

New Culinary Activities in Copenhagen

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Introduction

There was a time when Denmark was considered a gastronomic wasteland. Now it is home for some of the best restaurants in the world. During the last decade, the culinary field in Denmark has emerged as a huge topic and gained international recognition: Noma has been awarded as the world's best restaurant by the Restaurant Magazine's list four times since 2010, in 2011 Rasmus Koefod won the world championship for chefs, Bocuse d'Or, and this year's Michelin star announcement awarded Denmark with more stars than ever before. Additionally, Denmark has developed a new label – The New Nordic Cuisine, which refers to a movement in line with haute cuisine and la nouvelle cuisine (Byrkjeflot et al. 2013).

The food scene in general changes constantly, like the art scene. New trends pass around, new techniques are introduced, consumers change their habits and preferences. The possibilities for developing interesting and economic sustainable food experiences are innumerable, but unlike the art scene or any other cultural experience, the food experience differ as it has a market in the fact that people get hungry at least three times a day (Sundbo & Darmer 2008).

Starting a restaurant in Denmark today, however, is a risky and expensive business. Food is seen as a high risk and not always a high returns business (Shanmugalingam 2013, Kjær 2012). Starting a new café or a restaurant usually requires borrowing or raising money, and persuading investors to put money in without a track record, thus it is a challenging task. However, there is now a generation of food entrepreneurs who have started with low-cost-prototypes.

Within the culinary field today, one notices a new culinary activity, which is characterized by a more flexible business structure compared to the well-known restaurant format. Up until now, it has mostly been the Danish hotdog stand ('Pølsevognen') that has operated under these circumstances. The hot dog stand peaked in the 1960s with more than 400 stands in Denmark. Today, the numbers have decreased to around 60. DØP and Pølsekompagniet have given the hot dog stand a revival by introducing a classic hot dog stand but where everything is homemade cooked and organic. Both of them keep expanding with more wagons, which indicate a demand for more delicious food on the street (Sønksen 2014, Kjær 2011a). Additionally, recent initiatives such as better conditions for moveable food businesses in Copenhagen and new temporary markets for food entrepreneurs testify to this trend and to the growth within this market.

I see these initiatives as important elements in this new culinary activity, and I argue that a new food culture is being formed in Copenhagen. Following Jacobsen (cited in Sundbo & Darmer 2008) we are already looking at a new food culture, when we are able to situate and talk about a new food trend.

This paper is an examination of this emerging culinary activity, its structure, the people behind, its business model and how it is pursued. Thus, this paper aims to research: *Who are the driving forces and what barriers are they facing while developing this new culinary activity?* I have charted and mapped these new culinary activities in order to answer the questions.

Research Background

I will investigate the culinary field by looking at events and their significance for this field's evolution. I will be working with the concept of field-configuring events put forward by Lampel & Meyer (2008). They argue that an event is field-configuring if the purpose is to encapsulate and shape the development of professions, technologies, markets and industries.

Based on Svejenova et al. (forthcoming), I will furthermore examine whether food entrepreneurs' way of business operation have similarities with the business operation of creative entrepreneurs. Within the literature on creative industries, food and gastronomy have become a topic of great interest (Christensen & Pedersen 2011, Byrkjeflot et al. 2013, Svejenova et al. 2007, 2010, forthcoming, Sundbo & Darmer 2011). Svejenova et al. (2007, forthcoming) demonstrate how *haute cuisine* can be considered a creative industry and how chefs can be defined as artists that operate as creative entrepreneurs. What defines the business model of such creative entrepreneurs is that not only business opportunities are pursued, but also artistic and social opportunities are important elements in the creative entrepreneur's operation. A creative entrepreneur targets its action not just at consumers but also at partners, the entrepreneur carries out different activities, among which not all of them secure income, in order to realize the different opportunities. The sample objects of my study are not haute cuisine chefs but are indeed driven by other opportunities than mere business opportunities.

Lastly, I will investigate what characterizes food entrepreneurs and picture their logic by means of Sarasvathy's (2001) effectuation theory. Entrepreneurship is a great object of study, mostly presented as a discipline within traditional management studies (Sarasvathy 2001, 2008, Sarasvathy et al. 2010, Chandler et al. 2009). Saravathy's theory of effectuation (2001) has tried to form a logic of entrepreneurship from a case of expert

entrepreneurs by studying their start up process. Expert entrepreneurs are entrepreneurs with more than 15 years of experience, several ventures behind them both successes and failures. The effectuation theory presents how expert entrepreneurs use *effectual logic*, instead of *casual logic*, and the point of the theory, as I interpret it, is exactly to teach novice entrepreneurs, non-expert entrepreneurs, and even non-entrepreneurs to become experts. It is thus implied in literature that while experts tend to use effectual logic, novices do not (Sarasvathy 2001).

Outline of fieldwork

I have conducted this field study in collaboration with 'Imagine... Centre for Research' (Imagine), Copenhagen Business School from May 1st to August 1st 2014. Imagine is a research centre that focuses on the study of creative industries. The members of Imagine are involved in teaching activities at the Master Programme in which I am enrolled, Master of Social Science in Management of Creative Business Processes (CBP), hence making it reasonable to join Imagine in order to do this fieldwork.

Carrying out fieldwork in collaboration with Imagine legitimizes this fieldwork and ensures that it corresponds to the overall aim of the CBP masters program: that is to provide students with "*an understanding of the emergence of new creative businesses and new forms of business and customer relations*". By this project, I have practiced this in depth, as these new culinary activities are new creative businesses, which challenge the well-known restaurant format, and create a new business opening for new customer relationships.

The approval of this fieldwork and the guidelines and learning objectives for fieldwork is to be found in appendix 1.

Organizational Ethnographic Fieldwork

Food entrepreneurship is a field that touches on many overlapping areas of interest. These include nutrition, obesity, cooking skills, food waste, food poverty, local food systems and the environment, as well as many others. While important, these issues are not addressed in this paper, which is only about 'eating out'. Shanmugalingam's research shows (2013: 13) that there are new cheap ways to start up in UK as a food entrepreneur: street food instead of restaurants; social media instead of traditional critics and marketing channels. All of these conditions are changing the landscape and give access to a new generation of food entrepreneurs. In Copenhagen, at this moment, more new food entrepreneurs with methods looking like the ones described in UK are starting up and creating more new

ways of 'eating out' (Kyster 2014), and it is these entrepreneurs that I have examined. Thereby, an *interpretive organizational ethnography* fieldwork has been carried out mainly in Copenhagen (Ybema et al. 2009).

Organizational ethnography is a study of organizations and their organizing processes. As an organizational ethnographer I have been oriented towards following the *persons* starting up in this field and their *practices* of how to start up (Ybema et al. 2009: 23). My aim is to explore and exemplify these new culinary activities through the local and the particular meetings with these food entrepreneurs.

This study make use of interpretative tradition of social science and by this rejects the ideal of an objective law-like explanation, and attempts to achieve a contextual understanding of these new culinary activities through the interpretation of meaning. Interpretivism also entails *subjectivism*. According to Miles & Hubermann (1994), this means that I, as researcher, have my own understanding, conviction and conceptual orientations, which will to some degree affect how I hear and observe in the field. In epistemological terms, this means that I am part of what is being researched, and therefore cannot be separated from this, consequently leaving me subjective. In this study's capacity of being an organizational ethnographic fieldwork, it aims not only at describing and interpreting, but also at contributing to the theoretical understanding of these new culinary activities and the food entrepreneurs (Ybema et al. 2009).

My approach is grounded in the hermeneutic perspective on social realities. Following Ybema et al. (2009) this calls for a heightened self-awareness of the way my own person might be affecting the outcome of my research. Following Miles and Hubermann (1994) Hermeneutics commits us to realize that we are bound by our initially understanding, but it also commits us to transgress this initially standpoint by actively trying to understand the world from another point of view, namely the point of our research subjects. Hermeneutics is an approach that stresses how prior understandings and prejudices shape the interpretive process. Such prior understandings of phenomena are however moved and changed during the course of interpretation.

Hermeneutic also entails that chosen theory for the research cannot be used in either a traditional inductive or deductive way. The finest hermeneutic way of using a theory is by letting it be the tool to open up new horizons. This method includes that one must go back and forth between the theory and the empirical data (Fredslund 2012 cited in Nygaard 2012). Before I entered this culinary field, I had a basic understanding about theories on entrepreneurship and new movements on the gastronomic scene. The empirical data has

also determined what theory I have looked further into as well as the theory has enlightened other meanings of my empirical data.

Qualitative Research and sample profile

Organizational ethnographic fieldwork and the hermeneutic approach imply conducting a qualitative research. In order to sample the data, first step has been to delimit the field.

I am looking at the food entrepreneurs who challenge the already existents. I am looking at culinary entrepreneurs who are starting up with a food concept from scratch. Many well-known food entrepreneurs and restaurateurs in Denmark are popping up as temporary food businesses with new concepts or well-known concepts in new places. For instance, Claus Meyer, famous food entrepreneur, has travelled around islands in Denmark making pop-up restaurants and broadcasted it on television; Henrik Yde, owner of the Asian Michelin awarded restaurant Kiin Kiin, went to Roskilde Festival and served street food; or Tim Vladimir, famous food entrepreneur, just had his own pop-up shop in the centre of Copenhagen selling Castello cheese. While these events are important for what is happening on the Danish culinary scene, it is not these entrepreneurs that I am examining. I am looking at new food entrepreneurs who are starting up right now, but have chosen not to open in a classic restaurant format. These entrepreneurs are adding something new to the culinary field be it in the content of their food, in the way it is produced or in the way it is delivered. Meaning that they are serving new food, which we normally only have seen served in restaurants or they are serving food the classical restaurant way but not in a classic restaurant format but instead on a street corner, in a private apartment or in another unforeseen place.

My own background, as former restaurant employee and passionate gastronomy explorer, helps me better to interpret and reach sensemaking of these entrepreneurs, i.e. the studied actors, as it is through our shared language, culture and value the process of *meaning-making* takes place. In other words and additionally, I have practiced the ethnographic discipline dictating to participate in the studied actors' life worlds and establish relationships with them (Ybema et al. 2009).

In order to make local sense of my field and to define the 'space' and the boundaries of what I am studying, I have used the strategy of *spatial exploration* and *following events* (Ybema et al. 2009: 31). This has helped me to set my sample profile. I am aware of the danger of these strategies, as it is easy to be trapped by these boundaries and treat this studied phenomenon as not just a part but as 'the whole'. However, my research background, the theory used to examine this field, has helped me to understand the

particular phenomenon in relation to other phenomena. Ethnographic research can be viewed as a recurrent process of 'zooming in' on local practices, and 'zooming out' through contextualization and theorizing (Ybema et al. 2009: 103)

I have used classic ethnographic methods such as observing, conversing (both casual conversations and interviewing) and close reading of documentary sources. This report will present my first-hand, field-based observations and experiences, with the awareness that these are generated through the research process and co-constructed through interactions with the studied actors and the interpret process (Ybema et al. 2009).

My sample profile consists of different objects, which will be presented in the following together with how I have collected data on the chosen samples, both primary and secondary data, and how these data has been processed.

First of all, my sample profile consists of the following events. Copenhagen Street Food, a new street food market at Papirøen, Copenhagen (the Paper Island), which held its official opening May 2nd 2014. Restaurant Day took place may 17th 2014 and is a worldwide food carnival where anyone can set up a restaurant, café or a bar for a day. Eurovision Village at Gammeltorv, Copenhagen May 5th–11th: A street food market established during the days of the Eurovision Song Contest in Copenhagen. Distortion June 4th–8th, an electronic music festival in Copenhagen. Roskilde Festival July 1st -6th, the biggest Rock festival in Northern Europe. Wednesday market at Torvehallerne, opened May 7th, which is an offer for entrepreneurs to sell cheaply on Wednesdays in the summer period.

Qualitative data has been conducted at these events by observing who offered food, general observations, field-notes and a lot of casual conversations. For full introduction to the data collected at these events, see appendix 3.

My sample profile, moreover consists of different food businesses: Silverspoon dining, Rødder, Copper and Wheat (used to be named Coquo), Sweet Sneak, Yuca Taco, Riga and Gastrotrukken.

I have carried out in-depth interviews with the girls behind Sweet Sneak (Filou and Fetzens 2014), with Jon Bue Nimgaard, the entrepreneur behind Riga (Nimgaard 2014) and with Jon Due Roe, the entrepreneur behind Yuca Taco (Roe 2014). I have carried out e-mail correspondences with Daniel Weimann Lauridsen (Lauridsen 2014) and tons of casual conversations with Solfinn Danielsen (Danielsen 2014) and Alexandre Fristot (Fristot 2014) as we have met at the same events during the summer. In my investigation of Silverspoon dining, I have only used secondary data. For Silverspoon and all the other

food businesses, I have used secondary data consisting of websites, social medias such as facebook and instagram and articles in newspapers and magazines.

Additionally, I have been in contact with Frederik Aske Sønksen, a food entrepreneur who had to give up his dream of starting his own food truck business. We have carried out many causal conversations and he has also supported me with secondary data from his final project at the Kaospilot education about Street Food in Denmark (Sønksen 2014).

Furthermore, the Municipality of Copenhagen, the politicians at Center for Byliv (Centre for Urban Life) and Horesta, the association for restaurants, hotels and tourisms in Denmark have also been sample objects. Secondary data has been conducted from the websites and statistics. At Horesta, primary data has also been collected in form of e-mail correspondence with the consultant, Karin Knudsen about how to interpret the statistics.

The interviews were prepared, held and processed as Kvale (1996, 2007) suggests. The interviews were semi-structured, the preferred method for organizational ethnography (Ybema et al. 2009), and evolved around the themes: the person' story, the possibilities in the culinary field and the barriers of starting up in this field, meaning that the interview guide is *thematically* (Kvale 1996: 129). All in-depth interviews have been recorded. Before the interviews, I have thought of how to frame the interview, as it is important to brief the interviewees in the right way (Kvale 1996: 127, Ybema et al. 2009: 68). During the briefing, I have presented my own passion for and story in the gastronomic field in order to make it clear that we have a shared language, culture and value. During the interviews, given my hermeneutical approach, I have carried out an interpretive listening, and during the interview I have taking notes when my interpretations occurred. I have listened over and over again to the interviews and treated it like a texts (Kvale 2007). As an organizational ethnographic fieldworker, I have sought to develop close connections between me and the subjects, and at the same time keeping the proper distance by emphasizing that I am also a researcher and not just a passionate gastronomic explorer (Ybema et al. 2009: 101).

The Danish Restaurant Business

In the following, I will provide an overview of the Danish restaurant business, in order to provide a context in which the new culinary activities can be understood.

Different trends have created different movements and new food cultures on the culinary scene worldwide since the confrontation with the stiffness in the French Escoffian haute

cuisine style in the 1970s¹ (Byrkjeflot et al. 2013, Christensen 2012, Sundbo & Darmer 2008, Svejenova et al. 2007, 2010, forthcoming). The different trends and movements have also affected the Danish culinary scene and even to a point where Denmark has become a forerunner in the creation of the movement New Nordic Cuisine (Christensen & Pedersen 2011, Byrkjeflot et al. 2013).

The French cuisine has influenced food perception over time worldwide, and the traditions taught at the culinary schools today, still have its origins in the French cuisine. In the 1970s, La Nouvelle Cuisine was introduced in France and the whole European cuisine changed. The style moved away from the stiffness towards more ad hoc creations, expressing the personality, skills and values of the creator. With these trends, the food and restaurants reviews began to resemble the reviews of the fine arts. The work of the chefs began to show similarities to the work of artists in the way they expressed themselves. Actually, in 1996, the Danish Minister for Culture, Jytte Hilden, suggested that especially inventive chefs should benefit from public funding like other artist without much support though (Sundbo & Darmer 2008).

The dominant restaurant rating system, the Michelin Guide, also changed its meaning during this period. The guide was published for the first time in 1900 in order to help drivers make dining decisions by raking restaurants from one star to three stars². The new standards for cooking gave other demands for the rating system. The Michelin Guide System is very influential in today's culinary scene and is the predominant standard of restaurant evaluation (Christensen & Pedersen 2011, Svejenova et al. 2007).

Denmark received its first Michelin stars in 1983, when the restaurants La Cocotte and Kong Hans Kælder were awarded with one star each. From 1983-2003, Denmark had around 2-5 Michelin stars each year all awarded to restaurants serving food with a French touch. From 2004, Denmark began to receive more and more Michelin Stars, and today, 13 restaurants have one star and two restaurants have two stars, making Denmark the Scandinavian country with most Michelin stars (Michelinsterjerner 2014, ViaMichelin 2014). Denmark, which used to be known for design, films and a good welfare system, is now also being branded as the world's new culinary Mecca (Byrkjeflot et al. 2013).

¹ Escoffian was a French chef that updated the French cooking methods. He is one of the most important leaders in the development of the modern French Cuisine, and therefore his name is associated with the French cooking style for that period (Escoffier Society 2014).

² One star was given for 'a very good restaurant in its category', two stars were given for 'excellent cooking, worth a detour', and three stars were given for 'exceptional cuisine worth a special journey'

A general desire for and interest in food and gastronomy has been created in Denmark, in which television chefs have played an important role. Today, the biggest Danish celebrity chef is Claus Meyer, who actually is a self-taught chef educated in business administration. Claus Meyer began his career as a television chef in the 90s and he has taught the Danes how to use local food and raw materials. Claus Meyer is behind a big business conglomerate consisting of more than six different food companies employing more than 300 persons (Gastronomisk Leksikon 2014).

Claus Meyer is also behind the Danish restaurant Noma that has been awarded four times for the best restaurant by San Pellegrino 'World's 50 Best Restaurant' list and since 2007 has been awarded with two Michelin stars. Claus Meyer got offered to operate a restaurant at the North Atlantic House located in the Copenhagen harbour area for which he partnered with the chef René Redzepi. Because of the location and the history of the buildings, 'Nordicity' became the initiator for that venture (Christensen & Pedersen 2011, Byrkjeflot et al. 2013). Noma opened in 2003 and it received its first Michelin star in 2005 (Michelinsterjerner 2014).

Noma has also played an important role in the creation of the New Nordic Cuisine movement. The New Nordic Cuisine emerged, got noticed and gained recognition in a very short time because of different events. Byrkjeflot et al. (2013) has identified the opening of restaurant Noma, and the creation of the New Nordic Cuisine Symposium³ to be very important events. Additionally and importantly, the television program Scandinavian Cooking was broadcasted to 130 countries with more than 100 million viewers. Most important for the fast emergence was the fact that The New Nordic Cuisine was an empty label, i.e. without previous meaning, allowing it to define what it is.

As the gastronomically performances intensified during the 1990s the general interest for good dining increased, however, the gastronomic scene has by the end of the 1990th reached a level where eating out was only for a privileged few due to extreme high prizes. At that time, the young entrepreneur Torben Klitbo, saw a potential in the market of making good quality food available for everyone by serving a three course meal for 200 DKK. In 2000, he started Cofoco, and today this venture has become a conglomerate consisting of 10 restaurants, three take away shops, six different catering services, Eventyr Ministeriet (the fairy tale ministry) that is a brand and communication bureau, The Copenhagen Food Magazine, a booking administration software system for restaurants and madbillet.dk, a website for booking food experiences (Cofoco 2014). During the same

³ A manifesto for the New Nordic Kitchen (see appendix 4).

period, the financial crisis made many restaurants close and Cofoco just grew bigger and bigger. The same counts for the brand Madklubben that also aims at serving food that everyone can afford, which opened its first restaurant in 2007. Like Cofoco, Madklubben has only grown bigger and bigger during the financial crisis, and today it consists of eight restaurants and during this fall it will open three new restaurants at the same street in Nørrebro in Copenhagen (Madklubben 2014).

Cofoco – or the sub-brand – Copenhagen Food Magazine has since 2011 celebrated the restaurant scene in Copenhagen each winter by arranging the festival Copenhagen Dining Week, which encourages people to eat out. The interesting thing is that for one week, Cofoco actually makes restaurants in the Copenhagen area follow its business model as all participating restaurants shall serve dinners that everyone can afford – three courses for 200 DKK. More than 80 well visited restaurants participates, however, Copenhagen Dining Week also receives a lot of critique from restaurateurs, who believe that this concept together with all the different deal sites keeps the industry artificially alive, and thus making restaurant guests used to not paying the full price, which will not benefit anybody in the end as it is extremely expensive to run a restaurant in Denmark (Kjær 2012). Many restaurants have had to make use of the different deal sites in order to stay alive during the financial crisis (Maach 2012). The restaurant industry has been very sensitive towards the financial crisis where many bankruptcies have occurred. Due to high operation costs it is especially hard to run a gourmet restaurant in Denmark, and in 2009 the Michelin star restaurant, MR, also had to close down. Even though a restaurant is awarded it is no insurance that it is a good business (Pedersen 2009).

In the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, around 60-80 restaurants went bankrupt each year. During the crisis years in 2008 and 2009, almost 300 restaurants went bankrupt each year (Danmarks Statistik 2014). In 2011, 2.4 percent of all restaurants had gone bankrupt, which means that the bankruptcies proportion still were at a higher level than before the crisis. In 2007, only 1.1 percent restaurants went bankrupt. During the crisis, the restaurant business has performed badly in credit ratings, and still no banks find it attractive to lend money to restaurant businesses (Horesta 2011a, Bertelsen 2011).

In 2010, the Danes began to eat more out again. However, they spent less money on eating out than they did before the crisis. During those three years, the average money used per visit decreased from 111,9 DKK till 106,2 DKK nationwide. In Copenhagen, people are spending 147,8 DKK in averages whereas people in the eastern part of Jutland only spend 74,9 DKK. There are approximately 13500 companies in the Danish restaurant industry.

These numbers covers everything from restaurants to catering. The decrease in money spend is due to the fact that people use less money on restaurants but also that people, after the crisis, are eating out at cheaper alternatives (Horesta 2011b).

The younger generation, from 25-34 years old, eats out more often than the older population, however, the older population spend more money pr restaurant visit. For people in Denmark, it is not that common to eat out and most people prefer homemade meals. 65 % of all Danes eat out once a month and 28 % eats out twice a month. Compared to the other countries in Scandinavia, Denmark is the country that eats out most rarely (Groth et al. 2009, Jensen 2011).

It is not possible to say, what kind of cheaper alternatives that people are using for eating out. But in the later years, some other eating out alternatives has popped up in Copenhagen. These are characterized by being temporary and sometimes moveable businesses that offer food and differ from the well-known hot dog stands and sharwarma wagons (Kyster 2014). Statistics in the restaurant business is divided into categories⁴, and even though it is Horesta's impression that these kind of new alternatives are increasing, no one can tell how many, as they, in principle, can be registered under every of those categories (Knudsen 2014). The turnover for restaurants has increased with 38 % and for cafés it has increased with 48 % during the past 10 years, emphasizing that 'eating out' still is a market in growth in Denmark (Horesta 2011a).

Legal aspects

Following Jacobsen (in Sundbo & Darmer 2008), is it an important and obvious task for public authorities to engage in the development of the food and eating experience, as food and eating can be a mean for better nutrition, a better urban life, new social settings etc.

Since 2008, the local politicians of Copenhagen have been active in the debate about the conditions for street vendors (Kjær 2010). Food is seen as a mean for developing a greater urban life with wider culinary offers. In 2013, it was decided to remove all the charges for moveable food businesses, which before was 11.225 DKK before VAT every six month. The politicians anticipated that this would result in 35-50 new food trucks already in the summer of 2013 (Finnedal 2013).

A new moveable or temporary food business must therefore follow certain regularities from the Municipality of Copenhagen, and because it is a food business it must also follow

⁴ Restaurants, grill bars, pizzerias, cafés, bars discotheques, 'catering and other'

regularities from the authorities, the Danish Veterinary and Food Administration (DVFA) and the Danish Business Authority.

The DVFA's job is to ensure the safety of the food by the guidance in its regulations. A food business cannot operate before it has applied and got permission from the DVFA. This authority can only provide guidance and it is always the food business own responsibility to abide by the rules and to ensure the food products are well and safe (DVFA 2014a). If the food business' turnover exceeds 50.000 DKK, the business must be registered at the Danish Business Authority for VAT and have a CVR number, and it must also be registered as 'Business Registry' (naeringsbrev) (DBA 2014a). This means that it is actually possible for culinary entrepreneurs to test ideas before it has to register at the authorities. In some cases, it can be possible to do test the food idea more than once – it depends on whether the food business is carried out under the triviality limit (bagatel grænse).

The triviality limit represents a zone between private cooking and professional food production. As long as the business is carried out under the triviality limit, it does not need to be registered at any authorities (DVFA 2014b). The decisive thing is how often the food production takes place and how organized the food production is. When the cooking and the eating event only takes place over a short period and only one or few times, the business is carried out under the triviality limit. In that case, the business does not need to follow all the regulations from the DVFA, it just has to ensure that one cannot get ill from the food (DVFA 2014c).

The persons operating in the food business must be educated in food hygiene (DVFA 2014d). If the food business wants to offer alcohol, it must apply at the local police (Politi 2014). However, when your food business operates as a moveable food business it is not possible to get permission to sell alcohol (DBA 2014b). If the food business operates from a bike and sells prepared food that can be eaten right away like a sandwich, the person must have access to a toilet and must install a way to wash hands (DVFA 2014e).

The municipality of Copenhagen regulates the market of moveable food businesses and street vendors as it provides the permissions for both fixed stalls and moveable businesses (City of Copenhagen 2014a). In order to enhance the diversity and to gain a richer selection of food, it has been decided, that it is free of charge to operate for fixed stalls until 2014 and for moveable businesses until 2017 (City of Copenhagen 2014c, 2014d). Everyone can apply and get permission for a moveable food business, but for a fixed stall, however, the business must live up to criteria set by the Municipality of Copenhagen. The criteria change every year. This year it is very important that business focus on organic principles and the food is considered healthy. The business must also

hand in a business plan, as it is part of the consideration whether the business seems sustainable (City of Copenhagen 2014f).

In the following chapter, it will be evaluated how these regulation have influenced the different culinary activities.

New Culinary Activities: The Events

In the following, I will investigate the culinary field by looking at events and their significance for this field's evolution. Field-configuring events represent an important mechanism shaping the emergence of markets, industries and professions. Which are seen previously, different events and movements have all together been mechanisms shaping the culinary industry and creating a market for it. Furthermore, I argue that the different studied events indicate to be configuring for the field of new culinary activities (Lampel and Meyer 2008).

Roskilde Festival, which first of all is a music festival, has since the year of 2010 worked intensely with a strategy for food. Roskilde Festival serves more than 130.000 people during the week of the festival, and sees it as part of its responsibility to offer delicious, healthy, organic, and sustainable food. In 2013, Roskilde Festival established a food court, which it sees as a laboratory that challenges our perception of festival food. It consists of 20 different food stalls. Most of these food stalls are already known restaurant brands that for this week 'pop-up' at Roskilde Festival⁵. However, one new food start-up, Copper and Wheat, found its way to the food court in 2013 and participated in 2014 as well. 'More Than Eating' is another initiative and consists of some more experimental events and was introduced four years ago. It is a 'brand' at Roskilde Festival that host different food events. More Than Eating is a mean to present and offer more than just music during the festival. In 2014, 13 different creative food enthusiasts were invited and three of these are actual food entrepreneurs working on starting a food business⁶ (Roskilde Festival 2014, Own observations, Sander 2014, Pedersen 2014). Following Pedersen (2014), it is important for the Festival that those presented at More Than Eating to some extent also are food enthusiasts that can use the experience to develop on their food business. This is

⁵ Brands: Aamanns, Grød, Sauna Bar, Boutique Fisk, Den Røde Reje, Copper and Wheat, Glad Esperanto Mad!, Folkets madhus, Jacobsen bar, Foreningen Grønlandske Børn, Madhus Lolland-Falster, Kiin Kiin, Gorms Bornholmerbiks, Yatai, Madsynergi Faxe Egnret, Milk&Sandwich, Peter Larsen Kaffe, Palæo, PharS

⁶ Food enthusiasts: Palete-Palette, De Lokale, Mad med medfølelse, KøkkenNinjaerne, Sweet Sneak, Pestoatelje, Smag of Rum, Regastro, Mad Spetaklet, Damer & Bajere, Pop-up Køkken KBH, Måltidsmøblet.

the reason why Sweet Sneak was invited this year and why Silverspoon and Rødder have been invited previously.

An actual result of Roskilde Festival's food strategy is the state-controlled 'temporary organic stamp' (Midlertidige økologiske spisemærke). This state-controlled organic stamp is the customers insurance that the food is actually organic. In Denmark, before 2013, it has only been possible to be marked with this stamp as a permanent food business (café, restaurant, public institution), which has been problematic for those culinary entrepreneurs with temporary and moveable food businesses that want to show that they serve organic food. It has also been problematic for Roskilde Festival, as its mission states that it wants to offer organic food. Therefore, Roskilde Festival, partnered up with the Danish Veterinary and Food Administration and developed this 'Midlertidige økologiske spisemærke', which now makes it possible for every moveable and temporary food business, not just at Roskilde Festival, to show that it serves organic food (Skouboe 2013). Roskilde Festival has by this initiative proved that it is an arena in which new standards are set and thereby has influenced the field's evolution. As other festivals use this 'Midlertidige økologiske spisemærke' today, it is proven that Roskilde Festival is configuring for the culinary field (Lampel and Meyer 2008).

During the Eurovision Song Contest, a street food market was established as a showcase for organic street food in Denmark, and was thereby the second food event to use the 'Midlertidige økologiske spisemærke'. At this event, 9 different food stalls were presented and 8 were established restaurants and food brands and one, Gastrotrukken, was a new temporary and moveable business⁷ (Westergaard 2014).

The electronic music festival, Distortion, began in 2011 to focus on food by creating dining events, which is called Copenhagen Dinners ('København-middage'). At these events, famous restaurant brands serve the food⁸, and this year, the food was actually provided by the Michelin star awarded restaurant Kadeau (Kjær 2011c, Svidt 2014, own observations 2011-2014). From 2013, Distortion started to focus more on the food available on the streets and in case of further develop this, the food startup Rødder has been consulted (Danielsen 2014).

⁷ Cofoco, Gastrotrukken, NORD, Nordic Street Food, Timm Vladimirs Køkken, Spisevognen, DØP, Pølse Kompagniet, Kalles Kaffe, Spisevognen

⁸ Cofoco has been the most frequent

In the case of Roskilde Festival, Eurovision Song Contest, and Distortion, and many other events, food is an 'add-on' to an event with another core service. During the last years, however, there are more and more events where food is the core offering.

Restaurant Day is a worldwide food carnival that happens four times a year where anyone can set up a restaurant, café or a bar for a day. The idea is from Finland and started in 2011. Today, more than 64 different countries celebrate Restaurant Day. Denmark has celebrated Restaurant Day since 2012, and around 10-15 concepts usually pop-up at each event. In Denmark, the event mostly attracts people that find it fun to cook for just one day, even though that Pedersen (2014), the initiator in Denmark, hope to see more people that will use Restaurant Day to try out and test concept for the development of a food start-up. As this event has a limited time period, it is under the triviality limit, and therefore concepts can be tested without being concerned about legal barriers.

Copenhagen Street Food is a new initiative, which opened in Easter 2014 at Papirøen (the Paper Island) in Copenhagen. The purpose of this market is to promote the global street food by creating a platform in Copenhagen, where culinary entrepreneurs can sell their food cheaply. The concept of Copenhagen Street Food has been much debated and criticized. First of all, it is argued that this new market does not promote the idea of good easy accessible food on the street. The initiators, Dan Husted and Jesper Møller, disagree, as they see this as "*(...) the place where we develop street food in Copenhagen and Northern Scandinavia. We want to be the place, where you come if you have an idea. If you have less money to buy the bricks and motor (referring to a food truck) you come out here and you create something*" (Copenhagen Street Food 2014). The concept of this market also has its political support, which can be seen by the fact that Lars Weiss, chairman of the city council, was speaker at this opening event and congratulated Copenhagen for gaining this street food market. Second, the concept has been debated according to the prize for a food stall. It costs 29000 DKK to start-up at this market⁹ and it has a monthly rent at 7000 DKK. As I can understand from the entrepreneurs in the field, this is not considered cheap and not considered as a place, where you just test out ideas. Papirøen is only a place for selling food; hence the food business also needs to pay for a kitchen to prepare the food. Today, around 20 different food stalls are gathered at this island, and what can be seen is that most of them are already established food businesses. Some are well-known brands like Pølsekompagniet, some are restaurateurs that make use of the advantage of having a kitchen, and thereby also can prepare food for their food stall, like restaurant Toldboden

⁹ This covers the first rent, prepaid rent, fees for signing contracts, fees for being installed.

serves Fish'nChips at Papirøen. Copper and Wheat, however, is a food start-up that has moved its business to Papirøen (Fristot 2014).

Copenhagen Street Food has created a lot of debate about 'what is street food' and it is my general impression from the field that food entrepreneurs starting up now do not really support the idea, as it, for them, does not promote the idea of food on the street (own observations, Pedersen, Sønsken 2014). I argue, however, that street food in Copenhagen can benefit from this market, because all of its events gather all sorts of people, and thereby contribute to collective-sensemaking among prospective customers for street food in Copenhagen. Following Lampel and Meyer (2008) collective-sensemaking is a strong benefit for events and can thereby trigger a field's evolution.

Wednesday market at Torvehallerne, on the other hand, has attracted food entrepreneurs this summer. It costs 400 DKK to sell food on a Wednesday. This market has been configuring for the field in the sense that it has created an easy accessible platform for food entrepreneurs to test food ideas. A good example is 'Proper Pie' that has been able to test the concept of selling pies 10 times this summer and thereby operated under the triviality limit (Olesen 2014). Thus, the Wednesday market at Torvehallerne has contributed to shape the market for these new culinary activities, and food start-ups have appreciated the idea and used it for testing their food ideas (Olesen 2014, Fristot 2014, Pedersen 2014)

Following Lampel and Meyer (2009), these studied events have the characteristics of being field-configuring events on the operational level, as they are all assembled in one location, the events' duration is limited, and the events are occasions for information exchange, which enhance collective sense-making. Field-configuring events generate social and reputational resources that can be deployed elsewhere for another purpose. These events have been significant for the evolution of the culinary field, as it has evolved the field to include more moveable and temporary new food businesses that serve food not usually seen, both at events where food is an add-on and at events where food is the core offering. All of this indicates that the field is triggered to encapsulate more of these businesses in the future. Additionally, the different events have generated reputational resources for the food businesses. The events have contributed to the food businesses' ability to be temporary and moveable, as each event facilitates opening up new places for food businesses. All of the different events shape this industry together, create a market demand and evolve this profession.

New Culinary Activities: The Entrepreneurs

In the following, I will look into the similarities of the studied food entrepreneurs' way of business operation and the business operation of creative entrepreneurs. Additionally, I will look into what characterizes the logic of these entrepreneurs. I will picture driving forces and the barriers for such.

Restaurants and food brands have worked with the 'pop-up' concept for many years, but Silverspoon dining seems to be the first which idea was solely on the concept of 'pop-up' (Kjær 2011b). Silverspoon started five years ago and today, it cannot be declared as neither new nor a food start-up, as it now runs its business in three countries operating as a food agency. However, Silverspoon appears to be one of the first building its core food business up around being both temporary and moveable.

Rødder also started out by hosting pop-up restaurants, but mostly for friends. In 2011, a journalist from Information visited their pop-up restaurant and wrote about it afterwards (Jeng 2011), and from that point a demand for the pop-up restaurant began. Rødder has several times been invited to different places in Denmark, such as castles, manors, museums, and has also been invited to do pop-up restaurants in Sweden. Rødder's business consists pop-up events once a month at a new venue each time, and every second week it pops up at Coffee Collective and serves Sunday roast and once every second month, it host events where the guests are part of preparing the food. As the demand increased, a certified kitchen was needed. However, this pop-up format would never provide an income enough for a certified kitchen or for a living for the two founders, Esben and Daniel, for that matter. Both of them have a higher academic education and are very passionate about cooking and the concept of Rødder, so they decided to make a living out of it. They did that by opening a lunch catering business so as to have a proper income, and maybe more importantly a certified kitchen, and in that way made it possible to operate as a real business with so many events as it wants (Danielsen 2014).

Sweet Sneak is also working with the pop-up format. These four girls (one Austrian and three Germans) met each other during their master at Copenhagen Business School. None of them has ever worked with food, but all of them love to cook. Sweet sneak is a pop-up bakery and it started because the girls love to bake and as a mean for seeing more friends. The first Sweet Sneak event was held in their private apartment one year ago. Today, Sweet Sneak pops up every second month at different locations. According to the girls behind, one event has led to the other and mostly it has been people approaching them, whether they would host the next event at their location. Sweet sneak has popped up at a

co-working office, a gallery, a festival, a café etc. A demand has been created for their concept, and Sweet Sneak often receives requests for catering jobs. However, Sweet Sneak operates under the triviality limit why it only can operate ten times a year. The girls find it hard to take the step further. First of all, they have to be hygiene educated, and secondly, they need to register as a company, and lastly and most critically, they are in need of a certified kitchen, otherwise they cannot register as a food company (Filou and Brini 2014).

Copper and Wheat have found a way operate as a food business. Copper and Wheat's initial idea was to cook slow food and serve it in a jar. A French architect and a German gastronome met at University of Copenhagen, and developed the idea. Both of them thought that Copenhagen needed some other alternatives to fast food. They gained funding for the jars and from there they started to develop the idea. Fortunately, they had access to a certified kitchen through their network, which meant that they could actually do this as a business with no limits. In order to get the jars with food out to the people on the streets, capital was needed, and for that reason they opened a food stall at the Food court at Roskilde Festival. The dream is to have a food truck from which the jars can be sold, but at the moment it is too expensive and too difficult with all the regulations to begin with this project. Thus, for now they cook, because they love it and have a food stall Copenhagen Street Food until the food truck venture is possible (Fristot 2014).

Copper and Wheat has thereby become what Lundin and Söderholm (1994) denote as temporary organisation, which also counts for the new café Riga. The idea behind Riga is to create a café where the two founders, Jon Bue Nimgaard and Rune Quist, could imagine themselves hanging out. They saw an opportunity in creating a café after the Municipality had eased the regulations for food stalls in Copenhagen. First, they found the right space, Litauen Square at Vesterbro, and thereafter applied for a fixed stall at the Municipality. The idea got approved and they started to construct the café, however, it was not without problems. The food stall concept, which is made possible for free, is not that free. It is demanded that the food stall have certain water and electricity injecting from suppliers of the Municipality, which costs more than 75000 DKK. This first became a reality for the two entrepreneurs few days before the planned opening. By chance, they got in contact with the church at the square and arranged to build the food stall up against their brick wall and thereby use their electricity and water facilities. Jon also works as cater and thereby have access to a kitchen from which they can prepare the food they sell. They managed to build up Riga for less than 100,000 DKK, which they have from own savings. Approaching the bank has not even been considered as a option (Nimgaard 2014).

Yuca Taco is a food start-up, which began summer 2014. It is a food truck driving around the streets of Copenhagen. Jon Due Roe saw a need for good Mexican food in Copenhagen. He has been dreaming of having his own place, but due to needed capital he has not started a restaurant. After travelling around in Mexico, where he experienced how easy it is to serve Mexican food from a truck, he decided to open a food truck. It was indeed also the eased regulations for moveable businesses that made him open now. The start-up process, however, has been hard, as no support is offered on how to build a food truck. With some help from mechanic friends, he prepared an old Volvo to be a food truck. As only small food preparations are possible in the truck a certified kitchen was also needed. Roe has located a kitchen, which he can rent a day once a week for 1300 DKK pr day. Today, the truck is out on the street from Wednesday to Saturday with a fixed spot for each day. He has partnered up with bars selling beverages in order to benefit from the local environment and benefit them by coming with food. The driving wheels for Roe, is to be out on the streets and meet people and let them meet him. Roe has managed to start-up with his own savings and the start-up costs was 75000 DKK (Roe 2014).

Gastrotrukken is another food truck started summer 2014, however, not moveable. Daniel Weimann Lauridsen and his girlfriend wanted to start a food truck, and the opportunity to sell at the Eurovision Village made them start this business in May. An old Citroën has been prepared to be a food truck. The truck does not have a motor, why it cannot drive, but it is the idea to install a motor as soon as they can afford it. Instead Gastrotrukken has operated at different events this summer (Lauridsen 2014).

Common for these entrepreneurs is that they all have a desire for creating food and serving people. The food is not a mean for artistic expression or a way for pursuing social opportunities like it is for haute cuisine chefs (Svejenova et al. forthcoming). But these entrepreneurs are indeed pursuing other opportunities than just business opportunities, as it is clear that these entrepreneurs just want to make food for people. These entrepreneurs are similar to creative entrepreneurs in the sense securing income is not the main focus. Like creative entrepreneurs, they have been good at partnering up with others in order to actually run the business. Some have even developed a two-folded business model where one feeds the other, meaning that they run businesses in order to secure income and a kitchen and thereby made it possible also to operate as a temporary and moveable food business. This is also the case for the creative entrepreneurs in the study of Svejenova et al. (Forthcoming).

The food entrepreneurs are also similar to expert entrepreneurs. The logic of expert entrepreneurs according to Saravathry (2001) is that they use *effectual reasoning*.

Effectual reasoning is a type of human problem solving that sees the future unpredictable; hence there is no need to try to control it. The environment is constructible through choice; and goals are set through stakeholders' commitments rather than as pre-existent preference orderings. What characterizes such expert entrepreneurs is that they all start with their means. They do not wait for the perfect opportunity, they start taking action based on what is available based on who they are, what they know and who they know. They evaluate opportunities based on whether the downside is acceptable rather than trying to predict the attractiveness. They do not worry about competition and rather form partnerships.

Following Saravathry (2001: 36) these food entrepreneurs are novice entrepreneurs by definition, however, their way of operate indicates they use effectual logic like experts entrepreneur. Additionally, these food entrepreneurs also have similarities with creative entrepreneurs. Different events have generated a market structure with new opportunities for temporary and moveable food businesses. There are though barriers connected to grab these opportunities. First of all, the regulations are complex, and thus hard to navigate through. Secondly, it is difficult to figure out when to move the operation from under the triviality limit to register as a full company, which entails acquiring access to certified kitchen. Thirdly, capital is often a problem, as banks are somewhat reluctant to lend money to restaurant businesses. The studied entrepreneurs have managed to succeed by exploiting their own means and the opportunities available, and these entrepreneurs are the driving force in the development of these new culinary activities.

Conclusion

Different trends influence the culinary scene, and Denmark has grown more and more into this gastronomic thinking. The country has the world's best restaurant, 17 Michelin Stars in total, and has created the movement New Nordic Cuisine. Alongside, a demand for cheaper eating out alternatives has arisen and new culinary activities on the gastronomic scene have emerged.

The restaurant business has been sensitive towards the financial crisis, and hereafter banks have not shown willingness to lend capital to such businesses. Therefore, other eating out alternatives has popped up in Copenhagen. These are characterized by being new food businesses that are temporary and sometimes moveable. Different events such as Roskilde Festival, Eurovison Song Contest, Distortion, Restaurant Day, and Copenhagen Street Food have triggered this field evolution, as they have promoted the idea of these new eating alternatives.

The Municipality of Copenhagen has these new eating alternatives on its agenda as well. In 2013, all charges for food businesses operating on the streets of Copenhagen was removed. The politicians anticipated that this would result in 35-50 new food trucks already in the summer of 2013, however, this does not seem to be the case.

Part of the explanation could be that these food entrepreneurs face barriers in relation to capital, complex regulations, lack of a certified kitchen, and the process of start up businesses. Some have, on the other hand, succeeded in starting up now because there also are a lot of opportunities at the moment, and these entrepreneurs have managed to grasp these. The entrepreneurs are not driven by great business opportunities but instead by a desire for cooking and serving people. These entrepreneurs take advantage of their own means and the opportunities available. The studied entrepreneurs are the driving force in the development of these new culinary activities.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Approval, Guidelines and Learning objectives for fieldwork

Appendix 2: E-mails

Appendix 3: Full introduction to the data collected at events

Appendix 4: Manifesto for the New Nordic Kitchen

Recordings

Nimgaard, Jon Bue (2014), Interview, "Riga"

Roe, Jon Due (2014), Interview, "Yuca Taco"

Pedersen, Kristina V. (2014), interview

Filou, Katrin and Fetzen, Brini (2014), Interview, "Sweet Sneak"

Recordings from the opening of Copenhagen Street Food