, how and should policy be steered towards addressing the issue of the implementation of an effective, appropriate, realistic and feasible food education programme for UK primary and secondary education.
- The results and analysis of the interviews will be included in the PhD thesis of the researcher and submitted for examination.
- Potential publication of the research in an academic journal.

Please read the following before signing this form to give your consent to taking part in this research:

- I understand that any information I provide during the interview is non-attributable to the interviewee or the specific name of the organisation they represent and that only generic names for organisations will be used in the analysis of the interviews.
- I understand that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party, and that no identifiable personal data will be published or shared with any other organisation.
- I understand that for purposes of analysis, the researcher will code the non-attributable interviews, and that details of the coding will be available to the researcher only and will be stored on paper in handwritten format in a secure office at the researcher's home only – they will not be stored on any computer or electronic data storage device.
- I understand that once recorded, the interviews will be removed from the digital voice recorder and transferred to a USB computer storage device at the researcher's home to facilitate transcription, and that once transcribed onto a stand-alone PC (not a lap-top) at the researcher's home, the recorded interviews will be deleted from the USB computer storage device.
- I understand that transcriptions of the interviews will be stored on a stand-alone PC (not a lap-top) at the researcher's home ready for analysis and that hard copies of the transcriptions will be stored in a lever arch file and once the research is completed, the transcriptions will be deleted from the stand-alone PC.
- I understand that I have the right to have digital voice recording suspended temporarily or stopped completely at any stage of the interview.
- I understand that I will be given a transcript of my interview for my approval before it is included in the write up of the research.
- I agree to City University recording and processing this information about me. I understand that this information will be used only for the purpose(s) set out in this statement and my consent is conditional on the University complying with its duties and obligations under the Data Protection Act 1998

Withdrawal from study

I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

I agree to the conditions set out in this consent form:

Name:_____ (please print)

Signature:_____ Date: _____

Appendix 14

Study 5: State and Civil Society Elite interviews: Interview questions and topics discussed in semi-structured élite interviews

Research questions (RQ)	Supplementary research questions (RQS)	Stakeholder specific supplementary research questions (RQSS)
RQ2 Should practical cooking skills form part of the curriculum for all school pupils at all the Key Stages of education?	**RQS2a** To what extent are general education and life skills enhanced by having opportunities to prepare and cook food, and to develop related time, money and resource management skills, whilst at school? **RQS2b** What are the potential benefits if young people are educated about food and taught how to cook; what are the potential consequences if they are not? **RQS2c** If young people receive little or no FCSE, is it a problem, why and for whom?	**RQA4S1** How, where, when and by whom could FCSE be delivered? **RQA4S2** Who might benefit if children do not receive FCSE? **RQA4.3** How, where, when and by whom should food and cooking skills educators be trained?
RQ3 Is there an appropriate pedagogical model that could / should be implemented to meet the needs and realities of the current and future end providers and recipients of FCSE – teachers and young people?	**RQS3a** What should be the purpose of learning about food and how to cook? **RQS3b** Do young people think they should learn about food and how to cook at school? **RQS3c** What contribution do young people think FCSE has made or could make to their general education? **RQS3d** At what age do young people think that they should learn about food and how to cook at school? **RQS3e** What do young people want to learn about food?	**RQA3S1** What do you think a programme of FCSE should include? **RQA3S2** Have you or your organisation been involved in the development or dissemination of any food and cooking skills initiatives? **RQA3S3** What were the outcomes / evaluations of these initiatives? **RQA3S4** What are your perspectives on current cooking skills initiatives in the light of your experiences?
RQ4 In the 21st century, what and how relevant are the rationales for FCSE?	**RQS4a** Should FCSE be a comprehensive, appropriately resourced and embedded curriculum subject for all pupils in primary and secondary education and what would be required to facilitate this? **RQS4b** What should be the focus of FCSE - culture, tradition, societal values, skills acquisition and utilisation, industry, commerce and employment, health and welfare? **RQS4c** What are the barriers to and options for FCSE?	**RQA4S1** Does FCSE need a new image and how can it be embedded in the NC? **RQA4S2** Have you identified barriers to and / or gaps between the intentions of FCSE initiatives and their implementation? **RQA4S3** How could / should such barriers be overcome / gaps be filled? **RQA4S4** What contribution could you or your organisation make to overcome these barriers / fill these gaps?
RQ5 Who should be responsible for the provision and delivery of FCSE? – the State, civil society , or the food industry?	**RQS5a** How / where does FCSE feature in general educational policy? **RQS5b** What has influenced concern about the need to provide FCSE?	**RQA5S1** How is FCSE viewed by your organisation? **RQA5S2** What contribution could you or your organisation make to FCSE? **RQA5S3** How would / could / should FCSE be resourced?

Source: Researcher