

# **Bringing children and older people together through food: the promotion of intergenerational relationships across preschool, school, and care home settings**

**Mat Jones**<sup>1\*</sup> Associate Professor of Public Health  
**Sanda Umar Ismail**<sup>\*</sup>, Senior Lecturer in Public Health

1. Centre for Public Health and Wellbeing, University of the West of England (UWE Bristol), UK

\* Corresponding author: [matthew.jones@uwe.ac.uk](mailto:matthew.jones@uwe.ac.uk)

## **Abstract**

### **Purpose**

Food-focused social activities are an underexplored but plausible route for promoting intergenerational relationships, wellbeing, and dietary benefits among older residents in care home and children in preschool/schools.

### **Design/methodology/approach**

Using a case study methodology, we undertook staff-focused research on a 26-month UK programme in twelve partnership clusters, involving a range of growing, cooking, eating, and community activities.

### **Findings**

Staff reported benefits for older people including improved mood; surfacing positive memories; new personal connections; and relief from feelings of boredom and loneliness. Children were reported to develop in-depth relationships, greater empathy, and overcame negative preconceptions. Food-based activities enabled all parties to express caring and nurturing in tangible and often non-verbal ways.

### **Originality/value**

Food-based activities appear to have specific material and emotive characteristics that resonate with the intergenerational interests of older people and children. Utilising mainly in-house resources, this study showed that it is feasible to generate novel food-based practices between

children's education and care home sectors. A 'test-and-learn' programme model is recommended given sensitivities and complexity associated with food-based activities, and the limited organizational capacity of care home and early education service providers.

## Keywords

loneliness and social isolation; test-and-learn; intergenerational; wellbeing; diet

## Introduction

There is a growing body of research on poor nutrition and the social isolation of older people in care home settings. To address these issues, there has been very little reported work on the social role of food in care home settings, particularly in instances where there is a focus on intergenerational activities. These activities may have corresponding benefits for younger participants in terms of dietary and wider social learning. In this article, we examine these links through the evaluation of a food-based partnership programme between care homes, preschools and schools.

Malnutrition presents a significant health threat to older residents in care homes (including both nursing home and residential care facilities). A narrative review on nutrition in residential care facilities found that on average, half of residents were malnourished (Agarwal *et al.*, 2016). Adverse outcomes of malnutrition include risk of infections, mortality, falls, pressure ulcers, anemia, hospital admissions and poorer quality of life (Agarwal *et al.*, 2016; Sahin *et al.*, 2016). Moreover, one-third of care home residents report feeling lonely at least sometimes (Jansson *et al.*, 2017). Loneliness significantly correlates with poor functional status, poor self-reported health and quality of life scores, and depression among older people (Cohen-Mansfield *et al.*, 2016).

Correlations between loneliness, malnutrition and adverse well-being outcomes among older people in care homes warrant the need for effective interventions to improve the well-being of older people in care homes. There is emerging, but relatively, little research on food-focused intergenerational interventions to improve the wellbeing of older people in the care home setting. A frequent aim of intergenerational programmes is to improve interactions and communication between different ages throughout shared experiences (Epstein and Boisvert, 2006).

In a review, Gulano *et al.* (2018) found that intergenerational activities are reported to present multiple benefits for older people, such as a higher self-reported health, stress reduction, reduced presence of depressive symptoms. Gulano *et al.*'s review (2018) also identified the positive impacts upon children (particularly preschoolers), notably in terms of an improvement of children's perceptions of older people. Aside from benefits to individuals, intergenerational exchanges can have wider effects on organizational cultures and community networks through better understanding and integration between otherwise isolated groups (*ibid.*). Programmes more likely to cultivate positive outcomes include those led by trained staff, with clear aims, higher frequency, longer duration, and with an emphasis on active social interaction (*ibid.*). However, prescriptive manualized intergenerational programmes may encounter problems with fidelity due to unforeseen events, such as staff absences (Low *et al.*, 2015). Not all studies have demonstrated benefits (Knight *et al.*, 2014), for example, intergenerational programmes that provide exposure to - but only minimal interaction with older adults and without planned curricula - may result in a decrease in children's positive attitudes towards ageing and older people (Gulano *et al.*, 2018).

While food may be an element, we identified limited published research on care home focused intergenerational programmes that specifically foreground food related

aspects. No studies in the Gulano *et al.* review (2018) explicitly involved food related activities. Nevertheless, a large corpus of literature in the social science and humanities literature has been concerned with how food is involved in the intergenerational transmission of culture and values (Knight *et al.*, 2014). Acts of growing, preparing and eating food create, provoke and embody memory, and everyday family food practices are one route through which children, parents and their parents 'do' generation (ibid.). Older generations may seek to pass down values and cultural traditions through food. Meanwhile, younger generations absorb, resist or negotiate these influences. Care homes, preschools and schools are not the same as domestic environments, however intergenerational activities often build upon and mirror social relationships present in families (Punch and McIntosh, 2014). It is plausible, therefore, that the wider food and intergenerational cultural practices can offer useful insights into food-focused programmes. The promotion of healthy eating in children is a major international public health concern, particularly in the context of increasing rates of childhood obesity (WHO, 2016). In early childhood, evidence shows that the observational learning from others has an important role in establishing food preferences and dietary habits (Mura Paroche *et al.* 2017; Marty *et al.*, 2018).

In this context, the aim of our research was to obtain an in-depth understanding of the implementation of a food-focused intergenerational programme, the perceived outcomes, and the learning to arise from the initiative. This informed our research question: *what is the role of food in promoting intergenerational relationships and associated benefits across care home, preschool, and school settings?* The focus of the study is 'Food for Life – Better Care', a programme designed to promote food-based intergenerational activities working with care homes, schools and preschools (nurseries). The Food for Life is a UK initiative, originally developed by the Soil

Association (a sustainable food charity) in 2003 to help schools take a whole setting approach towards improving multiple aspects of food (Gray *et al.*, 2018). In 2017, an adaptation of the programme, Food for Life – Better Care (FFLBC), was developed with an intergenerational emphasis on promoting connections between children and older people. The programme adopted a ‘test-and-learn’ methodology whereby delivery partners are facilitated in an iterative process to revise the initiative within the capacity of their organizations. The effort to develop programme activities under ‘real world’ conditions was particularly salient given a context of stretched resources in both adult social care (The King’s Fund, 2018) and early year’s education (NDNA, 2018).

## **Methods**

The research used case study methodology and design (Yin, 2003), focusing on the delivery of the FFLBC programme in Leicestershire, Leicester City and Rutland: local authority areas in the East Midlands of England, UK. The programme was initiated at match-making events where organizations were invited by FFLBC staff to form partnership clusters. Each cluster consisted of one care home, and one or two preschools or primary schools. Of the 15 clusters that expressed initial interest, 12 went forward to take part in the 26-month long programme.

Following a realist evaluation approach (Pawson *et al.*, 2004), we sought to identify the underlying processes or mechanisms that have brought about perceived change in the outcomes, and the way the context has influenced these outcomes. In the 12 clusters, we undertook 49 in-depth interviews with a purposive selection of 37 key stakeholders including care home managers, activity coordinators, care workers and catering staff; nursery and primary school leads; commissioners and service directors, community and voluntary partner staff and programme staff. The interviews were audio-recorded (mean duration of 40 minutes with range of 25-110 minutes). Initial

interviews took place between March 2017 and March 2018, with the main data collection between September 2018 and May 2019.

The interviews were transcribed and analysed thematically using procedures set out by Clarke and Braun (2014) with the help of the NVIVO 12, a qualitative software package. We validated the key draft findings through programme learning events with care home and education staff. The University of the West of England granted ethical approval for the research (ref: HAS.17.08.004).

## **Results**

### ***Implementing a test-and-learn approach***

For the 12 care home – preschool/school clusters, the FFLBC programme team consisted of three delivery staff, one manager, and a national manager. This team drew upon resources and specialist support from the national Soil Association, local government staff, two local food NGO staff, and local health professionals. FFLBC delivered networking, reflection and training events across the clusters. They also made a series of planned visits with each cluster intended to help design and develop food-based activities. This ‘test-and-learn’ approach was intended to build on locally defined interests, and to create locally-led solutions, acknowledging the importance of past experiences. Seeking to avoid creating unsustainable expectations, FFLBC only offered token funding (e.g. to create printed resources that could be shared between clusters). Most activities – either taking place at the care homes or nurseries/schools – were therefore led by front-line staff. Participating children were mixed ability and ranged from three to seven years old. Participating older people were almost all over 70 years old. While over half of the older residents had a form of cognitive impairment, staff adopted an inclusive approach to encouraging participation. Figure 1 provides

examples of the focus of the activities. Group sizes varied considerably, however there was an emphasis on organizing multiple events such that participants met on at least two occasions.

Figure 1: Examples of food-based intergenerational activities in care homes, preschools and schools

<b>Food preparation and cooking activities</b>	<b>Gardening and food growing activities</b>
Making mince pies	Garden bed preparation
Making omelets	Planting seeds outside or under glass
Making water cress sandwiches	Harvesting produce
Pureeing apples	Sowing bean seeds
Making chapattis	Bean sprout growing
Pizza dough and cooking	Plant pot making
Making biscuits	Hen and duck keeping
Making spring rolls	
Making scones clotted cream and jam	<b>Related social activities</b>
Soup preparation combined with story telling	Fruit and potato printing
Preparing salad from home grown potatoes	Storytelling, singing and music
Soup from home grown vegetables	Life history and reminiscence

Care homes and preschools/schools were diverse in terms of their scale, management structures, and care provision, so it was not surprising that interviewees reported a range of past experiences of food related and intergenerational activities. Nevertheless, staff widely felt the programme had a potentially important role to play in community engagement and changing perceptions:

We need to get rid of the urban myths. Care homes have a reputation that there a place where people come to die. But we want [our home] to more like a community centre. [08 care home manager]

Prior experience of intergenerational activities – such as Christmas carol singing - were often superficial and sporadic in character. At the time of the programme, all interviewees were mindful of a high-profile television documentary series about an

intergenerational care home and nursery experiment. This attracted them to the idea, although they expressed caution about whether the televised cases gave a realistic representation:

The television show looks brilliant but let's be realistic, it is not like that at all. Think if they did a television show that actually shows what it is really like? Some residents don't want to be involved like that, and they have hand-picked those residents to make that show. [26 nursery manager]

FFLBC was recognized as important, timely and credible in the context of a wide range of other priorities and pressures within both children's and older people's care sectors. For example, nursery staff felt that intergenerational work was needed in the context of the lack of contact that some children had with older people and of the ageing process more generally:

This is a really important aspect of learning. Our children don't see their grandparents. They don't see much in terms of visible difference, or see people who might be ill. [11 nursery manager]

Interviewees reported benefits of FFLBC linked to the professional development of staff, staff wellbeing, and staff recognition. Interviewees generally liked the test-and-learn approach, and particularly appreciated the reflection on things that worked not so well, as well as things that went well. One consideration for staff at both ends were the risks linked to hosting activities. However, risk and safety were generally considered to be manageable issues:

It's about positive risk taking. You just have to do it. If something happens you have to adapt. [16 nursery manager]

Recent effects of public sector austerity meant that "there's no funding really to do anything beyond the minimum at the moment" [30 local government service lead].



However, FFLBC activities were not reported to be prohibitively resource intensive for participating care homes and education providers.

*Effects of intergenerational activities for care home residents*

For older people, the intergenerational activities were linked to a wide range of benefits, in some cases through powerful and memorable experiences for residents. Interviewees reported the effects of activities linked to improved mood, fun and laughter; surfacing positive memories; new personal connections between residents and with others; relief from feelings of boredom, anxiety, depression and loneliness; decreased agitation; and opportunities for maintaining mobility:

What we discovered is that people rediscover their skills and they are trying to show off in front of the children. They say “Yes I can do it, I will show you”. It gives them a bit of motivation and purpose. It’s like they are remembering, rediscovering their old skills. [02 care home manager]

The minute they see a child you see their worries and stresses just go. [07 care home activity coordinator]

As soon as you walk up with the children – the residents change. They have a burst of energy. One resident was sad but when the children came she wouldn’t sit down! [19 care home manager]

The ‘active’ nature of the food-based activities were contrasted with more passive forms of entertainment activities:

[The residents] liked receiving the plants that the children had grown and they were chuffed that the children had looked after the seeds and things and some of [them] said you’d done a better job than we could have. [37 primary school lead]

This enjoyment of food translated into positive impacts for mental wellbeing and diet for one interviewee:

I've seen a positive impact on mental health. They then eat better and drink better. I've worked in care homes for 25 years. I've been quite blown away by the positive attitude from residents. [15 care home coordinator]

Activities linked to FFLBC often matched well to those residents better placed to engage in social interaction or with better mobility. Nevertheless, some activities such as gardening were able to include those with specific needs such as advanced dementia, very limited mobility or significant frailty. However, interviewees also noted that there were always cases where residents declined to take part or did not feel comfortable:

A lot of [the residents] like just observing and watching the children plant some seeds and then actually being able to go out into the garden and see those plants grow. They really enjoy that and it's something to look forward to. [06 FFLBC staff]

I don't expect all the residents to get involved. Because people have got different views and you have to respect their wishes as well. [01 care home manager]

Sometimes the children can be standoffish with older people. At lunchtime, X had felt objectified because they probably just stared and they didn't go "Hello, my name's So-and-So, what's your name?" [21 care home activity coordinator]

### ***Effects of intergenerational activities for nursery and primary school children***

Interviewees perceived a wide range of effects of intergenerational activities for children taking part. In many instances the connections between generations were spontaneous from the initial point of encounter:

I was surprised by how willing [children] were to speak to [the residents]. I thought they'd be quite timid and wouldn't know what to talk about, but they were chatting away whilst the spring rolls were cooking. [36 primary school lead]

Children really didn't worry about people with dementia. They were much more likely to connect with them. [11 nursery manager]

The children really loved it and not all of them have grandparents around to be able to talk to on a regular basis, so that was really nice for them to have that link. [37 primary school lead]

Over the course of visits, the children visiting care homes developed more in-depth relationships with the residents:

The thing that I remember the most is that both care homes and nursing homes – the kids look forward to going in and seeing their friends. People in the care home see the children as friends too. [30 local authority lead]

These visits have helped children identify with other people's feelings and obtain an understanding of the experience of ageing:

It's brought out empathy in the younger children. When they go back [to the nursery] they're talking about "We need to share" and you can see it in their play. [20 primary school lead]

A massive benefit for a lot of our children, who perhaps don't have elderly relatives at home, is going into an environment and really beginning to use empathy to understand how people feel...It's an opportunity to care for others and understand that not everybody is able to do the things they can do. [33 primary school lead]

These insights helped children move beyond some of the stigma associated with older age:

It's made children see that it's ok for people to be in a wheel chair. Children will ask questions about medical conditions. This breaks barriers down. [17 nursery worker]

The specific features of food-based activities were noted by some interviewees. For example, it was noted that the food-based activities worked well in bringing the groups together:

We were interested in how we can bring a genuine love of food and link it up with caring for each other. So, for example, when our children went to the care home and they started to make different things with the elderly residents, there was a mutual understanding of what food gives us and how we enjoy food and it gave us equal footing in understanding each other. [33 primary school lead]

Everybody needs to eat. Everybody has some kind of experience of food. This gave them an opportunity to chat about what was their favourite food, what didn't they enjoy, when they were a little girl what did they bake, and when they were a little boy what did they like to eat. So, there was a connection there from a personal and social basis. It gave the children an opportunity to start talking and an opportunity for the residents to reminisce and impart their wisdom and knowledge. [33 primary school lead]

Interviewees also felt that the simple act of doing practical activities – such as preparing a meal - with older people helped some children develop their communication skills:

Speaking to the elderly residents helped [the children] to open up and to improve their communication skills because many of the older people couldn't hear properly. [33 primary school lead]

Interviewees also felt that the activities helped promote a range of other developmental benefits for children including confidence in self-presentation, helping skills and willingness to help, etiquette and politeness in talking to others. Where the issue came up, all education staff felt confident that the activities clearly addressed learning priorities of the nursery or school. There were few reported instances of

negative issues for children. Although some staff noted that they had to make decisions about the appropriateness of the visits for some children:

One child didn't want to go. He became quite upset by a visit. Possibly because he has a grandma who is unwell – so we gave him a chance not to go. [11 nursery manager]

Otherwise, the activities lent themselves to a wide range of children in terms of their abilities and interests.

### ***Embedding activities in the practice of organizations***

Aside from effects of project activities for residents, staff felt that the programme was beneficial for their care home as an institution, for example in terms of it refreshing the outlook of staff towards mealtimes and helping to improve general catering standards. With respect to meal quality and the dining environment, interviewees reported anecdotal benefits such as improved nutritional intake, more varied diets, satisfaction with meals, and sociability around mealtimes.

Care home staff felt that intergenerational and community food activities had an important role in making the care home a more open environment, playing a part in building greater trust and confidence in residential and nursing care for older people. Intergenerational visits were largely reported to be popular with care home staff and were linked to an improved working environment:

The care staff also enjoy the activities with the children. It has an impact on their mental health, you know, if the team is happy, everything is going to be alright. They do enjoy it when the children come. And it brings conversation between them and the residents as well. [01 care home manager]

Most interviewees reported being only part-way through a journey. The challenge of creating change in their organization was long term. Interviewees offered

reflections on the importance of maintaining momentum. They stated that delays and set-backs should be anticipated given limited resources, high staff turnover, and competing alternative pressures. Connections between care homes and local nurseries or schools could be created rapidly and with less difficulty than anticipated. Nevertheless, it was important to anticipate blurred boundaries to surface with respect to staff responsibilities, risk and contingency management:

One issue is that the nursery staff have sat back a bit during the activities to let the care home staff lead. It's a shame about the nursery contact fizzling out recently. We've had a lot of fun. [07 care home activity coordinator]

Although interviewees were broadly positive, they identified a wide range of problems linked to running activities. There were infrastructural challenges due to need for high staff-service user ratios; different regulatory frameworks for meals; appropriate and accessible space; timetable constraints; management and staff changes; and turnover of pupils and residents. There were inter-personal challenges in terms of low staff confidence or skills; mismatched expectations; poor planning of activities; concerns about the behavior of older residents and how this is exposed to children; and illness and personal events.

Factors promoting the success of food-focused intergenerational activities varied depending upon the perspective of the interviewee. For front line practitioners, they clearly valued having an external agency giving encouragement, license to support to share learning, particularly given pressures to revert to an inward focus within care homes, or care home groups. Others focused on practicalities of transport, proximity, resources, space for activities, voluntary support, and the skills of practitioners.

Successful implementation meant having the management clearly involved and in support. Given the market pressures for both private nurseries and care homes,

decision makers needed to understand the benefits in terms of reputational gain and financial risk. There was no consistent picture with respect to the size and scale of organizations: while small organizations might lack the resources of large ones, small staff teams might have greater discretion to make activities work.

## **Discussion**

### ***Overview***

This study showed specific features of placing food related activities at the centre of intergenerational work in a context where little previous research had taken this explicit focus. Our study drew upon effects perceived by a range of practitioners across a range of organizational partnership clusters. We examined the role of the test-and-learn methodology in the implementation of the initiative.

### ***Intergenerational activities and the role of food***

A feature of many intergenerational initiatives is the mutual benefit for both older and younger people taking part (Gulano *et al.*, 2018). Interviewees reported such mutual benefits for the FFLBC activities. Around the subject of food, some of these arose from similarities in the social positions of both parties: both older adults and children can experience vulnerability, exclusions, restricted experiences, and unclear social roles. There were common points of connection with respect to in-the-moment pleasures and non-judgmental encounters. As Knight *et al.*'s review (2014) found, intergenerational activities tended to be most 'authentic' where there was active reciprocity in the relationship. For staff in both care home and educational settings, positive experiences of these benefits were critical in helping them decide to pursue further intergenerational work. While staff felt that activities could produce longer-term benefits, the in-the-moment benefits were often sufficient justification in themselves.

Food formed a good focus for intergenerational activities. Nutrition, diet, and wider issues of food culture are important areas in both care home and educational contexts. The programme showed that participants were able to develop a wide range of activities where food formed the basis for engagement. These were perceived to be feasible to implement within the resources available. Food topics were often direct, tangible and allowed all parties to express caring and nurturing in simple and well understood ways that do not need to be verbalized.

The term food-related practices cover very diverse activities that may have little in common. Some activities linked to the programme simply drew upon the theme of food as a springboard for other intergenerational activities such as those based upon singing, music and storytelling. Food in care home and educational settings can raise complex issues and points of contestation. For example, a care home is simultaneously a home, a workplace, and an institution (cf. Punch and Macintosh, 2014; Weeks *et al.*, 2020), and each social function can pull food related issues in different directions. Our study of intergenerational encounters found that food can also raise sensitive issues around personal boundaries and uncomfortable differences that need sensitive handling.

### ***The role of test-and-learn in the implementation of the programme***

The programme succeeded in showing how it is possible to deliver innovative practice in diverse care home and educational settings. Diversity within the sector highlights the importance of a tailored and reflective approach to the promotion of better food culture and intergenerational work.

The findings show that there were several reasons why the initiative was positively received. These included the role of pre-existing experiences, the latent interest of key staff, and media reporting. These are important features also identified in Goodman *et al.*'s review (2017) of innovative practice in care homes. Encouragement,



license to support to share learning through a community of practice was attractive to most interviewees, particularly given pressures to revert to an inward focus within care homes, nurseries and schools.

Interviewees in both care home and educational sectors reported a wide range of challenges linked to working on complex issues within a short time frame. As Goodman *et al.*'s review (2017) found successful actions tend to follow circumstances where there is good alignment with organizational priorities, senior management interest and enthusiasm, and a degree of flexibility for front line staff. Nevertheless, as Low *et al.* found (2015), ongoing pressures – particularly linked to staff workloads – restricted the ability of agencies to implement the programme. A drawback of the test-and-learn approach is that local action may develop in tangential directions, for example through intergenerational activities that have no relationship to food. Thus, while test-and-learn methods can succeed in harnessing local interests, they may dilute specific objectives (Gulano *et al.*, 2018). As found in other resource-stretched settings (Gray *et al.* 2018), delays and set-backs should be anticipated given competing alternative pressures and directives.

### ***Study limitations***

With additional resources, we would have directly engaged older residents in programme design and evaluation processes (Weeks *et al.*, 2020). The recruitment approach for the interviews meant that the study may not have included the perspectives of staff with an unsatisfactory experience of the programme. Nevertheless, we did succeed in interviewing a range of perspectives that included staff from agencies that had little direct engagement with the programme.

### ***Implications for policy, practice and research***

Where organizational practices are often isolated from one another, pre-school/school staff and care home staff can clearly benefit from peer forums for the exchange of good practice around intergenerational work. Greater attention might be given to engaging care home residents, children, and relatives in the planning, delivery and review of intergenerational activities. Given the international scope for food-focused activities, better online project resources and materials are needed to support care home and education sectors to set up intergenerational activities. In local geographical areas, further programme development support is needed to assist the longer-term implementation of intergenerational activities, given evidence that agencies often struggle to sustain their practices.

### **Conclusions**

This study showed that it is feasible to generate novel practices between children's education and care home sectors through building upon the interests that surround intergenerational work and the role that food can have in people's lives. Food for Life – Better Care programme's test-and-learn approach was a marked contrast to the top-down and external expert driven approaches that have characterized some interventions in the sector. The initiative sought to develop greater cooperation between participating agencies to move beyond the isolated working practices that often feature in the complex worlds of adult care and child education. The programme therefore illustrated an approach that holds the prospect of being transferable, particularly for food-based intergenerational work in similar contexts.

### **References**

Agarwal, E., Marshall, S., Miller, M. and Isenring, E. (2016), "Optimizing nutrition in residential aged care: a narrative review", *Maturitas*. Vol. 92 pp.70-78.

Cacioppo, J.T., Hawkey, L.C. and Thisted, R.A. (2010), "Perceived social isolation makes me sad: 5-year cross-lagged analyses of loneliness and depressive symptomatology in the Chicago Health, Aging, and Social Relations Study", *Psychology and Aging*, Vol. 25 No.2, pp.453

Clarke, V. and Braun, V. (2014), Thematic analysis. In: (2014) *Encyclopedia of Critical Psychology*. Springer, pp.1947-1952.

Cohen-Mansfield, J., Hazan, H., Lerman, Y. and Shalom, V. (2016), "Correlates and predictors of loneliness in older-adults: a review of quantitative results informed by qualitative insights", *International Psychogeriatrics*, Vol. 28 No.4, pp.557-576 .

Epstein, A. S., & Boisvert, C. (2006), "Let's do something together: Identifying the effective components of intergenerational programs", *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, Vol. 4 No 3, 87-109.

Goodman, C., Sharpe, R., Russell, C., Meyer, J., Gordon, A., Denning, T., Corazzini, K., Lynch, J. and Bunn, F. (2017), *Care home readiness: a rapid review and consensus workshops on how organizational context affects care home engagement with health care innovation*. University of Hertfordshire.

Gulano, M.R., Voglino, G., Bert, F., Thomas, R., Camussi, E. and Siliquini, R., (2018). "The impact of intergenerational programs on children and older adults: a review", *International Psychogeriatrics*, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp.451-468.

Gray, S., Jones, M., Means, R., Orme, J., Pitt, H. and Salmon, D., (2018), "Inter-sectoral transfer of the food for life settings framework in England", *Health Promotion International*, Vol. 33 No. 5, pp.781-790.

Jansson, A., Muurinen, S., Savikko, N., Soini, H., Suominen, M., Kautiainen, H. and Pitkälä, K. (2017), "Loneliness in nursing homes and assisted living facilities: Prevalence, associated factors and prognosis", *Jour Nursing Home Res.* Vol. 3 pp.43-49.

Knight, A., O'Connell, R. and Brannen, J., (2014), "The temporality of food practices: intergenerational relations, childhood memories and mothers' food practices in working families with young children", *Families, Relationships and Societies*, Vol. 3 No 2, pp.303-318.

Knight, T., Skouteris, H., Townsend, M. and Hooley, M. (2014), "The act of giving: A systematic review of nonfamilial intergenerational interaction", *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, Vol. 12 No. 3, pp.257-278.

Low, L.F., Russell, F., McDonald, T. and Kauffman, A. (2015), "Grandfriends, an intergenerational program for nursing-home residents and preschoolers: a randomized trial", *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, Vol. 13 No. 3, pp.227-240.

Marty, L., Chambaron, S., Nicklaus, S. and Monnery-Patris, S. (2018), "Learned pleasure from eating: An opportunity to promote healthy eating in children?" *Appetite*, Vol. 120, pp.265-274.

Mura Paroche, M., Caton, S.J., Vereijken, C.M., Weenen, H. and Houston-Price, C., (2017), "How infants and young children learn about food: A systematic review", *Frontiers in Psychology*, Vol. 8, p.1046.

NDNA (National Day Nurseries Association) (2018), Workforce Survey 2018. NDNA.

Pawson, R., Greenhalgh, T., Harvey, G. and Walshe, K. (2004), *Realist synthesis: an introduction*. Manchester: ESRC Research Methods Programme, University of Manchester.

Punch, S. and McIntosh, I. (2014), "Food is a funny thing within residential child care': Intergenerational relationships and food practices in residential care", *Childhood*, Vol. 21 No.1, pp.72-86.

Sahin, S., Tasar, P.T., Simsek, H., Çicek, Z., Eskiizmirli, H., Aykar, F.S., Sahin, F. and Akcicek, F. (2016), "Prevalence of anemia and malnutrition and their association in elderly nursing home residents", *Aging Clinical and Experimental Research*. Vol. 28 No.5, pp.857-862.

The King's Fund (2018), *Key challenges facing the adult social care sector in England*, The King's Fund.

Weeks, L.E., MacQuarrie, C. and Vihvelin, K., (2020), "Planning an Intergenerational Shared Site: Nursing Home Resident Perspectives", *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, Vol.18 No.4, pp.1-17.

World Health Organization. (2016), Report of the commission on ending childhood obesity. Geneva: WHO; 2016.

Yin, R.K. (2003), *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousands Oaks. Sage.