# Breakfast for All? An Evaluation of Universal Breakfast Provision at Cauldeen Primary School, Inverness, Highland, Scotland

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# Breakfast for All?

## An evaluation of universal breakfast provision at Cauldeen Primary School, Inverness, Highland, Scotland
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## Main Messages

### What is the background to the research and this report?

- ***Breakfast clubs in schools in Scotland.*** Many schools in Scotland offer a breakfast club, which either offer no cost provision to children deemed eligible on grounds of need, or which are available at cost to support the labour market participation of working parents.

- ***Universal and free provision of breakfast in schools in Scotland.*** There is growing interest in universal and free provision of breakfast food in schools in Scotland. For example, in recent years, East Renfrewshire Council has introduced breakfast carts across many of its schools following an earlier SPIRU evaluation. In its election manifesto of 2021, the Scottish National Party (now the ruling party of government) pledged to provide free school breakfasts to every primary school pupil in Scotland. At the time of publication, no firm plans had been published and no funds allocated to support this provision.

- ***Breakfast for All - A Highland Innovation***. At the end of the 2020/21 school year, Cauldeen Primary School introduced *Breakfast for All,* a 'breakfast in the classroom' provision, making breakfast food freely available, every school day, to all pupils. Provision of breakfast food is an integral part of a 'soft start' to the school day.

- ***SPIRU evaluation.*** The Northern Alliance Regional Improvement Collaborate invited the Scottish Poverty and Inequality Research Unit of Glasgow Caledonian University to evaluate *Breakfast for All*. SPIRU resourced this work with its innovative *SPIRU Work Placement* module, whereby BA Social Sciences degree level students are trained as SPIRU Student Researchers, working under the direct supervision of Professor John McKendrick.

- ***A partnership in evaluation.*** SPIRU's work was enhanced by working alongside Morven MacSwan, our local research partner and co-author of this report: during the evaluation, Morven was a Graduate Intern with Highland Council, and was able to provide local research support for the duration of the research.

### What did we do?

- ***Rapid Review of Key Literature***. We updated an earlier review of research on breakfast eating in schools. In addition to the 32 papers consulted in this earlier review, we undertook a rapid review of more recent key literature, critically appraising an additional 23 academic articles to ensure that this research was informed by previous research on breakfast eating in schools.

- ***Observed the breakfast trays in operation.*** Morven MacSwan completed 47 morning observations in class. Observing each of the nine mainstream classes on each day of the week over a four-month period (plus extra observations in two classes), the objective was to systematically enumerate each pupils' consumption of breakfast food in class.

- **Canvassed staff opinion.** The SPIRU research team interviewed each classroom teacher (and student teachers on placement), catering staff, and support staff delivering the *Breakfast for All* provision. Sixteen staff participated in these interviews.

- **Canvassed the opinions of pupils.** We administered an in-class survey with pupils. 193 pupils shared their thoughts and experiences of breakfast eating in and beyond school.

- **Canvassed the opinions of parents.** We administered a survey with parents, which was available online and in hard copy. 71 parents shared their thoughts and experiences of their child's breakfast eating in and beyond school.


## What did we know from previous research about children and breakfast eating at the outset?

- **Positive outcomes**. Research suggests that regular (and nutritious) breakfast eating is associated with positive health and supports cognitive functioning.

- **Most children eat breakfast**. Although a substantial minority of children skip breakfast regularly, and although a very small minority consume crisps and chocolate at breakfast, most primary-school aged children are known to consume a regular breakfast, typically comprising cereal and/or toast.

- **An extra-familial experience**. Eating breakfast outside of the home on school days is commonplace, particularly among older children; in some schools, this is facilitated by in-school provision of breakfast clubs.

- **Variation by age, gender, and socio-economic status**. Older children are more likely to skip breakfast, as are girls relative to boys, and children and young people from less affluent backgrounds.


## What did we know about breakfast provision in schools at the outset?

- **Grab-N-Go.** Grab-N-Go provision describes a situation when school children help themselves to food without making payment. It is more commonplace in North America.

- **Breakfast Clubs**. Many schools in Scotland offer breakfast clubs, with universal provision being provided in some local authorities (e.g., North Lanarkshire).

- **Nutritional standards**. Breakfast clubs in Scotland must provide food that meets the nutritional standards approved by Scottish Government.

- **Positive impact of school-based provision for those who present**. Research evidence suggests that in-school provision can increase the number of children eating breakfast, improve nutritional standards, and benefit children from low-income families.

- **Provision does not assure presentation.** Uptake of free breakfasts in school is lower than uptake of free school lunches.

- **Presentation does not assure consumption.** Some research evidence points to high levels of food wastage.

- *Teacher concern.* Some research evidence highlights teacher concerns at unintended consequences of providing breakfast food in classrooms (e.g., increased administration and additional cleaning). In addition to concerns around lost instructional time in class.

Here, we present recommendations and summarise the key findings under five headings and make some recommendations for next steps.

## How do staff understand their school?

- *A nurturing community.* Classroom-based staff emphasised their responsibilities in supporting the social and emotional development of children at Cauldeen Primary School, viewing their role as being one that is responsive to the needs of the wider community/locality.

- *Poverty and the problems it presents.* Cauldeen is aware of the challenging circumstances many of its families encounter and have introduced a range of provisions to assist families. Teachers acknowledged many ways in which poverty was impacting on the ability of children to engage and flourish in education, and the challenges it presents to classroom-based staff.

- *Responsibility to tackle poverty in schools.* Staff viewed tackling poverty as a responsibility of the school, primarily to promote equity in education and to enable children to realise their potential.

- *Universal provision as dignified provision.* Staff viewed the universal and free provision of *Breakfast for All* as being a means to avoid singling out those pupils who needed the provision.

## What did we find out about breakfast eating and breakfast eating habits among children from Cauldeen Primary School?

- *Informal provision by teachers.* Many staff gave many examples of providing breakfast on an informal basis to children, prior to the introduction of *Breakfast for All*.

- *Breakfast matters.* All parents thought that eating breakfast was important, with more than two-thirds describing it as "the most important meal of the day". On the other hand, most parents whose children were entitled to free school meals did not think that breakfast was the "most important" meal.

- *Mainly at home, often at school.* Two-thirds of parents reported that their child ate breakfast at home 'every school day' (although approaching one-in-five noted that their child ate breakfast at home at most only on 'some school days'). Two-thirds of parents reported that their child ate breakfast in school on most days of the school week.

- *Low levels of home breakfast eating among pupils entitled to free school meals.* Of the small number of parents whose children are entitled to FSM, only one-quarter of those respondents reported that their child ate breakfast at home every day of the school week. In contrast, most of these parents reported that their child ate breakfast in school every day of the school week.

- **Breakfast skipping.** Three-quarters of children reported that there was an occasion when they skipped breakfast on a school day, almost twice as many pupils from the least deprived areas reported that they had never skipped breakfast.

- **'Not enough time' and 'not feeling hungry'.** These were the two main reasons children provided for skipping breakfast. Just more than one-half reported that they did not have enough time to eat breakfast, and just less than one-half of pupils reported that they did not feel hungry.

- **Toast and/or cereal; milk, water, and/or juice.** Both parents and children reported similar breakfast food and drinks were consumed in the morning before school. One-half of parents reported that their child typically consumed a 'larger' breakfast, e.g., toast and cereal.

## What was the uptake of *Breakfast for All* in Cauldeen Primary School?

- **Over 20,000 feeds.** Over the course of the 2021/22 school year, it is estimated that there were 21,799 presentations for food in Cauldeen Primary School, including 9,146 examples when multiple portions or food types were consumed.

- **Feeding three-fifths of pupils on a typical school day.** The observations suggested that 57% of pupils consumed *Breakfast for All* food on a typical school day. Almost one-half of pupils ate toast and almost one-quarter of pupils ate fruit.

- **Pupils' perception.** Two-thirds of children perceived that they 'sometimes' ate *Breakfast for All* food, with one-quarter reporting "always" and almost one-fifth reporting "never ever".

- **Wide range of pupil experiences.** Observation suggests that there is no dominant experience among pupils. For example, almost one-fifth were observed eating on every day in attendance, almost one-quarter on all but one day, one in ten on half of the days they were in attendance, and almost one in ten did not eat at all.

- **Low proportion of pupils consuming a high volume of food.** Observation suggests that very few pupils were eating a large volume of food during *Breakfast for All*.

- **Toast then fruit.** Observation suggests that very few pupils were eating a large volume of food during *Breakfast for All*.

- **Variations across classes.** There were significant differences in uptake of *Breakfast for All* across classes, with the proportion of pupils in a class eating every day ranging from 4% to 48%.

- **Teacher perception.** Teachers tended to perceive a higher uptake of *Breakfast for All* than the systematic observations suggested.

## What was the impact of *Breakfast for All*?

- **Feeding the 10%.** Evidence from children suggests that 10% of pupils are eating with *Breakfast for All* who would not otherwise have had breakfast before school. Therefore, the initiative has been particularly impactful for this group of children who did not eat breakfast prior to its implementation.

- **Not changing breakfast eating at home.** In most cases, parents report that *Breakfast for All* has not changed patterns of eating breakfast at home before the start of the school day.

- **Reaching disadvantaged pupils.** There is a range of evidence that suggests that *Breakfast for All* is reaching children from families experiencing socio-economic disadvantage. Furthermore, it is reaching these pupils at a higher rate than those from less disadvantaged backgrounds.

- **Attendance.** There is no objective evidence to suggest that *Breakfast for All* impacts positively on attendance: however, testimony from teachers suggests that it is impactful for a more limited number of children, and that it is also eases the transition to the school day (making attendance less daunting for some children).

- **A good thing – even if not for my child.** The most common advantage that was acknowledged by parents was that *Breakfast for All*, 'was a good thing for other children, making Cauldeen a better school' – more than three-fifths of parents held this opinion.

- **Positive impact on children and for the school.** Classroom staff cited many examples of how *Breakfast for All* was benefitting children in class. For example, children were reported to be more focused on approach to morning break as hunger was not impairing concentration.

- **Removing stigma while tackling hunger.** Classroom staff opined that the way in which *Breakfast for All* tackles hunger is non-stigmatising.

- **An effective start to the school day.** One of the most telling conclusions is that far from being a disruption to learning, or distraction from it, the experience of teachers was that *Breakfast for All* is an efficient way of dealing with a problem that presents in school and does so in a way that enables children to engage more effectively in learning.

## What needs to happen now?

- ***Keeping it and keeping it universal and free.***  Both staff and parents feel strongly that Breakfast for All should continue in its current form in *Cauldeen Primary School*. Given the strong support from across the school community, and the evidence of positive impact, there are strong grounds for continuing with this investment.

- ***Catering staff involvement in food issues and school well-being agendas.*** Breakfast provision is food provision.  Consideration might be given to ways in which the current professional catering staff might be included in *Breakfast for All*. This could heighten the role of school food in wider work to bolster well- being.

- ***Impact analysis of a changing school composition.*** Staff referred to the opening of a new primary school that would make the composition of the school less diverse.  This diversity had been acknowledged as a strength and there is some evidence of informal resource transfer within the existing Cauldeen community.  The implications of a less diverse population on the viability of future work to tackle poverty in Cauldeen should be appraised.

- ***Snack time focus.*** Not all children come to school with a morning snack, with teachers noting that they were providing this informally. Consideration might be given as to whether this is also a food equity issue that would benefit from a more formal intervention.

- ***Sharing practice.***  The approach taken to allow teachers to fashion a delivery that meets their needs is empowering.  However, it is important to reflect on evidence and alternative practice.  The reasons why some classes have much higher levels of uptake than others should be discussed and – if necessary – lessons learned among the teaching staff.

# 1. Introduction: breakfast and school pupils in Scotland

*"I know one wee girl, she's not in a lot but when she does come in, [she is] tearful in the morning. She comes in and grabs a bit of toast and by the time she [has] had a couple of slices, she's calmed down. She's better. She's ready to start doing stuff."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

## 1.1 - The Importance of Breakfast

It is commonly held that breakfast – as the first of the 'three square meals' that should be eaten daily – is the 'right way' to start the day. While research evidence supports this claim[1], other evidence suggests that not everyone is starting the day the 'right way'[2], including children and young people attending schools[3]. On the understanding that functioning is compromised by a lack of sustenance,[4] it is important for school education to understand the reasons for children not consuming breakfast and to take steps to ensure that those who want breakfast are able to have it. This is important for student equity and for ensuring that the health and wellbeing needs of children and young people are met. At the time of writing, school breakfasts are likely to become increasingly important in the Autumn of school year 2022/23, as the 'cost of living' crisis is likely to make it more challenging for low-income families (in particular) to meet the cost of food. Indeed, there is already evidence of schools extending breakfast provision in response to budgetary pressures.[5]

## 1.2 - Food Provision in Scottish Schools – Does Scotland Deliver?

The primary purpose of schools is to educate children, although the aims of school education extend beyond this; as articulated in Scotland's *Curriculum for Excellence*, for almost two decades, Scotland wants children to realise their potential as confident individuals, effective contributors, and responsible citizens, as well as successful learners.[6] 'Health and wellbeing' is one of the eight curricular areas for learning, with specific expectations for learning

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[1]   Refer to section 3.3 in this report.

[2]   Goff, L., Silva, M.J., Bordoli, C., Enayat, Z.E., Cassidy, A., Maynard, M. and Harding, S., 2017. Longitudinal associations of skipping breakfast with ethnicity and cardiometabolic risk: the Determinants of Adolescence, now young Adults, Social well-being, and Health Study (DASH). *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society*, *76*(OCE4).

[3]   Refer to section 3.4 in this report.

[4]   Refer to section 3.3 in this report.

[5]   Tidman, Z., 2022. Schools giving exam students free breakfasts to help those struggling with cost of living crisis. *The Independent* [online]. June 4th, 2022. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/exams-breakfast-cost-living-crisis-b2088907.html

[6]   SCOTTISH EXECUTIVE, 2006. A *Curriculum for Excellence. Building the Curriculum 1*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive. [Viewed 4 August 2020]. Available from: https://education.gov.scot/Documents/btc1.pdf.

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articulated for five age stages[7]. 'Health and wellbeing' is presented as the responsibility for all involved in the education of children and young people[8]. 'Food and health' is one of the six areas identified as being important to ensure that children live healthy and happy lives.[9] To this end, those responsible for school education in Scotland are concerned that Scotland's children are properly fed during the school day.[10]

Indeed, the importance of providing food and drink in schools in Scotland (and the UK more generally) has been a concern of government and campaigners for over one hundred years.[11] In response to a concern that underfed school children were not able to benefit from compulsory education, the *Education (Provision of Meals) Act 1906* permitted local authorities the discretion to introduce local taxpayer funded feeding programmes, free of charge to disadvantaged children. The *Education Act of 1944* placed a statutory responsibility on local education authorities to provide school meals and milk. It also allowed discretion for the charge not to be levied in cases of hardship. A separate *School Milk Act 1946* provided one third of a pint of milk for free to all children aged under 18. Between 1968 and 1977, free milk was gradually withdrawn from schools (withdrawn from secondary schools in 1968; those aged over seven in 1971; and for all remaining recipients in 1977).

Contemporary concerns over food in schools in Scotland focus largely on the nutritional quality[12] and provision of free school meals[13] at lunchtime.  However, there is also interest in

7    SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT, n.d. *Curriculum for Excellence: Health and Wellbeing. Experiences and Outcomes.* Edinburgh: Scottish Government. [Viewed 4 August 2020]. Available from: https://education.gov.scot/Documents/health-and-wellbeing-eo.pdf.

8    EDUCATION SCOTLAND, 2013, *Health and WellBeing: The Responsibility of All 3-18.* Edinburgh: Education Scotland. [viewed on 05 August 2020]. Available from: https://education.gov.scot/parentzone/Documents/HealthandWellbeing3-18ImpactReport.pdf.

9    SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT, n.d., Health and Wellbeing in Schools {online] [viewed 05 August 2020]. Available at: https://www.gov.scot/policies/schools/wellbeing-in-schools/.

10   SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT, 2006. *Hungry for Success* [online]. Edinburgh: Scottish Government. [viewed on 04 February 2019]. Available from: https://www2.gov.scot/Publications/2003/02/16273/17574.

     SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT, 2008. *Healthy Eating in Schools: A Guide to Implementing the Nutritional Requirements for Food and Drinks in Schools (Scotland) Regulations 2008* [online]. Scottish Government. [viewed 05 February 2019]. Available from: https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/guidance/2008/09/healthy-eating-schools-guide-implementing-nutritional-requirements-food-drink-schools/documents/0065394-pdf/0065394-pdf/govscot%3Adocument.

     TECHNICAL WORKING GROUP, 2018, *Review of Nutrition Requirements for Food and Drink in Schools (Scotland) Regulations 2008*. [viewed 04 August 2020]. Available from: https://www.gov.scot/publications/food-drink-schools-nutrition-requirements-review/.

11   STEWART, J., 2001. The campaign for school meals in Edwardian Scotland. In Lawrence, J. and Starkey, P., eds. *Child Welfare and Social Action in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: International Perspectives*. Liverpool University Press. 174-191.

12   Refer to note 10.

13   For a timeline and review of recent developments in relation to school meals provision, refer to: McKENDRICK, J.H. et al. (2019) *Are Pupils Being Served. A Secondary Review of the Sector's Evidence Base on School Meal Provision at Lunchtime in Scotland.* Report for Assist FM. Glasgow: SPIRU.

food consumption at other points in the school day, including mid-morning breaks[14] and immediately prior to the start of the school day[15]. Breakfast clubs have been the provision that is most closely associated with pre-school food consumption outside the domestic realm.[16]  However, there is growing interest in universal and free provision of breakfast food in schools in Scotland. For example, in recent years, East Renfrewshire Council has introduced breakfast carts across many of its schools following an earlier SPIRU evaluation.[17] In its election manifesto of 2021, the Scottish National Party (now the ruling party of government) pledged to provide free school breakfasts to every primary school pupil in Scotland.[18] At the time of publication, no firm plans had been published and no funds allocated to support this provision. Campaigning groups are pressing the Scottish Government to deliver on this pledge.[19]

This report examines a 'breakfast in the classroom' approach to provision, which focuses on the introduction of breakfast provision at Cauldeen Primary School (Inverness, Highland). Breakfast eating is valued by the school community and the initiative has been embedded in the school day.


## 1.3 – Project Steering Group and SPIRU Research Team

Over the last three years, SPIRU has provided research support to school catering stakeholders through a series of research reports. Starting with a review of the school meals evidence base for Assist FM in 2019,[20] SPIRU has reported on catering leads experience of providing school meals during lockdown in Scotland,[21] identified examples of best practice in promoting free school meals,[22] evaluated the introduction of a breakfast cart initiative in

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[14]  HIGHLAND COUNCIL, n.d. *Guidance for School Snacks. Highland Health Promoting Schools.* Inverness. [viewed 05 August 2020]. Available from: https://www.highland.gov.uk/downloads/file/178/guidance_for_school_snacks.

[15]  HOYLAND, A., MCWILLIAMS, K.A., DUFF, R.J., & WALTON, J.L., 2012, Breakfast consumption in UK schoolchildren and provision of school breakfast clubs. *Nutrition Bulletin*, *37*(3), 232-240.

[16]  SCOTTISH CONSUMER COUNCIL, 2004, *Breakfast Clubs … More of a Head Start.* [viewed 05 August 2020]. Available at: https://www.communityfoodandhealth.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2006/10/breakfastclub-0632.pdf

[17]  McKENDRICK, J.H. et al., 2021, *Pass Go for Grab-N-Go? Evaluation of Pilot Grab-n-Go Breakfast Cart Provision in Three Schools in East Renfrewshire*. Glasgow: SPIRU. https://www.greggsfoundation.org.uk/sites/default/files/uploads/docs/SPIRU-Breakfast-Cart-Report-2021-21-02.pdf

[18]  See page 4, of SNP, 2021, *Scotland's Future. Election Manifesto*. Available at: https://issuu.com/hinksbrandwise/docs/04_15_snp_manifesto_2021

[19]  ALMOND, F, 2022, *Our response to the Scottish Government's Resource Spending Review*. Magic Breakfast [online], 31 May 2022. Available at: https://www.magicbreakfast.com/blog/response-to-scottish-governments-resource-spending-review

[20]  See note 13.

[21]  McKENDRICK, J.H., 2020, *School Meals in Scotland in the Autumn of 2020. A snapshot 'state of the nation' report based on the opinions of Catering Leads*. Glasgow: SPIRU

[22]  McKENDRICK, J.H. and CATHCART, S., 2021, *Tackling Food Insecurity in Scottish Schools: Case Studies of Strengthening Free School Meal Provision in Scotland.* A Report for the Poverty and Inequality Commission.

East Renfrewshire,[23] and undertaken a nationwide survey of secondary school pupils canvassing opinion on school meals[24].

Professor McKendrick of the Scottish Poverty and Inequality Research Unit (SPIRU) was invited by the Northern Alliance to provide research support for this project[25].

The project steering group comprised the Headteacher of Cauldeen Primary School (Robyn Hammond), and representation from the Professional Learning Team at Highland Council (Miriam MacDonald) and the Northern Alliance Regional Improvement Collaborative (Jo Kirby).

A team of thirteen SPIRU Student Researchers worked on this project under the guidance of Professor McKendrick from January – June 2022. This SPIRU research team comprised students on Work Placement, students gaining credit toward their Common Good Award and core SPIRU researchers.

## 1.4 – Introduction to Case Study Community

Inverness presents itself as the 'capital of the Highlands'. As with most major cities, Inverness is a patchwork of affluent areas and more deprived areas, although in the Scottish context, the city has fewer clusters of deprivation and the levels of multiple deprivation experienced therein are less intense.

Cauldeen Primary School in located to the south of the city, positioned on the edge of the Hilton neighbourhood, which includes a datazone[26] that is one of the seven in the city of Inverness that is among the 10% Most Deprived in Scotland. Although primarily serving what would be profiled as one of Scotland's more deprived neighbourhoods, Cauldeen Primary School has mixed catchment area that includes, for example, the less deprived neighbourhood of Slackbuie south of the A8082, and some parts of the more affluent Upper Drummond neighbourhood.

In the context of Inverness, Cauldeen Primary School has a pupil profile that is like that of Merkinch Primary School, Dalneigh Primary School (although indicators of social need are higher in these schools) and Hilton Primary School. In the broader context of Highland, although Cauldeen Primary School is a school comprising a high proportion of P4-P7 pupils entitled to free school meals (an indicator of family economic well-being), many other

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Glasgow: SPIRU. https://povertyinequality.scot/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/SPIRU-Report-Free-School-Meals.pdf

[23] See note 17.

[24] McKENDRICK, J.H. et al., 2022, *Fuelled in School? A nationwide survey of secondary school pupils' opinion on school meals in Scotland.* Glasgow: SPIRU.

[25] The initial contact for this project was made in March 2021.

[26] A small area, typically part of a larger neighbourhood. This area unit is used in the *Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation* to profile areas according to deprivation.

villages and towns throughout the region have similar levels of entitlement among pupils, e.g., in Thurso, Dingwall, Alness, Tain, Invergordon and Fort William.

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**Figure 1.1:  Profile of Student Population at Cauldeen Primary School, 2021-22**

**Total Pupil Population (mainstream education)**
- 232 pupils

**Attendance (up to Easter)**
- Median attendance = 90.97%
- 6% of pupils attended less than 75%; 18% of pupils attended less than 90%; 6% of pupils had 100% attendance

**Gender**
- 46% of pupils are girls

**Age Stage**
- Pupils are fairly evenly distributed across year groups, i.e., P1 (34 pupils), P2 (37 pupils), P3 (28 pupils), P4 (40 pupils), P5 (41 pupils), P6 (22 pupils) and P7 (30 pupils)

**Care-Experienced**
- 2% of pupils are care-experienced

**Minority Ethnic Background**
- 4% of pupils are from a minority ethnic background

**English as a second language**
- 13% of pupils have English as a second language

**Additional Support Needs**
- 41% of pupils have Additional Support Needs

**Free School Meal Entitlement**
- 31% of pupils are registered for Free School Meals

**School Clothing Grant**
- 31% of pupils receive a School Clothing Grant support

**Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation**
- 17% of pupils live in one of Scotland's 10% Most Deprived Neighbourhoods
- 30% of pupils live in one of Scotland's 20% Most Deprived Neighbourhoods
- 47% of pupils live in one of Scotland's 30% Most Deprived Neighbourhoods
- 40% of pupils live in one of Scotland's 30% Least Deprived Neighbourhoods

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### 1.5 – Introduction to *Breakfast for All* provision at Cauldeen Primary School

The breakfast tray was introduced in Cauldeen Primary School in April 2021, initially with the aim of dealing more effectively with the disruption to the start of the school day that resulted from teachers making ad-hoc arrangements for pupils who needed sustenance. In this first iteration of provision, class teachers volunteered to prepare toast, taking a turn on one day each week to start work early. The initial cost of food was met through donations, following calls for support through the school's communication channels (newsletter and website). Some equipment was already owned (large toaster, plastic trays, knives, and microwave in the staff room, which is used to heat porridge). Toast was provided to classes at the start of the school day, with the first fifteen minutes of the class day given over to a 'soft start' in which the food is available to pupils in class. From the start of the 2021/22 school year, Pupil Equity Fund finances were used to supplement the hours of three Pupil Support Assistants: these assistants are employed for one extra hour each morning to prepare the food, which now comprises fruit, toast, and porridge. The cost of food was met by a charitable donation from a parent.

### 1.6 - The Aim of This Report

The aims of this report are fivefold:

- To provide a rapid review of key insights from the previous research on breakfast provision in schools that is most pertinent to the *Breakfast for All* provision at Cauldeen Primary School (Section 3)
- To understand the particularities of the Cauldeen Primary School context (Sections 4 and 5)
- To describe the uptake of breakfast through *Breakfast for All* in the school (Section 6)
- To evaluate the impact of the uptake of breakfast in the school (Section 7)
- To draw some preliminary conclusions on *Breakfast for All* and reflect on lessons for other schools in Highland and beyond (Section 8)

### 1.7 - The Structure of This Report

After this introduction, this report is organised into six further sections:

- This Evaluation Journey (Section 2)
- What Do We Know About School and Breakfast? A rapid review of the key literature (Section 3)
- Understanding Cauldeen: Teachers' perspectives (Section 4)
- On Eating Breakfast (Section 5)
- Breakfast Consumption Through *Breakfast for All* (Section 6)
- Critical Impact Analysis (Section 7)
- What Next: Some Concluding Thoughts (Section 8)

Furthermore, there are six Annexes at the end of the report:

- Field Observation Schedule (Annex 1)
- Survey Schedule and Guidance Notes: Pupils (Annex 2)
- Survey Schedule: Parents (Annex 3)
- Interview Schedule: Teachers (Annex 4)
- Interview Schedule: Variants on Teacher Schedule for Other Staff (Annex 5)
- Papers Reviewed in the Rapid Literature Review (Annex 6)

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**Figure 1.2:  Key Features of the Cauldeen Primary School model of provision**

**Financing**

- Staffing costs are met from Pupil Equity Funds. Cauldeen Primary School estimates that this cost £11k for the whole of school year 2021/22.
- Food costs are met from donations. Cauldeen Primary School estimated that this would cost £2.5k to meet the cost of food for the whole of the school year. However, it has transpired that this costs £1.3k per annum.
- No equipment costs.
- Consumable costs are met from donations.

**Staffing**

- Three existing Pupil Support Assistants are paid for one extra hour per day to prepare the food in advance of the school day. One assistant collects the food from the supermarket and assists in preparation (0800-0900). Two assistants assist in preparation and tidy-up thereafter (0830-0930)
- These Pupil Support Assistants have been trained and gained certification in food hygiene.
- These Pupil Support Assistants send a WhatsApp message to Class teachers to advise them that the food is ready to collect
- Each teacher makes their own arrangements for the food to be collected and brought to the classroom. Typically, the food is collected by pupils or other Pupil Support Assistants who are not involved in the preparation of the food.

**Preparation**

- The food is prepared in a dedicated room outside the school canteen. During school hours, this room is used as a meeting room.
- The food is presented on trays, with one tray of toast and one tray of fruit provided to each class.
- Porridge is also provided, but far fewer children choose this. It is estimated that around ten are made each day, providing for children who have indicated that they would want this, plus a few additional portions for other children to try.
- It is not possible to prepare all the toast at the very start of the school day. Some of the toast has cooled before it reaches the classroom.
- Margarine is spread on the toast. Jam is also available.

**Provision**

- Toast and fruit (cut slices of fruit) are available
- On occasion, porridge has been made available
- Teachers have the discretion to decide how to manage food in class.  A range of approaches are taken across the school.
- Fridays are known as 'Fancy Fruit Fridays' when a wider range of fruit is made available.

# 2. This Research Journey

*"… we don't want to put emphasis on who's eating who's not eating so I like them to move about and have it on the move. As long as they're eating it, I don't care."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

*"I think more recently more and more felt they could come and say it [that they had not had breakfast], whereas in previous years … either it wasn't an issue, or they didn't say."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

As the opening epigraph suggests, the primary concern of teaching staff is to ensure that *Breakfast for All* provision meets the needs of their children: enumerating uptake would be a distraction from what it seeks to achieve.  Evaluation (or monitoring) impact is not straightforward: indeed, one of the successes of a provision – as the second epigraph suggests – is that users may become more comfortable at articulating need, rendering it challenging to ascertain whether the unmet need is being reduced (or whether awareness of it is rising).

## 2.1 – Introduction

In this section, we describe SPIRU's approach to this evaluation, describing the research strategy (2.2), research team (2.3), ethical considerations (2.4), and each of its four constituent parts (2.5 through 2.8), data linking (2.9) and limitations of our work (2.10), before concluding on the utility of this evaluation (2.11).

## 2.2 – Research Strategy

SPIRU was given an unrestricted brief for the evaluation of the breakfast tray.

Local support and resourcing - together with the research resource provided by SPIRU (2.3) – allowed for the design of a comprehensive multi-method research strategy.  Cauldeen Primary School intimated that they would facilitate fieldwork, access to parents, and would provide pupil profile data to support analysis; Highland Council committed to providing some staff resource (see 2.3) and the Northern Alliance RIC provided funds to support fieldwork.[27]

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[27]  The Northern Alliance provided £3.9k in support to cover fieldwork, publication, and data processing costs. Some of these funds were also used to administer a postal survey with prize draw for parents.

The support enabled an evaluation strategy to be devised, which comprised four parts.
- Systematic field observations of breakfast tray usage in class (section 2.6)
- Survey with pupils, administered in class (section 2.7)
- Survey with parents (section 2.8)
- Interviews with Cauldeen Primary School staff (section 2.9)

The unit of analysis for the systematic field observations was the pupil.  This enhanced the power of the analysis. Four datasets were linked, with data collated for each individual child from (i) the pupil survey (i) the parent survey, (iii) systematic field observations, and (iv) school pupil profile data.


## 2.3 – Research Team and Quality Assurance

Professor McKendrick, an experienced social researcher and Director of SPIRU, led this evaluation.  This research is part of Glasgow Caledonian University's commitment to the 'common good'[28] in that it provides a 'good cause' with expert research support at limited cost, in return affording opportunities for GCU social science students to acquire practical experience as social researchers.

Student researchers were drawn from two cohorts. Degree level students on the BA Social Sciences degree programme have the option of presenting for *Work Placement: Scottish Poverty and Inequality Research Unit*, in their third year of study.[29]  Six of the research team were students on Work Placement. Similarly, students at GCU have the option of undertaking work that contributes toward the university's Common Good Award, which acknowledges the contribution of students in the community beyond the university.[30] SPIRU devised work programmes that enabled students to gain credit to achieve the *Confidence* competency for the Award.

Student researchers, worked together as a research team, under the guidance of Professor McKendrick, to execute this social research project.  The students attended regular Team Briefings at which they were trained, briefed, and debriefed by Professor McKendrick, which enabled them to make an effective contribution to each stage of the research.  Professor McKendrick provided quality assurance. Also contributing to the research team were two core SPIRU researchers.

Highland Council allowed Morven MacSwan (Graduate Intern) to work with SPIRU as a local field researcher for the duration of the project. As with the student researchers, Morven worked under the guidance of Professor McKendrick, virtually attending regular briefings and debriefings, which ensured an effective contribution to each stage of the research.

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[28]  GLASGOW CALEDONIAN UNIVERSITY, n.d. *Common Good* [online]. [viewed 05 August 2020]. Available at: https://www.gcu.ac.uk/theuniversity/commongood/

[29]  For more information, visit: https://www.gcu.ac.uk/study/modules/info/?Module=M3L325159

[30]  For more information, visit: https://www.gcu.ac.uk/currentstudents/getinvolved/commongoodaward

## 2.4 – Ethics

The research adhered to the well-established Ethical Protocols that govern social research.[31] Each SPIRU Work Placement Student Researcher completed the SPIRU Researcher (Ethics) Approval process in their first week. The Department of Social Sciences Ethics Committee approved the research, in advance of fieldwork.

At each stage of the research, Student Researchers were briefed in advance of all pertinent matters pertaining to research ethics and research quality and debriefed thereafter. Personal reflective diaries were used by the Work Placement students to engage individual student researchers on matters pertinent to their own research practice. More generally, an open and collegiate environment was engendered in which all members of the research team were freely able to raise matters of interest and concern.

Informed consent of participants-pupils, parents, and staff was obtained. Fieldwork was conducted in a manner that aimed to minimise intrusion and avoid discomfort. Researchers were mindful of their status in relation to school pupils and were aware of their responsibilities.

All research data have been stored securely, in accordance with established protocols. Unique project identifiers were used to facilitate data linking, thereby maximising the analytical potential of the observational data (refer to section 2.8). Morven MacSwan and Professor McKendrick were assigned as holders of the key to these data, with the key stored securely and separately from the research data. All data were stored securely, and password protected. Data are not attributed to individual pupils, or staff in this report.

In this report, pupils and parents are identified by age stage (e.g., P4 pupil, parent of a P7 girl). Teachers are described by broader age-stage briefings, i.e., lower school (P1-P3), middle school (P4-P5) and upper school (P6-P7).

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[31] ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL, n.d. *Research Ethics,* [online] [viewed 05 August 2020]. Available at: https://esrc.ukri.org/funding/guidance-for-applicants/research-ethics/

SOCIAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION, 2003, Ethical Guidelines, (viewed 05 August 2020). Available at: https://the-sra.org.uk/SRA/Ethics/Research-ethics-guidance/SRA/Ethics/Research-Ethics-Guidance.aspx?hkey=5e809828-fb49-42be-a17e-c95d6cc72da1

## 2.5 – Part One: Systematic Field Observations in Class

### 2.5.1 – Purpose

The aims of the field observation were twofold, i.e., to:
- describe patterns of breakfast tray usage.
- ascertain whether pupils from more disadvantaged backgrounds were more or less likely to use the breakfast tray.

### 2.5.2 – Design

Professor McKendrick and Morven MacSwan joined the Project Steering Group on Friday December 3rd, 2021, for a study visit to Cauldeen Primary School in which pupils use of the breakfast tray was observed in a range of classes. During the study visit it was observed that most pupils in attendance, consumed toast, but did not consume fruit. This informed the design of the fieldwork observation.

Professor McKendrick devised an approach for the systematic observation of breakfast tray usage. This approach was piloted in each class with Morven MacSwan as field researcher. The approach involved Morven attending one class for the whole duration of the 'soft start' to the school day, with a record sheet that listed every pupil in a class. Typically, breakfast was handed out prior to the class register being completed. As children responded to the register the spreadsheet was cross-referenced to record what the pupils consumed. On some occasions, as necessary, Pupil Support Assistants and class teachers were able to give some assistance in identifying pupils, for example through the provision of seating plans.

By default, Morven recorded when each pupil was (i) absent, (ii) did not receive toast, (iii) did not consume toast, (iv) received fruit and (iv) consumed fruit. This approach was taken to minimise in-class recordings. Morven sought to position herself discretely in class and was not involved in distribution of the food. Pupils were aware of Morven's presence: however, they were not aware of what was recorded, to ensure that presence did not impact their consumption of breakfast. If needed, school staff were able to provide a general explanation of what Morven was doing in the class: (observing the start of the school day). Some children were keen to engage and discuss their breakfast: however, conversation was never encouraged or forced. In the later stages of the data gathering process, Morven began volunteering in a class within the lower school: however, this was not considered to have an impact on data collection or pupil behaviour. Morven also recorded general observations for each day of fieldwork observation.

### 2.5.3 – Training and Pilot

Professor McKendrick briefed Morven MacSwan in advance of fieldwork. The pilot was undertaken between January 13th and February 7th, 2022, and comprised eighteen mornings of fieldwork observation (two visits to each class). The pilot helped to identify the most efficient and accurate way to collect data within each classroom.

### 2.5.4 - Administration

> *"… this is the first time there has been something left and even at that there's only five bits left. Two of the kids that normally hammer it are off today so there is normally nothing left. "*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

After the pilot work, there were a further 29 mornings of fieldwork observation (three more in each class, with an additional observation in two of the nine classes). The fieldwork was completed before the end of April 2022. A schedule was planned to ensure that the breakfast tray usage was observed in each class on each day of the week. The main phase of fieldwork started on Monday 24th February and finished on Thursday 28th April.

Having a member of the research team collecting the data assured consistency of data collection and avoiding imposing on the work of teaching and support staff. Throughout the project, data gathering was responsive to changes within the classroom environment. Data was collected through a period of continued disruption from the COVID-19 pandemic for staff and pupils. For this reason, discretion was used on one occasion to record only toast consumption whilst a class was being covered by a visiting teacher. Allowance for this is made in the data analysis. Furthermore, to ensure that each class was observed on each day of the week, Miriam MacDonald (Highland Council) also provided support gathering data in two classes on the 7th and 8th of March.

### 2.5.5 – Data Processing

Morven MacSwan collated daily counts of breakfast tray usage into a single Excel spreadsheet, forwarding this as a password protected file to Professor McKendrick. These data were reviewed by Professor McKendrick at the end of the pilot stage and on completion of the fieldwork. These data were checked and, following consultation with Morven MacSwan to correct some minor anomalies, were transferred by Professor McKendrick into SPSS for data analysis.

Morven also submitted forward open-ended fieldwork observations to Professor McKendrick for data analysis.

### 2.5.6 – Data Analysis

Analysis of breakfast cart usage data proceeded through two stages. In the preliminary stages, data were analysed to provide a description of breakfast tray usage, i.e.
- Number of pupils consuming food (toast or fruit)
- Number of pupils consuming food types (separately for toast and fruit)
- Number of days each pupil consumed food
- Number of pupils consuming multiple eats (more than one toast, or toast and fruit)
- Number of days each pupil consumed multiple eats
- Impact of attendance on food consumption.

A second stage of exploratory data analysis utilised pupil profile and survey data to explore whether there was any patterning of usage according to:

- Free school meal registration status
- School clothing grant status
- Either free school meal registration or school clothing grant status
- Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation status for pupil's home address
- Whether pupil was care-experienced
- Whether pupil had an Additional Special Need
- Whether English was a pupils' second language
- Whether pupil was from a minority ethnic group
- An educational need index collated from pupil profile data
- Gender
- School Class
- Age-stage
- Day of week.

We also explored how attendance patterns in 2021/22, compared to earlier years in relation to breakfast food consumption.

Standard measures of statistical association and correlation were used in accordance with the level of data.

## 2.6 – Part Two: In-Class Survey with Pupils

### 2.6.1 – Purpose

The aims of the in-class surveys were twofold, i.e., to
- describe breakfast eating habits among school pupils
- collect an estimate of how often pupils perceived that they used the breakfast tray in class.

### 2.6.2 – Design

Professor McKendrick adapted a survey that had been used in research with primary schools in East Renfrewshire (Annex 2). These surveys were shared in advance with the Project Steering Group. The draft surveys were also critiqued by the SPIRU Student Research Team who had recently completed two rounds of literature review on breakfast provision in schools. The survey was modified on account of this feedback.

Each survey comprised (i) substantive questions with a closed set of response options, and (ii) substantive questions with an open response option. The survey was focused and short, comprising eight questions. Graphics were used to represent response options.

### 2.6.3 – Training

SPIRU Student Researchers were briefed on the administration of surveys to whole class groups, in advance of fieldwork.  It was expected pupils in the latter stages of primary school would be able to complete their survey independently, but that pupils in the early stages of primary school would need support to complete their survey. SPIRU Student Researchers were briefed and trained accordingly.

### 2.6.4 - Administration

Different approaches to administering the survey were adopted in the upper and lower ends of primary schools, although the surveys were administered to whole class groups throughout the school, with SPIRU Student researchers working in teams.

Teams of five SPIRU Student Researchers administered the surveys in each class in the 'junior' end of primary school (P1, P1/P2, P2 and P3), and teams of two SPIRU Student Researchers administered surveys in the 'middle' (P4, P4/P5, P5) and 'senior' (P6, P7) end of primary school.  One researcher read out the question to the whole class, while the other researchers were available to assist pupils to complete the survey and to observe administration. Researchers were available to assist classes of younger pupils (one researcher at each table of pupils).  It was stressed to pupils that there were no right/wrong answers, and that it did not matter if their answers were different to those of other pupils. Surveys were administered to pupils on Monday 21st March and Tuesday 22nd March 2022.

Each SPIRU Student Researcher was also asked to record additional observations in relation to the survey administration. These unstructured and open-ended observations were submitted to Professor McKendrick within one week of fieldwork.

### 2.6.5 – Survey Pupil Profile

193 surveys were completed, with good representation across all year groups (Table 2.1, except P6). Non-respondents were limited to pupils who were not in attendance on the day of survey administration. As Table 2.2 confirms, the survey population was largely representative of the pupil population in the school.

**Table 2.1: Pupil survey returns by class**

|  | Number of surveys completed | Response rate |
|---|---|---|
| **P1** | 22 | 92% |
| **P1/P2** | 17 | 74% |
| **P2** | 20 | 83% |
| **P3** | 28 | 100% |
| **P4** | 24 | 89% |
| **P4/P5** | 22 | 88% |
| **P5** | 24 | 86% |
| **P6** | 11 | 50% |
| **P7** | 25 | 83% |

**Table 2.2: Pupil survey population and total population**

|  |  | Survey population |  | School population |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Median attendance, 2021/22** |  | 91.67% |  | 90.97% |
|  | Number of surveys completed | % of survey population | Number of pupils in school | % of pupils in school |
| **Gender: girls** | 84 | *44%* | 106 | *46%* |
| **Care experienced** | 3 | *2%* | 5 | *2%* |
| **BAME background** | 8 | *4%* | 9 | *4%* |
| **English an additional language** | 26 | *13%* | 29 | *13%* |
| **Additional Special Need** | 72 | *37%* | 94 | *41%* |
| **Free School Meal Registered** | 54 | *28%* | 71 | *31%* |
| **School Clothing Grant Entitled** | 55 | *28%* | 72 | *31%* |
| **20% Most Deprived Areas** | 54 | *28%* | 68 | *30%* |

### 2.6.6 – School Breakfast Club

Twenty-six pupils were also registered to attend the Cauldeen Breakfast Club (xx% of the school population).  The survey analysis explored whether uptake varied for this cohort of pupils.  Breakfast Club attendees were less likely to have ASNs (15%, compared to 44% of other pupils),[32] less likely to be entitled to a free school meal (8%, compared to 34% of other pupils),[33] more likely to be from the 30% Least Deprived Areas (69%, compared to 37% of

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[32]  Pearson Chi-square = 7.674, with one degree of freedom, and no cells with an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.006).

[33]  Pearson Chi-square = 7.237, with one degree of freedom, and no cells with an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.007).

other pupils),[34] Attendance at the breakfast club did not appear to skew uptake at *Breakfast for All w*ith pupils as likely to consume – and as likely to consume at volume – as other pupils.

### 2.6.7 – Data Processing

The preliminary data management was administered in Cauldeen Primary School in a research space to which the research team had secure access during the fieldwork. SPIRU researchers administered the surveys in-class, and then moved to this base room where they transferred these data to a spreadsheet. These spreadsheets were transferred to Professor McKendrick. Professor McKendrick was responsible for the safe storage (and later safe disposal) of the hard copies. Professor McKendrick replaced pupil's names with their project-specific ID on the spreadsheet.

### 2.6.8 – Data Analysis

Professor McKendrick transferred the survey data from Excel to SPSS for analysis. Following a data quality check and data cleaning, descriptive and exploratory data analysis was undertaken. Standard tests of distribution and statistical association were used to inform the conclusions that were drawn from these data. Confidence levels of 95% were used to determine statistically significant findings. However, in the report reference is made to some findings that are not statistically significant – this is clarified, and these findings are discussed with caution.

## 2.7 – Part Three: Survey with Parents

### 2.7.1 – Purpose

The aims of the parental surveys were fivefold, i.e., to
- canvass their opinions on breakfast eating
- describe their child's pattern of breakfast eating
- understand their awareness of the breakfast tray provision at Cauldeen Primary School
- canvass their opinion on the breakfast tray provision at Cauldeen Primary School
- estimate the impact of breakfast tray provision at Cauldeen Primary School on breakfast eating at home

### 2.7.2 – Design

Professor McKendrick drafted a short survey for parents (Annex 3), which was shared in advance with the Project Steering Group. The draft surveys were also critiqued by the SPIRU Student Research Team. The survey was modified on account of this feedback.

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[34]  Pearson Chi-square = 10.471, with two degrees of freedom, and one cell with an Expected frequency of less than five (16.7%). Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.005).

The survey comprised (i) substantive questions with a closed set of response options, (ii) substantive questions with an open response option, (iii) one profile question with a closed set of response options, and (iv) one question to allow for data linking. The survey comprised fifteen questions.

### 2.7.3 - Administration

At the outset, following discussion with the Project Steering Group, it was decided to administer the survey online, using Microsoft Forms. Cauldeen Primary School prepared the online survey tool.

Parents were invited to complete the survey on March 14[35], 2022, with this invite being extended through the school's Facebook page.[35] This Facebook page has over one thousand followers and was reported to be a channel used by the school to communicate to parents. March 25th, 2022, was set as a closing date and 22 responses were received (pertaining to 25 pupils). These data were drawn down from Microsoft Forms by Morven MacSwan, pupil and parent identifiers were replaced with Project-ID numbers, and the data securely transferred to Professor McKendrick.

Although the survey tool delivered what was asked, SPIRU considered that a return of 23 responses was insufficient to represent parent opinion. With the permission and support of Cauldeen Primary School, a second round was administered using a different approach. A prize draw was introduced as an incentive to complete the survey, with prizes of £50, £30, and £20 offered to three respondents to be drawn at random. Parents were provided with the survey; a cover note explaining the purpose of the research (Annex 3) and a stamped addressed envelope to return the survey directly to SPIRU. The surveys were sent to Cauldeen Primary School on Thursday 5th May 2022, (ready for distribution from Monday 9th May) with a suggested closing date for return set for Friday 20th May 2022. Cauldeen Primary School gave the surveys to pupils to pass on to their parents.

64 postal surveys were posted to SPIRU by the closing date: six of these surveys were 'double' submissions (parents completing a separate survey for each of their children) and seven of these postal surveys replicated an earlier survey that has been submitted from the online portal. The final parent survey population comprised 71 parent surveys, 10 drawn from the online version and 61 drawn from postal returns.

### 2.7.4 – Survey Parent Profile

Overall, the survey population for parents represented much of the school population (Table 2.3 and 2.4). However, it is noted that there was less opinion shared from the upper school (Table 3.3, and once more, from P6). Although there was proportionate representation by gender of pupil, minority ethnic status, and English language status, it is significant that there was under-representation of opinion from parents whose children had an ASN and parents from areas and family circumstances that are associated with socio-economic

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[35]   For details of invitation to complete, visit:
       https://www.facebook.com/page/150606498306471/search/?q=Glasgow

disadvantage. The survey data are not weighted in this report, although account is taken of these imbalances when interpreting parental opinion.

**Table 2.3: Parent survey returns by class**

|  | Number of pupils in class | Number of online surveys completed | Final survey population | Response rate |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **P1** | 24 | 4 | 8 | 33% |
| **P1/P2** | 23 | 4 | 6 | 26% |
| **P2** | 24 | 0 | 6 | 25% |
| **P3** | 28 | 4 | 9 | 32% |
| **P4** | 27 | 4 | 10 | 37% |
| **P4/P5** | 25 | 3 | 11 | 44% |
| **P5** | 29 | 3 | 10 | 34% |
| **P6** | 22 | 0 | 4 | 18% |
| **P7** | 30 | 1 | 7 | 23% |

**Table 2.4: Parent survey population and total population (by child profile)**

|  | Survey population | | School population | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Median attendance, 2021/22** |  | 93.06% |  | 90.97% |
|  | Number of surveys completed | % of survey population | Number of pupils in school | % of pupils in school |
| **Gender: girls** | 34 | *32%* | 106 | *46%* |
| **Care experienced** | 0 | - | 5 | *2%* |
| **BAME background** | 4 | *44%* | 9 | *4%* |
| **English an additional language** | 12 | *41%* | 29 | *13%* |
| **Additional Special Need** | 22 | *23%* | 94 | *41%* |
| **Free School Meal Registered** | 10 | *14%* | 71 | *31%* |
| **School Clothing Grant Entitled** | 11 | *15%* | 72 | *31%* |
| **20% Most Deprived Areas** | 9 | *13%* | 68 | *30%* |
| **OVERALL** |  | *31%* |  |  |

### 2.7.5 – Data Processing

Morven MacSwan extracted these survey data from the online platform, replaced the name of the pupil to which the survey referred with their project-specific ID, and provided these anonymised data to Professor McKendrick. The second round of parent surveys was completed as a postal survey and were returned to SPIRU. Michelle Ritchie transferred these data to an Excel spreadsheet. This spreadsheet was transferred to Professor McKendrick securely. Professor McKendrick was responsible for the safe storage (and later safe disposal)

of the hard copies. Professor McKendrick replaced the name of the pupil to which the survey referred with their project-specific ID. Professor McKendrick collated these two spreadsheets into a single master spreadsheet to facilitate data analysis.

### 2.7.6 – Data Analysis

The process that was followed for the parental survey replicated that for the pupil survey. Professor McKendrick transferred the survey data from Excel to SPSS for analysis. Following a data quality check and data cleaning, descriptive and exploratory data analysis was undertaken.  Standard tests of distribution and statistical association were used to inform the conclusions that were drawn from these data.  With a smaller survey population, confidence levels of 90% were used to determine statistically significant findings.  However, in the report reference is made to some findings that are not statistically significant – this is clarified, and these findings are discussed with caution. As noted above (2.7.4), the under-representation of parents from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds is also acknowledged in analysis and interpretation.

## 2.8 – Part Four: Staff Interviews

### 2.8.1 – Purpose

Interviews were conducted with three groups of staff, i.e.,
- class teachers and students on Placement
- catering staff (who were not involved in preparing the food for *Breakfast for All*)
- support staff who were preparing the food for *Breakfast for All*

The objectives of these interviews were to canvass staff:
- understanding of their work
- experience of encountering poverty at Cauldeen Primary School
- awareness of pupils attending school without breakfast
- initial response to *Breakfast for All*
- experience of how *Breakfast for All* is managed in their classroom
- opinion on the impact of the *Breakfast for All* provision
- advice on breakfast food provision in schools.

### 2.8.2 – Design

The design process followed replicated that for the pupil and parent surveys. Professor McKendrick drafted the three interview schedules, with the teacher interview schedule (Annex 4) being adapted for catering and support staff (Annex 5).  These interviews comprised open-ended questions and a checklist of themes that should be explored in relation to that question. These schedules were shared in advance with the Project Steering Group. The SPIRU Student Research Team also critiqued the draft schedules.  All three interview schedules were modified on account of this feedback.

### 2.8.3 – Training

SPIRU Student Researchers were briefed and trained in conducting interviews, in advance of fieldwork.  In these training sessions, student researchers were afforded the opportunity of experiencing interviews as (i) interviewer, and (iv) interviewee (role play).  Professor McKendrick provided advice to SPIRU Student Researchers to improve their interviewing practice in advance of fieldwork.

### 2.8.4 - Administration

Interviews were administered with teachers in Cauldeen Primary School on Monday 21$^{st}$ March.  SPIRU Student Researchers administered these interviews: these interviews preceded fieldwork observation of *Breakfast for All* in the teacher's class, which was scheduled for the following morning.  Interviews were conducted in the teacher's classroom, at a time when the pupils were absent from class. Interviews were recorded with permission and lasted between 13 and 46 minutes.  Each interview was administered by a single SPIRU Student Researcher.

Two group interviews were also administered, with three interviewees and three SPIRU researchers.  In these group interviews – one with catering staff and one with the *Breakfast for All* staff – SPIRU researchers were assigned the role of either lead interviewer, secondary interviewer, or scribe.  These interviews were recorded with the permission of participants and lasted 18 minutes (catering staff) and 24 minutes (*Breakfast for All* staff).

### 2.8.5 – Data Processing

Having been trained to transcribe to professional standards beforehand, each SPIRU Student Researcher transcribed the interview that they had administered. These transcripts were submitted to Professor McKendrick, who collated them prior to data analysis.

### 2.8.6 – Data Analysis

Prior to analysis, the research team were attuned to the key research themes having analysed key literature on breakfast food provision.  Interview analysis proceeded through six stages.

First, the interviewers identified key points from their interview.  Text extracts were highlighted, and comments added to the transcript.  Second, Professor McKendrick layered this analysis with a second reading of each of the eleven transcripts.  Third, evidence was collated by theme drawing from the eleven annotated transcripts, generating a substantial resource from the eleven individual interviews.

The writing up of the results also comprised three stages. SPIRU Student Researchers were then tasked to review evidence for one theme (comprising a small set of related sub-themes for the over-arching theme).  These analyses comprised the initial draft of writing for the report.  This writing was edited in two rounds: first by SPIRU core researchers and then by

Professor McKendrick.  In effect, each theme was analysed by the team in three rounds of written analysis.

## 2.9 – Data Linking

A careful and robust approach was undertaken to link the discrete datasets. Wherever possible, use of pupil names was minimised when handling data.  Morven MacSwan created a unique project-specific ID for every child in Cauldeen Primary School.  Professor McKendrick managed the linking of datasets using this unique project-specific ID to pair data.  All data transfers were undertaken securely, with data sheets password protected. The following steps were taken to protect participant identity:

- *Pupil profile data.* Highland Council provided Morven MacSwan with profile data for each pupil.  Morven replaced each pupil's name with their project-specific ID and provided these anonymised data to Professor McKendrick.
- *Observational data.* Morven MacSwan collected data for each pupil in class using the proforma which is presented in Annex 1.  These data were transferred to a spreadsheet. On the spreadsheet, Morven replaced pupil's names with their project-specific ID and provide these anonymised data to Professor McKendrick. Hard copies of record sheets were stored securely and then destroyed safely.
- *Pupil survey data.* Due to illness, Morven MacSwan was not able to assist with the pupil surveys.  As noted in 2.6.6, the preliminary data management was administered in Cauldeen Primary School in a research space to which the research team had secure access during the fieldwork. SPIRU researchers administered the surveys in-class, and then transferred these data to a spreadsheet.  These spreadsheets were transferred to Professor McKendrick. Professor McKendrick was responsible for the safe storage (and later safe disposal) of the hard copies. Professor McKendrick replaced each pupil's name with their project-specific ID.
- *Parent survey data – online submissions.* The first round of parent surveys was completed online. As noted in 2.7.5, Morven MacSwan extracted these survey data from the online platform. Morven replaced the name of the pupil to which the survey referred with their project-specific ID and provided these anonymised data to Professor McKendrick.
- *Parent survey data – postal submissions.* The second round of parent surveys was completed as a postal survey. As noted in 2.7.5, these surveys were returned to SPIRU. Michelle Ritchie transferred these data to a spreadsheet. This spreadsheet was transferred to Professor McKendrick securely. Professor McKendrick was responsible for the safe storage (and later safe disposal) of the hard copies. Professor McKendrick replaced the name of the pupil to which the survey referred with their project-specific ID.
- *Staff interviews.* The staff interviews were transcribed by the SPIRU researcher/s who administered the interview. The interview transcripts included a class identifier, which could be used to identify the interviewee.  The transcripts and the original recording were stored securely with password protection. The transcripts were not anonymised. However, identity is protected when interview extracts are used in this report.

## 2.10 – Limitations

This section of the report has demonstrated that a careful and robust approach to research design and administration was employed. Nevertheless, there are limitations that should be acknowledged, and which are considered when conclusions are drawn in this report.

- *Seasonality - Extent to which observation weeks were representative.* The observational fieldwork was completed from January through April 2022. It is noted that we did not observe uptake during the warmer summer months (May, June, and August). Although it is possible that consumption will vary at different seasons during the school year, it should be noted that the observation work was carried out in months when the weather is milder and months when the weather is more inclement.  Seasonality is not considered to be significant factor in influencing the observational data.
- *Parental Opinion*. A diverse range of parents returned a survey.  However, regarding the profile of participating parents, it is acknowledged that there is some under-representation of opinion from parents facing more challenging socio-economic circumstances.  Interestingly, there is no under-representation by cultural factors (minority ethnic status and English language status). Given the possible value of *Breakfast for All* in tackling hunger, particular care is taken when interpreting survey data in relation to socio-economic disadvantage.
- *Finance*. It was beyond the scope of the research to appraise the costs and undertake a value for money analysis of the financing of the breakfast provision.
- *Food and School Culture*. The evaluation is focused on uptake and patterns of uptake. The wider benefits to arise from the 'soft start' to the school day (of which the *Breakfast for All* provision is an integral part) are beyond the focus of this analysis, although we report from teachers who allude to the value of the initiative in this way.
- *Impact on Performance*. The evaluation does not have data, which would permit the impact of *Breakfast for All* on academic performance, behaviour, or engagement (as opposed to attendance) to be appraised.

## 2.11 – Conclusion: Clarify the Utility of the Evaluation

Notwithstanding the limitations of the research (2.10), if used with due care and attention, the data collected by SPIRU is sufficient to draw useful conclusions on the utility of the model of breakfast provision at Cauldeen Primary School.

# 3. What Do We Know About Schools and Breakfast? A rapid review of the key literature

## 3.1 - Introduction

In this section, we summarise the key findings from previously published research. What is presented is not a fully-fledged literature review; rather, it is a collation of evidence and expert opinion on five key issues – the value of breakfast (3.3), breakfast eating among schoolchildren (3.4), school breakfast provision (3.5), the impact of school breakfast provision on issues that matter to schools (3.6), and the sustainability of breakfast provision in schools (3.7).

The primary goal of this rapid review was to draw lessons from research in Scotland; however, this literature is limited, and it is necessary to refer to learning beyond Scotland, where it is considered relevant. Similarly, where appropriate, lessons for breakfast provision in schools are also drawn from studies that have a focus, which, extends beyond breakfast, but which contain insights that are pertinent to it.

This review draws heavily on an earlier rapid review of this literature, which was prepared to underpin the Grab-N-Go research in East Renfrewshire.[1] This earlier review appraised 31 academic papers (Annex 6).  For clarification, information drawn from this earlier review is presented in *italics* in this section of the report.

## 3.2 – Selection and Appraisal of Additional Literature for the Rapid Review

Two academic search engines were used to identify new literature to review – google scholar and GCU's Discover platform, both of which have an extensive reach. Keywords were used to identify academic literature that appeared to be pertinent to this project. Professor McKendrick reviewed the abstracts of these papers, preparing a rank order list of priority reading to inform this report.

SPIRU Student Researchers were trained to undertake a critical appraisal of literature and then allocated two papers over a two-week period to review, recording their appraisal using a standard template in an initial round of reviews.  Later in the research process, SPIRU Student Researchers and SPIRU core researchers reviewed an additional 13 papers over another two-week period. These reviews were collated and made available to all SPIRU Student Researchers.  Annex 7 lists the 23 papers that were reviewed.

SPIRU Student Researchers were each allocated one theme to review and were tasked to draft a review of evidence for that theme by drawing on the collective set of 23 reviews, presenting key findings in bullet point form. Professor McKendrick quality assured these

contributions and integrated these with findings from the 'Grab-N-Go report', for inclusion in this report.

## 3.3 – Why Breakfast Matters

*Sustaining health: the need for healthy breakfasts*
- *Hoyland, Dye & Lawton (2009, p.220) argue that, compared to breakfast skippers, breakfast consumers tend to have a higher overall micronutrient intake, better macronutrient profile, and that children who eat breakfast have lower BMIs and are less at risk of being overweight.*
- *O'Dea & Mugridge (2012, p.978) found a positive association between nutritional quality of breakfast and literacy levels.*
- *Conklin et al. (2004, p.1) assert that breakfast is the most important meal of the day and that it prepares children for learning, "Researchers have determined that students who consume food and beverages in the morning, regardless of setting, have a significantly better overall diet."*
- Bullock et al (2021, p.1) argues that eating breakfast benefits children in terms of weight status and nutrition intake. This coincides with Rampersaud et al, (2005, p.744) who state that 'several studies have identified a possible role for breakfast consumption in maintaining normal weight status in children and adolescents.'
- Moller et al. (2021, p.5) report that 48.5% of breakfast skippers self-report as having low overall health, while 41.4% of those who never skipped, had high overall health.

*Providing necessary energy to function*
- *Adolphus et al. (2016, p.608, p.611) found that breakfast consumption in children and adolescents has a short-term and positive effect on their cognitive function (specifically, improved performance for tasks that require attention, cognitive process, and memory).*
- *Littlecott et al. (2016, p.1580) argue that foods with a low glycaemic index (which release energy steadily) can positively affect children's cognitive functioning, health, and academic outcomes.*
- *O'Dea & Mugridge (2012, p.976) argue that breakfast skipping has adverse effects on academic achievement, stating that nutritional status is associated with cognitive function. They argue that a nutritious breakfast can positively affect brain function and academic outcomes for children.*
- Moller et al. (2021, p.5) estimate that there is a 19% higher risk of poor cognitive development among boys who sometimes or always skip breakfast.
- Boschloo et al. (2012, p.82) maintain that skipping breakfast harms mood and short-term memory. In boys, it mainly affected visuospatial memory, in girls, it affects verbal memory.
- Rampersaud et al. (2005, p.752) argues that breakfast consumption could improve cognitive performance by alleviating the associated emotional, behavioural, and academic problems in children and adolescents, which are caused by hunger.
- Creighton (2012, p.496) argues that 'children who are undernourished have poorer cognitive functioning when they miss breakfast and that children experiencing hunger have lower Math scores and are more likely to repeat a grade.'

*Avoiding adverse behaviours*
- Moller et al. (2021, p.7) argue that skipping breakfast means that children arrive at school hungry, distracted and have little to no energy and therefore are less emotionally and cognitively engaged.

*Family functioning*
- *Hoyland, Dye & Lawton (2009, p.239) argue that the repeated process of breakfast consumption can encourage healthy routines to form due to the child's learned association of breakfast with wellbeing.*
- *O'Dea & Mugridge (2012, p.982) argue that, although 'low' socioeconomic status can put a child at a predisposed disadvantage in life, this can be tackled by promoting healthy eating habits.*

## 3.4 –Breakfast Eating Habits Among Schoolchildren

*How much children eat*
- *Lazerri et al. (2016, pp.1-2) - analysing data obtained from the Health Behaviours in School-aged Children study, comprising surveys in 31 countries – found that many children and adolescents do not regularly eat breakfast in England, Scotland, and Wales.*
- *On the other hand, Lazzeri et al. (2016, Table 1.5) also found that, between 2002 and 2010, there was an increase in the number of children who ate breakfast in England, Scotland, and Wales.*
- *Ruxton et al. (1996, p.422) found most children had breakfast almost every day of the week (94%).*
- *In contrast, Hoyland et al. (2012, p.232) found that 14% of the participants reported skipping breakfast regularly.*

*What children eat*
- *Ruxton et al. (1996, p.423) - in a small-scale study conducted in Edinburgh with 136 primary school children - found that most children who eat breakfast eat cereal or toast.*
- *Anderson et al. (1993, p.111) note that the eating habits of less than one third of the young people they surveyed are shaped by health education campaigns.*
- *Anderson et al. (1993, pp.116-118) warn that fifteen-year-olds over-consume crisps, sweets, soft drinks, and other processed food products. They highlight high consumption of 'manufactured' food products that are marketed specifically at children. They argue that this accessible and highly advertised food may both have a great impact on contemporary daily nutritional intakes of young people and shape their future food choices.*
- *Hoyland et al. (2013, p.233) – in a study of 3311 children aged 5-15 years old - report that 10% of children eat crisps or chocolate as a breakfast.*

*Where children eat*
- *Hoyland (2013, p.233) found that between the ages of 13-16, children tended not to eat breakfast at home. Three-quarters of young people (77%) reported that they ate nothing prior to entering school.*

- *Levin et al. (2012, p.2) found that 58% of secondary schools in Scotland provided a breakfast club, while Hoyland et al. (2013, p.237) found that there are more breakfast clubs in primary schools (63%) than in secondary schools (49%).*
- *Although provision is widespread, Hoyland et al. (2013, p.238) report that only 4% of children used breakfast clubs.*
- *Lazzeri et al. (2016, p.9) contend that the availability of food outside the house - especially snack foods - could contribute to lower levels of daily breakfast consumption in the home, particularly in western countries.*

*Variations by age*
- *Hoyland et al. (2012, pp.235-236) report that skipping breakfast is more commonplace among adolescents than young children; 7% of primary and 27% of secondary school kids reported not eating breakfast in the morning.*
- *Lazzeri et al. (2016, p.2) – drawing on the 1999–2006 National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) in the USA - report that 20% of 9-13-year-olds and 32% of 14-18-year-olds did not eat breakfast.*
- Moller et al. (2021, p.1) found that skipping breakfast was more prevalent in older children.

*Variations by gender*
- *Hoyland et al (2012, p.236) found that among older children (11–15-year-olds), more girls than boys report skipping breakfast.*
- *Ruxton et al. (1996, p.430) found that certain groups, such as teenage girls, had a comparatively lower intake of key nutrients through breakfast eating.*
- *Lazzeri et al. (2016, p.6) report that boys were more likely than girls to consume breakfast every day; In England, Scotland, and Wales, on average, between 10-14% more boys than girls reported having breakfast regularly.*
- *Several commentators have suggested that gendered differences in breakfast consumption may reflect greater concerns overweight among adolescent girls. (Lazzeri et al., 2016, pp.2,9,10; Hoyland 2012, p.238).*
- *On the other hand, Anderson (1994: pp.114-115) notes that body image problems can influence food choices for both boys and girls. Anderson also notes that boys were less healthy eaters.*
- Moller et al. (2021, p.1) found that skipping breakfast was more prevalent amongst girls.

*Variations by socio-economic status*
- *Several studies have found lower levels of daily breakfast consumption for children in lone parent families (compared to children living within two parent families) (Lazzeri et al., 2016, p.1; Levin et al., 2012, p.1).*
- *Lazzeri et al. (2016, pp.1-4) found that children living in families with a higher income were more likely to consume breakfast daily.*
- *Pearson et al. (2008, p.5) also found that socio-economic status is positively associated with breakfast consumption (but only in eight of the fifteen samples studied). They also found that adolescents from low socio-economic status backgrounds had a poorer diet than adolescents from families with higher socio-economic status.*

- *Hoyland et al. (2012, pp.233-236) highlight that, for both primary and secondary schoolchildren, those from areas of higher deprivation are more likely not to eat breakfast.*
- *Ruxton et al. (1996, p.423) found that children who come from more affluent families tend to have a breakfast with a larger amount of nutrients and energy, in comparison to children who come from less affluent families.*
- *Anderson (1994, p.116) - in a study of eating habits among 15-year-olds - found that those who came from families of 'manual' workers were less healthy eaters than children who came from families of non 'non-manual' workers.*
- Moller et al. (2021, p.1) found that skipping breakfast was prevalent for children from lower socio-economic backgrounds.
- Moller et al. (2021, p.1) found that the prevalence of breakfast skipping was higher among adolescents who reported smoking, had low physical activity, dieted, and had body weight concerns.

## 3.5 – School Breakfast Provision

*Statutory obligations*

The Scottish Government requires that all breakfast clubs run on school premises offering food and drinks, including those provided by private operators, must meet nutritional regulations. These nutritional regulations were originally set out in The Nutritional Requirements for food and drink in schools (Scotland) Regulations 2008 which was created using powers given to the Minister by The Schools (Health Promotion and Nutrition) (Scotland) Act 2007. These nutritional requirements were updated by the Scottish Government in 2020.

*Models of provision in school*
- *Spruance et al. (2019, p.7) argue that 'alternative' models to school breakfast provision, such as grab and go, would improve school attendance, breakfast participation and academic performance.*
- Creighton (2012, p.497) reported that, 'as of June 2011, a total of 64 American schools implemented breakfast in the classroom, leading to an additional 10,463 students eating breakfast each day.'
- Jose et. al (2020, p.637) observes that breakfast relief in Australia largely occurs through the not-for-profit sector, with great reliance on charities as opposed to government intervention.

*Positive impact of provision in school classrooms*
- *Farris et al. (2019, p.893) argue that the introduction of the Breakfast in the Classroom scheme, (which followed breakfast provision in school canteens), increased the number of elementary stage pupils who ate breakfast at school. Food waste remained high (almost 40%) but was lower than canteen-based provision.*
- *Stokes et al. (2019, p.937) found that providing in-class breakfast increased the number of children who ate breakfast.*

*Positive impact of universal provision*
- *Soldavini and Ammerman (2019, p.1143) argue that offering breakfast free to all pupils would help reduce the stigma associated with receiving a free breakfast. They argue that the benefits would extend to families whose children do not qualify for free school meals, but who still face challenges paying for breakfast or finding the time to prepare or provide it.*
- *Leos-Urbel et al. (2013, p.91) found that the universal provision of free breakfasts significantly improved attendance within schools and children's academic achievements.*
- *Leos-Urbel et al. (2013, p.91) found that stigma was reduced amongst students when the universal free breakfast scheme was introduced, and participation increased.*

*No cost provisions*
- *Spruance et al. (2019, p.1) found that food insecurity amongst children from low-income families improved (i.e., was reduced) when a free breakfast was available at school.*
- *Leos-Urbel et al. (2013, p.89) found that the uptake of free breakfasts is lower in comparison to uptake of free school meals. This reflected both the lack of appeal of the food provided and the stigma attached to receiving the free breakfast.*
- Leos-Urbel et al. (2013, p.88) suggest that for students whose meals are not fully subsidised, price influences participation rates for school breakfast and lunch.
- Walker et al (2021, p.291) describes how twelve school districts shifted to offering free breakfasts in the classroom (BIC) at the start of the school day. This policy decision was based on the perceived benefits to students and to school districts, including increasing breakfast participation, the reduction in time and cost, lowering students' perceptions of being stigmatised for eating free school breakfasts, and decreasing absenteeism and tardiness.

*Challenges in managing provision in the classroom*
- *Stokes et al. (2019, p.936) also found that teachers perceive that a lot of valuable time is lost to breakfast provision, especially when provided in-class breakfast (due to time required for cleaning and filling out paperwork).*
- *Krueger et al. (2018, p.788) report that they key problem with providing breakfast in the classroom (and other areas of the school that are not the cafeteria) is the work associated with cleaning up.*
- *Krueger et al. (2018, p.788) found that 33.9% thought that students would not have enough time to eat, and 31.2% believed it would need an increase in teacher/staff supervision.*
- *Conklin et al. (2004, p.2) report that 49% of teachers and administrators are opposed classroom breakfasts.*
- Cuadros-Meneca et al. (2020, p.11) report teachers expressed concerns that breakfast trays are the cause of loss of instructional time and classroom management issues.

*Uptake*
- *Leos-Urbel et al. (2013, p.89) found that the uptake of free breakfasts is lower in comparison to uptake of free school meals. This reflected both the lack of appeal of the food provided and the stigma attached to receiving the free breakfast.*

- *Spruance et al. (2019, p.2) also found that school breakfast provision participation is lower than school lunch programmes. Only 56.7% of people who presented for a free lunch also presented for a breakfast meal.*
- Moore et al. (2009, p.19) report evidence from a nationally representative sample, students eligible for free or reduced-price meals participate in lunch about 70% of the time compared to approximately 30% for Breakfast.
- *Leos-Urbel et al. (2013, p. 102) argue that New York City's policy change of making Breakfast free for all students appears to have increased breakfast participation by students from all eligibility groups, even those who were already eligible for free meals.*
- Corcoran et al. (2020, p.509) report low participation by eligible students in school cafeteria breakfast.

## 3.6 – Impact of School Breakfast Provision on Matters That Impact on Schools

*Tackling poverty*
- *Acham et al (2012, p.2) suggest that to tackle poverty all children must start their day with a decent breakfast.*
- *Anzam-Fransca (2015, p.71) found that breakfast participation ultimately helped those in poverty by encouraging school attendance.*
- *Hearst et al. (2018, p.6) suggest that consuming a good breakfast does not only stop hunger, but also improves concentration and leads to better academic outcomes (which, in turn, contributes tackling poverty in the longer term).*

*Improving attendance and engagement*
- *Anzam-Fransca (2015, p.71) found that breakfast participation improved attendance across the school.*
- *Kreuger et al. (2018, p.793) argue that "[t]he results (of their study) demonstrated that increasing access to the School Breakfast Program and social support for eating breakfast are effective strategies for promoting student participation that offer great potential reach without high expense.*
- Adolphus et al. (2013, p.3) reported that 'seven of the eleven studies demonstrated a positive effect of breakfast on on-task behaviour'; this was apparent in well-nourished and undernourished children, and those from low SES or deprived backgrounds.
- Walker et al (2021, p.295) demonstrated that attendance improved for low-income students participating in their *Breakfast in the Classroom* programme. 'After the introduction of BIC, the absence rate was reduced 2.89%, an extra 1.12 days of school per year/per child. Across the 1542 students in the study, this amounts to 1730 extra days in attendance.'
- Research papers reviewed by Abouk and Adams (2022, p.2) report that districts offering breakfast directly to students at the start of the school day increased participation.
- Watson et al. (2020, p.3) report that 'most participants acknowledged that the programme helped to re-engage children in the education system.' They argue that that the programme helped 'break the welfare cycle because it enabled the children to engage with learning, work harder, and achieve more in class.'

- Kirksey and Gottfried (2021, p.316) evidence that BAB implementation was associated with a 'statistically significant decline in chronic absenteeism. Specifically, schools with BAB in 2015–2016 had 3% points lower rates of chronic absenteeism compared to schools without BAB.'

*Improving readiness to learn*
- *Hearst et al. (2018, p.6) suggest that consuming a good breakfast improves concentration.*
- MacDonald (2019, p.40) reports that the breakfast in school programme that they evaluated demonstrated improved capacity of children to concentrate in class, with 95% of the 671 teachers reporting a positive impact among pupils.
- MacDonald, (2019, p.43) found over 80% of teachers surveyed perceive that their breakfast club had become an essential part of their school, impacting on student learning and engagement. They believe that if children are hungry, they can't learn.

*Improving academic outcomes*
- *Hearst et al. (2018, p.6) suggest that consuming a good breakfast improves concentration, which leads to better academic outcomes.*
- *Spruance et al. (2019, p.139) suggest that improved academic performance was one of the greatest benefits of school breakfast provision.*
- *Leos-Urbel et al. (2013, p.89) found that the uptake of free breakfasts is lower in comparison to uptake of free school meals. This reflected both the lack of appeal of the food provided and the stigma attached to receiving the free breakfast. Participation was insufficient to impact on overall educational outcomes.*
- Moller et al. (2021, p.2) report that some studies from the USA have found that breakfast programmes are related to improved scores on maths and reading.
- Kirksey and Gottfried (2021, p.306) refer to the work of Dotter (2013) who found that BAB participation improved elementary school students' achievement scores by 0.10 to 0.15 standard deviations.
- Cuadros-Meneca et al. (2022, p.11) assert that Breakfast after the Bell (BAB) does not impact the levels of educational achievement of children. Indeed, they claim that children in schools that adopted BAB had lower average test scores in comparison to those children in non-BAB schools. They show that BAB had insignificant effects for children who were exposed to it in earlier grades (fourth and fifth) and negative effects on their English Language Art and Mathematics scores after sixth grade, with a significant and modest -0.4 standard deviation impact for children exposed to BAB during seventh and eighth grades. They also suggest the implementation of BAB may be disruptive and academic performance could suffer after BAB adoption despite more children having access to school breakfasts.
- Watson et al (2020, p.3) report a positive link between breakfast and a child's academic performance.

*Providing nourishment to those who need it*
- *Spruance et al. (2019, p.139) suggest that the reduction of hunger is one of the greatest benefits of school breakfast provision.*
- *Anzam-Fransca (2015, p.73) found that children who were previously malnourished gained weight due to the provision of school breakfasts.*

- *Hearst et al. (2018, p.6) suggest that consuming a good breakfast in school stops hunger.*
- *Hearst (2019, p.716) contend that providing children with breakfasts contributes to improvements in their overall dietary quality and daily nutrient intake.*

*Impact on physical health*
- *Heasly (2015, p.2) found that increased breakfast consumption in school improved pupils' weight, especially those who were overweight or obese (i.e., it contributed to weight reduction). This reflected the quality of the food being offered.*
- *Spruance et al. (2019, p139) found that students who used breakfast provision in schools lowered BMI.*
- Moller et al. (2021, p.7) found that over a longer period, breakfast at school could improve the overall quality of children's diets.

*Widening food horizons*
- *Anzam-Fransca et al. (2015, p.72) argue that the introduction of a free/reduced price breakfast can be used to introduce children to different food groups, ultimately increasing their awareness and expanding the range of food they eat.*
- *Leos-Urbel et al. (2013, p.89) found that the uptake of free breakfasts is lower in comparison to uptake of free school meals. This reflected both the lack of appeal of the food provided and the stigma attached to receiving the free breakfast.*

*Improving diet*
- *Spruance et al. (2019, p.139) found that students who used breakfast provision in schools improved the quality of their diet.*
- *Leos-Urbel et al. (2013, pp.91-93) found that nutritional intake improved dramatically with school-based provision. Typically, this included foods from almost all the food groups and at least one of their 'five a day' portions.*
- *Conklin et al. (2004 p.2) found that pre-schoolers who participated in the School Breakfast Program, "… consumed less refined sugars and more complex carbohydrates than when they ate at home. "*
- *Conklin et al. (2004, p.2) argue that the provision of meals in school can play a part in improving a child's nutritional intake, particularly for children who do not have enough time to eat at home.*
- *Stokes et al. (2019, p.938) found that teachers perceive that the breakfasts provided by schools are unhealthy and are of poor quality.*
- Walker et al. (2021, p.296) note 'low-income students who eat breakfast at school have improved overall diet quality compared to those who skip breakfast or eat it elsewhere.'
- Cuadros-Meneca et al. (2022, p.11) assert that foods provided at school - such as breakfast - can remedy disparities in diet quality, which in turn could lead to a healthier lifestyle.

*Worsening diet*
- Krueger et al. (2018, pp.936-945) – based on a study in Utah - found that teachers expressed a preference for the traditional breakfast, and that Breakfast in the Classroom was their least preferred option.
- Jose et al. (2020, p.627) found that a minority of staff and volunteers were concerned about the over-consumption of food by some children, although they acknowledged that it was not always apparent who had already eaten breakfast.

- Abouk and Adams (2022, p.2) suggest that free school meals could contribute towards obesity among those who have a breakfast at home and then again at school. They suggest this may be a particular problem for girls.

*Improved behaviour*
- Adolphus et al. (2013, p.12) reviewed six intervention studies, finding mixed evidence for the effects of school breakfast provision on behaviour at school.
- Richter et al. (1997, cited in Adolphus et al., 2013) reported less hyperactivity amongst children from most disadvantaged backgrounds and undernourished children aged 8–10 years and an overall reduction in discipline referrals following the introduction of school breakfast provision.
- Rampersaud (2005, p.754) found improvements in levels of child depression and hyperactivity were correlated with provision in a school breakfast programme, with benefits observed on mood, including alertness and contentment.
- Jose et al. (2020, p.627) noted that note that improved classroom behaviour is one of the benefits of school breakfast clubs.
- MacDonald (2019, p.44) reports that teachers noted fewer behavioural problems with children in class, with 65% of teachers reporting breakfast in school as having a positive impact among pupils.
- MacDonald (2019, p.45) reports that the benefits of running breakfast clubs extend beyond the classroom; teachers report a positive impact in the playground, and some of the more challenging children love to go to breakfast clubs and stay to help clean up.
- Murphy et al. (2011, p.222) in their randomised controlled trial of an intervention in Wales found no differences in levels of hyperactivity/ inattention following the introduction of a school breakfast provision.
- Schanzenbach, D.W. and Zaki, M., (2014, p.15) assert that the Breakfast in the Classroom 'may improve behaviour and health in some highly disadvantaged subgroups'

*Social benefits*
- Jose et al. (2020, p.627) noted that participants (including children) identified many social benefits of school breakfast clubs, i.e., social eating, relationship building, and strengthening the connection to the school.
- Jose et al. (2020, p.625) notes that when children (aged 7-12 years in Tasmania) discussed the importance of eating breakfast, irrespective of where it was consumed, they talked about how it made them feel; for example, "*strong, smart, energetic, clever, run around, healthy and good*.
- Jose et al. (2020, p.625) also noted several parents or carers highlighted that their child (or children) chose to have school breakfasts in favour of having breakfast at home, primarily for social reasons. Most interviewees discussed the social benefits of the SBC, as they allow for a unique chance for building relationships amongst children, as students of various ages attend the SBCs, as well as between children and the adults (older volunteers and parents) who organise the programme.
- Jose et al. (2020, p.625) also report that children described that the best part of the programme was the chance to socialise.
- Jose et al. (2020, p.625) highlighted that child valued school breakfast programmes (SBPs), describing that the SBP was 'fun', and that without the SBP school would be 'more boring'. The programme was considered part of the school experience. One pupil claimed that mornings wouldn't be enjoyable without breakfast club as "you don't get to communicate with other people".

- Watson et al (2020, p.4) noted that children attending the breakfast clubs were encouraged to learn significant life skills and enhance social behaviours: the programme provided a relaxed environment in which to socialise with their friends.
- MacDonald (2019, p.47) argues that the inclusion of breakfast clubs into a regular school routine helped children to develop relationship and form a better connection with both teachers and students.
- Cuadros-Meneca et al (2022, p.11) highlight that school is a significant setting during the development of children and adolescents; suggesting that breakfast could perform an important role in shaping behaviour and the way children interact with each other.

Relieving time pressure on parents
- *Hearst et al (2019, p.716) found that the introduction of breakfast within schools relieved stress from those parents who were struggling with time management in the mornings.*


## 3.7 – Sustainability of Breakfast Provision in Schools

*Food waste*
- *Farris et al. (2019, p.3) found that children were not consuming nutrients from all food groups even though these were provided through the Breakfast in the Classroom programme. Food wastage of 38.5% implies that some children were not consuming food that contained these key nutrients (specifically fruit).*
- *Krueger et al. (2018, pp.936-945) found that 45.8% of teachers foresaw a challenge with food waste.*
- Watson (2020, p.7) expressed concern over the lack of interest in the food by the children and the amount of food being wasted rather than eaten.

*Resourcing*
- Jose et al. (2020, p.627) note a vulnerability in programme reliance on volunteers and charitable sourcing of food. School Breakfast Clubs (SBC) were highly valued by members of the school community for their social, welfare, well-being, and educational benefits, but programme sustainability is constrained by resource uncertainties.
- Jose et al. (2020, p.625) argue that the greatest challenges to delivering SBC relate to funding and staffing. These challenges were experienced by all schools and impacted on the regularity with which the programme was offered, the range of food available, and the equipment available to support programme delivery.
- None of the schools in Jose et al. (2020, p.623) study adopted a user-pays approach. All schools relying on volunteers and sourced food from a range of places including relief organisations, local businesses, and donations. This reliance on volunteers and the challenges in sourcing food impacted on the frequency with which the SBPs operated.
- Watson et al. (2020, p.6) note that 'securing support from the schools was deemed complex, challenging and variable.' Some schools are reported to be fully committed to owning the delivery of the programme, whereas others were less engaged. Lack of engagement was seen to impact on the successful delivery. Most participants noted the challenge of securing enough volunteers.
- Walker et al. (2021, p.295) notes the importance of the school taking ownership of the programme.  Overall, there were concerns around the sustainability of financial and

other support offered by key stakeholders. The continued success of the programme relies on charity dollars.

- MacDonald (2019, p.63) noted issues regarding the sustainability of breakfast initiatives. She notes that lack of staffing is a significant issue, highlighting that approximately 70% of Australian schools who offer their provision on less than five days a week report that staffing and attracting volunteers remains the greatest barrier to increasing the frequency of the programme.
- Moller et al. (2021, pp.1-10) suggest that the Breakfast-in-the-Classroom model was more expensive than cafeteria-based programmes, but at the same time, it increased the number of breakfasts received by children.

*Sustaining rapid growth*
- Corcoran et al. (2016, p.517) evidenced that in schools where Breakfast-in-the-Classroom was adopted school-wide, breakfast programme participation continued to increase three to four years later.

*Food supply*
- Walker (2021, p.296) noted participant concerns about the supply and availability of food, and the variety of food offered. For example, one volunteer mentioned the food they receive from their breakfast tray is often short-dated and could not always meet the children's preferences for certain foods and that children should have more input regarding what is served to reduce food wastage.


## 3.8 – Conclusions

Although there is a dearth of literature that is focused on Scotland and classroom provision specifically, there is a wider evidence base which considers the impacts of providing breakfast in school, including literature on the potential socio-economic, educational and health and wellbeing benefits of breakfast provision. Whilst specific problems can be identified and the wider impact of school breakfasts on the lives of children are sometimes asserted, rather than evidenced, overall, the evidence presented here is positive. The benefits of in school breakfast provision (e.g., breakfast in classroom) for children and young people appear to outweigh the potential negative impacts of provision (e.g., the class and teacher time devoted to provision). Indeed, it is evident from the review of literature that breakfast provision is being implemented and sustained in other OECD countries (e.g., Australia) as part of a wider health and wellbeing strategy.

# 4. Understanding Cauldeen – Teachers' Perspectives

> *"…it's to … enable children to access the curriculum, enhance what we have and where we're at, support them, and scaffold different individuals and successful learners to support all the capacities of the curriculum."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"We do have children who will come looking for food. Food is a – has been a – big issue. Don't think I've got too many this year, but in the past, certainly. But then I suppose we do the breakfast now in the morning so maybe it isn't such a big issue because of that. But in the past, we certainly had quite a few children who'd come in not having had breakfast and they would say, and we would give them something."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of the school)

## 4.1 – Introduction

In this section, we set the context for the evaluation by summarising the thoughts of teachers and support staff from Cauldeen Primary School on their work, their school, and their community. Findings are presented for nine themes – the purpose of education (4.2), the culture of Cauldeen Primary School (4.3), challenges faced by families at Cauldeen Primary School (4.4), the profile of the pupil population (4.5), impact of poverty on school education experiences (4.6), importance of tackling the consequences of poverty (4.7), and actions to tackle poverty at Cauldeen Primary School (4.8). We end by considering how Cauldeen Primary School previously responded to the provision of breakfast in the school (4.9) and the scale of the challenge (4.10).

## 4.2 – Purpose of education

We asked class teachers, *"Can you tell me a bit about your career path to date and your work at Cauldeen Primary School?"* and we asked catering staff and *Breakfast for All* support staff, *"What do you think you contribute to Cauldeen Primary School?".* The interviews with Cauldeen staff revealed teachers view themselves as educators, but in ways that extend beyond achieving narrow curricular objectives.

### 4.2.1- Supporting the development of social skills

The staff at Cauldeen recognise their core purposes of working with learners. They were clear in their understanding that their children's readiness for learning can be reliant on a complex number of variables. Repeated reference was made to the importance of supporting the development of social skills.

> *"Social skills and giving people space and trying to work together and being cooperative. Those are probably your most important things because if you don't have those, they're not going to be able to learn anything, even your most basic literacy work."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

The added value of relationships between staff and pupils has become even more prevalent following the disruption of the COVID-19 pandemic:

> *"you're just teaching children, especially since COVID, how to interact with each other, you know, social skills, basic things."*
>
> (Teacher, lower/middle end of school)

### 4.2.2 - A change in health and wellbeing

Staff also recognise the increasing importance of discussions around health and wellbeing as pupils return to school following the pandemic. The more open nature of conversations allows children and staff to strengthen relationships and tackle the residual issues left by the pandemic.

> *"You were asking about covid earlier … the effects of it is that we've had very heavy emphasis on the health and wellbeing."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of the school)

Staff also recognise that health and wellbeing is more than just an area of the curriculum: rather, engaging with the child's emotional and physical health impacts other areas of their learning:

> *"… maybe tell them if I wasn't feeling too great that day and I've got a cold I would tell them how I deal with it, help them that way but we thought openly about interests and hobbies and you would take that part of you to them and any interests they have and you try and incorporate it into your curriculum, so it becomes for them, it's for them and not testable and yeah."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"I find there's a change anyway, even from, you know, from when I first started… it was just much more you were able to come in, you had your targets, you're working with the class and yes there was an element of nurture, but it's far more obvious now that is a huge, huge part of your day… being so much more aware of mental health as well, you know, yeah. And checking in, you know, that was something that we did not do when we first started was checking in with them and their emotional health."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of the school)

### 4.2.3 - Developing the whole child

Alongside this, staff identify the key purposes of their work, holistically, as not only bolstering the children's academic skills but rather the broader sense of a development of the whole child to prepare them for the future.

> *"Prepare kids for the world and prepare them socially, educationally, everything the way they interact with others, with adults, with authority, you're going to have to do that in your job anyway, in preparing them to be independent."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

*"So just developing the young one. And making sure they have got the right knowledge, the right tools in life just to do well."*

(Teacher, middle years of the school)

*"I feel that it's not just the education part, the academic part, it's the life learning ..."*

(Teacher, lower/middle end of school)

Staff also place importance on their role of 'corporate parent', particularly emphasising their caring duty for the children they support.

*"A caring duty for the children and an educational duty to teach all the basics to prepare them for future life, basically an education and caring duty."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

*"So, I do think as a primary teacher you're … a bit of everything. You're someone they can go to chat to if they need that, they maybe don't have a safe person at home. You're someone that's preparing them … with the skills for life, learning and work and then also providing this plethora of different experiences for them because they just don't get it anymore."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"We're there to (love) and support children through everything I think – I sometimes feel … my job is just to be somebody's auntie/ best friend."*

(PSA – prepares toast)

*"… a big part of it is spending time with them you know."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"… you're their trusted person. So, they really look at you for a lot of guidance in their behaviour, in how they deal with situations. So yes, supporting them is massive."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"If they have a loving teacher who looks after them and guides them and teaches them how to behave socially, then they won't get in that fight in the playground. And that's basically teaching them the stuff they need to know for life as well."*

(Teacher, middle years of the school)

Staff also recognise that the extra-curricular experiences that they create for the children have a larger impact on health and wellbeing than just enhancing the curriculum.

*"Preparing them for you, you know, the skills for life and work, I think what's really important about a school like this is also providing them with those extracurricular stuff."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

Staff note the largest impact on children from those disadvantaged backgrounds.
*"We do try to offer some of these things in school so that they've got these life skills, life experiences, … they don't otherwise get, which is a shame."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

## 4.3 – Cauldeen Primary School as a community

Although we did not ask a direct question on the character of the Cauldeen Primary School community, many responses to many questions shed insight on this issue. Teachers conveyed a strong sense of understanding the wider community and being committed to shaping a school that functions in a way that meets its needs. This 'community' extends beyond school staff, although catering staff did not view themselves as central to this work as other staff groups. The roles and responsibilities that staff identified (4.2) are ones that fit with their understanding of their wider community.

> *"We are a community centre as much as a school."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"And they [teaching staff] are very, very good at working with the community. In ways that I haven't experienced at other schools, quite so much."*
>
> (Teacher, lower/middle years of school)

> *"It's such a supportive staff and I would say that the pastoral care is very, very strong at our school. That's probably one of the main and important factors for me and that's probably why I have stayed [stayed for so long], … I also feel, as well, it's the type of school that we will do <u>everything</u> we can to try and support the children."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"Cauldeen cares, that started out as teachers wanting to do something for the children. … don't underestimate people's kindness. We get so much brought into that care cupboard of, even like local supermarkets now, like we've got deliveries, Dunelm recently gave us hot water bottles and throws for classrooms because heating prices are going up."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"We're starting from the very first- food in their bellies, there's support in the classroom, there's support in the playground, you know. Happy faces going out the door back to mum at night. I think we're doing a <u>whole</u> lot here to help that."*
>
> (BfA Support Staff)

> *"They [all primary schools] should all be having soft starts. … because especially in areas like ours … [children] need to come in distress talk about how their feeling and offload no matter what age they are."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

However, it should be noted that the professional catering staff do not view themselves as integral to this "Cauldeen community" as others.

> *"I can't really say because I don't know all the kids."*
>
> (Catering Staff)

> *"it's just couple of hours over lunchtime and that's it, so we're not really, we don't normally get a chance to even witness anything."*
>
> (Catering Staff)

## 4.4 – Challenges faced by families attending Cauldeen Primary School

We asked class teachers, catering staff and *Breakfast for All* support staff, *"What do you think are the major challenges that children at Cauldeen Primary School face?"*. We also asked all staff "*how difficult it was to achieve*" each were identified in response to the purpose of education / purpose of role question (refer to 4.2).

### 4.4.1 – Need for Nurture

Teachers highlighted the importance of nurture and indicated that it is a key area of focus for their practice because of the level of deprivation experienced in their school community. Teaching staff convey that nurture provides the basis for learning because some children are struggling to engage with class work because of the complex home lives they experience, for example, teachers report that young people carry emotional 'baggage', and that the non-completion of homework is symptomatic of the issues that they are experiencing at home rather than apathy or wilful non-compliance. It is also indicated that behaviour is worsening because of the impact of family circumstances, for example, domestic abuse and family breakdown. These circumstances also impact on learner attainment, with some concern expressed that they do not have enough capacity to support the development of all pupils.

> *"… they bring so much baggage from home as well that gets taken into the class and <u>behaviour issues</u> … seem to be worse than what they were as well."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"We are quite a deprived area, and you get your extra difficulties which comes with the job; then your nurture and caring role tends to take over the job."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"If your children aren't in a place where they can learn, there's no point even starting with that, … we offer a lot of, … different things in this school, got a lot of nurture groups and things and you can really see the children who come in and … they're not ready, …To ask that child to pick up a pencil and start writing things down … their mind is so full of whatever has happened that morning or at the weekend or whatever it may be that <u>actually, they can't engage</u> and I think a lot of the time, they can't verbalise it either, … even as a primary seven pupil they don't know why they're sad, they're unable to engage with what's going on … you know that they can do work, they could've done it last week, but for whatever reason they could come in one day and … whether it's the attitude or the general demeanour, like sometimes they'll just sit with their heads on the desk and … in a class of thirty children who are then waiting for you … what do we do next? what are we meant to do? It is <u>really</u> difficult, … unless these things are tackled and there's support put in place, … they're not going to [engage in learning]."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"… I think that [education and formal learning] may be the easier one to support, because if you see a child is struggling you know like right 'okay, they can add but they can't take away, okay, I'll give them a number square', and they can do that."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"It's not really education … that the children face challenges with, it'd be more like the nurturing side and the emotional side. And it has an impact on their education as well."*

*"… it's all of the stuff that's underneath the surface that you think right they're not engaging with homework, but you know at school at Cauldeen it's not actually because they're thinking 'Nah. Stuff that I'm not doing the homework'."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"You know there's – all of that support is going in that nurture element for many children that - actually there's the majority of the children who are ticking along fine but need a little bit of support - they're missing out. … so, I think that's our biggest challenge at the minute."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"There's another thing called Maslow's hierarchy of needs … It's five needs that children need to meet before they can learn. And it's like shelter, love, like all the most basic needs that every child needs to have met before they even come in and be ready to learn. If they're not met, then these children aren't ready to learn like they're not taking anything in. And those basic things, children that are in poverty every single day. They're not having them met."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

### 4.4.2 – Food Poverty

Teachers noted that food poverty is an issue for many of their families, with the school now providing a food bank to help tackle the issue. The volume of parents using the service has revealed the extent of the problem and the fact that there is a lack of food at home, for example, parents have approached the school for assistance explaining that they do not have any food in the fridge or enough food to last the weekend.

School staff also provide children with food such as toast and fruit outside breakfast time if they approach staff to tell them that they are hungry. Staff indicated that they are happy to do so and have the capacity to do this. Food is not withheld from children. The extent of food poverty is also reinforced by incidences of children taking food from school stock. The breakfast club have had to lock food away because children were helping themselves.

*"… You can just message the school number and you can just come in and get food. And when you see the amount of parents that are coming in, that are saying they've got nothing in the fridge, and they can't feed the kids for the weekend. It's scary 'cause that's when you think goodness this is really poverty right in front of you. You don't necessarily see it in the classroom."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"… poverty as well is massive. … a lot of people, you don't realise how much … we've got a food bank in the school, and it's not till you see the amount of parents who use it."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

*"I mean like we have stealing going on in the class quite a lot, and again it is usually food that they steal. … it's like your classic I don't have this at home sort of behaviour. … the breakfast club down the stairs have had to have their food under lock and key because children are going and helping themselves. … We are not a school that holds food. If a child comes to us and says, you know I'm hungry, whether it's breakfast time*

*or not, we'll go make them something – we'll give them toast, fruit, we've got the stock there, porridge, now it's brilliant. But because these children are sort of almost used to feeling like this and maybe this [stealing food] is how they've got by in the past, it's behaviours like that that we're starting to see."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

### 4.4.3 – Meeting the Hidden Costs of Education

Teachers highlighted the hidden costs of education and how these are a barrier to participation, for example, they cited the cost of school uniform and having the 'right shoes for school' as a barrier for some young people attending or engaging with school. Further, regarding the digital divide some families require additional resources to facilitate equitable participation e.g., some households lack electricity to power Chromebooks. It was highlighted that it is not enough to provide digital devices. This suggests that there must be a more holistic approach to addressing the digital divide and to identifying socio-economic barriers to education.

*"… a lot of the time we provide that stuff like we have our own food bank down the stairs and we get lots of families coming in and taking from that which is great but it just shows you that even to buy your children a uniform to come to school ( is a barrier ) to make sure they have eaten well, to make sure that erm, even having like the right shoes for school and a jacket, there's so many layers to it."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"A lot of it comes from just being in such a deprived area you know, you're sort of in that poverty cycle of you know their mums' mums' mums mum would have been in a similar situation where they don't have enough money coming in, erm. A lot of our families can't even afford to pay like their electricity bills, so to give them something like a chrome book is fantastic but they go home, and they then can't use it."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"They're coming from these sort (sic) of circumstances where like I say I don't know what kind of morning they've had; I don't know who they've spoken to, is mum stressed at home because she can't afford things or is it that they're coming in really embarrassed cause they're in their older brothers third pair of trainers and you know there's a lot of things to that so. I think that it is just getting them in and getting them learning like in a place ready to learn and engage with their work that makes the biggest, the biggest sort of impact on their education."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

## 4.5 – Pupil population of Cauldeen Primary School

We asked class teachers, catering staff and *Breakfast for All* support staff, *"How many children in Cauldeen Primary School do you think are impacted by poverty?"*

Teachers portrayed Cauldeen as a school with a diverse population, both in terms of cultural background and socio-economic status. Diversity was not presented as a problem: rather, some advantages were identified in terms of encountering difference, raising awareness of difference, and resource transfer from haves to have-nots. However, it was noted that Cauldeen Primary School was previously less diverse in terms of socio-economic backgrounds and that, the opening of a new school to serve recent areas of housing development would likely return Cauldeen to becoming a less diverse school, with the risk of losing some of gains that accrued through diversity.

> *"In days gone by I'd absolutely probably say almost all [living in poverty], but with the new builds coming in, we are getting sort of a bit more affluent families coming into the area, but … because of that happening, a new school's being built, so as of August, our catchment area is changing again, and a lot of those children are gonna go there."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"… what's nice is the more affluent families they donate to that and then the poorer ones take."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"What I find really interesting is their awareness of what things cost. … Recently we were doing stuff for red nose day, and we said, 'we're going to do these three activities, what do you think is a reasonable amount to donate?' … It ranged from like ten pounds to people going, 'What? Ten pounds?' And they're going, 'No, no, that's nothing! Like my mum gave me ten pound the other week', because … what was it, a tooth fell out! … And then you get other ones then going, 'Oh, I only get fifty pence from the tooth fairy'."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"Because it is nobody's fault, and I think that is the thing. People bring stuff in, because everybody wants show and tell, and some of them have really nice thing s… It doesn't, it shouldn't define you, you know? … So, you have some, that are quite affluent, and there are some are just not."*
>
> (Teacher, lower/middle years of school

> *"We've got … a lot of EAL children [English as an additional language] in this school, that is important because they're integrating, and they're doing it really well, you know, expressing tolerance, you know the things you learn in a classroom."*
>
> (Teacher, lower/middle years of school)

> *"I think it's good for the children to be in a mixed class you know with different things."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

## 4.6 – Impact of poverty on school education

We asked class teachers, catering staff and *Breakfast for All* support staff, *"In what ways – if at all – does child poverty impact on children's experiences at school?"* Interviews with teachers demonstrated that the impact of poverty was felt widely in a range of ways within school settings. Direct impacts on education were identified (4.6.1 – 4.6.2), as were wider impacts that indirectly shaped educational experiences (4.6.3 - 4.6.5).

### *4.6.1 – On engagement*

Teachers observed that many children are easily distracted and lacking focus. Their short attention span is accounted for by the increasing use of technology whereby media is instantaneous, and more than one medium can be used at a time. Children are also gaming and using devices late at night and this is impacting on their quality of sleep. A lack of parental engagement is also cited as a possible cause of poor concentration and communication skills because it is noted that young people struggle to hold conversations with adults. It is also suggested that the Covid-19 pandemic has likely had a negative impact on parental engagement because of the issues and stresses that parents are dealing with, for example, job insecurity and financial worries.

> *"I also think technology has made a huge impact. You know, kids are not as able to focus for any length of time anymore. … it's just this instant fix then and there's, there's less of <u>a desire</u> to spend any time focusing on one thing or, or a less of an <u>ability even</u> to focus on one thing for any length of time."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"I don't know how early some of them go to bed sometimes. Maybe, on their gaming devices, maybe on their phones, all sorts. And maybe some of them are later to sleep than maybe what they should be. So, they probably find it difficult to get up in the morning. So, … I feel it's better that they're here and with having the breakfast, you know then that they're going to have their breakfast and they're going to be fed."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"I think the main thing is … concentration … now I know, I can say to you right now that those children are capable of achieving second level, they've got the brains, the knowledge, everything. But they're coming in and they're just maybe not necessarily making the right choices and they're easily distracted and they're fidgety and they're constantly out of their seats and stuff … they're unable to focus."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"They don't have long attention spans because they are not used to maybe having long periods of time where they have maybe had parental engagement. So, they are not used to doing it with any other adult. So, when you want to have a conversation with them for 20 minutes, they have lost that after a minute 'cause they are not used to it."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"I think that's quite a common problem here as well. … you know you see the children who've not come in with having had breakfast or are coming without snacks, so they find it quite a struggle to concentrate and things."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

Breakfast trays are important for not only nutrition but for readiness to learn. If children are hungry, teachers observed that they were not ready to learn.

> *"It is the difficulties, …if we are talking about their breakfasts, it is as simple as their nutrition, it's the basics, you know coming to school and being ready to learn as well as being safe, if they are coming hungry, they are not ready to learn."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"They come in hungry, they're not fit to learn."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"It comes back to health and wellbeing. You know, if the child is not in a position, you know, emotionally or … physical[ly] …. Because if there is poverty then there's a chance that they are not getting, or not being able to get, … all the nutrients and you know, from their food. And also, in the house too because, you know, I mean they talk about fuel poverty and heating. … that all comes into it. So, I would say physically, that is going to have an effect as well as emotionally."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

### 4.6.2 – On Behaviour

Poor behaviour was described in ways that went beyond not presenting in ways that are optimal for learning (4.6.1).  Disruptive behaviour was also experienced.  This was not explained in terms of 'bad children' or 'failing families': rather, it was rationalised that poverty, particularly hunger, can have an impact on behaviour. This poor behaviour impacted on the rest of the class and the wider school community.

> *"… which obviously can have an impact on the rest of the class and the rest of the school because of their challenging behaviours that some of them can present."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"Yes, and it's [poor behaviour] to do with food. They're not eating. They don't have a healthy diet. And sleep. They're hungry they're tired they're angry. There are a lot more angry children than ever was (sic) before."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

### 4.6.3 – Resources to support education

Teachers also identified ways in which poverty disadvantaged some pupils' capacity to engage. At times, this took forms that were subtle, at other times highly visible. The impact of poverty limited the resource that is life experience (subtle), and there were examples of pupils not being equipped for schooling (highly visible).

> *"And you kind of think how can they read and write stories about experiences they've never - they've never - really had in real life."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

*"Not having the right kit for things, you know, like not having, you know, a PE kit or swimming kit, you know and the school will have that for them, We have, … staff members [who] have bought, … extra shorts and, or taken from home if their own children have grown out of them, they've taken in PE kit and towels and things like that, 'cause they [the children] just don't come to school with [the right kit]."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

### 4.6.4 – Stigma and awareness of consumption

There was a difference among pupils, with teachers noticing that money awareness became more prominent as children progressed through the school. There were differences of opinion as to whether this led to bullying or impacted adversely on sense of self.

*"As they get older, other children start to notice. They don't then want to come into school 'cause they are then bullied."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

*"I think … some… but maybe not at this age, maybe not in [lower/middle school], because they're all still little."*

(Teacher, lower/middle years of school)

*"They're not really competitive in terms of like oh you've got Nike trainers and I've got Primark ones, … you do tend to find it is the more affluent families, that maybe they don't quite understand the value of money as much as the other ones who are thinking oh gosh to get ten pounds, like that for them is unbelievable. But they're thinking oh no that's no big deal."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

### 4.6.5 – Feeding children informally at break time

Earlier we noted how some teachers acknowledged that being hungry had an adverse impact on pupils' engagement in learning (4.6.1). Other teachers did not make this direct link but were aware of the challenges that families were facing in feeding their children. Several teachers referred to children coming to school without breakfast and/or snacks.

*"We have that for snack time [food that we are able to provide], cause some of them won't come in with a snack either, so yeah. And that's definitely different, and you know, that's, you know, that never happened at the start of my teaching career."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

*"Most of them will tell me or they will say that there was nothing in the house for their play piece. It's more for break time, like they will say I've got nothing for break time and that's when all their other friends are getting their snacks out of their bags and that's when I suppose when people would notice. Nobody would notice if you didn't eat breakfast."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

## 4.7 – Importance of tackling the consequences of poverty

We asked class teachers, catering staff and *Breakfast for All* support staff, *"How important is it that schools tackle the consequences of child poverty that impact on schools? "*We presented interviewees with a four-point Likert scale ranging from 'not at all important' to 'extremely important' to prompt discussion. We followed up on this initial question, by asking, *"Why you think it is {adding response from showcard with Likert scale} for schools to tackle poverty in schools?"*

There was agreement that it was either 'extremely important', or 'very important' to tackle poverty and that tackling poverty was important for improving engagement and behaviour, and to achieve social justice.

> *"I think if the school can do things like that, those little things to help families out, … they've got more money in their pocket to be spending on food or you know energy or whatever. So, I think school can be doing little things … that actually would have a big benefit on some parents."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"Yeah, I think it is [important to tackle poverty]. You have to. If you're looking for equality, and how children have access to same things … because if they don't have the same start, they don't have the same opportunities at home, and the same resources and things like that they're just never, never going to get that equality across the class."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

Although accepting that feeding children action was necessary and practicable in the school setting, not all teachers considered that this should be a responsibility of the school:

> *"I don't really think it's the school's place necessarily to be feeding them and to be doing these things, but I think someone has to and we have to put things in place and when you've got them all in one place it's easier to do."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

## 4.8 – Tackling the consequences of poverty at Cauldeen Primary School

We asked class teachers, catering staff and *Breakfast for All* support staff, *"What can schools do to support children who are facing child poverty?"* Reference was made to a wide range of anti-poverty actions that were being implemented in Cauldeen Primary School.

### 4.8.1 – Child-centred focus

It was suggested that there was a need for child-focused work, and that the role of Classroom Support Workers (CSWs) were central to achieving this. This work was both informal (first extract below) and formal (through the work of Nurture Groups).

> *"It's not just, you know, the teacher's role. I mean, we've got CSW's as well, who would be able to take smaller groups of vulnerable children or children in need of nurture, who would then probably find out a little bit more about what that family in particular needs or yeah, just to delve a little bit deeper into how they can help children."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"Yeah, we have nurture rooms, if their teachers feel they need a bit of nurture, we have an hour of nurture in the mornings, some of them can come [if] they are not in a state of mind to be a classroom, so they go to the nurture rooms to be out the way, the PSA's (Pupil Support Assistants) teacher assistants, they work with individual children so we have levels of needs, some of our children are level 4, so will have a one to one PSA, if they need a little time outside they will go outside with a person that they trust and know will be on their side."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"It's, it's not just about what you provide, but it's the engagement then that goes along with it, … and I'm just talking from my own experience with parents who, you know, they're just, they're just not really interested, they just don't want to engage. The children go off to school, and there they are after school, and they just come home again, and that's it, and that's where it ends. But there are other parents who really do want to support and help their children. "*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

### 4.8.2 - PEF funds promoting inclusive whole-school activities

Pupil Equity Funds (PEF) funds were introduced to provide funds to tackle the 'poverty-related attainment gap'. At Cauldeen Primary School some of these PEF funds are used to pay for staff to provide support to children and some is used to tackle some of the problems that poverty presents, through whole-school initiatives such as widening opportunities and providing monthly 'Happiness Days'. Participation is not dependent on financial contribution because of PEF funds.

> *"Our PEF money being used for both Julie and Diane* [family liaison staff] *to very much make sure that these families have been supported."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

*"… we've got two positive relationship ladies, … and they're very good."*
<div align="right">(Teacher, lower/middle years of school)</div>

*"Happiness day we have [financed] through our PEF allocation … don't get me wrong, a high percentage of that [funding is] to try boost attainment and literacy, numeracy as well because it is so important, but as someone that really thinks it's equally important to tackle the poverty side of things, use your PEF, you know."*
<div align="right">(Teacher, upper end of school)</div>

*"These happiness days, like I say some are completely free. For World Book Day we made a happiness day the last time, we did like scavenger hunts round the school and stuff like that, … another one we did a scavenger hunt and we bought this … thirty-pound treasure chest full of like plastic rings and … pirate earrings and things like that, hilarious stuff. These kids were so delighted with that and that was like thirty quid for everyone in the school to get a little thing you know. … we wouldn't be able to do our happiness days and stuff without our PEF money."*
<div align="right">(Teacher, upper end of school)</div>

*"We have different events, you know, happiness day once a month, and that's just the whole school doing something nice like, … quizzes or the last one was on World Book Day. Something like a walk to the park with ice cream, and it doesn't cost the children anything, and everybody is the same, everybody is participating."*
<div align="right">(Teacher, lower/middle years of school)</div>

### 4.8.3 - Reducing clothing costs (clothing bank)

Poverty presents challenges for parents around the affordability to buy school uniforms, with the school providing uniforms through the food bank, also referred to as the care cupboard/kindness cupboard, and initiatives to swap and recycle second hand clothing in a stigma reducing way.

*"A lot of the time we provide that stuff … like we have our own food bank down the stairs and we get lots of families coming in and taking from that which is great but it just shows you that even to buy your children a uniform to come to school (is a barrier) to make sure they have eaten well, to make sure that … even having like the right shoes for school and a jacket, there's so many layers to it."*
<div align="right">(Teacher, upper end of school)</div>

*"Something they don't need to worry about, we do have second hand uniforms for sale and things like that, some things for a pound."*
<div align="right">(Teacher, lower end of school)</div>

*"… staff members have bought, you know extra shorts and, or taken from home if their own children have grown out of them, they've taken in PE kit and towels and things like that 'cause they [the children] just don't come to school with."*
<div align="right">(Teacher, middle years of school)</div>

*"… we do have a bunch of clothes that if somebody is struggling or something, we would discreetly give them. We often have the clothes swapped, you know, people outgrow them, and they do that out on the playground quite a lot. And our families do take advantage of them."*
<div align="right">(Teacher, lower/middle years of school)</div>

### 4.8.4 - Food bank/other food provisions

The school provides a food bank, from which parents and families can access food when required. However, there were concerns that more could be done and that this could be more community based. It was also noted that food parcels were also being used by those working due to cost of living.

> *"Anybody can donate, and supermarkets come every week with big bags, and we have quite a few families come in and ask can we a meal for six and you know or some cereal for the week."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"Poverty as well is massive. …a lot of people, you don't realise how much but … we've got a food bank in the school, and it's not till you see the amount of parents who use it without telling everybody. As you can just message the school number and you can just come in and get food. And when you see the amount of parents that are coming in, that are saying they've got nothing in the fridge, and they can't feed the kids for the weekend. It's scary 'cause that's when you think goodness this is really poverty right in front of you. You don't necessarily see it in the classroom."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

To reduce stigma and embarrassment the provisions for food are anonymous and there are paid members of staff to assist.

> *"It is completely anonymous, we have two ladies who are community links, they contact them directly on Facebook and they get it ready for them."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

Teachers and staff also stressed the importance of free school meals, which ensured that children were at least getting one hot meal every day.

> *"It is really important, extremely, some of the kids it could be the only meal that they're getting in a day, it might be the only hot meal."*
>
> (Catering Staff)

### 4.8.5 - Lack of Opportunities and Widening opportunities

Teachers raised the issue of a lack of opportunities and the expense of extra-curricular and after-school activities. It was noted there was a disparity between opportunities for the pupils compared to other schools. To combat this there have been attempts to widen opportunities for pupils not only with activities but their future goals and aspirations.

> *"They don't really leave the Hilton area. You know, it's a very small circle of who they go and see and what they go and do. … when we've done activities like going to the beach and stuff in school, they've never done that before. "*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

*"At the end of term, we go to Nairn beach, and we have had some children that haven't had a chance to get to the beach. "*

<div align="right">(Teacher, middle years of school)</div>

*"Multi-sports, and we've just started these things up. But these are all free, and that is amazing because a lot of them do get to sign up for swimming lessons with the local authority, and that is not very expensive, but it is still an expense, and you still have to get them there. You know? So, I'd say not a lot of them are doing that, I'd say probably about four out of twenty-eight are doing that. You know, and so, that is quite significant because I know at other schools, at the same age, everybody goes to swimming lessons, and dancing, and that… but within this community, there are some things like, brownies and multi-sports that are free. And they do want to do these things. "*

<div align="right">(Teacher, lower/middle years of school)</div>

*"… we want everybody to do what they want to do, as far as go on to university, or not… or whatever, not hindered because of where they come from or what type of home environment that they have, it shouldn't matter, you know? "*

<div align="right">(Teacher, lower/middle years of school)</div>

## 4.9 – Responding to breakfast needs at Cauldeen Primary School

One objective of the research was to explore the way the school responded to students arriving without having had breakfast. This work did not start with the introduction of *Breakfast for All*. The importance of maintaining dignity while providing food to their students was integral to their approach.

### 4.9.1 - Informal Provision by Teachers

Several teachers reported that before the implementation of *Breakfast for All* they were already supplying food in class to students who requested it or exhibited engagement problems due to hunger. Teachers brought in foods such as breakfast bars and crisps that were easy to distribute and did not disrupt learning time.

*"I had started taking in breakfast biscuity things. … Previous to that we would use … our classroom assistants to … go and make toast and things downstairs for the odd child who came in hungry. But as it got more frequent, I just used to have … cereal bars and things that would tide them over so they could have it in the class [so] not have to miss learning time as well."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, upper end of school)</div>

*"I've had a child in my class a couple of years ago who just could not … engage at all, and it turned out he was hungry, and at that time we didn't have breakfast, but we had a stash of, … bars in the cupboard … and he would have that, and then he was okay to work."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, upper end of school)</div>

> *"I mean, before in previous classes, I have known of children that would come in and wouldn't have had breakfast and we'd always take them down…a bit of bread and jam and toast or whatever. So that was how we used to do it."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"There would be children who would be out, your classroom assistant, if you had one, would be away to make them breakfast. If you didn't have someone that could do it, you're going to your, sort of neighbour and you're saying to them, 'have you got someone free just now, so and so's not had their breakfast'. [They would reply], 'Yeah absolutely!' Down to breakfast club get them fruit, whatever we had, that has always been the case at Cauldeen."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

Teachers indicated that since the school introduced *Breakfast for All* they have not needed to bring in as much of their own food. However, some teachers noted that they continue to keep their own snacks in their classrooms, as some students get hungry and request food throughout the day.

> *"Yeah, and same with snacks, if they don't have a snack, I have a wee bag myself of cereal bars and wee crisps and things, I will give them a snack if they don't have any. Again, it is a minority, it's not a big percentage."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"… the ones that already had breakfast is (sic) getting another wee something for social time. So, it's good for them to just boost up and give them more energy."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"I think it would be a big shame to lose [Breakfast for All]. I think we'd end up going back to what happened previously with teachers having to supply their own stuff."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

The responses indicate that the prevalence of teachers supplying breakfast and snacks to hungry students has diminished with the introduction of *Breakfast for All:* however, there are still occurrences where teachers are supplying food to children in their class.

### 4.9.2 - Formal School Systems

The teachers noted that there is a distinction between the school's breakfast club and *Breakfast for All*. Parents must pay to send their children to the breakfast club at 8am before school starts, whereas the breakfast tray programme provides free breakfast for all primary students in every classroom at the start of the school day.

> *"Well, the breakfast club is different, that when they come at 8 o'clock if parents are working and they pay for that."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

There was consensus to extend the provision of free school dinners throughout the school, which would provide support for more children facing food poverty.

*"School dinners being free for all is important … it's free until your primary three just now."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

*"It will be moving up to Primary 5 … doesn't mean a primary six and seven aren't struggling at home too."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

*"It should be for all and through secondary as well."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

### 4.9.3 - Provision with Dignity

Some of the teachers suggested that children may feel embarrassed or ashamed to ask them for food. For example, they noticed that children sometimes request food privately rather than in front of their classmates.

*"They will always come to me on the sly and say - 'I've not got a play piece, there was nothing in the house' and then I'll just give them a bag of crisps or something."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

*"There's a girl up in P6, who would hang back, you know, after everybody had left the class and [then ask for a play piece]."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

Teachers emphasized the importance of responding to requests from their students casually and discreetly to avoid creating shame around the provision of food.

*"You would just figure it out, you would see the ones that don't, and then you could kinda just say 'oh, have you forgotten it today?' … But once you know the children that regularly will come in without a snack you just do it discreetly."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

*"I would just be 'yeah, no problem', wouldn't make a big deal of it, yeah."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

Several of the teachers praised *Breakfast for All* for providing breakfast for everyone rather than singling out those who need it. Singling out the children could lead them to feel stigmatized and prevent them from properly nourishing themselves with the breakfast food.

*"I just think it's a really nice way to do it without making the children stand out or it's quite a smooth morning, it's nice. It's really nice."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"…we don't want to put emphasis on who's eating who's not eating so I like them to move about and have it on the move. As long as they're eating it, I don't care."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

*"It's not nice for them to think they're being singled out and "Oh I've not had breakfast". Whereas I think when it's just given, or … there's access for everyone, they don't have that embarrassment factor, which I think is really good."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, upper end of school)</div>

*"When other schools have breakfast clubs, there's only certain children that … qualify for that, … and some parents would never put their children in a breakfast club. But see, it's [Breakfast for All is] a much better way to make sure that all children (have got to have) breakfast, and yeah, I would say that, and it's a much, cause there's, there's no stigma 'cause it's there for everyone."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, middle years of school)</div>

*"Doesn't single out, you don't say, you know, 'you're, you're getting breakfast and you're not."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, middle years of school)</div>

Overall, teachers reported that *Breakfast for All* has helped them to feed many students who come to school hungry. Several teachers praised it for not singling out the children who are reliant on it. A few teachers also suggested that free meal programmes should be extended to older students to support more children facing food poverty.

## 4.10 – Scale of the Challenge

Teachers described the difficulty and constraints they faced in meeting the needs of their pupils, for example, the challenge of managing large class sizes without support staff and meeting the mental health needs of students. One teacher stated that around one quarter of their learners require one-to-one counselling to deal with the issues that they are experiencing, and that teaching staff are not appropriately qualified to offer this type of support. Further, they do not have the resources necessary to offer or sustain this level of support. Teaching staff recognise that there are limitations to what they can achieve, but they endeavour at the very minimum to provide a safe space in their classrooms in which the children can relax and learn.

*"Extremely difficult, … I am in a class of thirty. I have got no PSA [Pupil Support Assistant] support whatsoever and I would say about eight out of my thirty need one to one counselling to deal with stuff that I have never dealt with …. And bear in mind they are nine years old, and they are dealing with big issues and it's having the support network to be able to keep up and do that."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, middle years of school)</div>

*"It's been challenging, for sure. It's mostly because like, staff shortages, we don't have the support team we used to have a few years ago, you know? It's really complicated… and people are off, and things like that. … I mean I have xxx children in here, and there are a lot of children who could use a lot of support. And there is (sic) different tiers of levels within education, a level one child, level two, three and four. with four being they usually need an adult, one to one, with them. But there is a lot of needs, children that would go under the radar if you don't have that other body… because it is a lot of children for one adult to meet everyone's needs, you know?"*

*"But I find that classes I go into, you know, you don't always have <u>the staff</u> in a class to support a class, even with reading...."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

## 4.11 – Conclusion

For this case study analysis, it was important to understand how teachers experienced their work and the wider Cauldeen community.  Teachers understand their community and take steps to attend to children's needs that present in the classroom.  There is a clear sense of concern for the families, and a commitment in school to attend to these needs.  This does, however, make for a challenging environment, with insufficient resources being available to tackle the problems that present.

# 5. On Eating Breakfast

*"[Breakfast is important because it] stops you starving, or you will get a bellyache."*

<div align="right">(P4 boy, entitled to free school meals)</div>

*"It is important to start the day right. Hungry children are grumpy children who will disrupt the class."*

<div align="right">(Parent of P2 girl)</div>

*"XXX knows how important breakfast is and we always encourage our kids to have a decent breakfast."*

<div align="right">(Parent of P4 boy)</div>

## 5.1 – Introduction

In this section, we consider general experiences of breakfast eating on school days among pupils at Cauldeen Primary School. We consider attitudes toward breakfast (5.2), the geography of consumption (5.3), frequency of eating breakfast (5.4), reasons for non-consumption (5.5), typical breakfast eaten (5.6) and favourite breakfast (5.7).

## 5.2 – Attitudes toward breakfast

### 5.2.1 – Parents' attitudes

Parents were asked, *"What do you think about breakfast?"*, with three response options offered (Figure 5.1). Every parent thought that eating breakfast was important, with two-thirds considering it to be 'the most important meal of the day' (69%, Figure 5.1).

**Figure 5.1: Parents' attitudes toward breakfast**
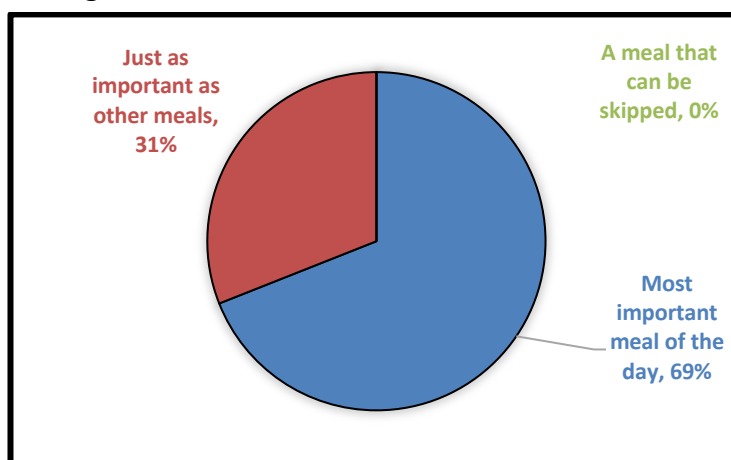


**Notes**: All parents answered this question
**Cases:** 71

Although based on a small sample size, it is significant that parents whose children were not entitled to free school meals or a school clothing grant were more likely to view this as "the most important meal of the day (75%, compared to 36% of those whose children were entitled to free school meals).[36] As would be expected, parents who report that their child eats breakfast at home every day are also more likely than those who do not to consider breakfast to be "the most important meal of the day"(78% of those whose children eat breakfast at home every day considered breakfast to be the most important meal of the day compared to those 54% of caregivers who reported that their child did not eat breakfast at home every day of the week). [37]

### 5.2.2 – Children's opinion

We asked pupils to give their own opinion on "*why breakfast is important*". No fixed response options were offered, with pupils invited to use their own words.  Four main themes emerged, of which two were freely reported by one-fifth of pupils.  These most common explanations were that breakfast prevented hunger, with almost as many pupils noting that breakfast was fuel or provided them with energy. Around one-tenth of pupils also noted that it was important for health, with the same proportion noting that it was "the most important meal of the day".  The following ten examples are indicative of pupil opinion:

> *"So, you don't starve at school."* (P3 girl)
> *"When you don't have food, you feel sick."* (P4/5 girl)
> *"Because if you work on an empty stomach, you might be grumpy."* (P6 girl)
> *"Because it boosts your energy and you're ready for the day."* (P4 boy)
> *"Because you're hungry and starving."* (P3 boy)
> *"Because your tummy will get sore."* (P4 girl)
> *"Give you a boost in the morning instead of being tired through the day."* (P7 boy)
> *"So, you don't get hungry in the afternoon."* (P5 boy)
> *"Your brain does not work the same."* (P4 boy)
> *"You will starve and be moody, angry, and grumpy."* (P5 girl)

These pupil opinions are suggestive of how a lack of breakfast can impact on the school day, with pupils acknowledging adverse effects on behaviour, well-being, energy levels and readiness for learning, if breakfast is not consumed.

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[36]   Pearson Chi-square = 6.489, with one degree of freedom. Even though the association is significant at the 95% confidence level (0.011), caution is required as one of the four cells in this crosstabulation has an Expected Frequency of less than five.

[37]   Pearson Chi-square = 4.413, with one degree of freedom and no cells with an Expected Frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.036.

### 5.3 – Geography of consumption

#### 5.3.1 – Introduction

Insight into where children consumed breakfast was gleaned in different ways from parents (5.3.2), pupils (5.3.3) and teachers (5.3.4).

#### 5.3.2 – Parents' estimates

We asked parents three separate questions to find out how regularly children ate breakfast, in three different places on school days – at home, on the way to school, and at school. For each, we offered four positive response options and a don't know option (Table 5.1).

**Table 5.1: Parents' estimates of how often their child ate breakfast before school: locational perspective**

| | Percentage of parents | | | | Cases | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Never** | **Some schooldays** | **Most schooldays** | **Every school-day** | *Don't know* | *Total* |
| **At home** | 4% | 13% | 20% | 63% | *0* | *71* |
| **On the way to school** | 84% | 10% | 0% | 6% | *1* | *70* |
| **At school** | 7% | 27% | 29% | 38% | *5* | *56* |

**Notes**: The 'at school' question was not asked in the online version of the survey (ten parents)
**Cases:** Range from 56 to 71

Most parents reported that their child ate breakfast on (at least) most schooldays, although one-in-six children did not (17%).  Eating on the way to school was uncommon. A wider range of experience was reported for eating breakfast in school, with two-fifths of parents reporting that their children ate breakfast in school every school day (38%).

As would be expected given variations in outlook (5.2.1), parents whose children were not entitled to free school meals or a school clothing grant were more likely to report that their child ate breakfast at home every day (70%, compared to 27% of those whose children were entitled to free school meals).[38]  In contrast, there was some suggestion that children who were entitled to a FSM or a SCG were more likely to sometimes eat breakfast on the way to school (30%, compared to 13%), although this was not statistically significant. Very small sample sizes preclude firm conclusions being drawn, but it may be of note that five of the nine pupils –who were entitled to FSM or a SCG were reported to be more likely to eat breakfast in school "every day" (56%, compared to 34% of those who were not).[39]

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[38]  Pearson Chi-square = 7.312, with one degree of freedom. Even though the association is significant at the 95% confidence level (0.007), caution is required as one of the four cells in this crosstabulation has an Expected Frequency of less than five.

[39]  This was not a statistically significant finding.

There was some suggestion that boys were more likely than girls to eat breakfast at home every day (70% of boys, compared to 56% of girls), as were those for whom English was their main language (68%, compared to 42% of those who were not), although both differences were not statistically significant. These differences may be worth exploring further with a larger sample of parents. More marked differences were suggested for "sometimes "eating breakfast on the way to school (41% of those whose first language was not English, compared to 10% of those who were)[40] and by gender for eating breakfast in school (50% of boys were reported to eat this "every day", compared to 23% of girls).[41]

*Breakfast for All* has not displaced the home as being the primary site for breakfast, although most parents understand that *Breakfast for All* is now contributing to their child's breakfast consumption during the school year (93% of parents acknowledge that their child eats breakfast in school on at least some schooldays).

### 5.3.3 – Children's experience on day of class survey

If the child indicated that they had eaten breakfast that morning (5.4.2), we asked them to indicate where they had taken this.  Children could indicate more than one place (Table 5.2).

**Table 5.2: Children's report on where they ate breakfast on the morning of the survey**

|  | Percentage of children | | | | | Cases |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | **Yes** | | | | | *Total* |
| **At home** | 86% | | | | | *193* |
| **On the way to school** | 8% | | | | | *193* |
| **At school** | 54% | | | | | *193* |

**Notes**: All children responded to these questions.
**Cases:** 193

Table 5.2 is broadly consistent with the evidence in Table 5.1.  Although using a different timeframe ('usually' for Table 5.1 and 'today' for Table 5.2), the evidence from pupils reaffirmed that most pupils eat breakfast at home, very few eat breakfast on the way to school, and just over one-half eat breakfast at school.

Further analysis of children's reporting provides further evidence of a social gradient to eating breakfast in the home.  Those from more deprived neighbourhoods were less likely to report having eaten breakfast at home that morning (76% of those living in one of Scotland's 30% Most Deprived datazones, compared to 93% of those living in one of Scotland's 30%

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[40]  Pearson Chi-square = 7.365, with one degree of freedom. Even though the association is significant at the 95% confidence level (0.007), caution is required as one of the four cells in this crosstabulation has an Expected Frequency of less than five.

[41]  Pearson Chi-square = 4.308, with one degree of freedom, and no cells with an Expected Frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.038).

Least Deprived datazones),[42] although there was no variation according to FSM or SCG entitlement. Whilst not reaching the level of statistical significance, there was some suggestion that eating on the way to school was less likely to be reported by those from the 30% Least Deprived datazones (4%, compared to 11% of those from the 30% Most Deprived).[43]

Similarly, and most significantly, eating in school was less likely to be reported by those from the 30% Least Deprived datazones (44%, compared to 63% of those from the 30% Most Deprived).[44]

### 5.3.4 – Children's estimate of how often they ate breakfast in school

Responses to Table 5.1, suggest that it would be an over-simplification to use a binary classification to group pupils into *Breakfast for All* users and non-users. To explore perceptions of how often pupils perceived that they consumed breakfast food at school, we asked them how often they ate breakfast in school, offering three options.

**Figure 5.2: Children's estimate of how often they eat breakfast in class**
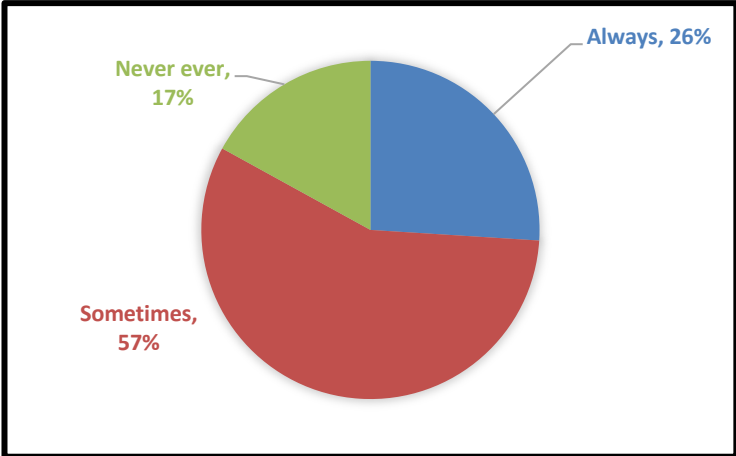


**Notes**: One child did not provide an estimate.
**Cases:** 192

Most pupils report that they are occasional consumers of *Breakfast for All* food (57%, Figure 5.2). On the other hand, significant numbers of pupils are also reported to always (26%) or never consume (17%).

There is no correlation between deprivation area status and frequency of eating breakfast in school (children's recollections of), although there is some indication of variation at the extremes, with twice as many children from Scotland's 30% Most Deprived Areas reporting that they "always" ate breakfast in school (35%, compared to 19% of those living outside

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42 Pearson Chi-square = 10.185, with two degrees of freedom, and less than 20% of cells with an Expected frequency of less than five (16.7%). Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.006).

43 This was not a statistically significant finding.

44 Pearson Chi-square = 6.539, with two degrees of freedom, and no cells with an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.038).

these areas).[45] Similarly, twice as many of those who were not entitled to FSMs or SCGs reported that they "never ever" ate breakfast in school (20%, compared to 9% of pupils with this entitlement).[46]

### 5.3.5 – Teachers' estimates

We presented class teachers, catering staff and *Breakfast for All* support staff with a five-point Likert scale ranging from 'almost all' to 'none of them' to prompt discussion. We followed this up by asking *'Have any children in Cauldeen Primary School ever mentioned not having had breakfast before arriving at school? "*

*Although class teachers found it difficult to provide an estimate, most indicated about one-half of pupils.*

> *"You get children coming up and saying, oh you know, I've not had breakfast this morning and it would actually quite often be, you know you'd notice they'd be really quiet in the back or head on desk or even, I've had children almost having like sort of outbursts, like being really emotional, … in the mornings. "What's going on? "And then they'd be like "I'm just really hungry cause I didn't get breakfast."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"… but they're the children that are telling you. The ones I worry about are the ones that've not told you that they've not had breakfast so they're then having to go another two hours before break time before they've got a little snack."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

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[45]   Pearson Chi-square = 6.152, with one degree of freedom, and no cells with an Expected Frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.013).

[46]   Pearson Chi-square = 3.550, with two degrees of freedom, and no cells with an Expected Frequency of less than five. Significant at the 90% confidence level (0.060).

## 5.4 – Regularity of consumption

### 5.4.1 – Introduction

As for geography (5.3), insight into how often children consumed breakfast was gleaned in different ways from pupils (5.4.2 and 5.4.3).

### 5.4.2 – Children's experience on day of class survey

We asked pupils to indicate whether they'd had something to eat for breakfast that morning, inviting them to indicate 'yes' or 'no'. Only a very small minority of children had not eaten breakfast on the survey day (Figure 5.3).

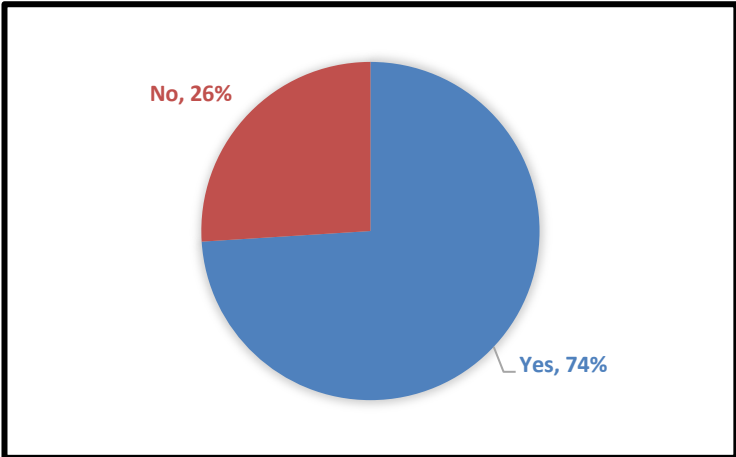**Figure 5.3: Consumption of breakfast on the morning of the survey day**
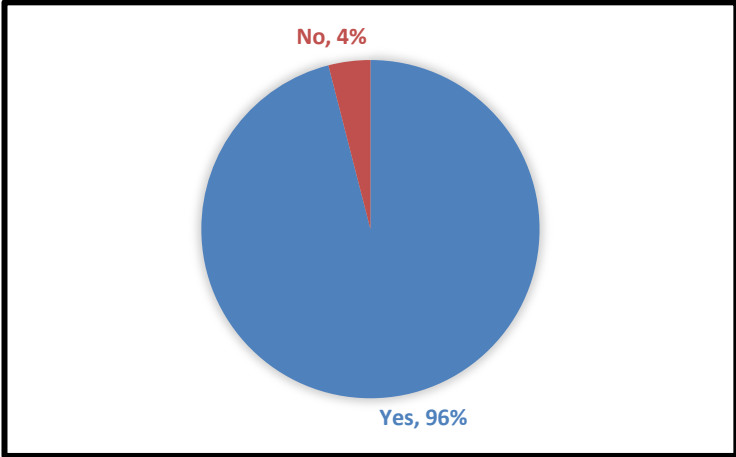


**Cases:** 193

### 5.4.3 – Children's estimate of whether ever skipped breakfast

We asked pupils whether they had ever skipped breakfast on a school day, inviting them to indicate 'yes' or 'no' (Figure 5.4).

**Figure 5.4: Child reports of ever having skipped breakfast on a school day**
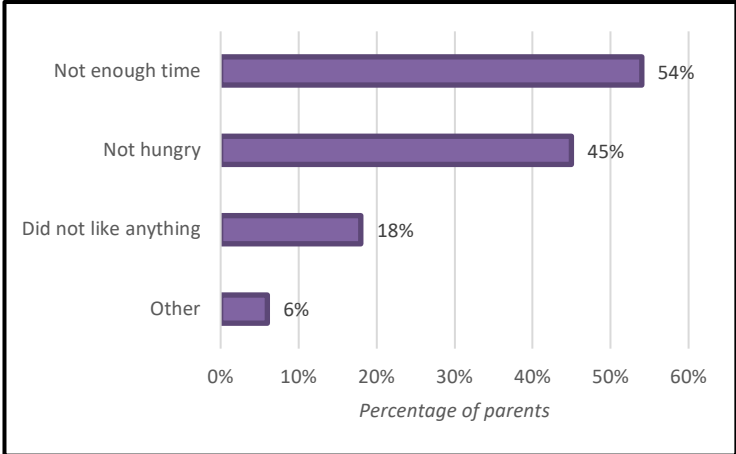


**Cases:** 193

In contrast to the survey day experiences (Figure 5.3), three-quarters of children reported having skipped breakfast on a school day (74%, Figure 5.4). Those who had attended the Cauldeen Breakfast Club at some point during the school year were less likely to have reported coming to school not having had breakfast on a school day (54%, compared to 76% of those who did not attend).[47]

Once more, there is evidence of a social pattern. Almost twice as many of those from the least deprived datazones report that they have never came to school without having had breakfast (36%, compared to 20% of those from the 30% Most Deprived datazones).[48] There is also a positive relationship between the number of learning-related needs[49] and the likelihood of that child ever having come to school without a breakfast.[50] Many of the individual needs only show marginal social variation, but in aggregation they indicate a social gradient.

## 5.5 – Accounting for non-consumption of breakfast

We asked those pupils who indicated that they had at some time skipped breakfast to indicate all the reasons for this. Pupils were invited to identify each of the three fixed response options that related to them and were offered the opportunity of identifying an 'Other' response (Figure 5.5).

**Figure 5.5: Children's reasons for skipping breakfast on a school day**



Notes: Multiple responses were possible. This question was only asked of pupils who indicated that they had skipped breakfast
**Cases:** 142

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[47] Pearson Chi-square = 5.310, with one degree of freedom, and no cells with an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.021).

[48] Pearson Chi-square = 5.524, with two degrees of freedom, and no cells with an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 90% confidence level (0.063).

[49] Learning-related needs comprised (i) English as a second language; (ii) having a defined 'Additional Special Need'; (iii) being care-experienced; and (iv) being from a minority ethnic background.

[50] Pearson Chi-square = 8.245, with three degrees of freedom, and less than 20% of cells with an Expected frequency of less than five (12.5%). Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.041).

Not having enough time and not feeling hungry were the most common reasons cited by pupils for skipping breakfast (Figure 5.5). These reasons, which, pupils selected are not necessarily indicative of a 'problem' regarding home breakfast provision: for example, "not liking anything" might reflect the child's preference not to have what is normally available on a particular day; "not feeling hungry" is a common-sense reason for skipping breakfast; and "not having enough time" might reflect exceptional pressures that arose on a school morning.  On the other hand, "not liking anything" might reflect the inability of a household to be able to stock breakfast food; "not feeling hungry" could be on account of an unsettled household, which impacts on the motivation to eat, and "not having enough time" might reflect a household routine that does not accommodate breakfast.  What is more certain is that these reasons for not eating breakfast – in the home, or at school – could be addressed by breakfast provision in school. Setting aside time at the start of the school day (in the manner of *Breakfast for All*) overcomes time pressure; children may feel hungry by the time of their arrival at school (even if they were not hungry at home) and offering food that children want to eat is within the gift of the school.

Few pupils identified more than one reason for skipping breakfast (12% of pupils, with only 3% noting that all three reasons shaped their decision to skip breakfast at some point. There is also sense of a positive relationship between having a higher number of learning-related needs and the likelihood of that child "not feeling hungry" as a reason for skipping breakfast.[51] More marked was that "not feeling hungry "was more likely to be given as an explanation by children for whom English was not their first language (58% compared to 29% of others).[52] Although not statistically significant, it is notable that those who are entitled to FSMs or SCG were marginally less likely to identify "not feeling hungry "as a reason for skipping breakfast. Children who attended the Cauldeen Breakfast Club were thrice less likely to explain that 'not feeling hungry' was a reason for them skipping breakfast on a school day.[53]

## 5.6 – Typical breakfast consumption

### 5.6.1 – Parents' perception

We asked parents to describe what their child usually ate and drank for breakfast at home on a school day.

Toast and cereal were reported by parents to be the food most typically consumed by children at breakfast time, with one-half of parents identifying toast (48%) and three-

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[51]  Pearson Chi-square = 6.996, with three degrees of freedom. Significant at the 90% confidence level (0.072), although caution is required as more than 25% of cells have an Expected Frequency of less than five (25%).

[52]  Pearson Chi-square = 8.159, with one degree of freedom, and no cells with an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.004).

[53]  Pearson Chi-square = 5.279, with one degree of freedom, and no cells with an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.022).

quarters identifying cereal (77%).  This reflected what most children reported to be the food that they ate on the morning of the survey in school (5.6.2).

However, parents tended to report a bigger breakfast comprising a wider range of food that was consumed, compared to that which was reported by children.  One-quarter of parents identified a single food type, a further one-quarter identified alternative food types (e.g., "toast or cereal"), with one-half of parents identifying multiple food types. The following descriptions of a 'typical breakfast' were not uncommon:

> *"Cereal with goat milk, frozen berries, or tinned fruit."* (Parent of P2 girl)

> *"Bowl of cereal, and toast or bagels, and yoghurt, and fruit."* (Parent of P4/5 girl)

> *"Mostly porridge, occasionally cereal or toast."* (Parent of P3 boy)

> *"Toast, cereal, pancakes, yoghurt."* (Parent of P1 girl)

> *"Nutella on toast, cereal, or porridge"* (Parent of P4 boy)

### 5.6.2– Children's experience on day of class survey

We asked pupils to describe what they ate and drank for breakfast that morning.

### 5.6.2a – Food

A range of breakfast food was noted (including, for example, croissants, fruit, crepes, and waffles). However, the most common breakfast foods were cereal (two-fifths of pupils stated "cereal", with others identifying specific brands) and toast (one in four pupils stated "toast", with others noting combinations based on toast such as "toast and cheese" or "toast with Nutella").  Other forms of hot food, such as sausage and bacon, were rarely mentioned.

Interestingly, far fewer children specified toast (36%) than were observed eating toast on a typical school day. This may suggest that many of the pupils were not identifying the food eaten at *Breakfast for All* (toast or fruit) as being "breakfast".

### 5.6.2b – Drink

Most children indicated that they either drank juice (one third of pupils), water (also one in three pupils) or milk (one in seven pupils) at breakfast, with a smaller number listing hot drinks (tea and coffee) or other cold drinks (such as smoothies or yoghurt drinks).  Very few children reported drinking fizzy juice at breakfast.

## 5.7 – Favourite breakfast consumption

We also asked pupils to describe their favourite breakfast food and drink.

### 5.7.1 – Food

One-quarter of pupils reported that they had eaten their favourite food for breakfast that morning (26%), while a further one in seven (13%) had a variant on their favourite food for breakfast (for example, they ate toast on the morning of the survey, but their favourite breakfast food was chocolate toast).  Therefore, most pupils indicated a different favourite breakfast food from the one that they ate that morning (61%).

Toast and cereal were still widely favoured (with one in seven pupils identifying these as their favourites). However, hot food emerged as the most popular breakfast food, with small proportions identifying pancakes and waffles, but the most popular hot food was the 'traditional' cooked breakfast (eggs, bacon, and sausage), with one-third of pupils identifying this as their favourite food. The preference for hot food was more marked among pupils in the upper end of the primary school.

In some cases what was identified as their favourite breakfast food might be considered a healthier option than what they ate that morning. For example, one pupil reported having toast and jelly for breakfast that morning, but said that an apple was their favourite food, while another reported that their favourite breakfast food was Coco Pops, but that they had crisps for breakfast that morning.

### 5.7.2 – Drink

One-half of pupils indicate a favourite drink that was different to the one that they drank that morning (53%).  The most common favourite drinks were also the ones most consumed that morning. One-third of pupils indicated that juice (or a particular type of non-carbonated juice) was their favourite drink (36%), with one-in-seven favouring water or milk (13% of pupils).  One-in-ten pupils identified a fizzy juice as their favourite drink (10%).

## 5.8 – Conclusion

It was important to understand prior experiences of breakfast eating among children in Cauldeen Primary School, to better appreciate the impact of *Breakfast for All*.  Although breakfast eating is commonplace, the background research on breakfast eating has identified that the provision could provide a solution for the minority of pupils who are not consuming breakfast, or the minority who find themselves skipping breakfast on occasion.

# 6. Breakfast Consumption through *Breakfast for All*

*"XXX regularly has breakfast at home, in breakfast club and in class and he still comes home starving. He's an active and healthy boy so he clearly needs it and I think it's good at the start of the day to set him up for the rest of the day."*

(Parent of P3 boy)

*"Most days my child is having breakfast at home or breakfast club and then a small breakfast at school as they enjoy it. She is encouraged to have smaller portions."*

(Parent of P4 girl)

*"Yes, they will tell us, they would say I didn't have anything to eat today, and you can see that we have our trays over there and they will go and have four pieces of toast."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

## 6.1 – Introduction

In this section, we review the evidence on uptake of *Breakfast for All*.  As will become apparent, there are many ways in which uptake can be conceptualised and presented.  We cover three themes in this section of the report. We consider overall levels of consumption (6.2), before progressing to classify pupils by patterns of consumption (6.3) and conclude by exploring differences among groups of pupils (6.4).

## 6.2 – Overall levels of consumption

### 6.2.1 – Introduction

There are several ways in which pupil consumption of *Breakfast for All* food can be summarised. Evidence can be reported as a proportion of all pupils (regardless of whether they are in attendance).  Here, the metric estimates the extent to which *Breakfast for All* is reaching pupils). This is reported in Figures 6.1 and 6.3 below.  On the other hand, evidence can be reported as a proportion of all pupils in attendance.  Here, the metric estimates the reach of *Breakfast for All* within school. This is reported in Figures 6.2 and 6.4 below.

Evidently, estimates of pupils in attendance will report a higher uptake.  Both metrics shed insight into the effectiveness of *Breakfast for All.* Throughout this section, we report two measures of uptake, i.e., whether any food was consumed (Figures 6.1 and 6.2) and whether more than one 'unit' of food was consumed (Figures 6.3 and 6.4).

These data are appraised to provide daily (6.2.2) and yearly estimates of consumption (6.2.3).

### 6.2.2 - Daily consumption

Figure 6.1 reports how many days pupils were observed consuming food (either toast or fruit) during the five days of observation in their class. These data are an estimate of the total reach of *Breakfast for All*, i.e., an estimate of the reach of a school-based intervention in providing breakfast food.

**Figure 6.1: Pupil consumption of toast or fruit on the five *Breakfast for All* observation days**
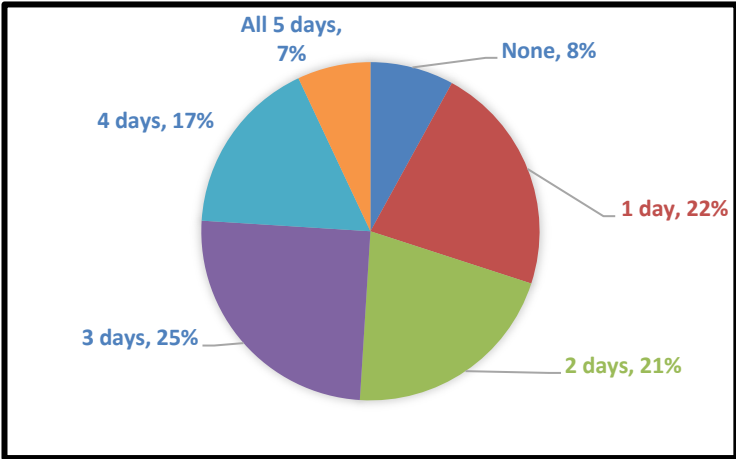


Notes: These data are for all pupils. -whether in attendance or not
**Cases:** 229 pupils

Figure 6.1 demonstrates a wide range of experience across the pupil population. Most pupils consumed food over the five-day observation period (92%), although only a small proportion consumed food on each of the five days of observation (7%). The majority were observed to consume between these extremes.

Figure 6.2 accounts for attendance, representing the data of Figure 6.1 as a percentage of the days in which pupils were in attendance. A very different complexion of consumption is presented. One-fifth of pupils were observed to consume toast or fruit on every day that they attended (18%), with a further one-in-ten consuming on four out of the five days in which they attended (11%). However, once more, this metric reaffirms that there is a wide range of experience across pupils.

**Figure 6.2: Pupil consumption of toast or fruit on the *Breakfast for All* observation days**



*Percentage of days in school on which pupils ate Breakfast for All food*
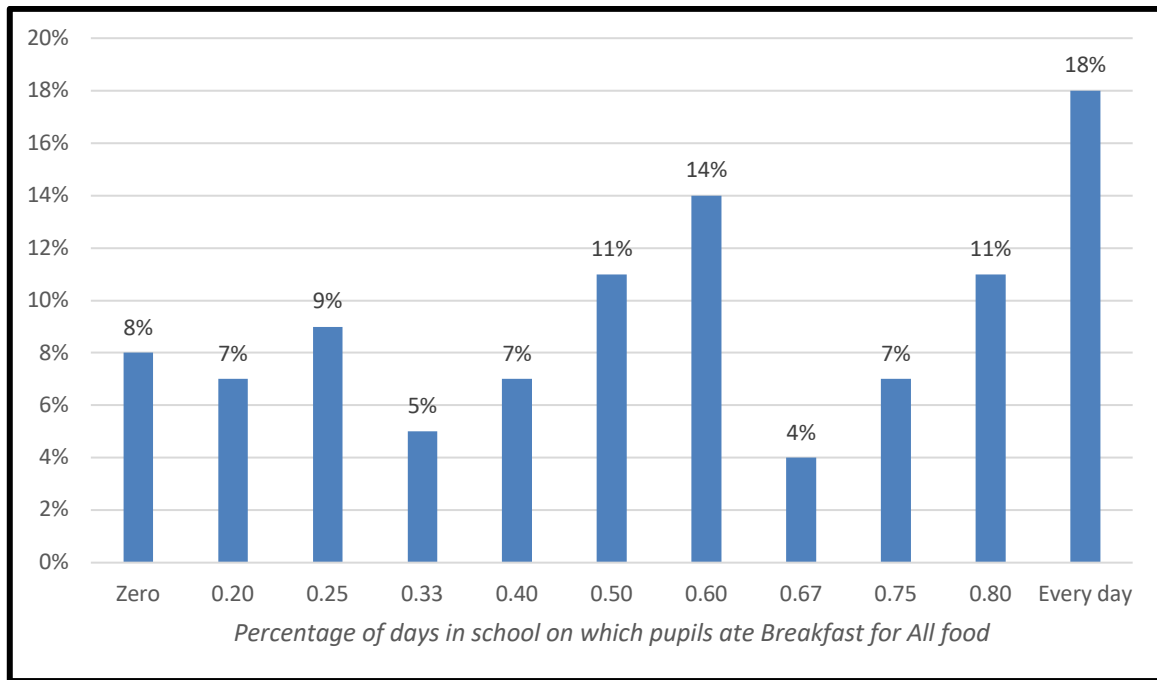
**Notes**: These data are only for days in attendance at school
**Cases:** 229 pupils

Another way of describing Figure 6.2 is that almost one-fifth of pupils were observed eating on every day (18%), almost one-quarter of pupils took food on all but one day during the observations (23%) and three-fifths of pupils did not take food on two or more days (60%). There was no discernible social variation across pupils. Figure 6.3 reports how many days pupils were observed consuming more than one piece of food (either toast and fruit, or two pieces of toast) during the five days of observation in their class. These data are an estimate of the total reach of *Breakfast for All* for 'large' consumers, i.e., an estimate of the reach of a school-based intervention in providing breakfast food for those seeking more than a 'snack' portion.

**Figure 6.3: Pupil consumption of multiple food on the *Breakfast for All* observation days**
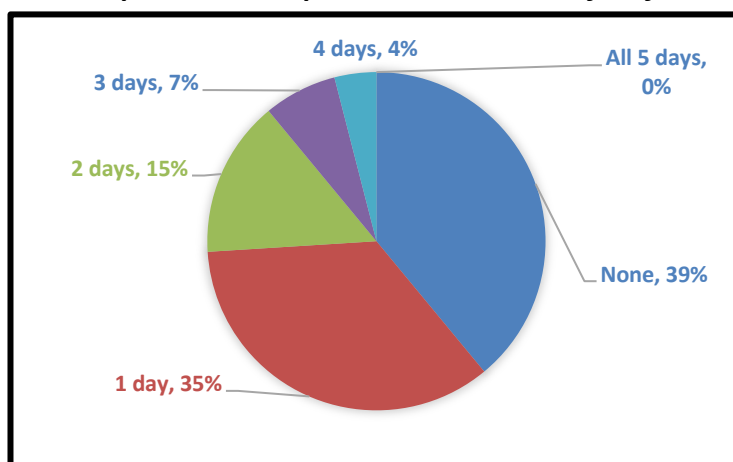


**Notes**: These data are for all pupils -whether in attendance or not. These data indicate the proportion of pupils who consumed either multiple pieces of toast, or toast and fruit
**Cases:** 229 pupils

As we would expect with this metric, lower rates of consumption are reported, compared to Figure 6.1: two-fifths of pupils were not observed consuming multiple food during the observation days.  On the other hand, this implies that most pupils consumed multiple food on at least one day (61% in Figure 6.3). Once more, Figure 6.3 demonstrates a wide range of experience across the pupil population.

Figure 6.4 accounts for attendance, representing the data of Figure 6.3 as a percentage of the days in which pupils were in attendance.  Most pupils are found to consume multiple food on a minority of days in attendance. However, once more, this metric reaffirms that there is a wide range of experience across pupils.  As for Figure 6.2, another way of describing Figure 6.4 is that almost three-fifths of pupils did not eat multiple foods on any observation day (39%), almost one-half took multiple foods, but on less than one-half of the days they attended (46%), and one-in-seven took multiple foods on at least one-half of the days that they attended (15%). Pupils for whom English was not their first language were more likely not to have taken multiple foods (66%, compared to 35% of those for whom English is their main language).[54]

**Figure 6.4:  Pupil consumption of multiple eats on the five *Breakfast for All* observation days**
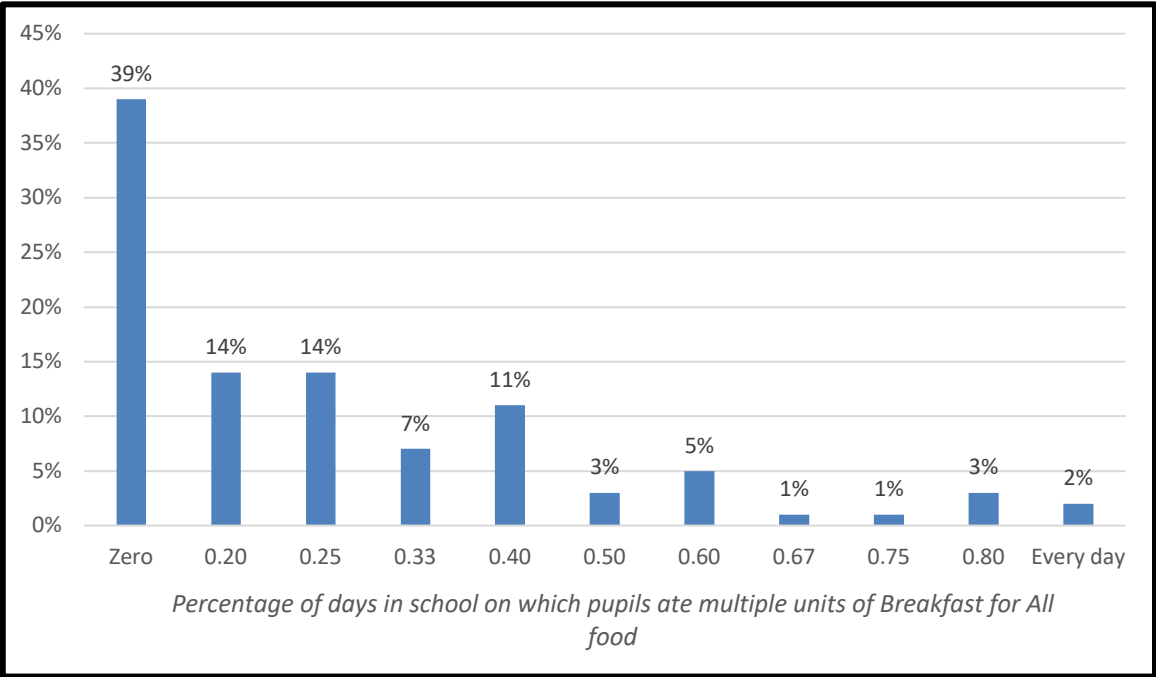


Notes: These data are only for days in attendance at school
**Cases:** 229 pupils

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[54]  Pearson Chi-square = 10.014, with two degrees of freedom, and less than 20% of cells with an Expected frequency of less than five (16.7%). Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.007).

### 6.2.3 – Total consumption for the school year

The data reported in Figure 6.2 provides the basis of a best estimate for the number of presentations for food by pupils at Cauldeen Primary School over the course of the 2021-22 academic year.  The estimate is based on two assumptions that:
- the observation days are representative of patterns of consumption across the whole school year, and
- attendance levels up the Easter 2022 are representative of attendance for the remainder of the school year.

Having made these assumptions, the number of presentations can be estimated into three stages:
- estimating the number of school days that will be attended across the whole school year for each pupil, by dividing the total number of school days (190) by the percentage attendance to Easter of the 2021-22 school year
- multiplying this number of days in attendance (estimated) by the number of days in which the pupil typically consumed food when in attendance during the *Breakfast for All* fieldwork observations
- aggregating these totals for all pupils in the school.

It is estimated that 21,799 presentations for breakfast food will be made at Cauldeen Primary School over the course of the 2021/22 school year, with 9,146 of these presentations being for multiple offering (two pieces of toast, or toast and fruit).

## 6.3 – Patterns of consumption

### 6.3.1 – Introduction

Patterns of consumption are explored for both metrics of consumption for pupils in attendance in this section of the report.  First, we describe uptake of toast and fruit.

### 6.3.2 – By food type

Toast was consumed on just under one-half of the occasions when it was presented (47%), with fruit consumed on one-third of the same (32%) (Figure 6.5). Food (toast or fruit) was consumed on almost three-fifths of presentations (57%). Just over one-fifth of selections were toast and fruit (22%); of the remainder pupils were more than twice as likely to eat toast (25%) than fruit (11%) (Figure 6.5).

**Figure 6.5: Food types consumed over the observation period**
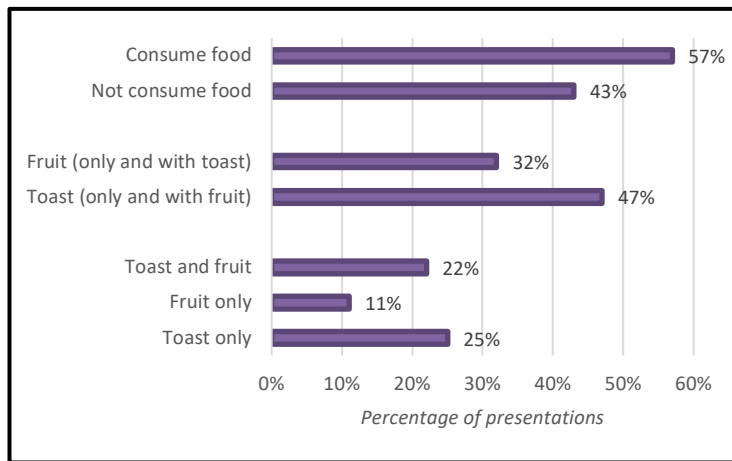


**Cases:** 967 observations over the 45 observation days

### 6.3.3 – By class (and age-stage)

Table 6.1 summarises presentations for food by class over the observation period, with Table 6.2 summarising the same for pupils who took a larger amount (two pieces of toast, or toast and fruit).

**Table 6.1: Observation of frequency of eating on observation days when in attendance, by class**

| | Percentage of pupils in class | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | **Skip more than one day** | **Skip one day** | **Always eat** | *Total* |
| **P1** | 65% | 17% | 17% | 23 |
| **P1/P2** | 26% | 26% | 48% | 23 |
| **P2** | 71% | 25% | 4% | 24 |
| **P3** | 64% | 18% | 18% | 28 |
| **P4** | 44% | 30% | 26% | 27 |
| **P4/P5** | 67% | 29% | 4% | 24 |
| **P5** | 72% | 17% | 10% | 29 |
| **P6** | 59% | 23% | 18% | 22 |
| **P7** | 66% | 21% | 14% | 29 |

**Notes**: Pearson Chi-square = 28.620, with sixteen degrees of freedom. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.027), although caution is required as more than 25% of cells have an Expected Frequency of less than five (30%).
**Cases:** 229

Uptake is not consistent across classes, with this variation determined by individual classes, rather than age-stage in school. Broadly speaking, the patterning of consumption divides the school into three groups:

- High levels of skipping on more than one day (around two-thirds of pupils), with the remainder shared between those who skip one day and eat every day, e.g., P1, P3, P6 and P7.
- Very high levels of skipping on more than one day (at least two-thirds of pupils), with most of the remainder skipping one day and few eating eat every day, e.g., P2, P4/P5 and P5.
- Most pupils eating every day or only skipping one day, e.g., P1/P2 and P4.

**Table 6.2: Observation of frequency of multiple eats on observation days when in attendance, by class**

| | Percentage of pupils in class | | | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **No multiple eats** | **Multiple eats on less than one-half of days** | **Multiple eats on at least one-half of days** | |
| **P1** | 35% | 44% | 22% | *23* |
| **P1/P2** | 9% | 52% | 39% | *23* |
| **P2** | 54% | 38% | 8% | *24* |
| **P3** | 50% | 46% | 4% | *27* |
| **P4** | 41% | 44% | 15% | *27* |
| **P4/P5** | 33% | 54% | 13% | *24* |
| **P5** | 52% | 41% | 7% | *29* |
| **P6** | 27% | 55% | 18% | *22* |
| **P7** | 41% | 41% | 17% | *29* |

**Notes**: Pearson Chi-square = 25.775, with sixteen degrees of freedom. Significant at the 90% confidence level (0.057), although caution is required as more than 25% of cells have an Expected Frequency of less than five (33%).
**Cases:** 229

Further analysis (of Table 6.1 and Table 6.2 together) provides more evidence of varying patterns of consumption across classes. The P1/P2 class is confirmed as an outlier with most pupils also eating more food on more days of the week (91% eat multiple food at some point in the week). Although a very small proportion of P4/P5 pupils consumed food on every observation day, it was among the group of classes with a higher proportion of pupils consuming multiple eats during the observation period (13%, in Table 6.2).

### 6.3.4 – By day of the week

Figure 6.6 reports patterns of consumption across weekdays. Although uptake appears slightly higher at the end of the school week, the differences are not of a significant order and there is a broadly consistent demand across the school week.

**Figure 6.6: Proportion of children eating toast or fruit on observation days, by day of week**
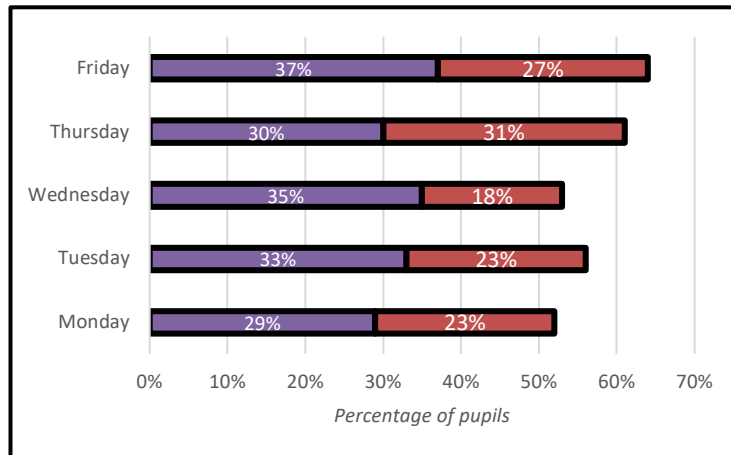


**Notes**: The blue proportion of the bar indicates pupils who either consumed one piece of toast or fruit on that day of the week. The red proportion of the bar indicates the proportion of pupils who consumed either multiple pieces of toast, or toast and fruit.
**Cases:** 179, 196, 198, 198, 196

## 6.4 – Teachers' perception of uptake

We explored issues of uptake in the interviews. Teacher perception did not always reflect the objective evidence from formal observation, with several reports of widespread uptake and little waste. Reference was also made to sharing, both within and across classrooms, which also minimised waste and re-affirmed demand.

> "Most children in this class take at least something, but most take a slice or two of toast and a wee handful of fruit."
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> "They don't come in starving, but they do come in and eat. Our class, all the toast is gone, every day, some of them have two or three bits and that's okay. But some don't have any."
>
> (Teacher, lower/middle years of school)

> "… if there was a lot of waste we would think, is it worth doing this, but our trays are empty every day."
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> "… if there's leftover toast it goes to their class…"
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

Teachers often referred to specific children who were heavy consumers, generally implying that these children were from less affluent backgrounds, but not always.

*"There's one child alone you will see, I think maybe he does have a loaf of bread to himself. He goes round and he gets all the spares from the other classes which you just think wow like, you're a hungry boy."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"Yes, they will tell us, they would say I didn't have anything to eat today, and you can see that we have our trays over there and they will go and have four pieces of toast."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

*"Two of the kids that normally hammer it are off today so there is normally nothing left."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

*"… you do get the ones who I have found just from observing my own class, the ones who you know aren't getting it at home, they tend to eat more."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"I think it's surprising seeing the ones who actually do come from wealthy families eating away which is quite surprising."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

## 6.5 – Conclusion

The systematic observation confirmed that *Breakfast for All* was well used, although in highly variable ways across the school population. There is little evidence to suggest that children are over-eating, and therefore fears that breakfast provision could fuel obesity are unfounded.

# 7. Critical Impact Analysis

*"It's great because children who may not have breakfast at home won't feel singled out as all the children are having something."*

(Parent of P4/5 girl)

*"I believe that the kids eating breakfast together is a good form of bonding and is a fun positive way to start their day!"*

(Parent of P4/5 boy)

*"XXX says he feels sick first thing, so won't eat. I have peace of mind that getting breakfast at school means he's not starving."*

(Parent of P5 boy, from more deprived area)

## 7.1 – Introduction

In this section, we examine ten issues. These comprise our evaluation of the evidence base that was presented in section six of the report. We consider: whether provision in school is shifting responsibility away from the private domain to the public domain (7.2), whether provision in Cauldeen Primary School is providing breakfast to children who otherwise are missing out (7.3), whether provision is reaching disadvantaged populations (7.4), whether there has been an impact on attendance levels (7.5), the reported impact on children (7.6), parental opinion on the target group (7.7), issues around awareness of the initiative (7.8), management and development of the intervention (7.9), impact on learning time (7.10) and the future of provision (7.11).

## 7.2 – Shifting responsibility?

One criticism that could be levelled at in-school provision of breakfast is that is merely shifts responsibility for provision away from parents who were already providing breakfast. We asked parents, *"Since your child started eating breakfast in school, how often does she/he eat breakfast at home?"*, offering three positive options and a don't know option (Figure 7.1).

**Figure 7.1: Parents' perception of the impact of *Breakfast for All* on eating breakfast at home**
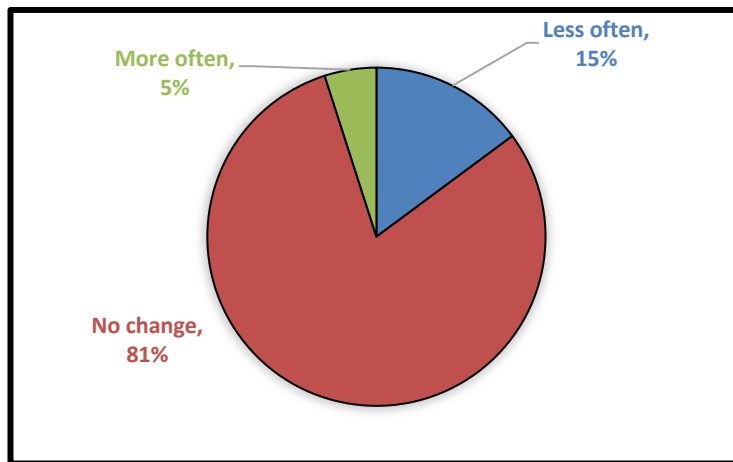


Notes: One parent indicated that they did not know, and three parents skipped this question
**Cases:** 67

Evidence from parents is clear that the *Breakfast for All* provision is not leading to a shift of responsibility for food provision away from parents. For most pupils, it is leading to more breakfast food being consumed (in addition to the 5% who now report eating breakfast at home more often, many of the 81% of pupils for whom no change at home is reported are now also consuming food at school (96% of these pupils were observed eating through *Breakfast for All*).

Indeed, the vast majority of those who indicated that their child now ate breakfast at home "less often" were parents whose children attended the breakfast club (43% of whom reported that their child ate "less often", with 57% reporting "no change"). Of the children who did not attend Cauldeen's Breakfast Club, only 8% reported that their child now ate breakfast at home "less often", with almost as many reporting that they now have breakfast at home "more often" (6%): no change was reported for most of these children (87%).[55]

Although numbers are too few to draw any definitive conclusion, it is worth examining whether parents whose children are entitled to FSM or SCG were less likely to have breakfast at home (three out of nine reported that that they were, compared to only 12% of other pupils).

> *"You might get slightly more now not having because they might have when they get here because they know they're going to get, but I think the majority probably still have something at home before they come in but know they're going to get an extra bit of toast or whatever once they're here."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

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[55] Pearson Chi-square = 11.252, with two degrees of freedom, although one-half of the cells had an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.004). The association was statistically significant when cohorts were compared according to whether they ate breakfast at home "less often".

## 7.3 – Bridging a gap?

One potential benefit of providing breakfast in school is that it provides food to children who – for whatever reason – did not consume a breakfast before arriving at school.  Table 7.1 reworks the findings that were presented in Table 5.2 to better understand this issue.

**Table 7.1:  Children's reporting of where they ate breakfast on the morning of the survey day**

| At home | On the way to school | At school | Cases | % of Pupils |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | Yes | Yes | 9 | 5% |
| Yes | Yes | - | 4 | 2% |
| Yes | - | Yes | 76 | 39% |
| Yes | - | - | 76 | 39% |
| - | Yes | Yes | 1 | 1% |
| - | Yes | - | 1 | 1% |
| - | - | Yes | 19 | 10% |
| - | - | - | 7 | 4% |

**Cases:** 193

One in ten pupils who reported eating breakfast in school as part of *Breakfast for All* had not eaten breakfast before arrival.  If this is representative of a typical school day, this would suggest that the *Breakfast for All* provision is delivering sustenance to a significant minority of pupils in the morning of a school day.

Pupil's reported geography of breakfast consumption seems to be shaped by where they live: Figure 7.2 shows that the proportion of pupils from the 30% Most Deprived areas who report only consuming breakfast at school is significantly higher than pupils from the 30% Last Deprived Areas.

**Figure 7.2: Reported geography of breakfast consumption on the morning of the survey, by deprivation area status**
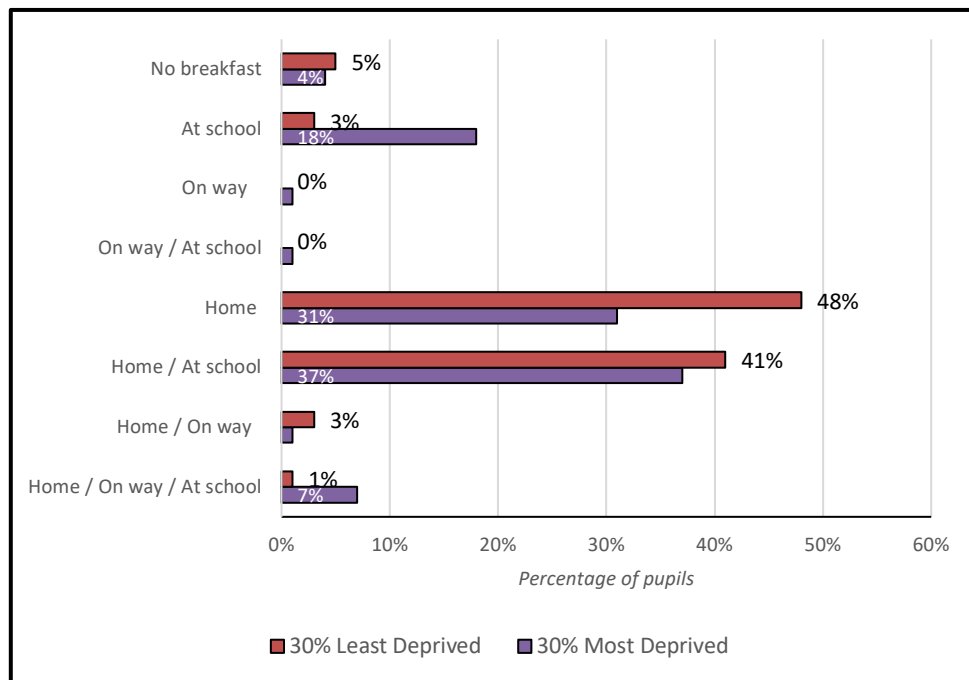


**Notes**: These classifications were drawn from three separate questions in which children were asked whether they had breakfast in that place that morning.
**Cases:** 187


## 7.4 – Reaching disadvantaged populations?

One rationale for providing breakfast in schools is that it is a means to reach pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds whose families might encounter difficulties in providing breakfast.

As reported elsewhere in this report, there is evidence to suggest that *Breakfast for All* is reaching otherwise disadvantaged groups of children:

- Six times as many pupils from the 30% Most Deprived Areas report only eating at school (18%, compared to 3% from the 30% Least Deprived Areas) – see Figure 7.2
- Parents whose children are entitled to FSMs or SCGs were more likely to note 'staving hunger' as a reason for their child benefitting from *Breakfast for All* (73%, compared to only 35% of those who were not entitled to either of these in-school benefits – 7.6.3
- Parents whose children were entitled to FSMs or SCGs were more likely to strongly agree that *Breakfast for All* should continue (90%, compared to 68%).

However, the strongest evidence in relation to reaching disadvantaged populations that is in favour of *Breakfast for All* is that pupils from more disadvantaged backgrounds are as likely as non-disadvantaged pupils to eat breakfast in class. The importance of this is drawn from the evidence that disadvantaged pupils are less likely to eat breakfast outside the home.

## 7.5 – Impact on attendance?

If breakfast provision aims to reach disadvantaged populations, it might be anticipated that this provision could incentivise attendance, either by directly encouraging pupils to attend to access breakfast, or by indirectly fashioning a more welcoming learning environment (in which breakfast signposts an inclusive culture).

Figure 7.3 summarises attendance of pupils across the five days of observation for their class.  One-half of pupils were in attendance every day (49%) with most of the remainder (one-third) in attendance for four out of the five days of observation (31%).

**Figure 7.3:  Pupil attendance on the five *Breakfast for All* observation days**
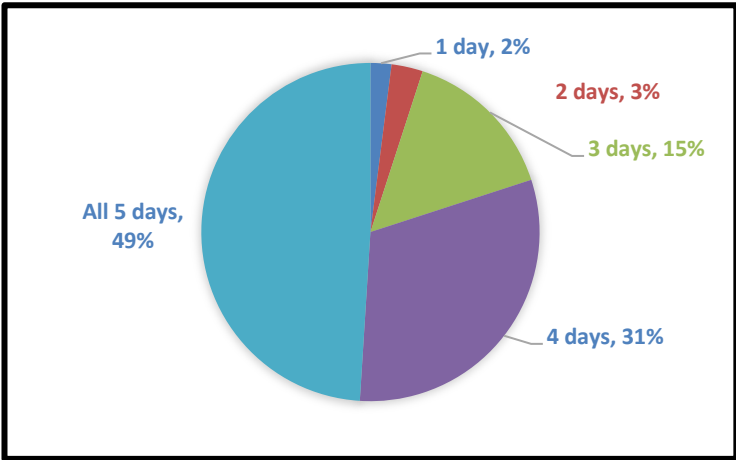


**Notes**: Attendance only refers to days on which that pupil's class was observed during *Breakfast for All*
**Cases:** 229 pupils

Pupils with Additional Support Needs were more likely not to have been in attendance on the observation days: only 38% attended on each of the five days, compared to 55% of pupils without ASNs.[56]

Figure 7.4 compares attendance for the whole school population for the last five school years. Attendance for the current year is incomplete, as this report is published before the end of the school year. Overall, attendance is broadly comparable across the last five years. However, records indicate that levels of attendance are lower in the current school year, compared to the previous four years.  Although it cannot be claimed that – on aggregate – attendance has improved because of *Breakfast for All*, it must be acknowledged that attendance in 2021/22 has been impacted by Covid-related absences and no definitive conclusions should be drawn from these data. Nevertheless, there is no evidence from Cauldeen Primary School to suggest that *Breakfast for All* provision has facilitated increased attendance across the school.

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[56]  Pearson Chi-square = 6.301, with one degree of freedom, no cells with an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.012).

**Figure 7.4: Attendance Trends at Cauldeen Primary School, 2017-18 to 2021-22**
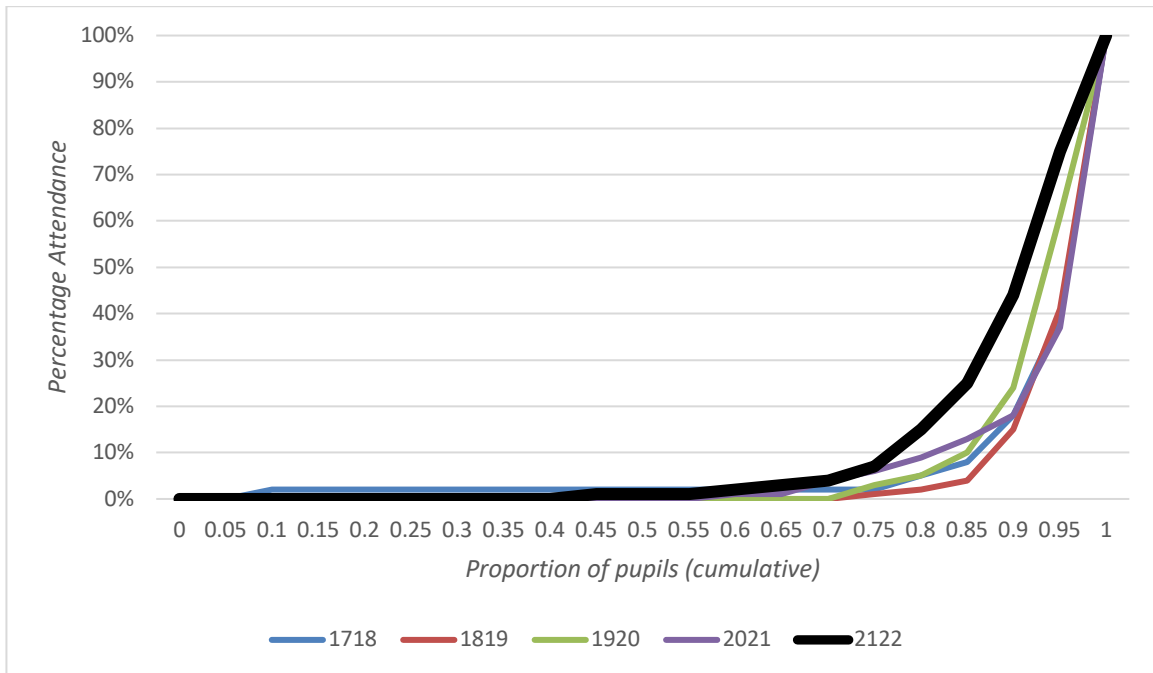


Notes: These data were provided by Cauldeen Primary School for each pupil. Fewer data are provided for earlier school years, for example, current Primary 1 pupils were not pupils in 2020/21 (etc.).
**Cases:** 229 pupils

## 7.6 – Impact on children

### 7.6.1 – Introduction

The study did not collect objective data, which measured the direct impact of *Breakfast for All* on children. However, the perceptions of both parents (7.6.2 and 7.6.3) and teachers (7.6.4) were canvassed.

### 7.6.2 – Parents' understanding through their child

We asked parents, *"What does your child tell you about eating breakfast at school?* Parents were invited to identify each of the five fixed response options that related to them and were offered the opportunity of identifying an 'Other' response (Figure 7.5).

**Figure 7.5: Parents' report of what their child tells them about *Breakfast for All***
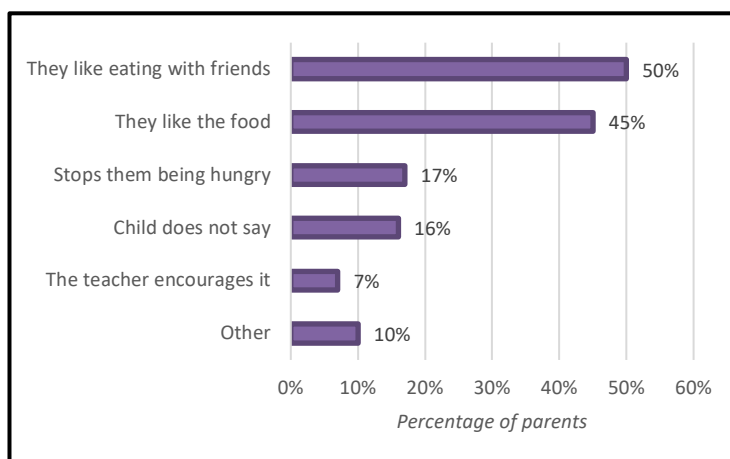


**Notes**: Multiple responses were possible. This question was not asked in the online version of the survey. Three parents skipped this question in the paper version of the survey
**Cases:** 58

One in five parents reported that their child does not share their *Breakfast for All* experiences with them (16% in Figure 7.5). Most parents report that their child conveys a positive experience, with one-half recalling that their child likes eating with friends (50%) and likes the food (45%). A smaller proportion – one-in-six – report that their child explains that it stops them feeling hungry at school (17%).

Almost one-half of parents who reported a sharing from their child described one outcome (47%), with most of the remainder describing two (19%). Only one-in-ten described three outcomes from the five listed (9%).

There were some marked differences by gender in the reasoning, with most of parents of boys reporting that eating with friends was a reason for using *Breakfast for All* (63%, compared to 35% of parents of girls).[57] Although not statistically significant, there was a sense among parents that 'liking the food' was more important as a reason for girls (54%, compared to 38% of parents of boys).[58] There were not enough responses to draw firm conclusions for differences according to free school meal entitlement, although three out of the eight parents whose child was eligible for a FSM reported that their child had explained that it stopped them being hungry at school, compared to only 14% of those whose children was not entitled to a FSM.[59]

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[57] Pearson Chi-square = 4.462, with one degree of freedom, no cells with an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.035).

[58] This was not a statistically significant difference.

[59] This was not a statistically significant difference.

### 7.6.3 – Parents' own opinion

We also asked parents, *"What are the benefits of the school providing breakfast for your family?* Parents were invited to identify each of the seven fixed response options that related to them and were offered the opportunity of identifying an 'Other' response (Figure 7.6).

**Figure 7.6: Parents' opinion on the benefits of *Breakfast for All***
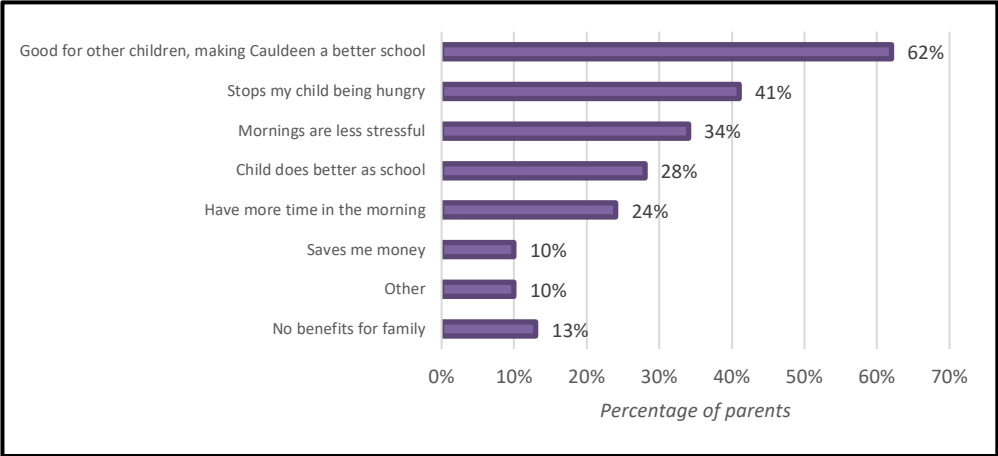


Notes: Multiple responses were possible.
**Cases:** 71

Parents were more likely to identify several benefits (52%) to accrue from *Breakfast for All* than a single benefit (35%). One in eight did not identify any benefits (13%). One in seven either identified two or three benefits (16% and 18%, respectively), with one in ten identifying four our more (9%).

Interestingly, the only benefit that was identified by most parents was a collective one, i.e., that it benefitted other children, making Cauldeen a better place (62% in Figure 7.5). Although not statistically significant, it was noted that the majority of those whose child had English as their first language held this opinion (66%), in contrast to those who did not (only five of the twelve children of parents surveyed, or 42%). Parents whose child attended Cauldeen's Breakfast Club were more likely to consider that this *Breakfast for All* benefitted other children, which made Cauldeen a better school (87%, compared to 55% of parents whose children did not attend the breakfast club.[60]

Although a range of other benefits for their family or for their child were also acknowledged by a significant proportion of parents, none of these were experienced by the majority. Only one-in-ten parents reported that it saved them money (10%). One-in-five reported no benefits for their family (21%).

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[60]  Pearson Chi-square = 4.921, with one degree of freedom, and no cells with an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.027).

Staving morning hunger was a benefit noted by many parents (41%): those whose children was entitled to FSM or SCG were more likely to note this as a reason (73%, compared to only 35% of those who were not entitled to either of these in-school benefits).[61] Once more, those parents whose child had English as their first language were more likely to note this benefit (48%), in contrast to those who did not (only one of the twelve children of parents surveyed, or 8%).[62] Counter-intuitively, parents whose children did not have ASNs were more likely to note this benefit (49%, compared to 23% of those whose child had an ASN).[63]

Although not statistically significant, more of those parents whose child was entitled to a FSM or SCG perceived that *Breakfast for All* led to their child doing better at school (five of the eleven parents, or 46%, compared to 25% of others).

> *"It's the best start to the day. Some mornings can be a rush and having the in-class breakfast is an extra and helpful bonus."*
>
> (Parent of P6 girl, from less deprived area)

> *"My youngest, XXX can be a bit of a sleepy head-so eating first thing-he doesn't want all the time-but he always has a drink-so knowing he has the option at school eases my anxiety of knowing he is eating something for breakfast."*
>
> (Parent of P3 boy)

### 7.6.4 – Staff opinion

We asked class teachers, catering staff and *Breakfast for All* support staff**,** *"What impact – if at all – has the breakfast tray had"*, focusing on lunchtime (catering staff), or classes (teachers and *Breakfast for All* staff).

### 7.6.4a - Overall impact

Primary school staff perceived that the breakfast cart initiative had a significant impact on the health and wellbeing of children, interviewees reported that children were happier in the morning. Teaching staff shared the view that the project offered wider social and economic benefits for families. School staff viewed the project positively, indeed one interviewee articulated that they could not conceive any negative impacts arising from the project.

> *"I think as a staff in general we think it's absolutely brilliant. I mean even friends of mine that teach at other schools, they're amazed that we do this, …."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

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[61] Pearson Chi-square = 5.476, with one degree of freedom. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.019), although caution is required as more than 25% of cells have an Expected Frequency of less than five (25%).

[62] Pearson Chi-square = 6.317, with one degree of freedom. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.012), although caution is required as more than 25% of cells have an Expected Frequency of less than five (25%).

[63] Pearson Chi-square = 4.331, with two degrees of freedom, and no cells with an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 95% confidence level (0.037).

*"… it's all positive."*

<div align="right">(Support Staff)</div>

*"Yeah, it's been very positive, definitely. (Nobody even thought) What did you do that for? You know."*

<div align="right">(Support Staff)</div>

*"I just think it's brilliant and it's just been a breath of fresh air getting to have it in our school and seeing such a difference … from one year to another."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, upper end of school)</div>

*"Probably the individuals that were hungry before, more than the others, but they all have it, they always take a piece of toast or something and they all like it."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, lower end of school)</div>

*"Couldn't have a negative effect, nothing could have impacted them negatively from this."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, lower end of school)</div>

*"… we've all said in staff room, it's made such a difference like it's a happier morning and they're happier to have their toast, having breakfast and then get started."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, upper end of school)</div>

There was consensus from interviewees that the universal provision of breakfast reduced stigma and embarrassment for hungry children. The views of staff, shared below also demonstrate that the universal provision of breakfast has alleviated worries that staff held about children being hungry in the morning. Further, staff observed that children were more settled and readier to learn.

*"I think it's had a positive effect. I think it's quite a nice way for them to come in and settle down and have it. I do think it has stopped the children who are coming in hungry. They know that they're always going to get something, and they don't need to ask and be kind of embarrassed about asking. … and it means I know they've all had something, so you're not worrying about."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, upper end of school)</div>

*"… everyone is settled - they do, they come in and they get straight on with their tasks, and I think that has a lot to do with having food in the bellies first thing in the morning. They've got the energy to keep going."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, upper end of school)</div>

*"They ease into the day, because we do have a number of children in my class, that come in a bit late, just because maybe the families can't get their morning organised or… We try to diffuse any stressful situation, you know, they come in and there is no "where have you been? "… there is none of that. They just come in, and they slide in, and they know they're not going to be in trouble, they know they're going to get something to eat. You know, so, it is quite normal for my class, there are maybe about four, that come in after nine. …, that is just the way my class is."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, lower/middle end of school)</div>

***7.6.4b – On tackling hunger***

Cauldeen Primary School staff perceive that the breakfast cart programme has had a positive impact on tackling hunger and had wider benefits such as improving preparedness for learning.

> *"I think it's had a positive effect. I think it's quite a nice way for them to come in and settle down and have it. I do think it has stopped the children who are coming in hungry. They know that they're always going to get something, and they don't need to ask and be kind of embarrassed about asking."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

The breakfast initiative has become embedded in the school day. Staff reported that breakfast provision doesn't take up too much time and that the time spent is worthwhile because teachers can focus on teaching and learning rather than hunger related distractions.

> *"I don't have so many complaints, like "when is break time", "I'm hungry. They are not so desperate for their breaks, especially the little ones, … They are concentrating and they are not wanting their break, it only takes a little bit of time in the morning for them to come and have their toast or fruit, or whatever they choose, and you get a good run of time where they don't say "I'm hungry."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"Rather than you've got these hungry kids that don't want to sit there, not ready."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"You can tell by the stuffing of the faces when they come in."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"And so, everyone is settled - they do, they come in and they get straight on with their tasks, and I think that has a lot to do with having food in the bellies first thing in the morning. They've got the energy to keep going."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school).

> *"I have lots of grumpy, hungry children and. And I think. They'd be quite restless on the carpet. Not having that kind of... And it keeps them quiet. I mean when they're chewing, they're not. Speaking as much."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school).

> *"Their brain is fed, yeah, so we love it like it's, it's such a lovely morning."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school).

Teachers and staff worry about their students, particularly the ones who are living in poverty. For children waiting for lunch, this can seem like a very long time especially when hungry, this can distract the children from learning or disrupt the whole class. The staff are aware of the impact the breakfast cart has on the children and feel a sense of relief that the children have been fed during the school day.

> *"… and it means I know they've all had something, so you're not worrying about "oh, if that person had something this morning, are they going to have to wait till half past twelve, one o'clock to get their lunch."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

*"So that at least they'll get fed twice before they come home, which is good, especially for families that are worrying about putting food on the table and stuff."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

*"If they've not had breakfast. But that's obviously not a problem now."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

*"Some may come in with hungry bellies, but then they get their breakfast."*

(BfA Support Staff)

*"Obviously, it's giving food to the young ones that come in and may be hungry in the morning, maybe never got to start the day off well."*

(Catering Staff)

### 7.6.4c – Wider impacts

It could be argued that in-school breakfast provision promotes health and wellbeing by alleviating the stress of caregivers and children (e.g., caregivers' stress is alleviated because they are secure in the knowledge that their children are being fed, and children are not anxiously awaiting lunch).

*"We're starting from the very first- food in their bellies, there's support in the classroom, there's support in the playground, you know. Happy faces going out the door back to mum at night. I think we're doing a whole lot here to help that."*

(BfA Support Staff)

*"I think it probably brings a lot of comfort to parents as well knowing that their kids are going to get fed."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

Teachers have concerns about the children leaving their primary school and going on to secondary school education where universal breakfast may not be available. These concerns include fears that a hungry child might resort to measures such as shoplifting.

*"And I think if you have a child doing that in P7, the real concern is that they're gonna go up to high school, they're gonna go to Asda for their lunch and they're gonna shoplift."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

The impact on wider society relating to the breakfast cart is portrayed in the interviews with the primary school staff; they feel a sense of relief knowing that children are supported through the day and going home with food in their stomachs, therefore relieving some pressure from parents. The staff realise the importance of breakfast and how it impacts the child not just at school but at home too and are happy to contribute to the project to ensure that it is sustained in the longer-term.

## 7.7 – Target group

Particularly in times of resource pressures, questions are raised at whether social provisions should be universal or targeted. We asked parents, *"Who do you think should get breakfast at school?* Parents were invited to identify each of the four fixed response options that related to them and were offered the opportunity of identifying an 'Other' response (Figure 7.6).

**Figure 7.6:  Parents' opinion on entitlement to *Breakfast for All***
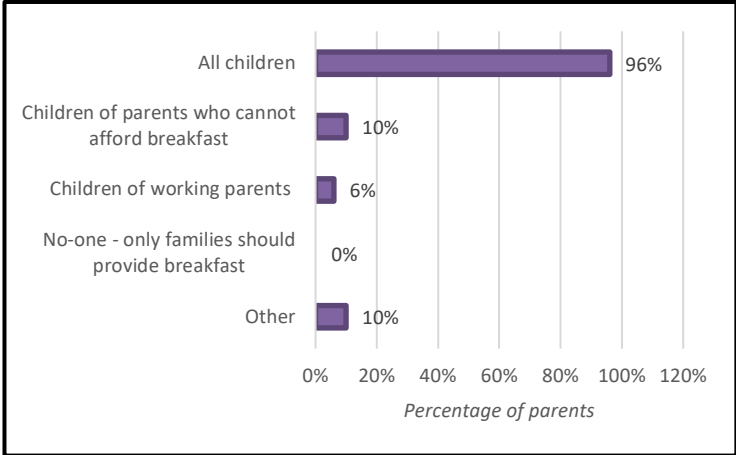


**Notes**: Multiple responses were possible.
**Cases:** 71

Parents were strongly of the opinion that *Breakfast for All* should be offered to all children: only a small minority of parents opined that provision should be limited to specific groups of children (Figure 7.6).

> *"With the school providing breakfast at least you know every child can have it instead of going hungry."*
>
> (Parent of P4 boy, from less deprived area)

> *"Really happy that they are able to do this. No one feels stigmatised."*
>
> (Parent of P1 boy, from less deprived area)

> *"Whilst our children enjoy it, we have mixed opinions as we feel our children being given breakfast may deprive others who need it far more."*
>
> (Parent of P7 boy, from less deprived area)

## 7.8 – Awareness

### 7.8.1 – Introduction

Ultimately, the success of an initiative depends on what it delivers. However, raising awareness of provision can be an important means to gain support among users and the wider community. We canvassed parents (7.8.2) and teachers (7.8.3) experiences.

### 7.8.2 – Parents' experience

We opened the parent survey by asking, *"When did you first hear about the school providing breakfast in class?"*, offering five positive options and a don't know option (Figure 7.7). Most parents reported not being aware of the provision in the last school year when it was first introduced (61%), with a minority of parents reporting that they only became aware of the provision on account of being asked to complete the survey (6%).

**Figure 7.7: Initial Awareness of *Breakfast for All?***
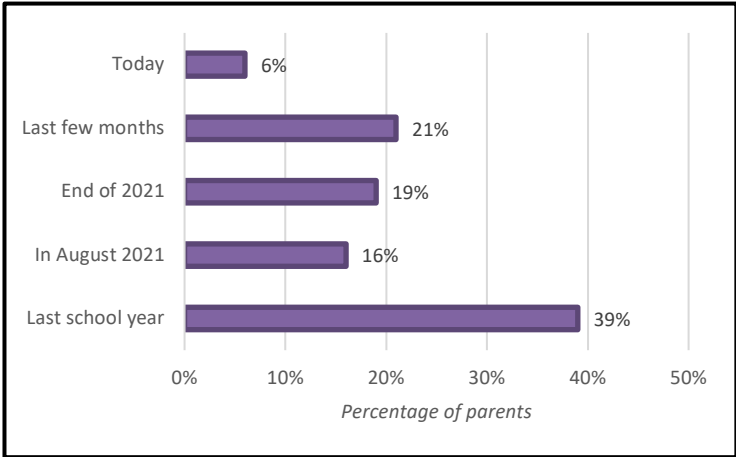


**Notes**: One parent indicated that they did not know
**Cases:** 70

We also asked parents, *"Where have you heard about the school providing breakfast in class?* Parents were invited to identify each of the six fixed response options that related to them and were offered the opportunity of identifying an 'Other' response (Figure 7.8).

**Figure 7.8: Sources of information of *Breakfast for All***
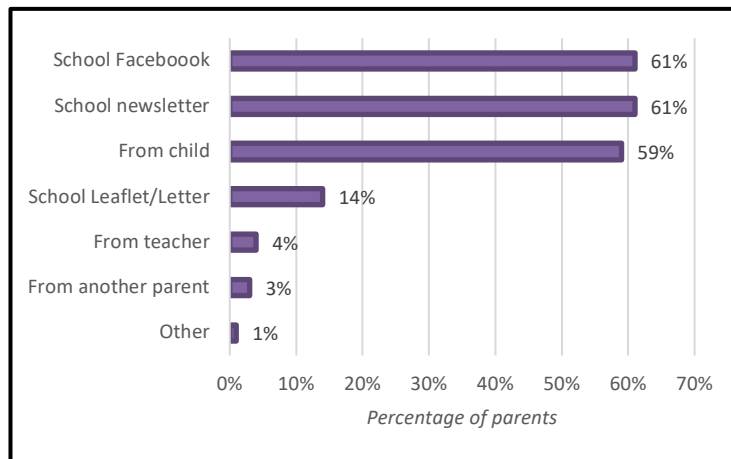


Notes: Multiple responses were possible.
**Cases:** 71

School social media, school newsletters and their own child were reported as the main sources of information about *Breakfast for All*, each being reported as a source by three-fifths of parents (Figure 7.8).

There was no significant social patterning, although with a small sample size it might be worth examining whether slight (non-significant) differences are of greater substance, e.g., children who are entitled to FSMs or SCGs being less prominent as a source of information, parents from more deprived neighbourhoods being more likely to use Facebook as a source of information, and parents whose child has English as a second language being less likely to source information from school newsletters.

### 7.8.3 – Teachers' initial response and awareness

We asked class teachers, catering staff and *Breakfast for All* support staff, *"What were your initial thoughts when you first heard about the breakfast tray programme? "*Staff have noted there was some discussion made beforehand as to what the initiative is, and why they are doing it. However, there was no significant briefing beforehand for staff to outline the aims of the project, with staff mentioning there was an email or text sent out with a meeting scheduled after the initiative had started.

> *"I think we found out in a staff meeting, I can't remember when, it has been running for a while now."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"I think that is an email or text, 'by the way, there's going to be toast or something…It was sort of explained in a meeting quite a while after it started explaining why in blah blah blah and you guys were going to be coming."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

There were many positive initial responses from teachers to the introduction of the Breakfast Trays.

> *"When we were first told about it, I thought it was positive."*
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"I thought it was great."*
> (BfA Support Staff)

> *"Absolutely fantastic. I love it."*
> (BfA Support Staff)

Many of the teachers interviewed noted the importance of the breakfast tray for social, educational and health reasons. The teachers valued the importance of *Breakfast for All* for those children they knew were not consuming breakfast prior to attending school.

> *"Personally, I thought it could only be a <u>good</u> thing because obviously we knew that there were children coming in without having had breakfast, and that would be, you know, they wouldn't be able to focus until, you know, they had something inside them."*
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"Everyone knows that kids out there are needing it so ..."*
> (BfA Support Staff)

> *"Yeah, I was positive, because I knew the benefits from Nurture, and sometimes a child in a classroom, a regular classroom, didn't have any [breakfast] and they would come down to Nurture for some."*
> (Teacher, lower/middle years of school)

Whilst there was evidence to demonstrate that many teachers believed that the Initiative would be positive, there was also some apprehension at the beginning. These concerns were mainly regarding the organisation, funding and cleaning up aspects of the breakfast trays.

> *"I suppose initial maybe concerns would be as to how that would be <u>organised,</u> but, you know, you quickly get into a routine."*
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"My initial thoughts? I just wondering how we're going to organize it and fund it; I wasn't sure what that was going to look like."*
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"Rules that if any crumbs are left and stuff, then need to tidy it up so it's, it's not even just eating the toast."*
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

Whilst most staff had a positive response, there was still a level of apprehension at the initial stages.

## 7.9 – Management and development of the intervention

We asked class teachers, catering staff and *Breakfast for All* support staff*, "*(i) *Based on experience what advice would you offer to primary schools on the provision of breakfast food? (ii) "Do you have any additional thoughts about breakfast food in schools that you would like to share?"* and (iii) *"To what extent have you discussed the breakfast tray intervention with other staff?"*

We also asked class teachers*, "How do you manage the tray in your classroom?",* we asked *Breakfast for All* staff, *"How do you manage the preparation of food "*and we asked catering staff*, "How do you think the provision of breakfast food should be managed and prepared?"*

### *7.9.1 - Early system: staff preparing toast*

An area that was mentioned during the interviews was the previous system of preparing food for the breakfast tray. It was highlighted that previously a rota system was used, and that teachers would volunteer to assist in preparing food, with staff feeling positive about the impact.

> *"We just got asked as staff would you be willing to come in and we'll do a rota, so you know one morning a week."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"Initially when we started it last year – kind of trialling it – the teachers all volunteered, we all took a turn each day, so we went down and helped."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"… because we wanted to do it, we knew it would be a positive thing, as a team."*
>
> (Teacher, lower/middle years of school)

Changes have been made to the staff preparing the food and now there are designated, and paid, staff which is welcomed by teaching staff.

> *"And that was fine, but now we have consistent staff doing it. So, they're there, they're paid to be there, and they know what they're doing. They have it all ready, and it kind of runs really smoothly."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"… now it's you know; we've got designated people who will do that, and you don't have to worry about that."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

It is implied that the previous system was working but having a designated team in charge of preparing food for the breakfast tray is more efficient, freeing up teaching staff to focus on the classroom.

### 7.9.2 – System Change

Many of the staff highlighted that they had changed the way the breakfast tray was managed in their class. The significance of removing pressure or stigma for pupils using the tray was emphasised and that having an approach where pupils can help themselves minimised this.

> *"At first, I would've went (sic) round and said who wants seconds, who wants seconds. And that's when I stopped saying that cause, yeah it puts pressure on people. So, I was like no I am not going to monitor or say numbers to anyone, it's just everybody gets first helping and then it's just pick themselves."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

Having an efficient routine with breakfast trays was established over time. It was suggested that this is beneficial as it is more sustainable and does not take up as much time that would be used for learning.

> *"So, they have their plates for their toast, and they have their cups if they wanted a drink of water. Then the children would take it in turns, and we'd wash the dishes and dry them. We did this for quite a while, but it was starting to get quite time-consuming, so what we do now is I have a pile of napkins on the table and if they would like toast or fruit, they'll come and take a napkin when they come in and then they just put it at their table."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

One of the challenges of the breakfast trays was that the food was not always what they liked or preferred. Through experience and making changes, food waste was also reduced.

> *"At the moment, we're only doing the apples and the grapes. When the trays come back, still with it on it, we stop doing it. So, apples and grapes are their favourite."*
>
> (BfA Support Staff)

> *"… even with the toast-we're giving them quite a lot of toast and there was a lot coming back- 'okay we'll reduce it'. So, we've got it at a good amount now. Virtually nothing comes back."*
>
> (BfA Support Staff)

There is a sense that there is now less discussion about the operations of *Breakfast for All*, although the canteen staff remain uninformed about its work.

> *"We've all said in staff room, it's made such a difference like it's a happier morning and they're happier to have their toast, having breakfast and then get started."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"This year we've not talked about it so much, other than, you know, little side comments about "in my class we finish our tray every day" or "oh no I've got lots left in my class" or … you know just little side things like that. Because every class I've been in – I've been in a couple of classes – they kind of do it a little bit different and eat more or less depending which class they're in."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

*"Not a great deal, just maybe in the passing, but we've not sat down as a staff … Not really, maybe, you know, initially just to get ideas and feedback as to how it should, could be run better … but nothing really, you know?"*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

*"I don't know anything about it."*

(Catering Staff)

### 7.9.3 – Current Systems of Management

Across all the interviews with primary teachers, the breakfast tray programme at Cauldeen was implemented in a similar way however the older children were encouraged to take a bit more responsibility with the organisation of the tray in their classrooms.

*"So, each morning someone will be in charge of handing the paper towels out…they just kinda do it of their own free will."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"They give out paper towels and then he just kind of goes round and offers to whoever wants."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

The responses demonstrated that the breakfast tray initiative encouraged the pupils to develop important life skills, such as organising and cleaning up after themselves, and encouraging independence, as the children oversee handing out food from the tray.

*"… to get a little bit of life skills out of it."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

Many of the classes would also put the trays to one side, so that children could come and help themselves as the morning activities progressed.

*"We then leave the trays on the side area in the kitchen and the children go and help themselves."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

*"They'll come and pick at it throughout the day."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

The breakfast tray programme allowed for children to 'ease' into their day and allowed for tasks such as completing the register and children choosing what they'd like for lunch.

*"… get a bit of toast, take all the chairs down. Sit on the carpet, have a chit chat. I do the lunch, the register, with their one bit of toast."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

*"The whole school has a soft start, they come in and choose their lunch, the tray is there so they can actually choose activities around the classroom…we put the tray at this table, and they come and help themselves."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, lower end of school)</div>

It is suggested here that the breakfast tray allows children the chance to socialise with their peers, which can be beneficial alongside combating morning hunger. Also, allowing children to help themselves to toast as they do their morning activities could help in diminishing stigma of using the tray, as it is available to all the children.

*"But we don't want to put emphasis on who's eating, who's not eating so I like them to move about and have it on the move. As long as they're eating it, I don't care."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, lower end of school)</div>

The breakfast tray also accounted for pupils with allergies, highlighting the importance of ensuring all children have accessibility to the tray.

*"I know certain kids have got allergies and have got to count for that. And so, they just have a wee bit separate wrapped up in a paper towel."*

<div align="right">(Teacher, lower end of school).</div>

*"Dairy free, yeah. We adapt to what the classroom wants. This is why now we have the class numbers on the trays. They've got separate orders."*

<div align="right">(Interview with Pupil Support Staff who prepare toast)</div>

On the other hand, one parent reported that their child was poorly served through *Breakfast for All.*

*"Put on tables, then children take in turns to go out. First 2 tables take best items, so my son doesn't have any. … Never have it. Left with leftovers. Not nice. Not allowed to speak with friends. Made to do work whilst eating it, puts him off."*

<div align="right">(Parent of P6 boy)</div>

## 7.10 – Drain on learning time and imposition on the learning environment?

Previous research has suggested that when faced with the prospects of introducing breakfast in the classroom some teachers were concerned that it would be disruptive, taking learning time out of an already time-pressed day, and creating work for teachers in dealing with the cleaning up associated with it.  On the contrary, teachers at Cauldeen praised *Breakfast for All* for being less disruptive than the more informal provision that it replaced.

> *"It's quite funny you mention it because you don't think about that now they all get it, whereas before and again that's quite disruptive if you've got kids going in and out, whereas at least just know we have that allocated time in the morning, … it's not disruptive because they all do it, you know. They finish their toast they move on."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"It wouldn't be as many children, but it takes a lot of time out of a lot of people's day to kind of go and just do "Oh just do that one child "or "Oh there's two here just need toast."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"I think it's had a positive effect. I think it's quite a nice way for them to come in and settle down and have it. I do think it has stopped the children who are coming in hungry. They know that they're always going to get something, and they don't need to ask and be kind of embarrassed about asking. … and it means I know they've all had something, so you're not worrying about "oh, if that person had something this morning, are they going to have to wait till half past twelve, one o'clock to get their lunch? "And so, everyone is settled - they do, the come in and they get straight on with their tasks, and I think that has a lot to do with having food in the bellies first thing in the morning. They've got the energy to keep going."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"They ease into the day, because we do have a number of children in my class, that come in a bit late, just because maybe the families can't get their morning organised or… We try to diffuse any stressful situation, you know, they come in and there is no "where have you been?" … there is none of that. They just come in, and they slide in, and they know they're not going to be in trouble, they know they're going to get something to eat. You know, so, it is quite normal for my class, there are maybe about four, that come in after nine. So, … that is just the way my class is."*
>
> (Teacher, lower/middle years of school)

Not only was it not negative (not disruptive), but many staff also referred to positive benefits that accompanied *Breakfast for All (*for example*,* improved class ambience).

> *"I just thing the mornings are so much nicer so much smoother, there's less children coming in in a bad mood now. You know a lot of the time they were quite sluggish and a bit reluctant to learn and don't get me wrong Monday mornings are a bit like oh we're here it was the weekend you know, but on the whole they're so positive about coming into school."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

*"It makes it more of a relaxed start as well. Sitting, eating in the classroom is something that's not a norm so it does just make the classroom more kind of friendly, homelike."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

*"I think it's quite a sociable start."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

*"Like it's just such a warm environment it means I'm getting to sit and have breakfast with my class … (it's like) Breakfast with my family. And so, it's like I'm having it with my class family, so it's... it's just lovely. I chatted about what I did at the weekend."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

Others noted that the children were being productive when they were eating their food, or that there were wider benefits that accrued by giving up some learning time.

*"Sometimes they've been eating their toast for 20 minutes so rather than wasting that (sic) 20 minutes, we're waiting for our Chromebook to load up and to log on while we're munching away on something."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"While they're having their toast, I'll just do the dinners and by the time that is over, then we're ready to go on with our learning."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

*"It then allows myself (sic) and [assistant] to get a couple of jobs done and then we'll go round and be like how are you today you know and do like a bit of a check in with them as well … It's lovely to see them interact in the morning and like I say, it gives me the chance to come speak to them rather than just sort of right boom were in school now, we're learning."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"It's okay to give up that (sic) 15 minutes of a very packed day and not have to start straight away - "Right, we're doing maths, "you know, straight in with your lesson. That little chunk of time at the beginning - it has so many benefits that it's not a wasted 15 minutes."*

(Teacher, upper end of school)

*"I don't have so many complaints, like when is break time, I'm hungry, they are not so desperate for their breaks, especially the little ones, because they are only primary two's my lot. They are concentrating and they are not wanting their break, it only takes a little bit of time in the morning for them to come and have their toast or fruit, or whatever they choose, and you get a good run of time where they don't say I'm hungry."*

(Teacher, lower end of school)

*"[you'll just] sit around and the teacher takes the register, and they just sit and eat their toast [(chat away)] and it's just a really nice and calm way to start their day…. [you'll just] sit around and the teacher takes the register, and they just sit and eat their toast [(chat away)] and it's just a really nice and calm way to start their day."*

(BfA Support Staff)

## 7.11 – Future of provision

### 7.11.1 – Parents' opinion

We asked parents whether they agreed with the statement, *"Cauldeen Primary School should continue to provide breakfast in class"*, offering five positive options and a don't know option (Figure 7.9).

**Figure 7.9: Parents' opinions on whether *Breakfast for All* provision should continue**
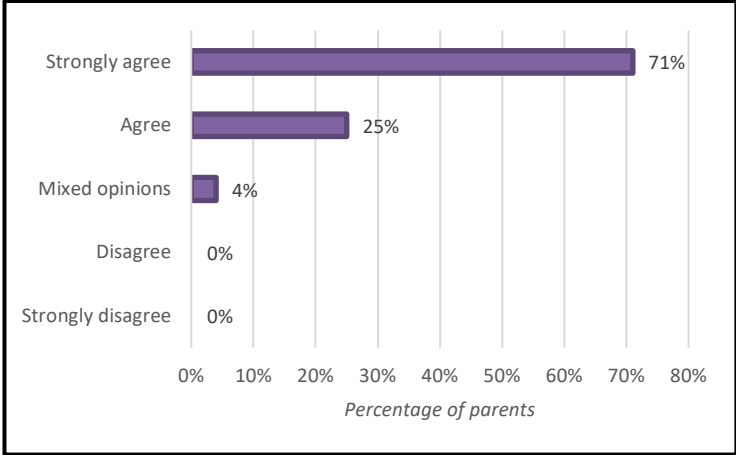


**Notes**: Two parents indicated that they did not know
**Cases:** 69

Most parents agreed that *Breakfast for All* provision should be continued, with almost three-quarters expressing strong support (71% in Figure 7.9).

Interestingly, the strongest support from caregivers came neither from the parents living in the Most or Least Deprived Areas (in which 68% and 67%, respectively strongly agreed. Although not statistically significant, it may be worth further examining of the reasons underpinning strength of support with 91% (ten out of eleven) of parents outside these areas offering strong support for continuing with *Breakfast for All*.

In contrast, parents whose children were entitled to FSMs or SCGs were more likely to strongly agree (90%, compared to 68%), although again this difference falls somewhat short of being statistically significant and should be interpreted with caution. On the margins of significance, was the finding that parents of children with an ASN were more likely to be strongly supportive (86%, compared to 65% of parents whose children did not have an ASN).[64]

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[64] Pearson Chi-square = 3.169, with one degree of freedom, and no cells with an Expected frequency of less than five. Significant at the 90% confidence level (0.075).

### 7.11.2 – Staff opinion

We asked class teachers, catering staff and *Breakfast for All* support staff, **"***"Thinking hypothetically, what impact – if at all – do you think the withdrawal of the breakfast tray would have in Cauldeen Primary School?"*

Without exception, staff considered that any future withdrawal of provision would be a regressive step.  Opinion was stronger than offering a lament for a provision that would be lost (first extract). It was noted that provision was meeting a need (second and third extracts) and that to withdraw provision would be unjust.  There was also a recognition that the learning environment would be impaired, on account of children being underfed (extract four) or losing opportunities for social interaction (extracts five and six).  Were provision to be lost, then it was considered that there would be a return to informal provision by staff (extract seven) and the return of a concern for staff about how to feed children who come to school without breakfast (final extract).

> *"↑I don't think that would be fair↑! … Yeah, I think that would be a bit <u>mean</u> now. … I think they would miss it for sure."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"I think once you have started you couldn't really go back especially in an area like ours."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"You can't just … start … giving them health support and food to everyone one day and then 'No, sorry it's gone'."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"I think there would be some very tired and grumpy angry children, especially in the morning, and that carries them through all, the way till lunch as some of their parents have forgotten their snack. So, they're coming in at nine and he didn't have a meal till 12."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"Losing that practice almost like social skills they do. social independence and yeah, sharing."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"I think we would be sad because it is very much routine. I think the children would miss it."*
>
> (Teacher, lower/middle years of school)

> *"I think it would be a big shame to lose it. I think we'd end up going back to what happened previously with teachers having to supply their own stuff."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"I don't even want to think about it really, but basically, we would go back to those children who hadn't had breakfast and then we would need to worry about getting them something to eat and have other sources of food."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

Staff were also asked for their thoughts on what advice they would pass on to others in schools that might be considering introducing a breakfast provision. Other schools were implored to consider introducing provision. Some challenges were noted (and points to avoid). Porridge was not favoured, although it was noted that the toast was often cold, this was not considered a problem. Simplicity and flexibility are to be encouraged and morning is the optimal time.

> *"You'll see so many benefits of it, it's again a tool you can use to increase independence and actually bring a little bit of nurture into your classroom. So really, if you've got the chance to do it, go for it. I couldn't recommend it more and if it comes down to a cost thing, it's one hundred percent worth investing in."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"Just ↑go for it↑, and, you know, think of the <u>benefits</u> (see that they're) children. Uhm, and to the, hopefully, <u>focus</u> of some of the children who come into school without breakfast and the fact that there's, you know, no stigma because it's for everybody."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"Other than the fact that obviously the toast is made quite early and it's coming up on plastic trays so it's not – you know it's fairly cold by the time the children are getting it, which doesn't seem to bother them."*
>
> (Teacher, upper end of school)

> *"It's trying to get it (porridge) to them before it gets cold, it'll become chewy when it's cold."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"The porridge, I would say, don't do it. Cause it's a bit of a hassle (to eat) well- and I think."*
>
> (BfA Support Staff)

> *"… a couple of slices marmalade, a couple of slices of jam. It just gets too confusing and then that would just take up too much of your day. Whereas you want it to be something nice, quick, easy, and relaxed. so not to, definitely have simplified options not to overcomplicate it."*
>
> (Teacher, middle years of school)

> *"Probably wouldn't work well to have it too strict, like one piece of toast for everybody, because there are children who don't want it, there a fussy ones who would never touch anything and it's not been cooked by their mum, and then there are one who would always want four or five pieces, so I think to have it quite flexible and not impose it on anybody, just offer it to everyone, so they don't feel like, well if I have four, well it's like a free, obviously with a bit of control, they don't take ten pieces, I say "one at a time, if you want another one come back for more", have a little bit of control but quite open, open and flexible."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

> *"In the morning is the best time for it. Yep, in the afternoon it was almost a disruption in my previous placement school, it's almost a disruption, and if it was late and then."*
>
> (Teacher, lower end of school)

## 7.12 – Conclusion

Support for *Breakfast for All* is strong, with testimony almost overwhelmingly positive.  The objective data also provides an evidence base to continue support, although it is important not to overstate the reach of impact, as some issues appear untouched by the provision, and not all problems can be solved by it.  Nevertheless, on balance, there is strong support for continuing with this investment from both parents and staff, and much evidence of children availing themselves of food on a regular basis.

# 8. What Next? Some Concluding Thoughts

*"Children concentrate far more with a full tummy of food so I think this is a fantastic idea and should be a thing in every primary school. It ensures that no child goes hungry and not dependent on their home life situation at that time what they receive for meals."*

(Parent of P6 boy, from less deprived area)

*"… having a full belly allows the children to concentrate better, grow and help them academically too as we all know how we feel when hungry 'hanger' fatigued, restless, can't concentrate. Cauldeen Primary is doing a great job! I hope it continues."*

(Parent of P3 boy, from area that it is not deprived or affluent)

*"… most of them will tell me or they will say that there was nothing in the house for their play piece. It's more for break time, like they will say I've got nothing for break time and that's when all their other friends are getting their snacks out of their bags and that's when I suppose when people would notice. Nobody would notice if you didn't eat breakfast."*

(Teacher, middle years of school)

## 8.1 – Overview

In conclusion, we summarise the key findings in terms of what we knew (8.2) and what we now know better (8.3): we conclude with some recommendations for action (8.4).

## 8.2 - What did we know at the outset?

Although both applied and academic research-based knowledge on breakfast provision in Scottish schools is under-developed, the knowledge base has accumulated through time.

### 8.2.1 - What did we know from previous research about children and breakfast eating at the outset?

- *Positive outcomes*. Research suggests that regular (and nutritious) breakfast eating is associated with positive health and supports cognitive functioning.

- *Most children eat breakfast*. Although a substantial minority of children skip breakfast regularly, and although a very small minority consume crisps and chocolate at breakfast, most primary-school aged children are known to consume a regular breakfast, typically comprising cereal and/or toast.

- **An extra-familial experience**. Eating breakfast outside of the home on school days is commonplace, particularly among older children; in some schools, this is facilitated by in-school provision of breakfast clubs.

- **Variation by age, gender, and socio-economic status**. Older children are more likely to skip breakfast, as are girls relative to boys, and those less affluent backgrounds.

### 8.2.2 - What did we know about breakfast provision in schools at the outset?

- **Grab-N-Go.** Grab-N-Go provision describes a situation when school children help themselves to food without making payment. It is more commonplace in North America.

- **Breakfast Clubs**. Many schools in Scotland offer breakfast clubs, with universal provision being provided in some local authorities (e.g., North Lanarkshire).

- **Nutritional standards**. Breakfast clubs in Scotland must provide food that meets the nutritional standards approved by Scottish Government.

- **Positive impact of school-based provision for those who present**. Research evidence suggests that in-school provision can increase the number of children eating breakfast, improve nutritional standards, and benefit children from low-income families.

- **Provision does not assure presentation.** Uptake of free breakfasts in school is lower than uptake of free school lunches.

- **Presentation does not assure consumption.** Some research evidence points to high levels of food wastage.

- **Teacher concern.** Some research evidence highlights teacher concerns at unintended consequences of providing breakfast food in classrooms (e.g., increased administration and additional cleaning).

## 8.3 - What do we now know better?

### 8.3.1 - How do staff understand their school?

- **A nurturing community.** Classroom-based staff emphasised their responsibilities in supporting the social and emotional development of children at Cauldeen Primary School, viewing their role as being one that is responsive to the needs of the wider community/locality.

- **Poverty and the problems it presents.** Cauldeen is aware of the challenging circumstances many of its families encounter and have introduced a range of provisions to assist families. Teachers acknowledged many ways in which poverty was impacting on the ability of children to engage and flourish in education, and the challenges it presents to classroom-based staff.

- **Responsibility to tackle poverty in schools.** Staff viewed tackling poverty as a responsibility of the school, primarily to promote equity in education and to enable children to realise their potential.

- *Universal provision as dignified provision.* Staff viewed the universal and free provision of *Breakfast for All* as being a means to avoid singling out those pupils who needed the provision.

### 8.3.2 - What did we find out about breakfast eating and breakfast eating habits among children from Cauldeen Primary School?

- *Informal provision by teachers.* Many staff gave many examples of providing breakfast on an informal basis to children, prior to the introduction of *Breakfast for All*.

- *Breakfast matters.* All parents thought that eating breakfast was important, with more than two-thirds describing it as "the most important meal of the day". On the other hand, most parents whose children were entitled to free school meals did not think that breakfast was the "most important" meal.

- *Mainly at home, often at school.* Two-thirds of parents reported that their child ate breakfast at home 'every school day' (although approaching one-in-five noted that their child ate breakfast at home at most only on 'some school days'). Two-thirds of parents reported that their child ate breakfast in school on most days of the school week.

- *Low levels of home breakfast eating among pupils entitled to free school meals.* Of the small number of parents whose children are entitled to FSM to respond, only one-quarter reported that their child ate breakfast at home every day of the school week. In contrast, most of these parents reported that their child ate breakfast in school every day of the school week.

- *Breakfast skipping.* Three-quarters of children reported that there was an occasion when they skipped breakfast on a school day, with almost twice as many pupils from the least deprived areas reporting that they had never skipped breakfast.

- *'Not enough time' and 'not feeling hungry'.* The two main reasons children provided for skipping breakfast were shared by just more than one-half, and just less than one-half of pupils, respectively.

- *Toast and/or cereal; milk, water, and/or juice.* Both parents and children reported similar breakfast food and drinks were consumed in the morning before school. One-half of parents reported that their child typically consumed a 'larger' breakfast, e.g., toast and cereal.

### 8.3.3 - What was the uptake of Breakfast for All in Cauldeen Primary School?

- *Over 20,000 feeds.* Over the course of the 2021/22 school year, it is estimated that there were 21,799 presentations for food in Cauldeen Primary School, including 9,146 examples when multiple portions or food types were consumed.

- *Feeding three-fifths of pupils on a typical school day.* The observations suggested that 57% of pupils consumed *Breakfast for All* food on a typical school day*.* Almost one-half of pupils ate toast and almost one-quarter of pupils ate fruit.

- *Pupils' perception.* Two-thirds of children perceived that they 'sometimes' ate *Breakfast for All* food, with one-quarter reporting "always" and almost one-fifth reporting "never ever".

- **Wide range of pupil experiences.** Observation suggests that there is no dominant experience among pupils.  For example, almost one-fifth were observed eating on every day in attendance, almost one-quarter on all but one day, one in ten on half of the days they were in attendance, and almost one in ten did not eat at all.

- **Low proportion of pupils consuming a high volume of food.** Observation suggests that very few pupils were eating a large volume of food during *Breakfast for All*.

- **Toast then fruit.** Observation suggests that very few pupils were eating a large volume of food during *Breakfast for All*.

- **Variations across classes.** There were significant differences in uptake of *Breakfast for All* across classes, with the proportion of pupils in a class eating every day ranging from 4% to 48%.

- **Teacher perception.** Teachers tended to perceive a higher uptake of *Breakfast for All* than the systematic observations suggested.


### 8.3.4 - What was the impact of Breakfast for All?

- **Feeding the 10%.** Evidence from children suggest that 10% of pupils are eating with *Breakfast for All* who would not otherwise have had breakfast before school.

- **Not changing breakfast eating at home.** In most cases, parents report that *Breakfast for All* has not changed patterns of eating breakfast at home before the start of the school day.

- **Reaching disadvantaged pupils.** There is a range of evidence that suggests that *Breakfast for All* is reaching pupils from families encountering socio-economic disadvantage or is reaching these pupils at a higher rate than those from less disadvantaged backgrounds.

- **Attendance.** There is no objective evidence to suggest that *Breakfast for All* impacts positively on attendance: however, testimony from teachers suggests that it is impactful for a more limited number of children, and that it is also eases the transition to the school day (making attendance less daunting for some children).

- **A good thing – even if not for my child.** The most common advantage that was acknowledged by parents was that *Breakfast for All*, 'was a good thing for other children, making Cauldeen a better school' – more than three-fifths of parents held this opinion.

- **Positive impact on children and for the school.** Classroom staff cited many examples of how *Breakfast for All* was benefitting children in class.

- **Removing stigma while tackling hunger.** Classroom staff opined that the way in which *Breakfast for All* tackles hunger is non-stigmatising.

- **An effective start to the school day.** One of the most telling conclusions is that far from being a disruption to learning, or distraction from it, the experience of teachers was that *Breakfast for All* is an efficient way of dealing with a problem that presents in school and does so in a way that enables children to engage more effectively in learning.

## 8.3 - What needs to happen now?

Here, we suggest some actions for Cauldeen Primary School based on the evidence from across the school community.

- *Keeping it and keeping it universal and free.* Both staff and parents feel strongly that *Breakfast for All* should continue in its current form in *Cauldeen Primary School*. Given the strong support from across the school community, and the evidence of positive impact, there are strong grounds for continuing with this investment.

- *Catering staff involvement in food issues and school well-being agendas.* Breakfast provision is food provision. Consideration might be given to ways in which the current professional catering staff might be included in *Breakfast for All*. This could heighten the role of school food in wider work to bolster well- being.

- *Impact analysis of a changing school composition.* Staff referred to the opening of a new primary school that would make the composition of the school less diverse. This diversity had been acknowledged as a strength and there is some evidence of informal resource transfer within the existing Cauldeen community. The implications of a less diverse population on the viability of future work to tackle poverty in Cauldeen should be appraised.

- *Snack time focus.* Not all children come to school with a morning snack, with teachers noting that they were providing this informally. Consideration might be given as to whether this is also a food equity issue that would benefit from a more formal intervention.

- *Sharing practice.* The approach taken to allow teachers to fashion a delivery that meets their needs is empowering. However, it is important to reflect on evidence and alternative practice. The reasons why some classes have much higher levels of uptake than others should be discussed and – if necessary – lessons learned among the teaching staff.

# Annex 1 – *Field Observation Schedule*

| Class |  |
|---|---|
| Observer |  |
| Date |  |

| Pupil Name | In attendance | Toast received | Toast consumed | Fruit received | Fruit consumed |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Add names in advance (assumes you know pupils' names) | Default is yes.<br><br>Leave blank if in attendance.<br><br>Add x if not in attendance | Default is yes.<br><br>Leave blank if they take one piece of toast.<br><br>Add x if they do not take toast<br><br>Add number if they take more than one piece of toast | Default is consumed.<br><br>Leave blank if they eat the toast.<br><br>Add x if they do not finish the toast that they take | Default is no.<br><br>Leave blank if they do not take fruit<br><br>Add Y (for yes) if they do take fruit. | Default is consumed.<br><br>Leave blank if they eat the fruit<br><br>Add x if they do not finish the toast that they take |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

# Your Spoken Introduction to the Class

Hello everyone! My name is, this is **XXX** and this is <u>YYY</u> and we are from Glasgow Caledonian University – a place where some people go to study after finishing secondary school.

We are visiting today to ask for your help!

We would like to know what children from Cauldeen Primary School have for breakfast. We're really interested in what you have to say.

We are going to read out a few questions and then ask you to write your answer on your piece of paper (wave in the air).

Don't worry about your writing or spelling. You don't need to answer every question, but we hope that you do. Try to answer as many questions as you can.

Also, there are no right or wrong answers – we would like to find out what you do and what you think.

You can put your hand up in the air at any time if you want to ask a question or need any help.

# General Advice

*After reading out every question, give the instruction/s on how to answer, e.g. for Q1. Tick the box beside yes if you had breakfast. Tick the box beside no if you didn't. This is particularly important for the image boxes (see Q2 below)*

*Then check that everyone (who wants to answer the question) has answered before moving on to the next question.*

*For the early years of primary school, the pupils will need help writing the answers to Name, Q3 and Q8. One researcher will be positioned at each table to help children write their answers to these questions.*

# Variations

*We can discuss the extent (and ways) in which the wording might be altered to best fit the age group.*

*For younger age groups, there will be an interviewer positioned at each table to assist, as necessary.*

# The Questions to Read Out

**1. Did you have something to eat for breakfast this morning?**

- *Make sure to put a tick or a cross in the 'yes' or 'no' box.*

**2. if you had breakfast, where did you eat breakfast this morning?** *You can tick more than one box if you had breakfast in your house or has something to eat on the way to school and then had some toast or fruit at school*

- *It might be really useful to clarify that "on the way to school" might include while travelling (walking/in car), at a friend's house, buying it from a shop, etc.*
- *Talk through the options, asking for a cross or tick*
- *Advise that if they didn't have breakfast, they should not tick any of the boxes*

**3a. What did you eat for breakfast this morning?**

**3b. What did you drink with breakfast this morning?**

**4. Have you ever come to school without having had a breakfast on a school day?**

- *Make sure to put a tick or a cross in the 'yes' or 'no' box.*

**5. If you sometimes don't eat breakfast, which of these reasons best explain why you didn't eat it?**

- *Talk through the options, asking for a cross or tick*

**6. How many days each week do you eat breakfast in class?**

- *Talk through the options, asking for a cross or tick*

**7a. What is your favourite thing to eat for breakfast?**

**7b. What is your favourite thing to drink at breakfast time?**

- *It might be really useful to clarify that there is space for food and space for drink*

**8. Last question, what do you think is the most important thing about having breakfast?**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **My first name** | | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| **My last name** | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1.** | | **YES** | ☐ | | **NO** | ☐ |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **2.** | **At home** | ☐ | **On way to school** | ☐ | **At school** | ☐ |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **3a** | **What did you eat?** | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **3b** | **What did you drink?** | | |

| 4. | | YES ☐ | | NO ☐ |
|----|--|--------|--|-------|

| 5. |  **Not enough time** | ☐ |  **Did not like anything** | ☐ |  **Not hungry**  **Anything else** | ☐ ☐ |
|----|--|--|--|--|--|--|

| 6. | **Never Ever** | ☐ | Sometimes | ☐ |  **Always** | ☐ |
|----|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 7a | **Favourite breakfast food** |  | | | | |
| 7b | **Favourite breakfast drink** |  | | | | |
| 8 | **Why breakfast is important** | IMPORTANT | | | | |
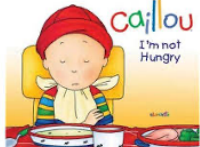
# PRIZE DRAW

For parents who complete the Breakfast
Survey for Cauldeen Primary School

SPIRU
SCOTTISH POVERTY & INEQUALITY
RESEARCH UNIT

## Prize Draw

Every survey completed by Friday 20th May will be entered in the prize draw. Three prizes will be drawn at random, with a £50 voucher for 1st place, a £30 voucher for 2nd place and a £20 voucher for 3rd place. The draw will be made on Monday 30th May. Winners will be contacted and asked what type of voucher they would prefer.

## What do I have to do to enter?

Complete the survey and post it to us on or before Friday 20th May, using the stamped addressed envelope provided. The survey can also be completed online using the link that has been shared on Cauldeen's Facebook pages.

## What is the research about?

We are a group of researchers from Glasgow Caledonian University.

We have been asked by Cauldeen Primary School to review their breakfast tray provision.

We want to find out what everyone thinks about it – teachers, pupils, and parents.

There are no right/wrong answers – we are only interested in what you do and what you think.

We only ask for names, so that we link your data to your child/ren's. No names will be mentioned when we write up the results. The only people who will look at this survey are the university researchers.

If you have more than one child, we ask that you complete the survey for your eldest child at Cauldeen Primary School (but feel free to complete one for each of your children if you want!)

The survey should take around 10 minutes to complete.

When you have completed the survey, please place it inside the envelope provided and post it back to us.

We would be grateful as soon as you are able – and by Friday May 20th at the latest.

Do not hesitate to contact me if you need more information.

**Professor John McKendrick / jmke@gcu.ac.uk / 0141 331 8221**

| 1 | When did you first hear about the school providing breakfast in class? *Tick one box* |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | Today |  | Skip Q3 |
|  | Last few months |  | Go to Q2 |
|  | End of 2021 |  | Go to Q2 |
|  | August 2021 |  | Go to Q2 |
|  | Last school year |  | Go to Q2 |
|  | Don't know |  | Go to Q2 |

| 2 | Where have you heard about the school providing breakfast in class? *Tick all that apply to you* |  |
|---|---|---|
|  | School Newsletter |  |
|  | School Facebook |  |
|  | School Leaflet / Letter |  |
|  | From child |  |
|  | From another parent |  |
|  | From teacher |  |
|  | Other (please describe in box below) |  |
|  |  |  |

| 3 | Please add the name of your child that this survey is about in the box below |  |
|---|---|---|
|  | First name |  |
|  | Family name |  |
|  | Class |  |

| 4 | What do you think about breakfast? |  |
|---|---|---|
|  | Most important meal of the day |  |
|  | Just as important as any other meal |  |
|  | A meal that can be skipped |  |

| 5 | How often does your child eat breakfast AT HOME? |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | Every school day |  | Go to Q6 |
|  | Most school days |  | Go to Q6 |
|  | Some schooldays |  | Go to Q6 |
|  | Never |  | Skip Q7 |
|  | Don't know |  | Go to Q6 |

| 6 | What does your child usually have for breakfast AT HOME on school days? *Describe or add 'nothing'* |  |
|---|---|---|
|  | Eat |  |
|  | Drink |  |

| 7 | How often does your child eat breakfast ON THE WAY TO SCHOOL? |  |
|---|---|---|
|  | Every school day |  |
|  | Most school days |  |
|  | Some school days |  |
|  | Never |  |
|  | Don't know |  |

| 8 | How often does your child eat breakfast AT SCHOOL? |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | Every school day |  | Go to Q9 |
|  | Most school days |  | Go to Q9 |
|  | Some schooldays |  | Go to Q9 |
|  | Never |  | Skip Q11 |
|  | Don't know |  | Go to Q9 |

| 9 | What does your child tell you about eating breakfast AT SCHOOL? *Tick all that apply to your child* | |
|---|---|---|
| | Child does not say | |
| | Stops them being hungry | |
| | They like the food | |
| | They like eating with friends | |
| | The teacher encourages it | |
| | Other (please describe in box below) | |
| | | |

| 10 | Since your child started eating breakfast in school, how often does she/he eat breakfast at home? | |
|---|---|---|
| | Less often | |
| | No change | |
| | More often | |
| | Don't know | |

| 11 | Who do you think should get breakfast AT SCHOOL? *Tick all that you think should get breakfast* | |
|---|---|---|
| | No-one – only families should provide breakfast | |
| | Children of parents who cannot afford breakfast | |
| | Children of working parents who are pressed for time | |
| | All children | |
| | Other (please describe in box below) | |
| | | |

| 12 | What are the benefits of the school providing breakfast FOR YOUR FAMILY? *Tick all that apply to you* | |
|---|---|---|
| | No benefits to my family | |
| | Mornings are less stressful | |
| | Have more time in morning | |
| | Stops my child being hungry | |
| | Saves me money | |
| | Child does better at school | |
| | Good for other children, which makes Cauldeen a better school | |
| | Other (please describe in box below) | |
| | | |

| 13 | "Cauldeen Primary School should continue to provide breakfast in class" Do you agree? | |
|---|---|---|
| | Yes, strongly agree | |
| | Yes, agree | |
| | I have mixed opinions | |
| | No, disagree | |
| | No, strongly disagree | |
| | Don't know | |

| 14 | Are you the child's? | |
|---|---|---|
| | Dad / Male carer | |
| | Mum / Female carer | |
| | Other (please describe in box below) | |
| | | |

3

| 15 | **Use the space below to tell us anything else that you think is important about eating breakfast on school days.** |

## Annex 4 – *Teacher Interview Schedule*

*The first group of questions is about your work history*

1.  Can you tell me a bit about your career path to date and your work at Cauldeen Primary School?

*The next group of questions is about your thoughts on primary school education*

2.  What do you feel is the purpose of your job as a *primary school teacher*?

3. {Only *asked if child oriented to Q2*} In your experience, how difficult is this to {insert *goal from Q2*}

*The next group of questions is about children and families in Cauldeen Primary School.*

4.  What do you think are the major challenges that children at Cauldeen Primary School face?

5.  How many children in Cauldeen Primary School do you think are impacted by poverty?
    *   Note: Show showcard 1 and ask them to indicate

6.  In what ways – if at all – does child poverty impact children's experiences at school?

7.  How important is it that schools tackle the consequences of child poverty that impact on schools?
    *   Note: Show showcard 2 and ask them to indicate

8. Why you think it is {add *working from response to showcard 2*} for schools to tackle poverty in schools?

9. {Only *if they state that it is important in Q7*} What can schools do support children who are facing child poverty?

10.  How many children in Cauldeen Primary School do you think have not had a breakfast before arriving at school on a typical day?
    *   Note: Show showcard 1 and ask them to indicate

11.  Have any children in Cauldeen Primary School ever mentioned not having had breakfast before arriving at school?

12.  What were your initial thoughts when you first heard about the breakfast tray programme?

13.  How do you manage the tray in your classroom?

14.  To what extent have you discussed the breakfast tray intervention with other staff?

15.  What impact – if at all – has the breakfast tray had on your class and the children in your class?

16.  Thinking hypothetically, what impact – if at all – do you think the withdrawal of the breakfast tray would have in Cauldeen Primary School?

17.  Based on your experience in Cauldeen Primary School - and any other experience you may have - what advice would you offer to other teachers and other primary schools on the use of breakfast trays?

**Closing question**

18. Do you have any additional thoughts about breakfast trays that you would like to share?

## Annex 5 – *Variants on Teacher Interview Schedule for Other Staff*

### *Variants from Group Interview with Breakfast for All Staff*

1.  Can you tell me a bit about your **work** **history** to date and your work at Cauldeen Primary School?

**2.  What do you think you contribute to Cauldeen Primary School?**

**13.  How do you manage the preparation of food?**

15.  What impact – if at all – has the breakfast tray had on **children in classes you work in?**

### *Variants from Group (Catering Staff)*

1.  Can you tell me a bit about your **work** **history** to date and your work at Cauldeen Primary School?

**2.  What do you think you contribute to Cauldeen Primary School?**

*Q13 is the same as Q14 in the teacher survey*

**14.  How do you think the provision of breakfast food should be managed and prepared?**

15.  What impact – if at all – has the breakfast tray had on **school meals at lunchtime?**

**17.  Based on any other experience you may have - what advice would you offer to primary schools on the provision of breakfast food?**

18. Do you have any additional thoughts about breakfast **food in schools that you would like to share?**

# Annex 6 – *Papers Reviewed in the Rapid Literature Review*

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11. Jose, K., MacDonald, F., Vandenberg, M., Williams, J., Abbott-Chapman, J., Venn, A., and Smith, K.J. (2020). School Breakfast Club Programs in Australian Primary Schools, Not Just Addressing Food Insecurity: A Qualitative Study. *Health Education & Behaviour*, 47(4), pp.619–630. [online] Available at: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1090198120920193.

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*Promotion Journal of Australia.* 2020; 31: 58– 67. [online] available at: https://doi.org/10.1002/hpja.259

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***Articles Reviewed in the Rapid Literature Review for Pass Go for Grab-N-Go in 2021 (McKendrick et al., 2021)***

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