

# What's Cooking in Copenhagen?

A Case of Institutional  
Change within the  
Culinary Organizational  
Field of Copenhagen

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## Abstract

The culinary field of Copenhagen represents a case of institutional change. By means of a qualitative method, this thesis provides an explanation for the changes the culinary field of Copenhagen has experienced the last 15 years.

The culinary field of Copenhagen is perceived as an institutionalized organizational field, which means it consists of organizations that are similar to each other. Within such fields, actors tend to reproduce institutions because the institutions within the field shape them. Therefore, it is rare that fields undergo change. However, the many dynamics at work in Copenhagen strongly indicate such a change.

In this thesis, the culinary field is defined as the producers, suppliers, regulatory systems, educations, unions, social movements, and consumers that within the certain geographical area, Copenhagen, contributes to the culinary subject, and interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside the field.

The primary focus is on the food producers of the field the last 15 years, however, historical elements, regulatory bodies, educational systems, ranking systems, media and critics, social movements, events and financial analytics are also examined as part of this field in order to provide a holistic understanding of the field, so as the changes can be understood. The producers are perceived as the primary crafters of the field. The producers investigated are chosen due to their level of innovativeness in either the content of their food or in the form of serving. The producers are perceived as a complex group of actors and therefore there are divided into and examined through the four categories: Haute Cuisine, Gastronomy for all, Subject food, and Delivery concept.

This thesis shows that the producers within the culinary field of Copenhagen are different today than the producers were 15 years ago. The changes are caused by different mechanisms such as events, social movements, institutional entrepreneurs and institutional work. Most changes are derived from a cultured-cognitive aspect, but some are also derived from regulatory means. All the changes are supported and legitimized by normative means.

By examining the underlying aspects for change within this culinary field, this thesis adds to the research on institutional change.

## Foreword

My family has always called me a true ‘madøre’. Direct translated into English, it makes just a little sense as it does in Danish – in English it would be “Food Ear”.

I love to explore new eating out alternatives at all gastronomy levels. Visiting Haute Cuisine restaurants is for me a cultural experience, as high-leveled food can both be challenging and pleasuring. Most often though, I enjoy food at a lower level and I am interested by new eating settings at events, street food, and markets. At such places, food works as a mean for socializing with friends and family.

In recent years, I have finally found my niche by letting both my academia world and my professional world be about food. I am the co-founder of the kitchen incubator Kitchen Collective, which enables culinary entrepreneurs to build up their business by offering production facilities. This means that I meet with the newest culinary entrepreneurs in Copenhagen on a daily basis.

I will especially like to thank everyone who supported my thesis in any regard – the food entrepreneurs at Kitchen Collective and my interview partners for giving me inspiration and interesting insights into their organizations and ventures, my academic advisor Jesper Strandgaard Pedersen for his excellent supervision, and my wonderful critics and proofreaders Thomas Presskorn Thygesen and Christina Lidegaard.

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# Introduction

Once Denmark was considered a gastronomic wasteland, but now it is home to some of the best restaurants in the world. During the last decade, the culinary field in Denmark has become a much debated topic and gained international recognition: Noma is nominated the world's best restaurant several times, the Danish chef Rasmus Koefod won the world championship for chefs, Bocuse d'Or 2011, and the 2015 Michelin star announcement awarded Denmark with more stars than ever before. In the last decade, Denmark has additionally developed a new label, the New Nordic Cuisine, a movement similar to the French Nouvelle Cuisine (Byrkjeflot, Strandgaard, & Svejenova, 2013).

Originally, gastronomy stems from France and emerged as a field in the first half of the 19th century in the form of restaurants. A culinary discourse was formed by gastronomic journalists and chefs, which then formalized the French classic cuisine (Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003). The culinary field is an institutionalized organizational field, meaning that the field produces products fulfilling the same consumer need, uses the same sort of suppliers, and is controlled by the same regulatory agencies (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Different food waves and food philosophies have dominated the institutionalized organizational field of gastronomy. The most prevailing has been Classic Cuisine, Nouvelle Cuisine, Molecular Gastronomy, Slow Cooked Food and for the last couple of years, New Nordic Cuisine, Stop Wasting Food, and Local Food. (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013; Christensen & Pedersen, 2011; Rao et al., 2003; Silviya Svejenova, Mazza, & Planellas, 2007; Silviya Svejenova, Planellas, & Vives, 2010).

The food scene changes, just like the art scene. New trends emerge, new techniques are introduced, and 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 differs by having a constant market as people get hungry at least three times a day (Jacobsen, 2008).

Within the culinary field in Denmark today, one notices new culinary innovations at different levels. High-class restaurants in Copenhagen are serving customers with food differing from the French cuisine's principles, which used to dominate this scene. Typical high-class food is served in new restaurant types at prices most people can afford. New culinary activities characterized by more flexible business structures compared to the well-known restaurant format have emerged. Some of these new activities are operating on the streets, which used to be the Danish hotdog stand's ('Pølsevognen') domain, and recent initiatives such as better conditions for moveable food businesses

in Copenhagen and new temporary markets for food entrepreneurs confirm the trend as well as its growth.

The market is furthermore turned upside down. Hotdogs are not only eaten on the streets, now it is just as common to eat hotdogs in fancy restaurants (Elsøe, 2014) , as well as it is common to eat fancy food on the streets (Andersson-Rønning, 2013).

The culinary field today seems like an open playground, oppose to how I perceive the culinary field just 15 years ago. These different initiatives and trends make me believe that the culinary field is transforming, and I want to investigate if it is a case of institutional change.

### **Theoretical Background: Institutional Theory**

I perceive the culinary field of Copenhagen as an institutionalized organizational field. Institutions are composed of different value systems produced by individuals and corporate actors. The different value systems furnish guidelines for practical action and thereby become the template for how to organize. It is a field's shared understanding of goals to be pursued (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Rao et al., 2003)

Institutions exist of an organizational field, where organizations are similar to each other in form and practice, and it can be argued that the institutional context forces organizations to imitate each other, i.e. exert isomorphic behaviour (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Early institutional theory, such as DiMaggio & Powell (1983), claims that agents' preferences and decisions as well as the institutional environment in which they are embedded influence behaviours. Increasing isomorphism among organizations subject to similar institutional pressures results in organizations and individuals passively adapting to institutions. Organizations are relatively stable and resistant to change, once their members have adopted institutionalized organizational forms and practices (Battilana & D'anno, 2009; Battilana et al., 2009; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Lawrence & Shadnam, 2008; Muzio, Brock, & Suddaby, 2013; Scott, 2010a)

From this point of view, field level is a rarity. A challenge within institutionalism is to explain how existing value systems are replaced by new value systems, as actors tend to reproduce institutions in a given field. It is furthermore a challenge to explain institutional change because of *the paradox of embedded agency*. If institutional environments shape individuals and organizations with limited degrees of agency, the question is: *How can actors change institutions if their actions are all shaped by the very institution they wish to change?* (Battilana & D'anno, 2009; Scott, 2010a).

Within institutional theory, field level change is a complex issue, as a wide variety of elements influence whether the institutional situation is stable or evolving. Some forces push organizations towards transformation and some forces are resistant to change and remain status quo. In order to understand institutional change one must recognize the existing institutional structures as they shape the creation of new institutional fields (McShane & von Glinow, 2000; Scott & Davis, 2007).

Scott (2001) has developed a threefold view on institutions that helps to understand institutional structures. Institutions consist of regulative, normative and cultured-cognitive elements. These three pillars provide stability and meaning to life as well as promote and sustain orderly behaviour; an argumentation that many has adopted. By categorizing institutions into these three pillars, the sources from which change can derive seem broader. Differences among the three pillars stimulate dilemmas and tensions, sparking misunderstandings, conflicts and confusion, which in turn open up the possibility for change. Thus, these pillars enable us to comprehend and constitute organizations, organizational populations, and organizational fields (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Muzio et al., 2013; Scott & Davis, 2007; Scott, 2010a, 2010c).

The concept of institutional change helps to explain the emergence of new value systems. Institutional change can refer to the birth of a new value system, the dissolution of a value system, or the replacement of an existing value system or governance structure (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Muzio et al., 2013; Rao et al., 2003; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005).

In order to explain the change, the dynamics within the field will prove useful (Mazza & Pedersen, 2004). Dynamics are created by different mechanisms, such as events (Lampel & Meyer, 2008), social movements (Rao et al., 2003), institutional entrepreneurs and institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Thus, examining these dynamics in the culinary field of Copenhagen will help us understand the changes, the field has undergone

## **Problem area**

In the last decade, something has changed in the culinary field of Copenhagen, Different tendencies such as high-class food and Michelin stars exploding, food having another status at most events, a whole range of new and different food easy to access on the streets and unforeseen places have been observed.

These years, there is an increased focus on the culinary field's capabilities and what they can be used for. The field has evolved in all sorts of directions, and there is no right-hand explanation for the emergences of all these new tendencies. The culinary field of Copenhagen is rather understudied.

As it is important to recognize the existing institutional structures as they shape the creation of new institutional fields, I want to investigate which mechanisms and forces that has shaped the culinary landscape in Copenhagen the last 15 years in order to explain the changes we see in the field today. I therefore base this thesis on the following research question:

How can the changes in the culinary field of Copenhagen in the last 15 years be explained?

I have further formulated several sub-questions and aspects, which I consider essential for the process of finding answers to my research question. How can we perceive the culinary field of Copenhagen? Who and what can be perceived as being part of the field? How is the field organized? Do the producers create culinary innovations? Which mechanisms collect actors and maintain value systems? Who has been in the forefront for creating, maintaining and disrupting the value systems? Which movements exist? In which new ways do institutions organize and interact with each other? With these questions, I identify the core elements of the culinary field of Copenhagen and I gain a deeper understanding of what the culinary field encompasses in order to find out how all the elements influence the culinary field today.

## Delimitations

I have decided to delimitate my research field to the geographic area of Copenhagen, as many of the new culinary activities in recent years are centred in and originated from Copenhagen. The Municipality of Copenhagen has through different regulatory means (cf. Scott 2001) tried to promote new culinary activities, which makes it relevant and interesting to delimit the research within the boundaries of the municipality. The urban setting is furthermore important for my research, as it provides a greater amount of and diversity among food concepts and people. Lastly, Copenhagen is an interesting case, as it in very few years went from being unknown to being famous in the world's gastronomic landscape.

The time period studied in this thesis is delimited to the last 15 years. The opening of the restaurant Noma in 2003 has influenced the culinary scene of Copenhagen remarkably and played an important role in making Copenhagen world famous for its culinary offers. Since the opening of Noma, the culinary field has evolved, why it is important to capture both the creation and the development of Noma, explaining the 15 years period.

My unit of analysis consists of actors that are involved within the creation or influence the creation of food served in Copenhagen. Some have denoted it as the dining sector (Brizek & Khan, 2007) referring mostly to restaurants, which in my opinion, is too narrow a definition in the light of the range

of culinary offers in Copenhagen. Shanmugalingam (2013) denotes the field as the eating-out sector, and she includes all kinds of food business that serve ready-to-eat meals. I have chosen to use the term culinary field, as I believe that it is a wide variety of actors that constitute a given field. Thus, the field refers to producers, suppliers, regulatory systems, educations, unions, social movements, and consumers that within the boundaries of the Municipality of Copenhagen contribute to the culinary subject and interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside the field

With that being said, my primary focus is on the professionals, i.e. the actual producers behind the food. I find the food producers most interesting, as I believe they are the main crafters of the field, why I will do an in-depth investigation of these producers. Additionally, the precise role of professionals and professional services firms in processes of institutional change remains under-theorized and under-examined (Muzio et al., 2013).

I will only focus on served ready-to-eat-meals. I include cooked meals that are served from any kind of food business, which primary mean is to serve a cooked meal. This entails everything from small take-away shops and high-class restaurants, to moveable and sometimes temporary food businesses such as food events, food trucks, and pop-up restaurants, but it excludes supermarkets and dining at private homes, for example. Thus, I am only looking at producers that operate on a commercial market. All the different types of producers within this perspective are examined, but my units of analysis will be based on the degree of innovation in either the content of the food or in the form of how the food is served (see chapter 4).

## **Brief Overview of Structure**

The thesis is structured as follows. The first chapter is called Hermeneutic Methodology and Qualitative Method and contains the methodological approach to answering my research question. The second chapter consists of data collecting, sample profiles, and data analysis. Afterwards, the third chapter presents the theoretical framework for this thesis, and chapter four illustrate my approach to investigate the culinary field of Copenhagen. The fifth and sixth chapter contain an analysis of the organizational field and its producers. These analyses are used in the seventh chapter, which discusses the forces within the field and the changes the field has undergone. Chapter eight is two folded and consists of a conclusion and recommendations. Where my conclusion looks back at the answers collected and the terrain travelled, the second part of this chapter looks ahead into the horizon in order to sketch a perspective on future initiatives. The last part is therefore dedicated to recommendations for evolving the culinary field of Copenhagen further as well as for future researches.

## Chapter 1: Hermeneutic Methodology & Qualitative Method

The basic approach to my research question can be characterized as hermeneutic. This chapter will proceed as follows: firstly, I describe the abstract framework of hermeneutics as discipline within the philosophy of science. Secondly, I describe its relation to the concrete manner of doing qualitative research. Finally, I elaborate on my on role within the research process in order to determine the trustworthiness of this work.

### Theory of Science: Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics is the main or the root form of *interpretivism* (Højbjerg, 2008), meaning the discipline of interpretation. Interpretivists posit that social settings must be understood (not explained) through human understanding and the devices of hermeneutic method. When the object of study is humans capable of independent thoughts and of constructing a symbolic universe, valuable insights into contextual features of social settings would be lost if human discourse and action were predicted or generalized, why human activity should be treated as unique constellations that are a function of a particular set of circumstances (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I therefore endeavour to achieve a contextual understanding of a particular phenomenon through the interpretation of meaning.

Methodologically and philosophically, interpretivism also involves *subjectivism*, which according to Miles & Huberman (1994), means that I, as a researcher, have my own understanding, conviction and conceptual orientation affecting how I hear and observe in the field to some degree. On an epistemological note, this means that I am part of what is being researched, and therefore cannot be separated from this, consequently leaving me subjective. In short, hermeneutics commits me to realize that I am bound by my initially understanding, but it also commits me to transgress this initially standpoint by actively trying to understand the world from another point of view, namely the point of my research subjects. Seeking to achieve such an understanding – even if incomplete – is the ideal of hermeneutics.

In hermeneutic, the focus is on the interpretation of texts both written and unwritten (Kvale, 1997). The purpose of hermeneutics is therefore to “read” these texts in order to reach understanding. The understanding of texts is reached through a process dubbed “the hermeneutic circle” (Kvale, 1997: 56), in which the individual parts can contribute to a new understanding of the whole, which again contribute to new understanding of the individual parts. In theory, this is a never-ending process, as the complete understanding of other actors and of a particular set of social circumstances always remains, to some degree, incomplete. In practice, however, it ends by the time a reasonable interpretation is reached without any contradictions.

Ontologically, this means that I am a *limited realist* (Presskorn-Thygesen, 2012). Hermeneutics is indeed a very limited form of realism, meaning that I believe some social scientifically adequate understanding of the culinary field of Copenhagen is indeed possible (realism), and yet I realize that such a qualitative understanding is bound by my initial subjective understanding (hence limited). Accordingly, my inquiry is performed within a subjective epistemology. This means that what is constituted as acceptable knowledge stems from subjective meanings and social phenomena, why I see knowledge as directly related to a subjective understanding of the world (Presskorn-Thygesen, 2012). As my interpretation of the changes in the culinary field of Copenhagen constitutes an extension of my existing knowledge, this extension accordingly consists in understanding phenomena that were initially foreign to me.

I recognize that I entered this research with certain assumptions, which in turn is consistent with abstract points asserted by philosophical hermeneutics. This position acknowledges that it is not possible to treat a research as a mere “object” as it will always contain my subjective opinions beforehand (Fredslund, 2012). This thesis is, therefore, not a result of a neutral research process since I have embarked upon this research with certain *biases*, i.e. my theoretical knowledge and empirical knowledge. On the one hand, these biases are helpful since they give me a starting point, but on the other hand, they must also be challenged by actively trying to understand something new. Understanding something new about ones research subjects is, within the hermeneutic rhetoric, achieved through a fusion of horizons (Kvale, 1997: 57), where a horizon is the range of vision that includes everything that can be seen from a particular vantage point (Fredslund, 2012). I have a horizon mainly consisting of field experience, theoretical assumptions about institutions, fields and changes and the actors related to the field and the changes have a horizon consisting of practical concerns. The goal is to have these two horizons fusion.

### **Qualitative Research: Organizational Ethnographic Fieldwork**

Hermeneutics have been introduced as a method for understanding organizational phenomena such as institutional fields (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). Following Lawrence & Shadnam (2008), social constructionist researchers expect to find change and try to find an explanation when it confronts stability. Investigating the culinary field of Copenhagen, I look for changes. Institutional theory is about constellations that we take for granted, and even though these constellations, institutions, are experienced as natural phenomena, intuitional researchers consider them as social constructed, as the world is a product of our ideas (Pedersen, 2014; Scott & Davis, 2007). I will investigate the culinary field well-knowing that it is composed of rules, practices and structures that indeed are socially constructed, and it is within this social constructed arena I will seek to explain the changes in the culinary field of Copenhagen. In this part, I explain my unit of analysis and I outline my

organizational ethnographic fieldwork and the hermeneutic approach's relation to the concrete manner of doing qualitative research. This entails an explanation of the hermeneutic methodological consequences on my empirical data as well. For my method, I have followed the principles by Ybema, Yanow, Wels, & Kamsteeg (2009).

The unit of my analysis is the culinary field of Copenhagen. As explained, changes in institutionalized organizational fields are not expected to happen and examples are. The culinary field of Copenhagen is evolving, and in the face of it, the field encapsulates an extreme amount of mechanisms constituting dynamics. Therefore, I believe, if institutional change are not a case in this field, I find it most rarely that institutional change should be found in any field. Thus, this thesis examines what Flyvbjerg (2007) denotes as a critical case.

This thesis is composed of an *interpretive organizational ethnography* fieldwork (Ybema et al., 2009) and seeks to understand the culinary field of Copenhagen the last 15 years. The time period studied is therefore primary the last 15 years, but elements of history are examined and included in order to understand the last 15 years. The actual fieldwork has been carried out in Copenhagen in the period May 2014 to March 2015, and will be further outlined in chapter 2.

Organizational ethnography is a study of organizations and their organizing processes. As an organizational ethnographer, I have been oriented towards following the *persons* and *practices* constructing this field (Ybema et al., 2009: 23).

Being hermeneutic and hence, using a qualitative approach, I have strived to gain a holistic perception of the culinary field by studying different actors. My research process can be considered two-folded. I have as part of my master programme, MSc Management of Creative Businesses Processes, conducted fieldwork in collaboration with 'Imagine... Centre for Research' about new culinary activities in Copenhagen from May to August 2014 (Hansson, 2014, can be found at [www.miamaja.dk/mastersthesis](http://www.miamaja.dk/mastersthesis)). This thesis takes its starting point in this fieldwork and shall be seen as a further development of the findings from this fieldwork. Therefore, the organizational ethnographic fieldwork has continued from September 2014 to March 2015.

During my qualitative research, I have carefully sampled my primary empirical data and created different texts from these data. The texts are composed of notes, recordings and transcriptions.

In interpretive methodologies, research, writing, and reading should be intertwined (Ybema et al., 2009). Following the principles of the hermeneutic circle, it is necessary to go back and forth between the individual parts of the texts and the whole in order to interpret meaning. In practice, this means, that the whole text must be read so as to gain a general understanding and afterwards themes and other

individual parts are outlined. The interpretation of meaning terminates when an inner unit without logical contradictions is reached in the text. The interpretations of the individual parts must be compared to see if they align with interpretations of the whole (Kvale, 1997). This has led to a process, where I have written down assumptions and thoughts and at the same time transcribed recordings to grasp the meaning of my qualitative empirical data. Subsequently, I have outlined themes and subjects in these texts. I have compared these subjects and themes with the notes on my assumptions and thoughts. In order to ensure that I have interpreted the changes at the culinary field the most appropriate way, I have in the whole process viewed critically on my amount of qualitative data and adjusted the amount, which can be seen in the following chapter.

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). During my fieldwork process, I had a basic understanding about the culinary field. The findings from this fieldwork led me to look at the culinary field as an institution. Institutional theory has made me question if this field undergoes changes, which has made me go out in the field again and collect more data. The empirical data has determined by the theory as the theory has enlightened other meanings of my empirical data. The process of going back and forth within and between my theory and empirical data has also led to changes in my assumptions from my initial prejudices.

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, and 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).

## Trustworthiness

Following Ybema et al. (2009: 60), it is important to have *researcher reflexivity*, i.e. to show that the researcher understands herself as the means or instrument through which the research is produced. My background, as former restaurant employee and passionate gastronomy explorer, helps me to better interpret and reach sense-making of these entrepreneurs, i.e. the studied actors, as it is through shared language, culture and value the process of *meaning-making* takes place. Additionally, I am the co-founder of a culinary incubator, Kitchen Collective, which enables culinary entrepreneurs to build up their business by offering production facilities. This means that I meet with the newest culinary entrepreneurs in Copenhagen and I have an in depth understanding of these entrepreneurs' needs. In other words, I have practiced the ethnographic discipline dictating to participate in the studied actors' life worlds and establish relationships with them (Ybema et al. 2009).

By means of a qualitative approach, I have emphasized discoveries in choosing a critical case as my sample, and thus gained valuable insights on dynamics in the culinary field of Copenhagen. The execution of this case study carried out as organizational ethnographic fieldwork, furthermore, implies that the findings are not subject to immediate generalization, but are instead the result of a method aiming to reach an eloquent understanding of particulars. That the findings are not subject to immediate generalization does not exclude that some of the obtained insights might also be able to provide reliable information about the broader class. For the generalization opportunities for this work, it means that if institutional change could be found in this field, then it is likely to find change in other fields with an extreme amount of mechanisms that constitute dynamics (B. Flyvbjerg, 2007).

## Chapter 2: Data

My samples consist of different actors within the culinary field of Copenhagen. In the following, I outline how I have collected data on the chosen samples and how these data have been processed.

### Data collection and Sample Profile

My data consists of primary and secondary data. The primary data has been fundamental for my thesis seeing that I try to understand a transformation process that is highly driven by individuals, which would be hard to explore solely by use of secondary data. Nevertheless, secondary data has shown to be just as important in order to understand the mechanisms and forces within the field.

In the following, my sample profile is presented together with my data collection and processing methods. According to Scott (2010), professionals function as institutional agents as definers, interpreters, and appliers of institutional elements, and are therefore the most influential crafters of institutions. As explained, my primary focus is the producers, as I perceive the producers as the most important professionals to understand the field. Producers are thus a great part of my sample profile, but they are not the only being studied. Regulatory bodies, educational systems, ranking systems, media and critics, and producers are all examined with both primary and secondary data. Social movements, Field Configuring Evens and Financial analytics are examined by means of secondary data. The primary data is outlined in figure 01.



As it can be seen in figure 01, I have participated in different events and network meetings. In these settings, qualitative data has been conducted by observing who participated, who offered food, field-notes and a lot of casual conversations.

In my fieldwork period, I have carried out in-depth interviews with: Sweet Sneak (Fetz & Fieseler, 2014), Jon Bue Nimgaard, Riga (Nimgaard 2014) and Jon Due Roe, Yuca Taco (Roe, 2014), and since October with: Copenhagen Harvest Festival (Melson, 2014), Grød (Andersen, 2014), Kødbyen's Food and Market (Bacon, Astorp, & Jepsen, 2015), and Restaurant Rub & Stub (Scheelke, 2015), Andreas Pobbenbøl, Municipality of Copenhagen (Poppenbøll, 2015) in order to understand how such regulatory body wants to support this field, and Christian Beck, student counsellor at Copenhagen Hospitality College, who has been employed at the school for more than 40 years and is therefore an important resource for understanding the field's evolvement (Beck, 2015). All the interview guides can be found in appendix 1, and elements of the interviews with (Roe, 2014), (Melson, 2014), (Andersen, 2014), (Scheelke, 2015) and the opening speech from Copenhagen Street Food are transcribed and can be found in appendix 2. All interviews, the opening of Copenhagen Street Food and the lecture with Claus Meyer are recorded and can be found at [www.miamaja.dk/mastersthesis](http://www.miamaja.dk/mastersthesis).

The interviews were semi-structured, the preferred method for organizational ethnography (Ybema et al., 2009), and revolved around different themes. For the producers, the themes were: the person's story, the possibilities in the culinary field and the barriers of starting up in this field, meaning that the interview guide is thematically (Kvale, 1996b: 129).

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, 1996b: 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 I have taken notes when my interpretations occurred. I have recorded all interviews listened to them numerous times, and treated them like texts. I have transcribed some interviews to actual texts (Kvale, 1997). 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).

## Chapter 3: Empirical & Theoretical Focus

In the following, I present how I perceive and define the culinary field of Copenhagen, and following I present the institutional theory that provides the framework for this thesis.

### Defining the Culinary Field

The empirical basis in this thesis is the culinary organizational field. Organizational field is a central term within institutional theory as it sets the boundaries for the extension and type of objects that are studied, i.e. the unit of analysis. The culinary organizational field is therefore the delimiting unit of analysis in the present account. An organizational field is composed of organizations and different actors with related activities that together contribute to the realization of the field's products and services (Pedersen, 2014). For the culinary field, this includes more than just the food producers; it also consists of suppliers, regulatory systems, educations, unions, consumers, and social movements.. The term 'organizational field' is therefore broader than the 'industry' term, which tends to focus exclusively on the production side.

Organizational fields are perceived differently, and following Pedersen, Raffaelli, & Glynn (2013) most definitions of fields can be traced back to Bourdieu. Bourdieu argues that a field is a system of social positions structured internally in terms of power relations.

With inspiration from Bourdieu, DiMaggio & Powell (1983) have defined the organizational field as a market exchange (Pedersen et al., 2013), a widely accepted definition (Pedersen, 2014; Scott, 2010c).

*By organizational field, we mean those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983: 148)*

For DiMaggio & Powell (1991), the field's boundaries are around the competitive space of products, services and technologies with a resulting homogeneity with regard to organizational outputs (Pedersen et al., 2013). The focus of this definition is the actors; a perspective DiMaggio & Powell, (1983) share with Scott (1994). For Scott (1994) however, organizational fields are also social constructs.

*The notion of field connotes the existence of a community of organizations that partakes of a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside of the field. (Scott 1999 cited in Pedersen, 2014: 6)*

For Scott, it is also the actors that define the field and the field is perceived from a collective cognitive view (Pedersen et al., 2013). Hoffman (1999) presents a third approach to define an organizational field, as he lets the discourse define the field and views the field in connection to a certain issue, and he delimits the field to the actors that link to the debate about an issue.

*The notion that an organizational field forms around a central issue – such as the protection of the natural environment – rather than a central technology or market introduces the idea that fields become centers of debates in which competing interests negotiate over issue interpretations (Hoffman, 1999: 351)*

This means that fields are structured by a composition of interests, and fields consist of a diverse set of actors, such as organizations, government, NGOs, trade associations, regulatory systems and social movements (Pedersen et al., 2013). For Hoffmann, members of a field share an issue or a concern, but not always or not necessarily a market. For example, Green Peace and suppliers of nuclear energy share a field in which they negotiate interests and challenge various interpretations of energy production, but they do not share a market.

Following Marquis & Battilana (2009), geographic communities can also be viewed as organizational fields. Marquis & Battilana (2009) have within the research of communities added to the field literacy, even though geographic boundaries of fields struck Scott and DiMaggio & Powell as more or less arbitrary if not meaningless (Marquis & Battilana, 2009: 284). However, as both Pedersen et al. (2013) and Marquis, Davis, & Glynn (forthcoming: 4) point out:

*(...) the geographic community serves as an institutional field “that is, a more-or-less integrated set of corporate, non-profit, and governmental actors that ‘partake of a common meaning system and... interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside the field’ (Pedersen et al., 2013: 10)*

Marquis, Davis, and Glynn (forthcoming) thereby add to Scott’s (1994) definition. For Marquis & Battilana (2009: 285), the geographic community is an important boundary for organizational fields, as it provide a local level of analysis that correspond to the populations, organizations, and markets located in a geographic territory and sharing, as a result of their common location, elements of local culture, norms, identity, and laws. While an issue (such as “fashion” or “nuclear energy”) has no natural geographical boundaries, the geographical element recognizes not only the fact that geographically close and proximate actors are much more likely to interact, but also takes into consideration that specific cultural and not least juridical circumstances apply to identifiable geographical places or regions, and thus adds to the definition of a field.

In this thesis, an organizational field is defined by a combination of the positions expressed. In the geographic area of Copenhagen, new culinary activities take place and operate under advantageous conditions due to special juridical regulations from the Municipality of Copenhagen. This makes the notion of a geographic boundary important for my particular research. In order to understand the new culinary activities, these must be researched within a broader context and be linked and contrasted to other elements. The market exchange perspective helps clarify which actors that constitute to the field and which actors that produce similar products and services. Based on my preliminary research, I assume that the culinary field of Copenhagen does not consist of only one meaning system, in which participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another. The idea of fields being socially constructed and the issue perspective help specify different interests within the field. The field might even consist of different sub fields.

In this thesis, an organizational field is defined with inspiration from DiMaggio & Powell (1983), Scott (1994), Hoffman (1999), and Marquis & Battilana (2009). By an organizational field I thus mean:

The producers, suppliers, regulatory systems, educations, unions, social movements, and consumers that within a certain geographical area contribute to a specific subject – such as the culinary subject – and interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside the field.

## **Institutional Theory**

The main theoretical focus of this thesis lies within the institutional theory. The process of understanding the past in order to explain the present is a strong argument within the institutional theory (Scott & Davis, 2007). When the present is changed from the past, it entails a complex process.

A challenge in institutionalism is to explain change. Change can derive from different places. Change can be explained by means of an external shock, such as the present financial crisis. Changes might develop in the periphery of a field, that is to say that innovations come from marginal organizations in the field network. Changes might originate from shifting power relationships (Mazza & Pedersen, 2004; Pedersen et al., 2013). The challenge lies within the paradox of embedded agency, i.e. the explanation of how existing institutional logics and role identities are replaced by new value systems and role identities given that actors tend to reproduce institutions in a given field of activity (Battilana & D'auanno, 2009; Battilana et al., 2009; Scott, 2010a).

The idea of isomorphism helps to understand how actors tend to reproduce institutions in the field. Isomorphism is a process that forces organizations to be similar to each other, in both form and

practice. There are three isomorphic processes: coercive, mimetic, and normative. Coercive isomorphism results from formal or informal pressures exerted on the organization by the government, other organizations, or the cultural expectations of the environment. Mimetic isomorphism is associated with uncertainty in goals, technology, or market dynamics, which leads organizational decision-makers to adopt structures and practices that mimic or model leading organizations in their fields. Normative isomorphism refers to the standards and cognitive frameworks that are created and controlled by professions and other moral standard-making bodies (Lawrence & Shadnam, 2008; Pedersen, 2014).

I will study the current institutional structures and understand them in the view of different isomorphic pressures.

For my approach to understanding the field, I work with the three pillars developed by Scott (2001): the regulatory element, the normative element, and the cultural-cognitive element, as seen in figure 02. These elements help us to comprehend and constitute organizations, organizational populations, and organizational fields (Muzio et al., 2013; Scott & Davis, 2007; Scott, 2010a, 2010c)

	<b>Regulative</b>	<b>Normative</b>	<b>Cultural Cognitive</b>
<b>Basis of compliance</b>	Experience	Social obligation	Taken-for-grantedness Shared understanding
<b>Basis of order</b>	Regulative rules	Binding expectations	Constitute schema
<b>Mechanisms</b>	Coercive	Normative	Mimetic
<b>Indicators</b>	Rules Laws Sanctions	Certification Accreditation	Common beliefs Shared logics of action
<b>Basis of legitimacy</b>	Legally sanctioned	Morally governed	Comprehensible Recognizable Culturally supported

**Figure 02:** *The Three Pillars (Scott & Davis 2007: 259)*

The regulatory element contains systems and agents that are rule-based and thereby exercise authority. Individuals and groups act in accordance with rules and codes out of expediency, and behaviour is viewed as legitimate to the extent that it conforms to existing rules and laws. The normative element contains systems and agents that formulate and transmit principles specifying appropriate behaviour. Structures and behaviours are legitimate to the extent that they are consistent with widely shared norms. Normative agents provide the norms, standards, principles, and benchmarks that guide human

actions in particular situations. The cultural-cognitive element contains systems and agents who create and warrant knowledge, ranging from the metaphysical to systems more exposed to empirical evidence. It consists of common symbolic systems and shared meanings. Cultural-cognitive agents provide the categories, principles, and conceptual tools that help to define and frame issues and often these agents are part of social movements.

By these pillars, different mechanisms are created that constitute dynamics within the field and some work as forces that influence the field's evolution. The mechanisms can be events that are configuring for a given field, social movements, actors such as institutional entrepreneurs or processes such as institutional work.

The study by Lampel & Meyer (2008) points out that some events can be a macro-oriented mechanism shaping the emergence of markets, industries, and professions. They denote such events as field configuring events (hereafter FCE). FCEs are temporary social organizations that encapsulate and shape the development of professions, markets, and industries. These events are settings where people from diverse backgrounds and with diverse purposes assemble to announce new products, develop industry standards, construct social networks, and share and interpret information. FCEs have the power to enhance, reorient or even undermine existing professions, markets and industries or contrary have the power to let new professions, markets and industries emerge. Some FCEs are a one-off event and some FCEs are repetitive events. Some FCEs have a strong field mandate and can exercise powerful influence on the future evolution of the field. Other FCEs have a weak field mandate, and influence field evolution indirectly, serving primarily as social networking hubs. The notion of FCEs differs from most field theories, which see the evolution of fields primarily taking place through interactions between the organizations that make up the field. FCEs play a unique role in the evolution of fields because it also create a social space in which individuals both can represent themselves and their organizations.

I will study different events that have the potential of being FCEs. The purpose of working with this theory is to depict how different events have been configuring for the culinary field. I will categorize the events having either a strong or a weak field mandate and I will explain how each event has been configuring for the culinary field. According to Lampel & Meyer (2008), FCEs have six defining characteristics for its operational level, which can be seen in figure 03, and I will investigate events that match these characteristics.

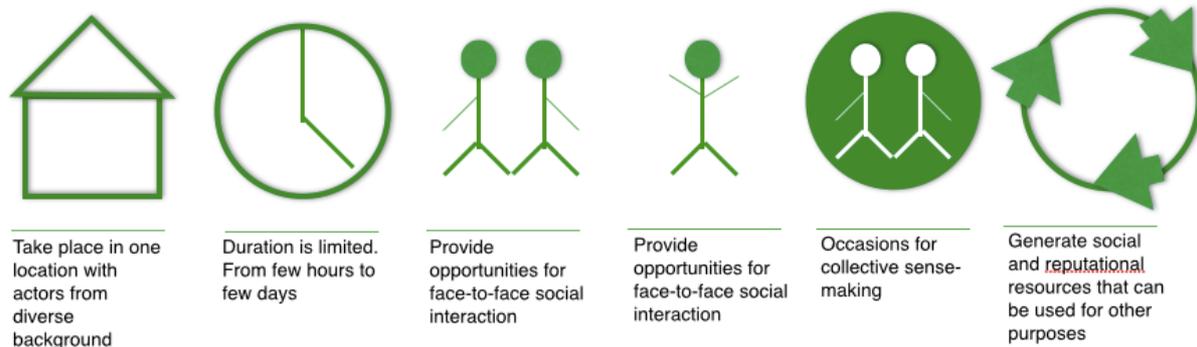


Figure 03: Field Configuring Events (Lampel & Meyer 2008)

Another mechanism is social movements. Social movements are collective challenges to authority in political and cultural domains that endeavour to affect change. The study of movements in professions provide understanding of how social movements foster cultural change in the professions by reshaping value systems (Battilana & D’ainno, 2009; Rao et al., 2003; Scott, 2010c).

I will search for different social movements in the culinary field as social movements foster cultural change in the professions by reshaping logics and redefining the role identities of individuals (Rao et al., 2003; Scott, 2010c).

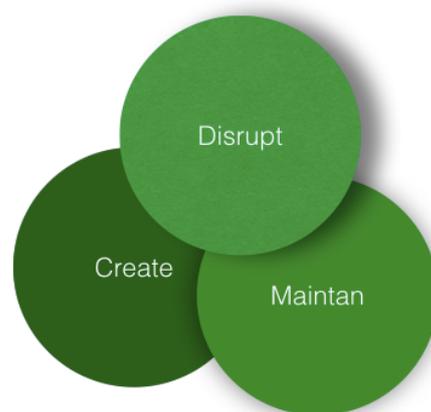
Another mechanism is the institutional entrepreneur (hereafter IE), which represents the individual level and therefore is a micro-oriented mechanism. The theory of IE focuses on human agency, and thereby tries to overcome the paradox of embedded agency (Battilana & D’ainno, 2009). The concept was introduced in order to address the issue of institutional change. Institutional entrepreneurs participate actively in changing the broader institutional context in which they are embedded by mobilizing and leveraging resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones, and thus display a high level of agency. IEs use institutional means, recognize opportunities, acquire resources, and exploit options. IEs are change agents (Battilana & D’ainno, 2009; Battilana et al., 2009; Jennings, Greenwood, Lounsbury, & Suddaby, 2013; Lampel & Meyer, 2008; Lawrence & Shadnam, 2008; Lawrence et al., 2009; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005)

It is important to distinguish between IEs and organizational entrepreneurs though. Organizational entrepreneurs start new enterprises and new organizations but within an existing institutional mould. This means that these entrepreneurs mostly are reproducers and therefore it is not that important for them to gain legitimacy. For IEs, it is important to gain legitimacy to gain impact at the institutional level (Battilana & D’ainno, 2009; Battilana et al., 2009; Jennings et al., 2013; Scott, 2010a; Sine & David, 2010; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). Following Suchman (1995) legitimacy is a generalized

perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions.

With inspiration from Battilana et al. (2009) and Scott (2010b), I have developed the following four criteria for being an IEs. Firstly, one must have the interest in making change and the resource to make the actual change. Secondly, the processes of legitimation are, to some degree, necessary for the new type of organization or the new type of practice. Additionally, many actors have the ideas to change something, but do not take part in the implementation. Thirdly, the actor must carry out the implementation of the changes. Changes can happen at all levels from small practices within organization to changes in organizing aspects at field level. Lastly, the initiated changes must break with the institutionalized template for organizing within a given institutional context.

The notion of institutional entrepreneurship has been criticised for being too simple (Lawrence et al., 2009; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Pedersen, 2014), why a more general concept has been developed, namely institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). The concept of institutional work describes "the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions" (see figure 4) (Battilana et al., 2009; Lawrence & Shadnam, 2008; Lawrence et al., 2009). Institutional work is about 'direction'. Both IE and institutional work is a response to most institutional studies of organization, which mostly look at how institutions effect actions. The analytical focus of IE and institutional work is on how action and actors affect institutions (Battilana & D'auanno, 2009; Lawrence & Shadnam, 2008; Lawrence et al., 2009).



*Figure 04: Institutional Work*

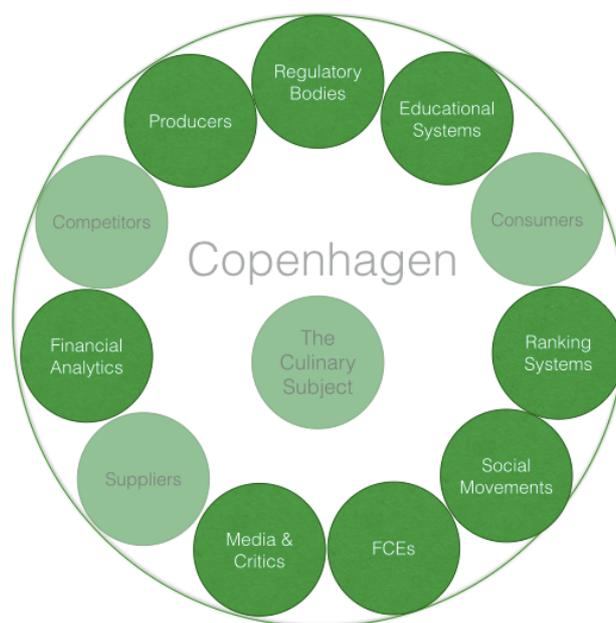
## Chapter 4: An Approach to the Field & its Producers

In the following, I present my approach to investigate the culinary field, to look for new cases, and to determine forces within the field.

### The Culinary Field of Copenhagen

In order to understand the culinary field of Copenhagen, I will depict who and what I recognize to be part of the field based on the definition outlined in chapter 3.

The culinary field of Copenhagen is shaped by a diverse set of actors and organizations (see figure 05), which create different sets of practices and structures. In order to understand the culinary field, I will investigate the regulatory systems, media and critics, ranking systems, social movements, financial analytics and events (chapter 5) and to explain the changes that I believe this field undergoes, I will investigate the producers of the field (chapter 6). I exclude suppliers, consumers and the competition within the field, as the primary focus is on the producers of the field.



*Figure 05: The Organizational Culinary Field of Copenhagen*

The process of understanding the culinary field as an organizational field raises the question whether all actors, organizations, practices, and structures are embedded in the same value system, as the field contain a diverse set of producers. Some regulatory systems only influence some of the producers, some critics and ranking systems only evaluate some producers, the financial analytics differ from some producers to other producers, and not all producers can be said to be competitors, as they do not

compete for the same consumers. Thus, it is part of my investigation of the culinary organizational field to find out if all actors interact frequently and fatefully with one another.

When analysing the organizational culinary field, I will search for the dynamics that transform the field by using Mazza & Pedersen's (2004) definition of transformation mechanism; coercive, normative, and mimetic. The coercive mechanism is based on political influence deriving from government, authorities, or other political organizations that formulate regulations or guidelines, which actors in the field are expected to and must incorporate. The normative mechanism refers to the process of professionalism. This comprises actors such as educational systems, consultants and associations that create standards for the profession as well as provide conditions, methods and legitimacy for the given profession. The mimetic mechanism signifies a process of imitating, meaning that in situations with a high degree of uncertainty, organizations will often copy other organizations' practices to be a success.

Additionally, I will look for the mechanism social movements, field configuring events, IEs, and institutional work, as they constitute dynamics within the field and some work as forces that influence the field's evolution.

## Unpacking the field

Within the culinary field, new things are happening. I will search for the cases that seem new to the field, i.e. the cases that make me believe that the field is transforming. My main focus is the producers, why I will examine how producers differ in order to understand the culinary field. As explained in the introduction, I have based this thesis on the eating out sector, which not only means meals in restaurants, but involves all activities that involve serving food.

In understanding all these activities, i.e. the culinary field, my starting point is to look at conventional food ventures or what Liu, Su, Gan, & Chou (2014) denote as table-service restaurant setting. It is *restaurants with business models* consisting of preparing and serving *food* for customers who want to enjoy a *meal*, and thus are *eating out*. The Oxford Dictionary definitions for these concepts are:.

Eating out means "*Have a meal in a restaurant*" ("Oxford dictionary," 2014a)

Meals are "*Any of the regular occasions in a day when a reasonably large amount of food is eaten*" ("Oxford dictionary, 2014b)

Food is "*Any nutritious substance that people or animals eat or drink or that plants absorb in order to maintain life and growth*" ("Oxford dictionary," 2014c)

A restaurant is “(...) a place where people pay to sit and eat meals that are cooked and served on the premises” (“Oxford Dictionary,” 2014)

In contrast to the listed definitions, I believe the field contains more than conventional food ventures. Food is more than nutrition, meals do not need to be served or cooked on the premises, and consumers do not need to pay and sit at the same premise in order to eat out. This inherently means that the eating out sector consists of different food business with very different business models. According to Osterwalder & Pigneur (2010: 5), a business model “(...) describes the rationale of how an organization creates, delivers, and captures value”.

Based on my preliminary study (Hansson, 2014) and following observations, the differences in food businesses can be depicted along two axes, where the horizontal ranges from the *content* of what is produced to the *form* in which it is served, and vertically food businesses differ in the price they charge, from low to high prices (see figure 06).

On the horizontal axis, I distinguish between eating out opportunities, where the producers’ primary *raison d’être* is the content of the food, and eating out opportunities, where the producers’ primary *raison d’être* is the form for how the food is delivered.

On the vertical axis, the top contains producers that typically aim at a high level of gastronomy, whereas the bottom represents producers that are defined by a subject or a concept, meaning producers that serve food where either the content is determined by a specific subject, e.g. breakfast, cheese, etc., or the form is determined by a specific concept, such as street food or food trucks.

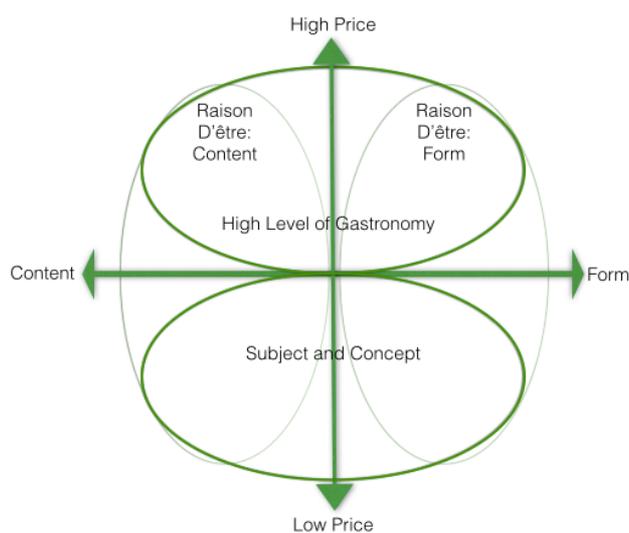


Figure 06: An approach to the Producers of the Culinary Field

Subsequently, the two axes divide the field into four groups: Haute Cuisine, Gastronomy for all, Subject Food, Delivery Concept (figure 07).

Haute Cuisine contains the fine dining opportunities such as Michelin starred restaurants. Gastronomy for all contains eating out opportunities, which a broader group of people can afford such as Bistros. Subject Food contains producers that serve food with high focus on its genre such as Breakfast or Burgers, and Delivery Concepts contain producers that serve food where the form and concept of serving are in the centre such as a food truck or an event.

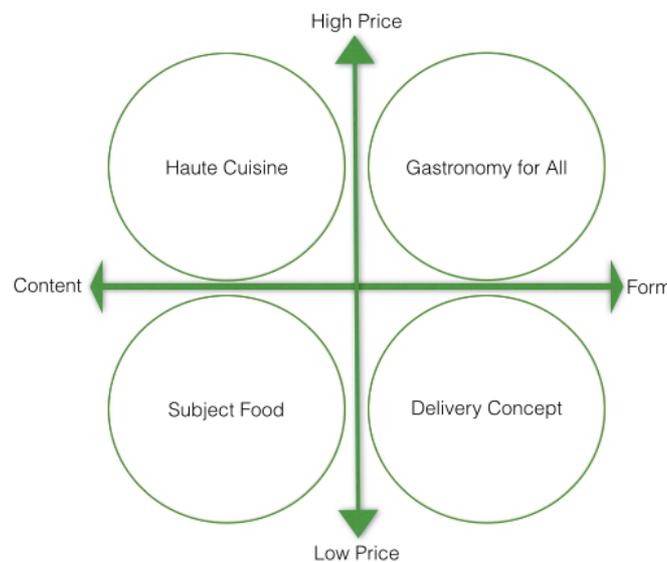


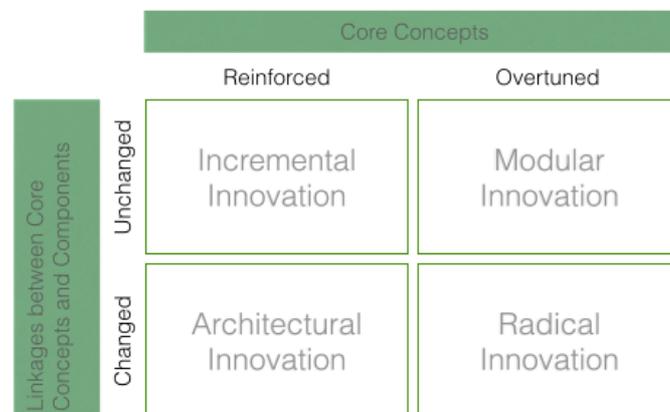
Figure 07: The producers of the Culinary Field

As explained earlier, the culinary field of Copenhagen is full of new trends, new food philosophies, new culinary activities, new culinary innovations etc., and it is because of all these new cases, I believe that the field is undergoing changes. Within the four groups depicted above, I will search for these new cases.

‘New’ is often mentioned in connection with *innovation* and *creativity* (Amabile, 1996; Henderson & Clark, 1990; Laursen & Salter, 2006; Sundbo & Sørensen, 2013). Creativity and innovation are not the same however (Anderson, Poto nik, & Zhou, 2014). Following Amabile (1996), creativity is one of the features of innovation. Creativity is the process of creating something new and valuable. An innovation is a new product or process introduced to a given market. Sundbo & Sørensen (2013: 229) explain it in the following way: “Creativity in itself does not create business or solve peoples’ problems, but innovation does”.

Innovation implies ‘novelty’, but it does not need to be a groundbreaking novelty in order to be an innovation. Following Laursen & Salter (2006), innovations can be new to the world, new to a market,

or just new to an organization. Additionally, there are also different degrees of novelty in each innovation. Henderson & Clark (1990) observed that the traditional distinction between radical and incremental innovation is not sufficient, why they distinguish between the components of a product and the way the components are integrated into the products (Henderson & Clark, 1990: 9). They classify innovations along two dimensions: the first is the innovation's impact on the single components of a product, and the second is the impact on the linkages between the components. Consequently, as seen in figure 08, Henderson & Clark (1990) add to the incremental innovation and the radical innovation two new types of innovations: Modular Innovation, i.e. innovations that only change the core design concepts of a technology, and Architectural Innovations, i.e. innovations that only change the relationships between these concepts.



**Figure 08:** Innovation Matrix (Henderson & Clark 1990)

Following Svejnova et al. (2007, forthcoming) the field of gastronomy is considered as part of the creative industries. It can be argued that innovation in the creative industries is different from innovation in other industries. Food producers are in the business of serving experiences directly to the consumers. This entails a certain degree of experimentation, as one cannot predict success, or failure for that matter.; it is a so-called “nobody-knows” market (Caves, 2000). In order to keep the experimentation rate high, the producers must combine new elements and recombine elements. Consumers in this market demand novelty on a continual basis emphasizing the need for speed, which pushes the producers to search for new inputs. Creativity and innovation are extremely important for an organization's long-term success. In fields with many consumer and high competition, the businesses tend to be more innovative, as the competition add to the innovativeness for business as each business need to be innovative in order to satisfy the consumers (Anderson et al., 2014; Bason, 2015).

In my search for changes, I will look for cases, which are innovative in terms of content or in form, and I will determine the degree of the innovation. I have formulated several sub-questions and aspects, which I consider to be essential for providing an adequate picture of the different cases.

*Content: What is the degree of novelty in the food? What is the degree of novelty in the preparation method? Which impact does it have on the form? To what extent must the content have novel aspects in order to change the culinary field?*

*Form: Does the form have any impact on the food? Can food be served everywhere? Does it need to be served on a fixed spot? Can a food business be moveable? Can food be served and cooked by everyone? Does one need a special education? Must meals be served from fixed business or can it just be a one-time activity? What is the scalability? Is it possible to establish a sustainable business based on these culinary activities? What is the business model behind these culinary activities?*

## The Change Process

From my investigation of the culinary field and my search for new cases, I will determine the forces within the culinary field, so as I can present the forces' impact on the field's evolution and explain the changes within the field.

The force field analysis developed by Kurt Lewin in 1951 helps to understand how the change process works (McShane & von Glinow, 2000). As explained earlier, a wide variety of elements influence whether an institutional situation is stable or evolving. In order to understand a field's situation, one must, following Kurt Lewin (in McShane & von Glinow, 2000), identify the field's restraining forces and driving forces as well as how the dynamic of these forces effect the field. The nature of the forces can be of either regulatory, normative or culture-cognitive character (Scott & Davis, 2007)

There exist driving forces, which push organizations toward a new state of affairs, and restraining forces, which maintain status quo. Change occurs by unfreezing the current situation, moving to a desired condition, and then refreezing the system so that it remains in this desired state.

The force field analysis is used to specify the different forces in the culinary field in order to explain the changes that the field undergoes.

## Chapter 5: The Culinary Landscape of Copenhagen

Like any field that has undergone structuration, the culinary field of Copenhagen has its institutions, convention setters, and tradition guardians. The field's actors and the institutions form the producers, as producers need to both comply with conventions and to innovate. In the following, I examine these actors and institutions in order to explore the mechanisms within the culinary field of Copenhagen.

Firstly, I will briefly provide an overview of gastronomy, food philosophies and the Danish culinary field, in order to set the frame for the organizational culinary field. It is not an exhaustive overview, but rather an overview of the happenings I perceive important for the development of the culinary field. I will also include an overview of the field's financial situation the last 15 years to show the field's significance and evolution.

Gastronomy stems from France and emerged as a field in the first half of the 19th century in the form of restaurants. Gastronomic journalists and chefs formed a culinary discourse, which was formalized as the French Grande Cuisine, also denoted Haute Cuisine. The chef and writer, Antonin Carême (1784-1833) was forerunner for this period, as he was the first to form the idea of chefs as artists and in turn, create a vision for Haute Cuisine, both as an art and as a science. These ideas were reinforced by a new group of chefs, led by Georges Auguste Escoffier (1847-1935). Escoffier wrote the *Guide Culinaire*, published in 1903, which is the body of what came to be known as the Classic Cuisine, and it remains the central text in training of professional chefs even to day (Rao et al., 2003).

In Denmark, the chef, Ejler Jørgensen, introduced the Classic Cuisine with his restaurant at Hotel Nordland (est. 1931) and Restaurant Escoffier (est. 1952), both placed in Copenhagen (Svanborg, 2014).

The Classic Cuisine emphasised the power of the restaurateur and left the chef almost unknown. The restaurants from this period had long menus with little freshness, and flambé preparations by the waiters at the tables. In 1970s, the Classical Cuisine was confronted and an identity movement arose and formed the Nouvelle Cuisine. Nouvelle Cuisine was led by insiders of the field, which have been honoured from the Michelin Guide such as Paul Bocuse, Michel Guérard and Alain Chapel. These chefs wanted the freedom to create dishes and chefs to be recognized inventors rather than technicians. In 1972, the journalists Henri Gault and Christian Millau published 10 rules for Nouvelle Cuisine (see figure 09) (Rao et al., 2003), which became a normative mechanism that set some clear guidelines for the standards within the profession.

Modern culinary creativity moved to restaurants with chefs first as employees then, with the arrival of Nouvelle Cuisine, as restaurant owners.

The IE, Søren Gericke, consciously worked to change the restaurant scene, and in 1970, he brought Nouvelle Cuisine to Denmark. Gericke is an educated chef from the Copenhagen Hospitality College in 1962, and went on to become one of the best Danish chefs (Svanborg, 2014). Gericke often travelled to Paris for inspiration. In 1976, he opened his own restaurant, Restaurant Anatole. For Gericke, it was especially the values of truth, light, and simplicity there was important, and where many in this period started producing food with a French touch, Gericke interpreted the values to emphasize the use of local Nordic produces.

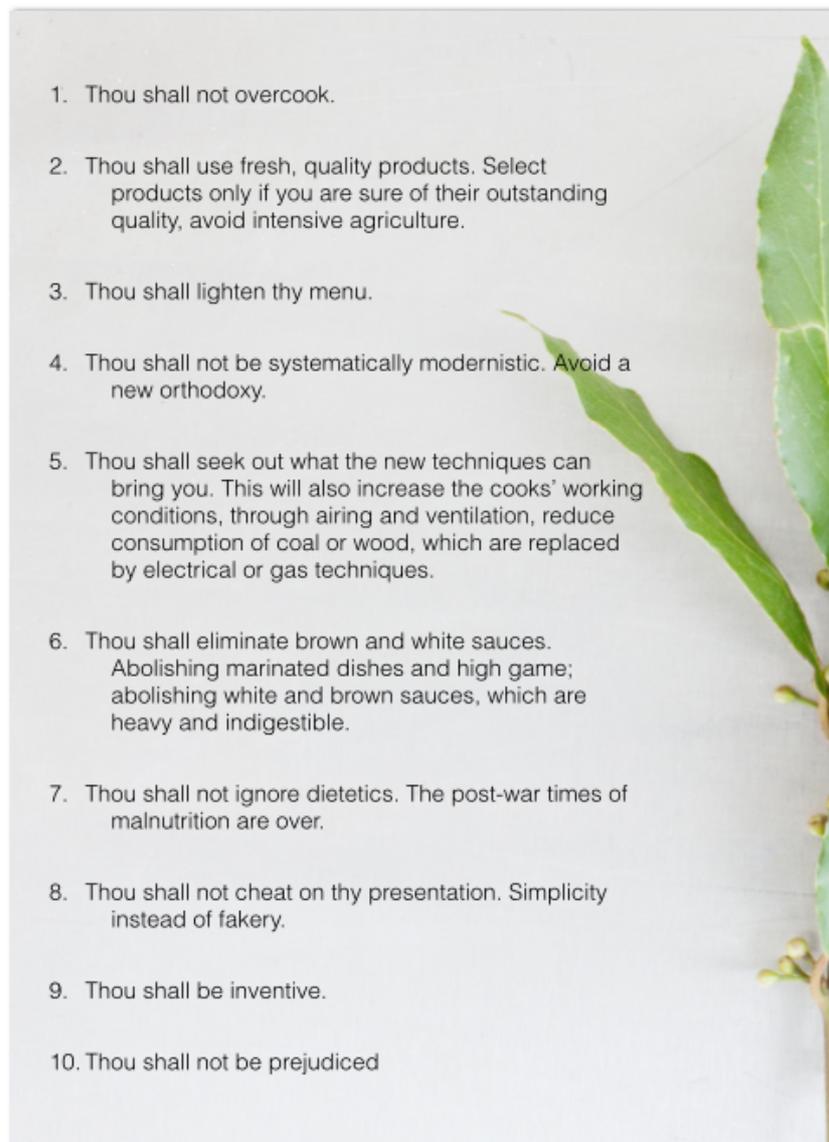
*Today, the food at Anatole would have been understood as Nordic food because the many Nordic produces. But at this time, Danish food was perceived as heavy and traditional, it automatically received the stamp 'fine French food' (...). It was Nordic food but people did not perceived as it. Food was considered French if it was different than Hamburg steak or wienerschnitzel<sup>1</sup> (Lauterbach in Svanborg, 2014: 110)*

Gericke is an IE that actively wanted to change the culinary field of Copenhagen. He did not just incorporate the Nouvelle Cuisine; he interpreted it and used the rules of Nouvelle Cuisine to enhance the use of Danish and Nordic produce. Today, some might argue that Gericke actually is the real father of the Nordic cuisine (Svanborg, 2014; Theil, 2014).

The French Nouvelle Cuisine has been the leading food philosophy for many years, however, due to globalization processes the centuries-long hegemony of France as the epicentre of international Haute Cuisine was challenged in the 1990s by a number of rising regional cuisines. Among these is the new Spanish cuisine led by the self-taught chef and IE, Ferran Adrià, who were chef and co-owner of the elite restaurant elBulli (Hedetoft, 2004; Silviya Svejenova et al., 2007). Ferran Adrià managed to break free from the traditional French methods and became the emblem of a new wave in cooking, the so-called molecular gastronomy, which entailed cooking being viewed more scientifically and gastronomy starting to gain foothold in the fields of chemistry. In Denmark, many restaurants such as Paustian, Geist, and Formel B have incorporated the scientific techniques (Ilkjær & Holmgård, 2015; "Molekylær Gastronomi," 2009).

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<sup>1</sup> Own translation from Danish – Originally: I dag havde man set maden på Anatole som nordisk mad med de mange nordiske varer og den enkle tilberedning. Men da man på dette tidspunkt så dansk mad som den tunge traditionelle mad, fik det automatisk stemplet 'fint fransk mad' (...) Det var nordisk mad, men folk opfattede det ikke sådan. De opfattede mad som fransk mad, hvis det var anderledes end hakkebøf eller wienerschnitzel



**Figure 09:** *Nouvelle Cuisine* (Gault & Millau 1972)

Claus Meyer represents another IE for the culinary field. He is an academia-educated, self-taught chef who began his culinary career at Copenhagen Business School, where he operated the canteen. He spent some years at a bakery in France, and his first mission was to promote a proper bread culture in Denmark (Meyer, 2014b). Today, he has build a large business conglomerate consisting of more than six different food companies and employing more than 300 people. This includes the shops Meyers Bageri, Meyers Deli, and Meyers Køkken, the restaurants Noma, Radiator, Nam Nam, and The Standard that entails an upscale Indian restaurant, a casual bistro, a jazz club and a high-end showcase for new Nordic Cooking (Meyer, 2015). His business has received wide international recognition.

In 2003, Claus Meyer opened Noma, which soon became the beginning to a new food philosophy that consolidates as a food wave – just as in the case of elBulli. Before 2003, there was a Norwegian, Swedish and Icelandic cuisine, but there was not a collective Nordic cuisine.

Claus Meyer was offered and accepted to operate a restaurant at the North Atlantic House<sup>2</sup> located in the Copenhagen harbour area, and he partnered with the chef René Redzepi. Because of the location and the history of the buildings, ‘Nordicity’ became the initiator for that venture (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013; Christensen & Pedersen, 2011). 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) have identified the opening of restaurant Noma, and the creation of the New Nordic Cuisine Symposium, a manifesto for the New Nordic Kitchen, as important events. Also the television program, Scandinavian Cooking broadcasted to 130 countries with more than 100 million viewers played a significant role. Even more important though, the New Nordic Cuisine was an empty label, i.e. without previous meaning, allowing it to define what it is. Following Meyer (2014), the idea was established both as a fascination of and a provocation from the New Spanish Cuisine initiated by Ferran Adria. Additionally, Claus Meyer is very fascinated by the French term ‘terroir’, which means ‘taste of place’. Just as Nouvelle Cuisine prevails upon letting the taste of France show in the milk, the cheese, and the wine, Claus Meyer wanted the taste of the Nordic countries to manifest itself in people’s mind. He wanted the Nordic countries to have a taste.

During the 1990s and the 2000s, there has not only been focus on the Spanish and the Nordic kitchen. Food culture is not static; it is influenced by different trends and philosophies. Due to globalization, knowledge about food and different tastes, the culinary field is also more colourful and exotic. It began with Italian food, Chinese food, Thai food, Oriental food, Japanese food, Vietnamese food etc. (Hedetoft, 2004). The Slow Food Movement, established in Italy in 1989, counteracts fast food and fast life, and has organized itself in food communities all around the world (Kramer, 1992). Philosophies such as slow cooked food, local food and the use of local produces, are important factors for many people in Denmark (Hedetoft, 2004).

In Denmark, during the 1990s a general interest for good dining increased, however, at the gastronomic scene eating out was by the end of the 1990<sup>th</sup> still perceived as being only for a privileged few due to extremely high prices. 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

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<sup>2</sup> It is a cultural centre located on the harbor in Copenhagen, dedicated to promote and communicate culture and art from the North Atlantic area.

10 restaurants, three take away shops, six different catering services, a brand and communication bureau, The Copenhagen Food Magazine, the food festival Dining Week, a booking administration software system for restaurants and madbillet.dk, a website for booking food experiences (Cofoco, 2014). Cofoco has played a great part in the evolvement of the culinary field of Copenhagen.

## Financial Analytics

A hundred years ago, many Europeans went to bed hungry. Today, an average Danish family spends around 10 % of their income (after tax) on food (Jacobsen, 2008). This situation has completely changed attitudes to food and eating, and the food market has become a buyers' market. According to Jacobsen (2008), it is obvious to most people that established art-forms like music, theatre, cinema, painting, visual arts, and literature are natural parts of the modern experience economy, but for food and eating, the situation seems different. For more and more people food is now also consumed because of the experience of it and not just because of the need for it. The culinary field has become a part of the creative industries.

The eating-out sector today employs many people, and gastronomy has become a great part of tourism (Ernst & Young, 2014). In Copenhagen, almost 5,000 people were employed within the eating out sector in 2012. In comparison, the construction sector employed almost 8,000 people (Statistikbanken, 2015).

Dining has become an attraction for tourists visiting Copenhagen. Following Liu, Su, Gan, & Chou (2014) a unique and memorable gastronomic experience is an indispensable asset to any successful tourist destination. Development initiatives for gastronomy tourism utilize locally produced foods and beverages to strengthen regional tourism products, enhance visitors' experiences, and help maintain and enhance the viability of local food production and processing sectors. During the period 2010-2013, tourism in Denmark has experienced constant progress and has had a total growth of 22 % (Wonderful Copenhagen, 2014). Noma and New Nordic Cuisine attract tourists (Madkulturen, 2015). After Noma was awarded the world's best restaurant, the tourist organization VisitDenmark believes that one-third of the tourists visiting Denmark has food as main motive (Mikkelsen, 2014).

During the last decade, the amount of businesses within the eating out sector in Denmark has in average been stabile, around 13,000 food businesses. This number includes restaurants, cafés, grill bars, event catering and bars<sup>3</sup> (Horesta, 2012a, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b). The Danish eating out scene is

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<sup>3</sup> The numbers are from the association Horesta. Horesta divide the sector into the following categories: restaurants, grill bars and pizzerias, cafés and bars, event catering, and 'other' (Horesta, 2012b)

very variable. Around 2,000-2,500 new restaurants open each year, and just as many close down (Horesta, 2012b). During the last decade, there has been a displacement between the different types of eating out alternatives. The number of grill-bars and pizzerias has declined, and the number of restaurants and cafés has risen. From 2008-2013, the number of restaurants has risen with 22 % and cafés with 34 % (Horesta, 2012b).

In the beginning of the 00s, restaurants in Denmark experienced growth around 12 %, and it is especially the fine restaurants that experienced growth (Horesta, 2005, 2006). In the same period, the proportion of restaurant visits in general has fallen with 9.8 %. In the years after 2005, more people began to eat out. 2007 still is the year with most restaurant visits and 2008 represents the best year turnover-wise for the Danish dining sector (Horesta, 2012a).

According to Stabell (2013), the eating out sector is very sensitive to fluctuations in the conjuncture. The financial crisis has therefore left its mark on the restaurant business by increasing the number of bankruptcies, decreasing visitor rates and turnover rates. In the 90s and the start 00s, around 60-80 restaurants went bankrupt each year, but after 2008, almost 300 restaurants went bankrupt each year (Statistikbanken, 2014). In 2012, the visits had declined with 14 % compared with 2007 (Horesta, 2013a), the decline was especially noticeable during 2008 and 2009. In 2010, the Danes once again began eating out more, but they spent less money than before the crisis; the average money used per visit nationwide was DKK 111.9 in 2007 and DKK 106.2 2010. The decrease 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, 2012b). Turnover-wise, the sector experienced a decrease after the financial crisis, but during 2010 and 2011, it started to grow again, and the 2011 level almost matched the 2008-level in terms of turnover (Horesta, 2012a).

From 2012-2013, the eating out sector has grown, e.g. the number of restaurants in Copenhagen increased from 4421 to 4761 (Haar, 2015), and there has been a change in the type of guests. Before the financial crisis, the older population ate out the most. Today, it is the younger generations, typical students in the age group 25-34 years with a yearly income under 200,000 DKK. The older population do however spend more money per restaurant visit (Groth et al., 2008; Horesta, 2013b; Jensen, 2011).

To sum up, food has moved from a needed product to a cultural product, thus the sector is part of the creative industries. Dining is an attraction for tourists and food has become a main travelling motive for one-third of the tourists visiting Denmark. The eating out sector reached its highest-level turnover wise in 2008, just before the crisis. The crisis left a mark on the sector and changed its structure. Today, the sector performs just as well it did before the crisis in terms of turnover, and the number of restaurants have increased significantly with more than 300 restaurants in the years from 2012-2013 in

Copenhagen. Additionally, the younger segment has become the most frequent consumer within the sector, which also means that less money is spent per visit.

## Social Movements

Following Rao et al. (2003), social movements are important motors of institutional change. There exist instrumental movements, i.e. movements that challenge economic and political structures, and strive for policy impact in the form of new laws or governance structures, and identity movements, i.e. movements that are developed as oppositions to the dominant cultural codes and consist of a “we-feeling”.

New Nordic Cuisine movement work to create a new cultural code for food philosophies, and therefore is an identity movement (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013). The opening of restaurant Noma and the following New Nordic Cuisine Symposium were, as mentioned earlier, crucial events to the movement’s formation, and these events were triggered by active involvement of entrepreneurial leaders from the culinary profession. The symposium led to engagement from politicians, scientists and media (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013; Kollé, Mørk, & Klaus, 2014).

In 2014, it was the 10 years anniversary of this new food philosophy and food movement. 10 years after, new Nordic food is not only seen at restaurants, which was the primary critic of the idea when it was established. Food producers and journalists criticised the idea and prospected that the philosophy would only be used by high-end restaurants and would work as arbiter of taste for most people (Dahlager, 2014c). However, the movement has contributed to many initiatives that attempt to spread the idea from the niche to the critical mass. This can be seen by the established Research Centre OPUS, which aims at incorporating the new Nordic food principles in people’s everyday eating habits, by the many new cook books on Nordic food, and by the fact that many supermarkets have started to focus on local produces in the product range (Haar, 2014; Kollé et al., 2014).

The Stop Wasting Food Movement was established as an organization in Denmark in 2008. From the beginning, the organization created extensive media impact in Danish and international medias. The movement has formed a discourse on food waste, and consumers, supermarkets, and producers have incorporated the food waste principles. This movement has contributed to the development of new initiatives by Danish politicians as well as the EU and the UN (SWFM, 2015). The Stop Wasting Food Movement can be perceived as both an identity movement and an instrumental movement, as it has both influenced political initiatives and created a new cultural domain for a group of people.

## Regulatory Bodies

Different regulatory bodies influence the culinary field. Some authorities regulate the field through legal aspects and some authorities contribute to the development of the field by emphasizing different values and ideas.

In the past 15 years, there has been a growing demand for organic food in Copenhagen. The organic principles reached Denmark in the 1970s. Actually, it started as a movement by a group of young people. The movement was indeed instrumental (Rao et al., 2003), and only few years after it developed into a public political organization. Today, this organization is known as Økologisk Landsforening (Organic Denmark) and has contributed to the implementation of the state-controlled red organic label certifying organic food launched in 1993. For many years, the Danish Ministry of Food<sup>4</sup> has worked for better conditions for the environment and tried to make it favourable to produce and consume organic food (ILOVEØKO, 2014). Since 2009, it has been possible for eateries, such as kitchens in schools, nursing homes, canteens and hotels, restaurants and cafés, to show that one's production is organic by the state-controlled organic stamp for eateries, Spisemærket. Today, there exist 1,000 state-controlled organic eateries. Only 56 of these are restaurants, take-away shops and cafés, and 23 of the 56 are placed in Copenhagen (see full list of restaurants in appendix 3) (Spisemærket, 2015). As seen in figure 10, the stamp has made it attractive for eateries to adjust to the organic principles.

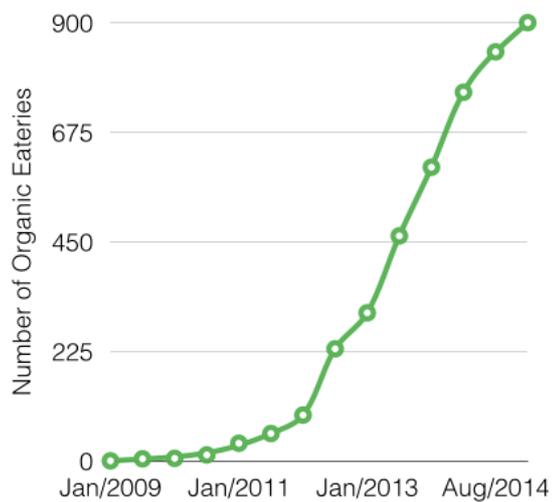


Figure 10: Organic Eateries 2014

<sup>4</sup> Full name: the Danish Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries

Following Jacobsen (2008), it is an important and obvious task for public authorities to engage in the development of the food and eating experiences, as they can be means for better nutrition, better urban life, new social settings, etc. Since the beginning of the millennium, Danish politicians have engaged in improving the eating experience. One politician did however engage earlier. In 1995, the Danish Minister of Culture, Jytte Hilden, suggested that particularly inventive chefs should benefit from public funding like artists. This proposal did not receive any support from other politicians and was seen as a joke (Beck, 2015; Jacobsen, 2008). However, the way she perceived the profession of chefs gave her the title, President of Måltidets Hus (The Meal House), in 2001, and she has later on been appointed as a pioneer for putting food and food creation on the political agenda<sup>5</sup>.

In 2005, political support for the eating experiences emerged. The Nordic Council of Ministers met on the basis of the Manifesto for New Nordic Kitchen in order to strengthen Nordic food and thereby signed what is denoted as the Aarhus Declaration (Kolle et al., 2014). This has led to the two political programmes; New Nordic Food I & II (2007-2014), which work for making the Nordic food's values visible in the areas of food culture, gastronomy, produce, tourism, design, animal welfare, and business development (Kolle et al., 2014; Århus-deklarationen, 2005). In light of this, the New Nordic Cuisine movement can be perceived to also to be an instrumental movement, as it has affected governance structures (Rao et al., 2003).

In 2009, the Ministry of Business and Growth established three new 'experience zones': one for music, one for computer games and one for food. The government has reached the conclusion that Denmark should put more focus into creative industries in order to stay up with the global competition (Madsen, 2009).

The zone for food, Zonen for Madkultur, was a three-year project (2010-2013) and it aimed at strengthening the experience of food products and meals with high focus on the status as host. The Food Zone argued that a new profession and business in the culinary field was established in Denmark. The separation of industries such as culture, tourism, restaurants, public food, and agriculture is fading and instead these industries have started working together in order to create food experiences (ZonenforMadkultur, 2013).

Since the mid 00s, the local politicians of Copenhagen have also been active in the debate about food and eating experiences, and thereby focused a lot on the conditions for street vendors. Before 2008, being a street vendor was only possible for people with a 'priority status', meaning people who

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<sup>5</sup> The idea of Måltidets Hus was to create an institution in which food related activities were connected with education and research in order to strengthen the gastronomy level and the Danish food culture. The house should have been a reality in 2004 (ritzau, 2001), but due to the government change in Denmark in 2001, Måltidets Hus never became a reality, which led to disputes as the Municipality of Copenhagen already had invested in the renovation of some listed buildings in Kødbyen, Copenhagen's meatpacking district (Kronsted, 2002).

because of a disability cannot have other jobs. These people were allowed to run businesses such as hot dog stands. The first initiative for improving the conditions for street vendors was called 'Gang i gaden' ('Life in the street'), which did not have the desired effect. The initiative was aimed at all kinds of street vendors and wanted to bring more life in the outer parts of Copenhagen. After one year, only two street vendors, both selling juice, had survived, why the initiative was denoted a flop and it was predicted that street food would never survive in Denmark (Kjær, 2010). From 2008-2010, more street vendors started business in the centre of Copenhagen, mostly selling beverages. Many restaurants and cafés started to complain, as they saw the street businesses as a threat. The local politicians thought that these street vendors had a negative influence on the streetscape, and consequently, the politicians made it extremely expensive to run a moveable business in the centre of Copenhagen (Sæhl, 2010).

Today, the local politicians in Copenhagen see the food as a mean for developing a greater urban life with wider culinary offers. In the beginning of 2013, it was decided to remove all the charges for moveable food businesses<sup>6</sup>, and the politicians anticipated 35-50 new food trucks already in the summer of 2013 (Finnedal, 2013). The process has however been slower than anticipated, and in 2013 there were only 22 food trucks in Copenhagen. It can be argued that because of complex legal aspects, it has been hard for the food producers to figure out how to operate on the streets (Hansson, 2014).

The local politicians of Copenhagen did also support the realization of the food market Torvehallerne, which opened in the centre of Copenhagen in 2001. This is a big market hall with both prepared food and produces. The Municipality of Copenhagen supported the project, not financially, but by helping to find the right investor (Holm, Gregersen, & Lang, 2012). Torvehallerne is well-visit both by Copenhageners and by tourists, why the municipality wants to establish more markets in Copenhagen like seen in Paris, Barcelona, London, New York etc. (Henrichsen, 2014a, 2014b). During spring 2015, a new market will open at Kødbyen (Copenhagen's meat packing district), which is initiated by the Municipality of Copenhagen. The municipality has set out certain guidelines and visions for the new market and opened an application round for obtaining permission to run the market (see appendix 4). The municipality emphasizes that the primary offer at the market must be primary produces and delicacies, and there must be room for ready-to-eat food, experimenting food projects, physical food-related products such as pots and pans as well as the market operator must aim at a high proportion of organic food.

Since 2013, the Municipality of Copenhagen has also supported the food events: Copenhagen Cooking and MAD Symposium (Poppenbøll, 2015).

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<sup>6</sup> Before the price was DKK 11,225 before VAT every six month

## Educational Systems

The educational system forms many of the profession's values, principles and standards. In Denmark, there are more than 25 different educations at different levels within food studies. These cover programmes in areas such as food science and food nutrition. 22 schools offer a certified chef education, of which Copenhagen Hospitality College is the largest ("Fakta om fødevareuddannelser," 2014). Copenhagen Hospitality College is Northern Europe's largest vocational college within the hotel and restaurant field, and it educates more than 600 chefs each year ("Copenhagen Hospitality Colleges educations," 2014).

In the 1990s, it became possible to serve one's apprenticeship in any European country, and since around 300 students from Copenhagen Hospitality College have studied abroad each year. Most of these students went to UK, France and Italy. Since 2007, it has been possible to serve one's apprenticeship worldwide, and now it has become just as common to travel to Bolivia, Cambodia, Chile, South Africa, and Mexico (Beck, 2015).

As mentioned, the French cuisine has worldwide influenced food perception for many decades, and the traditions taught in culinary schools today still have their origins in the French cuisine (Beck, 2015; Jacobsen, 2008).

Following Beck (2015), since the opening and recognition of Noma, the classic French Cuisine has lost ground at Copenhagen Hospitality College, which he finds unfortunately. Beck (2015) believes that the classic French Cuisine provides the basic cooking skills - skills needed to be creative and innovative. He refers to René Redzepi, head chef of Noma, who was educated at Copenhagen Hospitality College in the time when the classic French Cuisine was the structural element and has additionally served part of his apprenticeship in France. However, today the classic French Cuisine still plays a vital role in the education, but according to Beck (2015) its importance is less substantial for the education, as the philosophies of Nordic food have obtained footing.

Thus, the educational systems form the general perception of the skills needed for chefs.

## Critics, Media and Ranking Systems

Being a food critic is not solely for journalists, as everyone can act as a food critic today (Vilbæk, 2015). In 2006, the first food blogs started in Denmark, and by 2010 there were more than 500 (mad+medier, 2015). Blogs and social media have influenced the producers in the culinary field. Today, every consumer is a restaurant critic, meaning that there has been a power shift, and the power of traditional food critics is now limited (Shanmugalingam, 2013).

However, reviews and ranking systems are still very influential for the culinary field. They work as normative agents by setting standards for the gastronomic level within the field as well as provide norms and principles for new, recognized trends within the field (Christensen & Pedersen, 2011; Scott & Davis, 2007).

Copenhagen appears in ranking systems that benchmark restaurants internationally. Presently, the two most representative restaurant rating systems are the French Michelin Guide and the San Pellegrino 'World's 50 Best Restaurant' list organized by the English Restaurant Magazine (Christensen & Pedersen, 2011).

The Michelin Guide has evaluated restaurants for more than a century and is the one of the most authoritative and popular ranking systems and restaurant guides (Christensen & Pedersen, 2011; Liu et al., 2014; Silviya Svejenova et al., 2007). The Michelin Guide has evolved through out its lifetime. The guide was published for the first time in 1900 in order to help drivers make dining decisions by ranking restaurants in France and beyond from one star to three stars. 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'. Since 1955, the guide has also listed restaurants offering "good food at moderate prices", a feature now called 'Bib Gourmand'.

The introduction of La Nouvelle Cuisine in the 1970s influenced the Michelin Guide. The new standards for cooking gave other demands for the rating system, and today, the Michelin Guide evaluates high-level gastronomic restaurants and covers 12 countries in Europe, four cities in the United States and Tokyo, Hong Kong and Macau in Asia (Jacobsen, 2008; Liu et al., 2014; Rao et al., 2003). The Michelin Guide for 2015, has made a new edition, the Guide Michelin Nordic Cities, which is a special edition covering Denmark, Norway and Sweden. With this guide, Michelin has for the first time ranked restaurants in Denmark outside of Copenhagen and awarded three restaurants with stars in the City Aarhus.

Michelin Guide has never disclosed the written criteria for the quality level required for the various star levels, despite its extensive influence (Liu et al., 2014). What is known is that the system is based on a standardized system of fixed criteria, where "mystery shoppers" evaluate the restaurants based on parameters such as cooking skills, meal characteristic and value for money, and Michelin claims that its inspectors revisit all starred restaurants several times a year (Christensen & Pedersen, 2011; Liu et al., 2014).

In 2002, the San Pellegrino 'World's 50 Best Restaurant' list was established. This ranking system does not have explicit criteria for the evaluation, but according to Christensen & Pedersen (2011), the implicit criteria of 'novelty' and 'innovation'. The list is based on an elaborate voting system

performed by a group of gastro-experts (around 800 people), such as food critics, chefs, restaurateurs, food journalists and highly regarded gastronomes, which in turn results in a ranking list of restaurants (Christensen & Pedersen, 2011).

The two systems propose two different ways of estimating restaurant quality, hold different standards, and result in different evaluations. The study of Christensen & Pedersen (2011) shows that the Michelin Guide is conservative. Up to 75 % of the content in the guide remains constant. Some of the three stars restaurants have been on the list for more than 40 years. In comparison, more than 150 different restaurants have appeared on the San Pellegrino list with multiple placement changes.

The two systems have also evaluated restaurants in Copenhagen very differently. Copenhagen received its first Michelin stars in 1983. From 2004, Denmark began to receive more and more Michelin Stars, and today, 13 restaurants have one star and three restaurants have two stars, making Denmark the Scandinavian country with most Michelin stars (see figure 11, see appendix 5 for full list) (ViaMichelin, 2014). Even though, no Danish restaurant has three Michelin stars, the San Pellegrino list has selected Noma as the world's best restaurant four times. Noma was also the first restaurant in Copenhagen to enter the list in 2006. Only one other restaurant in Copenhagen is been part of the list, Geranium, which entered in 2012 (see figure 12) ("The world's 50 Best," 2014).

The results from these ratings have enormous impact on the restaurants in terms of bookings, publicity and reputation. In fact, a chef has committed suicide after Michelin stars were taken away from the restaurant (Brovall, 2015b; Christensen & Pedersen, 2011; Liu et al., 2014).

Since 2014, the White Guide also ranks Danish restaurants. The White Guide has existed for 10 years and it has a primary focus on Sweden and Nordic food. As a result of the diffusion of Nordic Food, the guide has for the last two years ranked restaurant in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland (White Guide, 2015). The best rated restaurants are found in Denmark (Ilkjær & Holmgård, 2015)

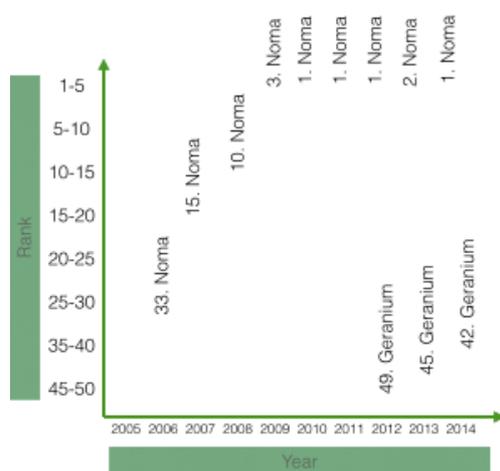


Figure 12: San Pellegrino "World's 50 Best Restaurants" list in Copenhagen 2005-2014

	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15
Geranium										*			*	**	**	**
Klin Klin									*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Paustian									*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
MR								*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Kokkeriet							*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Rasmus Oubæk					*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Noma					*	*	*	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
The Paul					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
TyvenKokken..					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Formel B					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Ensemble					*	**	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Godt	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Pierre André	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Era Ora	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Restaurationen	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Kommandanten	**	**	**	**	**	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Søllerød Kro																
Kong Hans Kælder	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Herman										*	*	*	*	*	*	*
AOC										*	*	*	*	*	*	**
Grønbech & Churcill											*	*	*	*	*	*
Relæ													*	*	*	*
Den Røde Cottage													*	*	*	*
Kadeau													*	*	*	*
Clou														*	*	*
Marchal														*	*	*
Studio														*	*	*

Figure 11: Michelin Stars in Copenhagen 2000-2015

## Field Configuring Events

In the following, I will examine one repetitive event and one ‘one-off event’. I will investigate the New Nordic Cuisine Symposium and the MAD symposium.

In 2004, the founders of Noma, Réne Redzepi, and Claus Meyer organized the New Nordic Cuisine Symposium in order to expand the idea of New Nordic food. For the symposium, the founders invited 12 persons consisting of leading gastronomists and chefs from the Nordic countries (see appendix 6 for participants). It was an attempt to extend the venture from being a local Danish invention to a Nordic Venture, and a way to draw attention to and enhance the taste of the Nordic countries, the Nordic ‘terroir’ (Christensen & Pedersen, 2011). During the symposium, the participants agreed upon and signed a ‘Manifesto for the New Nordic Kitchen’. The purpose of the manifesto was to define the New Nordic Cuisine in ten rules, like Nouvelle Cuisine. The act was inspired by the Dogma95 film manifesto, which operates with dogmas for the film production (see figure 13) (Christensen & Pedersen, 2011).

This one-off event has had significant influence on the culinary field’s evolvement. New Nordic Cuisine has gained political influence, raised awareness about Denmark worldwide, inspired many new restaurants to follow the rules, and influenced the educational system and the ranking systems. Thus, I characterize this FCE to have a very strong field mandate. Additionally, the event does also picture the unique role a FCE can play for a field’s evolution, because it creates a social space, in which individuals both can represent themselves and their organizations. This symposium has made it possible for the participants to acquire identity as field members. Field members build cognitive representations of their own positions in a view to future returns, and by doing so they increase the field’s institutional legitimacy (Lampel & Meyer, 2008).



*Figure 13: Nordic Cuisine (Meyer 2004)*

In 2011, René Redzepi, with help from Claus Meyer, organized the MAD symposium. MAD is an organization that aims to build a community of cooks, purveyors and thinkers that want to improve the restaurant trade. Each summer, MAD holds an annual symposium that gathers 600 people from around the world within the professions of science, journalism, and chefs and waiters – all with an interest in the field. It addresses various topics from farmers and fermentation to appetite and cooking skills (MAD, 2014).

This repetitive event influences the culinary field's evolution. This symposium is the finest example of a FCE as it brings together people from diverse backgrounds and with diverse purposes to announce new products, develop industry standards, construct social networks, and share and interpret information. The speakers at these symposiums are mostly chefs from Haute Cuisine restaurants, which indicate that this event has a strong field mandate for the Haute Cuisine group of the field.

## Concluding the Culinary Landscape of Copenhagen

As shown, the culinary field of Copenhagen includes a diverse set of actors and institutions.

Originally, gastronomy stems from France, why France has been dominant in developing the culinary field. Nouvelle Cuisine formed the standards for cooking throughout Europe, and the traditions are still taught at the Copenhagen Hospitality College today. It was the IEs, Søren Gericke, who brought these cooking principles to Denmark.

Different evaluation systems play an important role for the general perception of the field, especially the Michelin Guide and the San Pellegrino 'World's 50 Best Restaurant' list. The amount of Michelin stars has intensified since 2004, and the San Pellegrino 'World's 50 Best Restaurant' list shows that Copenhagen is among the world elite. Now, Denmark also feature in the White Guide and in 2015 the Michelin Guide has made a special edition on Nordic food, underlining Copenhagen's, and also Denmark's, status as culinary destination.

The opening of Noma and the creation of the New Nordic Cuisine manifest developed into a movement, which has in short time diffused the Nordic cooking principles to both restaurants and consumers. The event creating the manifest has established the breeding ground for a shared understanding of Nordic food. The movement has also engaged politicians in spreading the concept. Also, the Stop Wasting Food Movement has contributed to a new discourse and actually reduced the food waste in Denmark.

The organic principles have spread throughout Denmark because of political engagement in the mission. This has contributed to the state-controlled organic stamp for eateries. There has been a fast growth for eateries with this stamp. The politicians also work for better eating experiences. In Copenhagen, the focus has been on food street vendors as a mean to establish a greater urban life with more culinary offers, why politicians have tried to improve the conditions for street vendors. Moreover, the local politicians of Copenhagen want to enhance the market culture in Copenhagen by establishing more food markets in the city.

The educational system conveys many of the profession's values, principles and standards. Whereas the French cuisine used to be the dominant factor, the values from the Nordic kitchen have gained ground. The system has also enabled educated chefs to obtain international experiences by the opportunity to take part of the education abroad.

## Chapter 6: The Producers and the Culinary Innovations

In the following, I present the producers in the culinary field by means of the categorization outlined in chapter 4: Haute Cuisine, Gastronomy for all, Subject Food, and Delivery Concept. I look for new culinary innovations in order to determine the forces the producers constitute for the field.

### Haute Cuisine

Up until the 2000s, the Haute Cuisine scene was adorned by Nouvelle Cuisine.

From 2004, this group started to include other cuisines than the French, such as ‘London style’, Italian and Danish cuisines.

Restaurant **Noma** opened in 2003 with Claus Meyer and René Redzepi at the steering wheel, received its first Michelin star in 2005. Since 2007, Noma has been a two Michelin stars restaurant, but its world fame is attributable to its nomination as the world’s best restaurant by the San Pellegrino list. The Nordic Cuisine has its roots in this particular restaurant. However, when Claus Meyer and René Redzepi opened Noma, insiders from the culinary field laughed at the project (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013; Christensen & Pedersen, 2011). Noma was the first restaurant within this category to not use table clothes, which normally the Michelin Guide frowns upon. It serves food never seen before, and on top of the restaurant, the founders have established Nordic Food Lab; a laboratory for researching different produces and preparation methods (Bason, 2015). Like elBulli, Noma has incorporated the scientific approach to food, and Nordic Food Lab indicates that Noma seeks to be innovative (Silviya Svejenova et al., 2010).

In February 2015, Noma closed down its premises in Copenhagen and moved to Tokyo with its 80 employees to do a pop-up restaurant. The idea was not to disseminate Nordic food in Asia, quite contrary, Noma has made food based on the local produces in Japan corresponding to the ten rules from the New Nordic Manifest (Bason, 2015). With a project in Bolivia<sup>7</sup>, Meyer (2014) wants to prove that the manifest can work in any country to express terroir. Noma’s trip to Tokyo supports this argument. Additionally, Japan is the country with most Michelin stars per citizen, and some argue that high competition contributes to higher degrees of innovation, so in order to stay competitive, one must be where the best are (Bason, 2015). The trip has fostered new experimentation processes for the Noma team, which I argue contribute to Noma innovativeness.

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<sup>7</sup> Meyer has established a non-profit fine dining restaurant, GUSTU, in Bolivia. The restaurant aims at creating a new food industry in Bolivia, and to support the restaurant, there is established cook schools, food labs, entrepreneurship schools in which people from Bolivia are employed in order to build up this industry (MeltingPot, 2015)

The Asian restaurant, **Kiin Kiin**, was founded in 2006 by Henrik Yde, and it received its first Michelin star in 2007. At the time, it was not only the first Asian kitchen in Copenhagen with a Michelin Star, but the first in the world (Kiin Kiin, 2015).

**Geranium** was opened in 2007 by Rasmus Koefod, winner of the world championship for chefs, Bocuse D'or<sup>8</sup>. Geranium was the first Michelin starred restaurant in Copenhagen also serving a vegetarian menu (Weng, 2010).

**Restaurant Mielcke & Hurtigkarl**, which opened in 2008, focuses on the eating experience. It is a conceptual restaurant designed as a Japanese garden and decorated with contemporary art (M&H, 2015). Mielcke & Hurtigkarl has since its opening received the finest reviews, however, neither the Michelin Guide nor the San Pellegrino list have ever awarded it. Food critics believe that the explanation can be found in the conservative system of Michelin (Larsen, 2014). In 2015, the White Guide chose Mielcke & Hurtigkarl one of the top 30 restaurants in Scandinavia (M&H, 2015).

In the period 2010-2015, the principles of the new Nordic Cuisine have gained hold in more restaurants such as Kadeau and Relæ.

**Kadeau** was originally established on the small island, Bornholm in 2008 by Nicolai Nørgaard and Rasmus Kofoed (not the Geranium chef), and its basic idea is to portray the tastes and the smells of Bornholm. Later, it moved to Copenhagen, and the restaurant started to ferment both vegetables and herbs from Bornholm and bring the tastes to Copenhagen, and thereby it has incorporate chemistry in the food preparation. Kadeau gained its first Michelin star in 2013 (Behrendtzen, 2012; Carlsen, 2014).

**Relæ** was founded in 2010 by Christian F. Puglisi, the former sous-chef of Noma, and received its first Michelin star in 2013. The décor of the restaurant is very spartan, e.g. the tables do not wear clothes and the cutleries seem cheap, thus it was a surprise when the restaurant received a Michelin star, as the Michelin Guide normally cares about such things. In the same year as the restaurant opened, it was marked with the state-controlled organic stamp, and thereby became the first Michelin awarded organic restaurant in the world (Brovall, 2015a; Schou, 2014; Spisemærket, 2013).

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<sup>8</sup> Rasmus Kofoed is the only one in the world who has won first the bronze medal (year 2005), then the silver medal (year 2007) and the gold medal (year 2010).



Figure 14: Producers: Haute Cuisine

To sum up, at Haute Cuisine restaurants, the chefs are typically educated chefs and the restaurants have typically received fine reviews from food critics and are most often awarded by ranking systems. Haute Cuisine restaurants are not necessarily innovative; in fact, most of them serve food based on the well-known Nouvelle Cuisine philosophy. Some Haute Cuisine restaurants such as Noma, Kiin Kiin, Kadeau and Relæ are innovative, however. These have made Copenhagen world famous by not only introducing food concepts that are new in Copenhagen, but actually new to the world. Kiin Kiin has shown that the Asian kitchen can be prepared and served at a high class dining level, which I denote as an incremental innovation. Noma, on the other hand, has not only introduced Nordic food to the Haute Cuisine category, but has contributed to a whole new perception of Nordic food and raised awareness of new produces such as ants, buckthorns and Nordic seaweed. I therefore argue that Noma is an architectural innovation. Being a state-controlled organic eatery, Restaurant Relæ faces constraints, as the range of organic raw materials is limited compared to non-organic raw materials, for example it is not possible to get organic asparagus, which in turn results in a higher degree of experimentation (Spisemærket, 2013). As Relæ has shown that Haute Cuisine food can be organic, I classify it as an architectural innovation.

## Gastronomy for All

Eating out opportunities, which a broader group of people can afford, for example Bistros have existed in Copenhagen since the 19th century. The level of gastronomy has risen though in the last 15 years, because of the way restaurants establish themselves on the market. Such restaurants are often reviewed by food journalists like Haute Cuisine restaurants and some restaurants within this category are also rewarded with Bib Gourmands by Michelin.

In 2000, the female chef, Mette Martinussen, opened a new restaurant concept in Copenhagen, namely **Restaurant 1.th**<sup>9</sup>. The restaurant is highly orchestrated and looks like a private home. She has put much effort into creating the experience of a private dinner party, e.g. when a guest books a table, the

<sup>9</sup> The name refers to where and apartment is situated in a building (first floor to the right).

guest is asked to pay in advance, the guest hereafter receives a hand-written card with an invitation to the dinner party, and the guest finds the actual restaurant in an apartment building. The restaurant still receives very good reviews, resembling reviews of Haute Cuisine restaurants, and the food level is high compared to the price (Kern-Jespersen, 2001). The restaurant can serve the food ‘cheap’ because of its form. The restaurant only hosts 20 guests per evening, so the rent is cheaper than a big restaurant on a typical commercial lease and because people are paying beforehand, the restaurant do not have to calculate with any uncertainty.

Alongside with the high-end gourmet development, another trend has intensified, namely, the ‘bistro-wave’, which refers to restaurants at a relatively high-level of gastronomy and with prices most people can afford. The ‘bistro-wave’ was initiated in Paris about 15 years ago. Haute Cuisine chefs wanted the opportunity to experiment more with the food and to serve food at lower prices in order to please more people, but Haute Cuisine restaurants do not leave much room for this, as it is very expensive to run such a restaurant and chefs therefore have to play it safe to satisfy guests. So Parisian chefs from two and three Michelin stars restaurants began opening bistros in the outer city areas of Paris to gain a lower rent (Frank, 2000).

The entrepreneur Torben Klitbo, who is behind the conglomerate **Cofoco**, has played a great part in driving this trend in Copenhagen. He opened his first restaurant in 2004, Cofoco, with a European kitchen. This restaurant was the first non-smoking restaurant in Copenhagen (Cofoco, 2015)<sup>10</sup>. In 2007, the entrepreneur Anders Aagard, a former member of the Cofoco business, went solo and opened his first restaurant **Madklubben**, which soon became a big food business inspired by Cofoco.

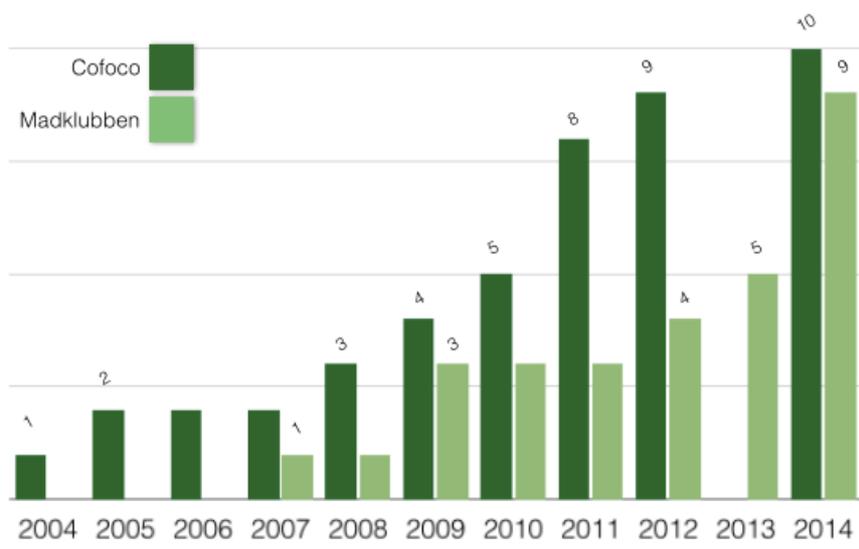


Figure 15: Number of Restaurants Cofoco & Madklubben 2004-2014

<sup>10</sup> Smoking at public places, such as restaurants, has been prohibited in Denmark since 2007

In the period of 2005-2009, the idea of ‘the experience economy’ began to gain ground in Copenhagen, and restaurants started to open with the primary focus on the eating experience, like Restaurant 1. Th had practiced since 2000.

In 2006, the food-theatre **Madeleines** was established in Copenhagen by the founder of Restaurant 1. th., Mette Martinussen. Madeleines was an expensive business to operate, why it closed in 2010. The consumers took directly part in the performance by eating, which added to an extra sensual dimension of the experience (ZonenforMadkultur, 2013). Madeleines is not the first food-theatre in Denmark. Actually, Martinussen founded the food-theatre Ester & Soja in Copenhagen in 1998 together with Claus Meyer. It existed for two years (K. Flyvbjerg, 2006).

In 2009, Bo Lindegård and Lasse Askov pioneered with the term ‘pop-up restaurant’ in Copenhagen. First at the old cultural house, A-Huset and some months later at the controversial place, Andy’s, which is a rather dodgy pub in the centre of Copenhagen. In these two places, they served Haute Cuisine food in an untraditional way for few nights each place. They both have a background as educated chefs, worked at Haute Cuisine restaurants and have gained Michelin stars, but they wanted to put more focus into the eating experience, why they opened **I’m a Kombo**, which started to do pop-up events<sup>11</sup> (Olsen, 2010).

More and more find alternative ways to serve food and move away from the restaurant format, like I’m a Kombo. **Rødder** does it with great success. Two academia-educated guys started to host pop-up restaurant events, mostly for friends. In 2011, a journalist 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’s business consists of a pop-up event once a month at a new venue each time. This pop-up format would never provide a sufficient income to an actual business, so the founders have alongside opened a catering business in order to have a proper income and to have a kitchen to prepare the food for the pop-up events (Danielsen, 2014).

From 2010-2015, the restaurant scene in Copenhagen has exploded, especially in terms of affordable restaurants. After the financial crisis, the total amount of restaurant visits had declined, but among the younger generation, the visits had increased (Haar, 2015). The business of Cofoco and Madklubben became much larger in this period (see figure 15, and see appendix 7 for full list of restaurants).

With the opening of Oysters and Grill, Cofoco introduced the first restaurant that does not accept cash, which is actual illegal in Denmark. Cofoco did it as a statement to emphasize that it is expensive for restaurant to manage cash (Harder, 2013). The businesses of Cofoco and Madklubben will keep

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<sup>11</sup> Today, I’m a Kombo creates eating experience at a fixed location in Kødbyen, Copenhagen’s meatpacking district with a primary focus on how the social setting enrich the eating experience

expanding. “*I will open restaurants until I die*”<sup>12</sup> (Klitbo, Torben in Luth, 2013: 1). Cofoco’s business is possible thanks to economies of scale; Cofoco has a 3,600 m<sup>2</sup> large production kitchen serving its different restaurants (Luth, 2013)

Cofoco and Madklubben are not the only serial restaurant entrepreneurs. The previously Michelin awarded chef, Rasmus Oubæk, started in 2011 a new restaurant empire with focus on good solid Bistro food with a high gourmet level. Oubæk has opened Retour (2011), Retour Steak (2012), Pluto (2013), Retour Steak II (2013), Restaurant Barbie (2013), and Gorilla (2014).

Rasmus **Oubæk** is not the only Michelin awarded chef opening more down-to-earth restaurants. In fact, most Haute Cuisine restaurants today have another restaurant, what I denote as the ‘Little-brother-concept’. The White Guide has also noted this and classifies it as one of the biggest trends in 2014. According to the White Guide, the little-brother concept is a result of the restaurateurs’ wish to serve more people, to make ordinary food and to play a bit more with food concepts, which can be hard in Haute Cuisine restaurants (Ilkjær & Holmgård, 2015).

Kiin Kiin is the flagship of a business consisting of 10 Asian bistros, Relæ has Manfreds and Bæst, Kadeau has Pony, AOC has No 2, Era Ora has L’altro, Formel B has Uformel. Noma does not have a little brother yet, but rumours say that Noma will open one in 2015 (Schou, 2015).



Figure 16: Producers: Gastronomy for All

To sum up, because of new forms of eating out places, gourmet food reaches more people. The experience economy has gained ground in Copenhagen, and food has begun to be orchestrated, seen at Restaurant 1. Th, Madeleines, I’m a Kombo and Rødder. These add to the newness of the field. As Restaurant 1. Th, Madeleines and I’m a Kombo’s dining experience at Andy’s bar link different forms of experiences in a new setting, I denote them architectural innovations. However, the general phenomenon of pop-up restaurants enables alternative eating experience, why they can be argued as incremental innovations for the field.

<sup>12</sup> Own translation from Danish – originally: Jeg åbner forretninger til, jeg dør”

Copenhagen has experienced a bistro-wave highly driven by Cofoco. Cofoco has created new methods of distribution, such as non-smoking restaurants, cash-free restaurants, and restaurants differing in cuisines so to satisfy everybody. Before Cofoco, younger generation such as students rarely frequented restaurants, but these new types of restaurants have created a new eating-out segment (Dahlager, 2015).

Cofoco is not the only one that has seen the great potential of economies of scale. Most Haute Cuisine restaurants have a “little-brother” serving more affordable food, which is used by the restaurateurs as a playground (Frank, 2000; Ilkjær & Holmgård, 2015).

As soon as the restaurateurs move away from the Haute Cuisine level, meaning not having to meet criterions set by food critiques and ranking systems, high level gourmet food can be served everywhere and it does not have to be on a fixed spot like an owned restaurant. It should be noted though that for moveable or occasional restaurants like Rødder, it can be hard to build a sustainable business on that concept alone, why the business model often is two-folded.

## Subject Food

Producers serving food with high focus on its genre such as breakfast or burgers are not evaluated by ranking systems like the Michelin Guide or San Pellegrino. These types of restaurants are often mentioned in popular media<sup>13</sup>, as well as themed blogs, e.g. sushi blogs, burger blogs, etc.

In the beginning of 2000, there were many restaurants with a specific focus on the origin of the food, such as Turkish food, Italian food, Chinese food, Thai food, Japanese food (Hedetoft, 2004). Where these restaurants focus on food from a specific country, a new type of restaurant is seen in Copenhagen, which mainly focuses on one type of dish, meaning the selection is found in the variation of the one dish.

One of the first new more exotic subject foods was **sushi**, brought to Copenhagen by a Japanese family in the late 1980s. From the late 1990s it became popular in Copenhagen (Glanowski, 2010).

In the beginning of 2000, many cafés served burgers alongside with nachos, pastas, salads etc., but from 2007 a new trend intensified: the **burger bar**. Even though, the burger bar has been known in Copenhagen for many decades, it was not until two academia-educated guys launched a burger bar concept, Halifax, in 2007 (Bjørn, 2012) that the burger bar trend started in Copenhagen (disregarding Burger King and McDonalds). The burger has also become a popular subject for bloggers; the best visited is “Pigen & Pomfritten” from 2013 with more than 25,000 visits each month

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<sup>13</sup> Examples of popular medias: AOK, iByen by Politiken, Spiseguiden

(Pigen&pomfritten.dk, 2015). The fast diffusion of the burger concept might also be explained by economies of scale, as some of them operate as chains (figure 17).



Figure 17: Burger Bars in Copenhagen 2015

The **hotdog** has also become a trend in Copenhagen. The hotdog was distributed on the streets from the well-known hotdog stand. The hotdog stand peaked in the 1960s with more than 400 stands in Denmark, whereas today, the number is around 60. DØP (since 2011) and Pølsekompagniet (since 2012) have given the hotdog stand a revival by using the classic hotdog stand format, but with homemade and organic food. Both of them keep expanding (Kjær, 2011). Whereas hotdogs used to be eaten on the streets, it is now just as common to eat hotdogs in fancy restaurants such as Foderbrættet, Big Willys, and Osteria 16 (Elsøe, 2014). Since 2012, the subject specific blog, The Hotdog Judge, has reviewed the different hotdogs in Copenhagen (Hotdogjudge.com, 2015).

In 2011, the young entrepreneur, Lasse Skjønning Andersen, opened the little shop **Grød** (porridge) only serving porridge. His mission is to change people's perception of porridge, as he sees it as an essentiality for human existence today.

*What is interesting is that porridge is something that has been around for 10,000 years. (...) The porridge is also the reason why we are here today. Porridge is foundation for our development as human beings. It has given people strength, so they could build things, develop things, and become wiser. Porridge is insanely important<sup>14</sup>.*

(Andersen, 2014: 6-10)

<sup>14</sup> Own translation from Danish – Originally: Det interessante er, at grød er noget, der har eksisteret i 10.000 år. Det er det mest basale form for tilberedningsteknik. Der blev udviklet bål, og så begyndte man at lave grød. Grøden er også grund til, at vi sidder her i dag. Det er skyld i, at vi har kunnet udvikle os som mennesker. Det har givet mennesker et overskud, så de kunne bygge ting, udvikle ting, blive klogere. Grød er sindssygt vigtig.

The change element is very important for Andersen, why he has the characteristics of an IE.

*(...) there are many who have both a monotonous and fairly negative picture of porridge. It's not something delicious or pretentious, that we look forward to wake up to in the morning. There is a lot of history connected to porridge, and I want to break down these myths<sup>15</sup>. (Andersen, 2014: 14-16).*

For many people, porridge is the same as oatmeal, but Grød has managed to alter this perception as it has defined porridge in a new way. Compared to other countries, such as England, there is a broader perception of porridge in Denmark than just oatmeal, as red porridge with cream, rice pudding and rye-bread-and-beer porridge are all considered porridge in Denmark.

*How to define porridge in Denmark? You can look at the relationship of red porridge with cream and rice pudding. The only common denominator is, in fact, that it is something that is cooked together and has a consistent texture. If that is the premise of how we in Denmark have defined porridge, then we must also be able to define other things like porridge, such as risotto (...), or Asian rice porridge, or Indian dahl (...). It basically means that when you have the conceptual understanding (...) we can begin to expand the Danish porridge concept<sup>16</sup>. (Andersen, 2014: 28-34).*

Andersen has redefined what porridge is and builds a business around it. The venture of Grød started with a little shop in the trendy street, Jægersborggade. Today, Grød has three shops, a cookbook, is represented at several events, gives many lectures, and has developed an instant porridge sold in more than 600 7/11 shops in Denmark (Finnedal, 2014). Thus, Grød has managed to diffuse the idea of porridge to many consumers

In 2012, the restaurant Barburitto brought the true **Mexican** street kitchen to Copenhagen. Earlier, Copenhageners' general perception of Mexican food was misunderstood, as the taco shell was known as a hard shell due to conventional food fabrics such as Tex Mex, in opposition to, the real taco shell, which is a soft corn pancake, introduced by Barburitto (Dahlager, 2014a). Since Barburitto opened, Copenhagen has gained five new Mexican eateries, all in 2014, and it is said that a chef from Noma soon will open a Mexican restaurant as well (Dahlager, 2014a, 2014b).

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<sup>15</sup> Own translation from Danish – originally: Men der er rigtig mange der har dels et ensformig billede af det og rigtig mange har også et ret negativt billede af det. Det er ikke noget lækkert eller noget prætentivt, som man glæder sig til at stå op og spise om morgenen. Alt det historik der er omkring grød, det vil jeg gerne gøre op med

<sup>16</sup> Hvordan definerer man grød i Danmark? Man kan se på, hvad sammenhængen er mellem rød grød med fløde og risengrød. Den eneste fællesnævner er i virkeligheden, at det er et eller andet, der er sammenkogt og har en sammenhængende konsistens. Hvis det er præmissen for, hvordan vi i Danmark har defineret grød, så må vi også kunne definere andre ting som grød, såsom risotto, eller risotto lavet på perlebyg, eller asiatisk risgrød, eller dahl lavet på linser fra Indien. Det betyder i virkeligheden, at når man har den begrebsforståelse, som egentlig er meget filosofisk i argumentationskæden, så kan vi også begynde at udvide det danske grød begreb



Figure 18: Producers: Subject Food

To sum up, more and more restaurants have managed to build up a business that only focus on one dish and the different variations that are created from that dish, such as sushi, burgers, hot dogs, porridge and tacos. When the trend reaches a critical mass, it also creates new topics for blogs. For most of these, the novelty is not seen in the preparation of the food, but in the very streamlined selection of food. The food is traditional food, but is new to the culinary field of Copenhagen. I will argue that these new concepts are incremental innovations for the field. For Grød, the novelty is also seen in the preparation of the food, as Andersen has managed to recombine existing elements and re-establish new porridge-dishes, why Andersen has added an architectural innovation to the culinary field of Copenhagen.

## Delivery Concepts

Producers in this category serve food, where the form has an impact on the food and the concept of serving is in the centre such as food trucks or events.

In the 00s, the culinary field exploded with new delivery concepts. The producers serve food from temporary businesses, moveable businesses, and events and markets. Additionally, some producers operate with alternative supply chains that also create new delivery concepts. In the following, I will firstly present the events and markets within the field. These events have some characteristics of being FCEs but do not fulfil the all the criterions on the operational level, and afterwards, I present the producers in this group.



Figure 19: Forms of Delivery Concepts

## Events and markets

At many events, like music festivals, food is an add-on to the event with another core service, like music. During my fieldwork period, I have learned that many of these events have started to focus intensively on their food offerings and work with strategies for serving good, healthy and sustainable food (Hansson, 2014). During the last 10 years, however, there are more and more events with food as the core offering (see figure 20).



Figure 20: Food Events in Copenhagen 2014-2015

In 2005, the food festival, **Copenhagen Cooking**, was launched. It was initiated by the tourist organization Wonderful Copenhagen. Some argue that this was the first food festival in Denmark, even though, the amusement park Tivoli organized a food festival in 2004. From 2005, Tivoli's food festival was part of Copenhagen Cooking (Fredensborg, 2005).

Copenhagen Cooking is primary a ten-days festival in August, and it aims at enhancing awareness about Nordic food culture. The festival is organized as a free open source festival, which means that food producers can submit food events and food experiences to the festival's program free of charge. The festival presents food activities such as cooking classes and eating experiences in hidden places or at Michelin awarded restaurants. Today, Copenhagen Cooking includes other festivals such as Taste The World (since 2010), Arla Food Festival (since 2013), Ørestaden Koger at Copenhagen Food Fair (since 2013) and Meyers Street Food Festival (since 2014). Copenhagen Cooking also arranged a street food market during the Eurovision Song Contest, which was the first market in Copenhagen to only offer organic food (see appendix 8) (CopenhagenCooking, 2015).

The number of visitors has proportionally increased with the number of events (see figure 21), and in 2013 the festival had more than 200,000 visitors. The organizers want to position Copenhagen Cooking as an international event in the future (Wonderful Copenhagen, 2014).

This repetitive event engages a great part of the producers within the culinary field with its more than 225 different events. I argue that Copenhagen Cooking works as a valuable social hub for the organizations and restaurants - all varying in price and gourmet levels, and thus provides an opportunity for collective sense-making of a Nordic food culture as well as the event form of serving food (Lampel & Meyer, 2008). The event has promoted Nordic food internationally, as the festival has been mentioned in several international media as well as many international media visited the festival<sup>17</sup>(Wonderful Copenhagen, 2014).

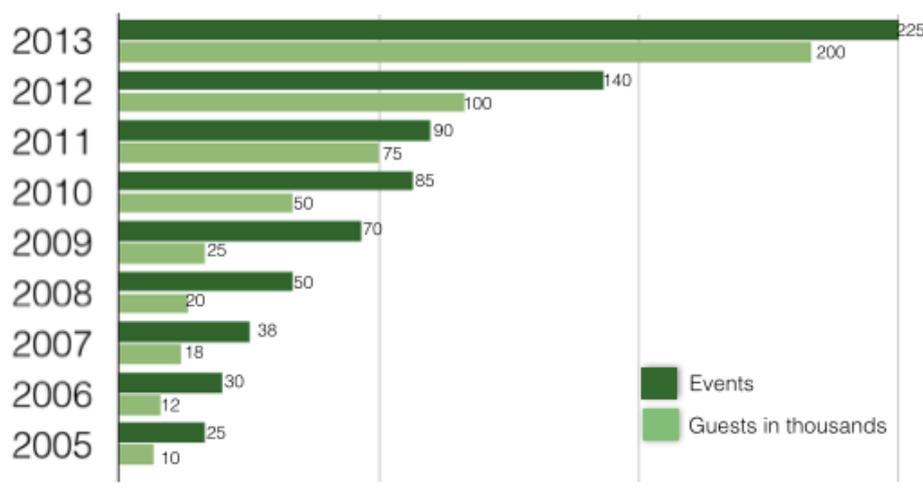


Figure 21: Copenhagen Cooking Development 2005-2013 (Copenhagen Cooking 2015)

In 2011, Copenhagen got a new festival, **Dining Week**, which solely celebrates the restaurants. It is a seven-days festival in February primarily taking place in Copenhagen organized by Cofoco<sup>18</sup>. The festival encourages people to eat out.

The festival has evolved and expanded each year (see figure 22). In 2015, the festival changed its name from Copenhagen Dining Week to Dining Week to embrace the restaurants outside of Copenhagen. Already in the festival's second year, the ticket system broke down due to overload on the site, because it was so popular to get tickets. After this episode, the festival developed the ticket system madbillet.dk, which today is the preferred choice to use for all eating events that need to sell tickets, and not only for Dining Week ("Om Madbillet.dk," 2015).

<sup>17</sup> The report is from 2013 and the medias Die Welt, Sydsvenskan, EasyJet's in-flight magazine, Forbes, Cosmopolitan, Elle, Honest Cooking, La Repubblica, Mail on Sunday, and American and Asian media - for example Straits Times (Wonderful Copenhagen, 2014)

<sup>18</sup> Cofoco's sub-brand Copenhagen Food Magazine, organizes the festival

The brand Cofoco started in 1999 and served 3 courses meals for 200 DKK. The interesting thing is that for one week, Cofoco makes other restaurants in Denmark follow its business model, as participating restaurants must serve affordable dinners, i.e. three courses for 200 DKK.

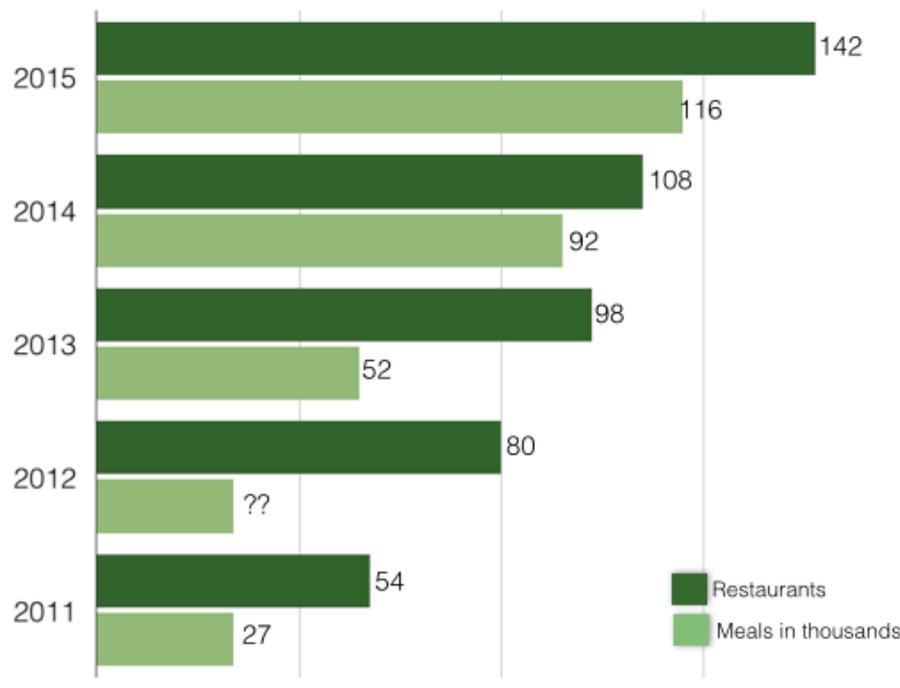


Figure 22: Dining Week Development 2011-2015 (Dining Week 2015)

I argue that this repetitive event has a very strong field mandate, as it has directly influenced the restaurants' offerings and prices. On the one hand, it can be argued that the event only influence the restaurants' offers and prices directly for one week a year, on the other hand, the festival shows the effects of affordable prices as the week increases the number restaurant visits.

**Taste The World** is an interesting event case, as it has gone from not including food to almost having food as the core concept. Taste the World is a festival, which celebrates the diversity in Copenhagen with world music, street events and gourmet cuisines from all over the world ("Smag Verden," 2014). The festival has existed for 15 years, but the first 10 years, the visitor rate was low. The first 10 years the festival had the same purpose, but was called "International Days". The former Mayor of Integration in Copenhagen, Klaus Bondam, wanted to make the festival more attractive, why he asked Wonderful Copenhagen to invent a new concept for the festival. Wonderful Copenhagen invented "Taste the World", and the festival's primary focus was now in food delivered from gourmet restaurants at very affordable prices (Singh, 2014). Today, the festival presents street food both from

small producers and private people that wish to show food from their home countries as well as gourmet food from restaurants such as Kiin Kiin (“Own observations at Taste the World,” 2014).

At this repetitive event, food became the medium to attract more visitors to celebrate the diversity and it worked. Since food was added to the festival, the amount of visitors has more than doubled (Singh, 2014). The event now serves two purposes. It promotes and informs about different cultures and it presents different kinds of food. The significance of this event is therefore double, as some people are attracted because of the food and will additionally gain insight about different cultures, and vice versa.

At the events Copenhagen Cooking, Dining week and Taste the World different kinds of producers have participated. Haute Cuisine restaurants such as Noma, AOC, Kong Hans, Kiin Kiin and Clou have participated in Copenhagen Cooking, Taste the World and Dining Week, and Copenhagen Cooking also engage small and upcoming street food producers.

The one-off event, **Copenhagen Harvest Festival**, initiated by the Municipality of Copenhagen and organized by the food producers Byhøst, is another event built up with food as its core element. In 2014, Copenhagen was chosen as the European Green Capital, why the secretariat Sharing Copenhagen was established to organize new initiatives and events in order to inform people about this award. One idea was to make a tribute dinner for Copenhagen’s harvest (SharingCopenhagen, 2014). For this, the organization Byhøst, was asked to be the organizer.

Byhøst organized a Harvest Festival in Copenhagen in September 2014. The event was shaped around an 800 m long table serving 2,600. The event’s key element was the organizing part. Byhøst had chosen to organize the event through partnerships. Byhøst arranged for 37 different food actors (producers, organisations, farmers, suppliers, etc.) to match up into nine different groups. These nine different groups each created a food experience, and the long table was divided into nine areas. The guests bought a ticket for the event beforehand and had to choose from which of the nine different groups the food should come from (Melson, 2014).

Byhøst found some of the actors and some actors found Byhøst during the organizing process. Byhøst worked with a certain set of ideas in order to find the right actors.

*The idea was to celebrate the harvest. Celebrate the good yields and give people the taste of Copenhagen. We wanted to include urban gardens as one group of actors, farmers around Copenhagen as these deliver the harvest and supply the city with goods, and restaurants and chefs as these make the food. We also invited organizations*

such as *Københavns Fødevarerfælleskab*<sup>19</sup>, educational institutions as *Copenhagen Hospitality School, Suhrs Food School*. (...) Our focus is on a mix of well-established and unestablished food actors: most of them with values as ecology, sustainability, and community. But we also want to challenge well-established companies<sup>20</sup> (Melson, 2014: 32-52).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Årstiderne	ØsterGro	Suhrs	Copenhagen Hospitality College	Rødder	Skeletske	Farmers Market	Tingbjerg's Women	Københavns Madhus
Copenhagen Hospitality College	Stedsans	Pony	Rub & Stub	Kiselgården	Byhøst	Slow Food	Garnteri Toftegaard	
	Birkemos egård	Thorupstrand fiskerlaug	Inco			Svanholm		

Figure 23: Partnerships at Copenhagen Harvest Festival (Melson 2014)

It was because of Copenhagen Hospitality College that the big supplier, Inco, was invited to be part of the Harvest Festival. They already worked closely together, and Copenhagen Hospitality College wanted Inco as partner for the event. Byhøst was not fond of Inco because of their product range, but saw this as an opportunity to affect this big mastodon by showing them that there is a demand for local and organic products (Melson, 2014: 56-60).

This event worked as a valuable social hub manifesting values such as ecology, sustainability and community. I classify it as a case of institutional work that has disrupted some of the normal routines and principles for some of the participating food actors.

**Restaurant Day** is another event, which has food as a core element and works as a showcase for different food producers. It is worldwide food carnival that happens four times a year where anyone can set up a restaurant, café or a bar for a day, and in a way, it works like a market day spread all over the world. The idea came 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

<sup>19</sup> Københavns Fødevarerfælleskab is a Copenhagen based food community, where citizens of Copenhagen can buy cheap vegetables from local farmers if they also volunteer once a month in the community.

<sup>20</sup> Own translation from Danish – original: Den oprindelig tanke var at fejre høsten. Fejre de gode afgrøder, men også give folk smagen af København. Vi tænkte urbane haver som en aktør gruppe. Landmænd omkring København som dem, der bringer høsten frem og forsyner byen med råvarer, og så restauranter og kokke som dem, der laver mad. Så havde vi også KBH fødevarerfælleskab med, uddannelsesinstitutioner, skoler: Hotel og Restaurantskolen, SUHRS Madakademi. Vi fokuserede på en blanding af etablerede og uetablerede. Primært alle sammen med gode værdier som økologi, bæredygtighed, fælleskab og sådan nogle ting. Men vi ville også gerne udfordre etablerede virksomheder.

concepts usually pop up at each event. In Denmark, the event mostly attracts people that find it fun to cook for just one day (Hansson, 2014).

Torvehallerne has also created a more event-based market, namely the **Wednesday Market**, which attracts both food producers and food suppliers. It only costs 400 DKK to sell food on a Wednesday, which small producers consider cheap, why many food entrepreneurs perceive the market as a playground or a test platform for different food concepts. The 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 its concept at the market, and afterwards used the experience to make a partnership with Aarstiderne<sup>21</sup> on distributing the pies (Hansson, 2014).

Copenhagen's first street food market opened Easter 2014 at Papirøen (the Paper Island). The purpose of this market is to promote 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 don't have money to buy the bricks and motor (referring to a food truck) you come out here and you create something"* (Husted in Weiss, Husted, & Møller, 2014: 38-42). The concept of this market also has political support, as Lars Weiss, chairman of the City Council, congratulated Copenhagen for gaining this street food market during the opening ceremony. Secondly, the concept has been debated because of the prices for a food stall. It costs 29,000 DKK to start-up at this market<sup>22</sup>, and it has a monthly rent at 7,000 DKK. As I understand from the entrepreneurs in the field, this is neither considered cheap nor a place for testing out ideas. Papirøen is only a place for selling food, so the food business also needs to pay for a kitchen to prepare the food. Today, around 25 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 benefiting from already having a kitchen, like restaurant Toldboden (Hansson, 2014).

Copenhagen Street Food has created a lot debate about 'what street food is', 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 (Hansson, 2014). I argue, however, that street food in Copenhagen can benefit from this market, because it gathers all sorts of people, and thereby

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<sup>21</sup> Aarstiderne is a great company who delivers organic food directly to private consumers.

<sup>22</sup> This covers the first rent, prepaid rent, fees for signing contracts, fees for being installed

contributes to collective sense-making among prospective consumers for street food in Copenhagen. Collective sense-making can contribute to a field's evolution (Lampel & Meyer, 2008)

In April 2015, Copenhagen will get a new food market in Kødbyen, Copenhagen's meatpacking district, for which the Municipality of Copenhagen made the invitation to tender in October 2014. The market will first of all operate in the summer 2015 and 2016.

The three entrepreneurs, Simon Bacon, Christian Astorp and Jacob Jepsen, won the bid. They want to create a market, which both works as a place for social gatherings and as a real shopping place. The most important value for them is to be universal and multifarious. They do this by choosing food operators with fair prices. The selection of food producers will encounter both small and new food producers and restaurants from the Meatpacking District such as Restaurant Kul (Bacon et al., 2015).

### *Producers of Food Businesses*

As explained, Rødder and I'm a Kombo have helped the pop-up phenomena to disseminate in Copenhagen. **Sweet Sneak** is also working with the pop-up format and was initiated by four academia-educated girls. Sweet Sneak is a pop-up bakery, and it was triggered by the girls' love of baking and want to see their friends more often. The first Sweet Sneak event was held in their private apartment in 2013. Today, Sweet Sneak pops up every second month in different locations. According to Sweet Sneak, one event has led to the other, and it has mainly been people asking Sweet Sneak to organize the next event at their location (Fetz & Fieseler, 2014). The concept of cakes has its delimitations, but Sweet Sneak has managed to extend the business by partnering with other pop-up restaurateurs. For instance, Sweet Sneak has made pop-up events with Rødder. Sweet Sneak has managed to be a case of storytelling. The girls work with a very holistic approach to the eating experience, which is not only delivered at the specific events, but also through channels such as Instagram and Facebook, where they tell stories about their cakes through beautiful pictures. An Instagram employee attended one of Sweet Sneak's events, and consequently Instagram began to follow Sweet Sneak. Over one night, Sweet Sneak got more than 10,000 followers (Fetz & Fieseler, 2014).

Since the Municipality of Copenhagen eased the regulation for selling food on the streets, the number of street food and food trucks in Copenhagen has risen (seen figure 24).

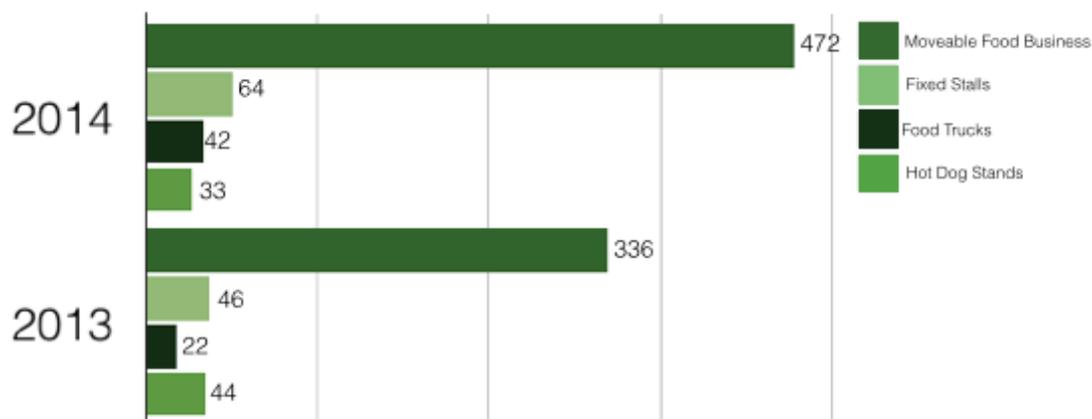


Figure 24: Street Food in Copenhagen 2013-2014 (Municipality of Copenhagen 2015)

One food truck is **Yuca Taco**, established in 2014. The founder, Jon Due Roe, saw a need for good Mexican food in Copenhagen. 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 and it was very important for him to operate regularly on the streets and not at events.

*There is no doubt that it would be a good business to serve food at events and just throw tacos over the counter, but then all I wanted would be lost. (...) I don't want my story and my personal delivery to get lost. (...) I do this because I have travelled in Mexico, and I have spent much time there, and I have a passion for the kitchen, and that is what I want to show people (...)*<sup>23</sup> (Roe, 2014: 18-22)

During the summer, the truck is out on the street from Wednesday to Saturday with a fixed spot for each day. He started to test his concept at the Wednesday market in Torvehallerne. He has partnered up with bars selling beverages in order to benefit from and contribute to the local environment. The substantial part for Roe, is to be out on the streets and meet people and let them meet him. Even though, he did not have any experience in using the social media such as Facebook and Instagram, not even personally, he felt the need to learn it quickly as the consumers wanted to communicate through these channels. It has not been necessary to do any marketing as the consumers word of mouth has resulted in long queues in front of the wagon every opening day (Roe, 2014).

<sup>23</sup> Own translation from Danish – Originally: Der er ingen tvivl om, at det kan være en god forretning at komme ud til en stor event, og så bare smide tacos ud over disken, men så går alt det, jeg gerne vil tabt. (...) Jeg har ikke lyst til at min historie og min personlige levering skal gå tabt. Hvis det var det, jeg ville, havde jeg åbnet en pølsevogn. Jeg gør det her, fordi jeg har rejst i Mexico, og jeg har tilbragt meget tid der, og jeg har en forkærlighed for det køkken, og det er det, jeg gerne vil vise folk.

In 2011, the restaurant **Nose2Tail**, serving everything from the animal's nose to tail, opened. The delivery concept of this restaurant is especially a result of its form. The restaurant explains: "*The nature decides the menu*<sup>24</sup>" (Nose2Tail, 2015: 1), thus it is very obvious that the form influences the food. The restaurant says that it is a dedication to Søren Gericke. Nose2tail only serves seasonal vegetables, it uses the whole animal in order to reduce food waste and it only uses organic raw materials (Nose2Tail, 2015).

In 2012, the IEs, Rasmus Scheelke and Sophie Sales Carlsen, opened the first restaurant in the world that actively works for reducing food waste, **Rub & Stub**. The restaurant produces food from supermarkets and farmers' surplus foods. Rub & Stub differs from a concept such as Stop Wasting Food Movement, which primarily suggest that people should waste less food. Rub & Stub has its main focus on the wasted food and asks the question: what to do with it?

*Our action against food waste is based on three things. First, all food that comes into the kitchen must leave restaurant through a stomach. We use everything in there. We make pesto on the stems of herbs and we make soup on peelers. Second, we look at how our guests can minimize food waste. We make the portions small, in return the guests can ask for a refill. Third, we cook our food of surplus goods*<sup>25</sup>. (Scheelke, 2015: 66-70)

Regulations limit what surplus food can be used for in new food productions, why it was difficult to get food companies to donate food in the beginning. Now it has become a popular phenomenon to deliver surplus goods to Rub & Stub.

Guests never know what is on the menu before the actual day, as the kitchen prepares the menus from day to day. This demands a high degree of experimentation by the kitchen staff. Rub & Stub receives a lot of bread, and in the beginning, everything was breaded. Now, the kitchen staffs have invented a special form of nachos made of bread, and when they serve pies, the pie dough is made of mashed croissants.

Even though, the surplus goods dictate the main part of the menu, Rub & Stub also focuses on having a satisfactory selection of food for the consumers, and thus it receives some bought food, like meat.

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<sup>24</sup> Own translation from Danish – originally: Naturen bestemmer menuen.

<sup>25</sup> Own translation from Danish – originally: Vores indsats mod madspild er baseret på tre ting. Det ene det er, at alt det mad, der kommer ind i køkkenet skal forlade bixsen igennem en mave. Det vil sige, at de bruger alt derinde – også på krydderurter, der bruger de stilken også. De smadder den og laver pesto. Koger suppe på skræller. Nummer to er, hvordan kan vores gæster minimere madspild. Det gør vi ved, at portionerne er en lille smule mindre, til gengæld kan du bede om en portion til, hvis du ikke er blevet mæt. Og nummer tre er, at vi laver mad af overskudsvarer

Scheelke and Carlsen have managed to create a new form of restaurant, which did not exist before. Restaurants with a similar concept have now opened in Berlin, Amsterdam and Malmö, where Rub & Stub has acted like consultant. In the beginning, people thought that the served food was old and disgusting, but Rub & Stub has managed to change this perception. The media have played a great role, and during the first summer, Rub & Stub was mentioned in more than 3,000 medias around the world. Together with Tivoli, Noma and the little mermaid, Rub & Stub is mentioned as a place to visit in Copenhagen in flight magazines on routes to Copenhagen. Rub & Stub has contributed to the branding of Copenhagen and has a good collaboration with the tourist organization, Wonderful Copenhagen. Today, the restaurant is part of Danish Refugee Council to ease administration and donate the profits to charity. Rub & Stub operates with more than 100 volunteers and 6 people employed.

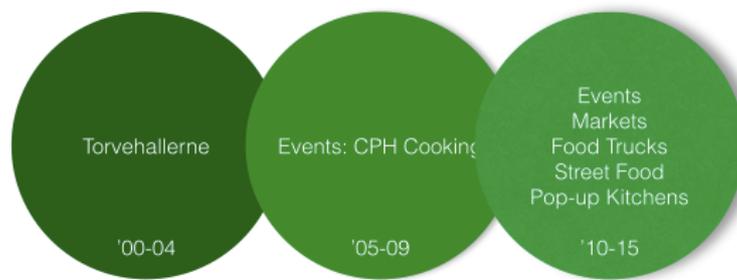


Figure 25: Producers: Delivery Concept

To sum up, the culinary field of Copenhagen is not only composed of restaurants, but also includes pop-up restaurants, food trucks, street food, events, food markets and innovative forms of restaurants. Food businesses can thus be temporary and moveable.

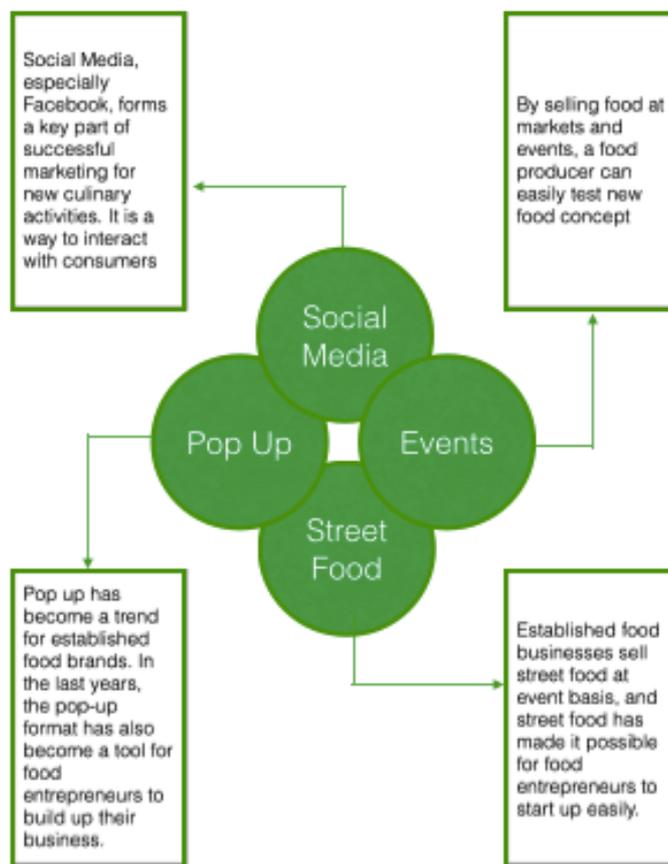
More and more food events and food markets have developed in Copenhagen. Some events have been so significant that these have evolved the field towards a shared understanding of Nordic food, encouraged more producers to incorporate the rules of the Nordic Kitchen's manifest, encouraged more producers to make it affordable for consumers to eat out more often, and showed producers how to produce organic and local food. The different events shape the culinary field together, create a market demand and evolve the professions within the field.

Because of the form, businesses like Sweet Sneak and Yuco Taco have managed to create solid businesses, even though, both serve niche products. They have managed this because their flexible form minimizes start up costs and exempt them from paying rent.

Pop-up concepts, food trucks, food markets and events are seen before around the world, but they are fairly new to the culinary field of Copenhagen, thus being modular and incremental innovations for the field. I denote these delivery concepts as ‘new culinary activities’.

Restaurants, such as Nose2Tail and Rub & Stub, operate with a certain philosophy that constitutes constraints for the food being served. These constraints do however start a creative process, which results in an innovative restaurant.

What is especially significant for food producers that emphasize a certain delivery concept is that most of them are not educated chefs, but they achieved their goals through partnerships and benefit from constellations of different food producers. Moreover, these new culinary activities are a great contrast to Haute Cuisine, Gastronomy for all and Subject food, as these activities are not organized in restaurants – except Nose2tail and Rub & Stub. Figure 26, encapsulate these new culinary activities.



*Figure 26: New Culinary Activities*

## Concluding the Producers and the Culinary Innovations

The producers of the culinary field in Copenhagen today are different than the producers more than 15 years ago.

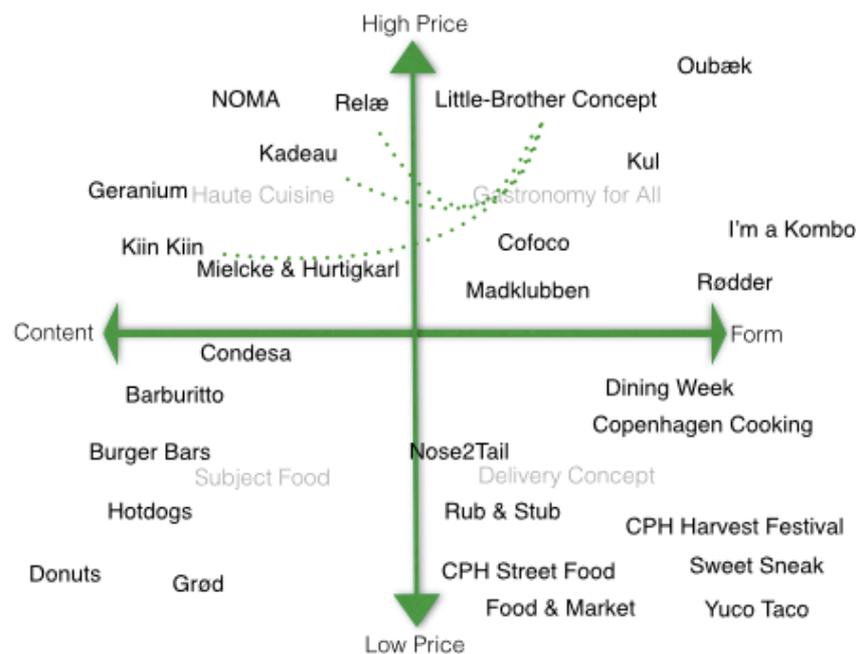


Figure 27: The Producers of the Culinary Field

In the beginning of 2000s, the field was dominated by restaurants that primarily served French inspired food. With the opening of Noma in 2003 and other innovative restaurants to follow from 2005, Copenhagen has birthed culinary innovations. Food is also being viewed from a scientific approach and new preparation methods are created. The idea of the Nordic Cuisine has spread to other food producers such as restaurants, events and markets.

From 2000, more and more businesses move away from the classic restaurant format. First of all, more orchestrated eating experience are starting to show, emphasising the presence of the experience economy in the culinary field of Copenhagen, and restaurants started to open with the primary focus on the eating experience. Secondly, more food producers have begun to benefit for economies of scale or eating experiences in event form, which result in new types of eating places serving food at a high level, but at more affordable prices. Cofoco and Madklubben have played a great role for building cheaper alternatives for the eating out experience. For Haute Cuisine restaurants, it has become attractive to have a more low key restaurant, where it is possible to serve more people and experiment more with form and delivery; a 'little-brother' restaurant. With the introduction of cheaper restaurant

alternatives, there has been a growth in subject specific restaurants that only serve variations of one single dish.

The last 10 years, totally new forms of delivery concepts have started to emerge. Rub & Stub has created an innovative restaurant format, because the founders broke with the idea of a structured supply-chain. Because of many new food events and food markets, the culinary field has evolved around shared understandings of Nordic food, street food, and organic food, both among producers and consumers. Events have been significant mechanisms to establish collective sense-making. Food producers have realized that the restaurant format has its limitations; rent, regulations for food safety, company registrations etc., making the road from idea to market very long. Food producers have moved away from the restaurant format, and the culinary field of Copenhagen has become a playground for testing new food ideas at events and markets, and with pop-up restaurants and street food. Events and festivals have influenced the whole culinary field by enhancing the organizational form of food servings as events, pop-up scenarios etc.

In my process of unpacking the field, I have found that the culinary field of Copenhagen contains a diverse set of producers, where not all interact frequently and fatefully with one another. Because of the prices, I assume that most Haute Cuisine restaurants and some restaurants in the ‘gastronomy for all’ and the ‘subject food’ categories attract the overall same types of consumers. In these restaurants, it is typically educated chefs who are employed. The restaurants are controlled by the same regulations, reviewed by the same critics, and some reviewed by the same ranking systems. The reviews work as an important marketing factor for these producers. Restaurants have dominated the field for more than a century and I perceive the restaurants to make up the ‘core-field’, as it has its institutions. In opposition to restaurants are food experiences defined by a flexible or creative form – the new culinary activities. These are controlled by some other regulations, these serve food at lower prices, notably few of these producers are educated chefs and the producers’ primary act of marketing is carried out through storytelling at social medias. New food producers of the field create these new culinary activities. Producers from the core-field, however, also take part in these culinary activities and serve food at events, street food and do pop-ups. I therefore perceive the field to be consisted of one core-field. This core-field is surrounded by a ‘periphery’ in which new culinary activities are created.

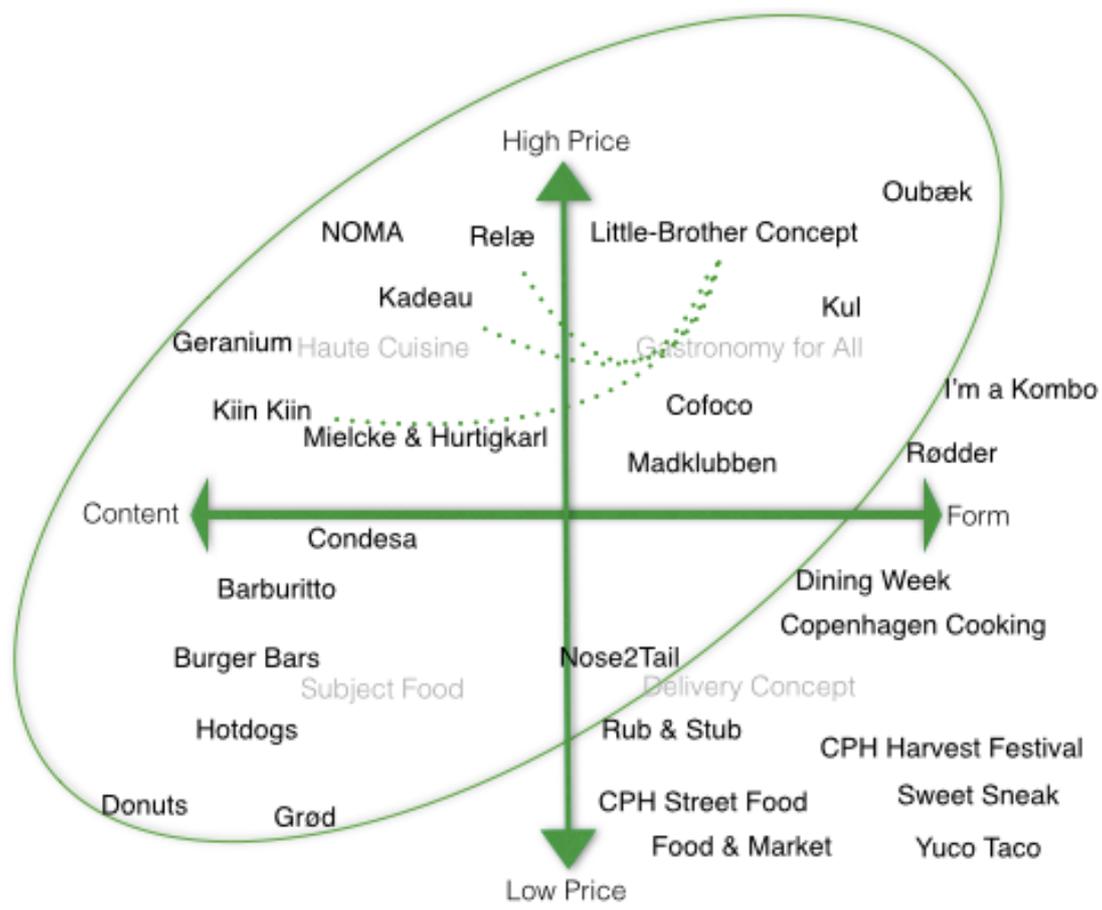


Figure 28: The Producers of the Culinary Field

## Chapter 7: The Culinary Field's Forces

In the following, I determine the field's restraining forces and driving forces, and explain how these forces affect the field. I first present the forces that emanate from the cultured-cognitive element, the normative element, and the regulative element, respectively, and consequently, I determine whether the culinary field of Copenhagen is a case of institutional change.

### Cultured-Cognitive Forces

Different food philosophies influence the kind of food consumers are presented to on the eating out scene. A food philosophy is a cultured-cognitive force around which some have a shared understanding. Some food philosophies become a common belief, dominate the eating out sector, and consolidate as food waves such as Classic Cuisine, Nouvelle Cuisine, Molecular Gastronomy, and New Nordic Cuisine, meaning that some food philosophies constitute mimetic isomorphism. As I consider the culinary field part of the creative industries, culinary producers operate on the “nobody-knows” market (Caves, 2000). Because of this high degree of uncertainty, some food philosophies might initiate mimetic isomorphism, which in some situations work as a restraining force for the field and in other situations as a driving force. It is not given that any food philosophy will activate a mimetic mechanism. The food philosophy often needs to contain or be supported by normative and/or regulative elements as well.

In 70s, the food philosophy, Nouvelle Cuisine, worked as a driving force and resulted in new restaurants in Copenhagen, but when the French cuisine became the most common type of restaurant in Copenhagen, it started to work as a sort of restraining force for the field instead. Nouvelle Cuisine is a case of institutional work: a new philosophy was created, it disrupted a common belief about Classic Cuisine, and different normative elements have helped to maintain this philosophy. Firstly, Nouvelle Cuisine was outlined in ten rules by journalists professionalizing and legitimizing the philosophy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Pedersen, 2014). Secondly, not just Nouvelle Cuisine, but the whole French cuisine, served as basis for what was taught at culinary schools worldwide, and the philosophy is still found in the educational system. Thirdly, ranking systems such as the Michelin Guide also maintains this food philosophy by favouring French restaurants over other restaurants (Brovall, 2015a, 2015b; Christensen & Pedersen, 2011).

Ferran Adrià and his work at elBulli made it possible to challenge the French Cuisine (S. Svejnova, Slavich, & AbdelGawad, Forthcoming.; Silviya Svejnova, Mazza, & Planellas, 2007; Silviya Svejnova, Planellas, & Vives, 2010), and consequently, the opening of restaurant Noma in 2003 transformed the culinary field of Copenhagen by spreading the idea of a new Nordic Cuisine. New

Nordic Cuisine is for the time being a driving force for the culinary field, as the principles behind New Nordic Cuisine keep spreading to other food producers such as restaurants, events and markets, and thus keep driving the field towards a new state of affair. Initiated by the IE Claus Meyer, New Nordic Cuisine is a case of institutional work: a new philosophy was created, it disrupted a common belief, namely Nouvelle Cuisine, and different normative and regulative elements have legitimized the idea, consolidated it into a mimetic mechanism and thereby maintained the philosophy.

Nouvelle Cuisine was initiated by insiders of the field (Rao et al., 2003), and the same applies to New Nordic Cuisine. Like Nouvelle Cuisine and with inspiration from the Dogma95, the ideas of this manifesto were written down into ten rules. The symposium functioned as an initial step for creating a new identity and instrumental movement, which encouraged the Nordic Council of Ministers work to make the Nordic food's values visible in various business areas. Since Noma was awarded by Michelin and the San Pellegrino list, it has disrupted the common beliefs based about the French cuisine at Copenhagen's Hospitality College and it has inspired other food producers to incorporate the New Nordic Cuisine philosophy.

The idea of making a Nordic kitchen is an idea of constructing a new understanding, meaning the intention lies within the culture-cognitive element. The act of gathering people for the symposium is of normative character as the purpose was to define new standards by making ten rules. Politicians have been fond of the result of the symposium and have incorporated the New Nordic Cuisine in their political agenda, meaning that the work also is of regulative character.

Other food philosophies have consolidated into trends and influenced what consumers are presented to, such as the idea of organic food and the idea of minimizing food waste.

The organic principles has been known in Denmark for more than 40 years, however, it was not until 2007 that the organic principles started to spread to the eating out scene, where the first 100 % organic restaurant opened. Today, there are 23 organic restaurants in Copenhagen. The idea of a stamp has not only been a coercive and normative mechanism, but also seem to work as a mimetic mechanism as more and more restaurants switch to an organic production; thus it is a driving force for the culinary field of Copenhagen.

The idea of minimizing food waste is also a driving force for the culinary field as it has consolidated into coercive, normative and mimetic mechanism. Originally, the Stop Wasting Food movement created a new discourse about food waste, and the idea has taken the form of an institutional work as it has spread to other producers and regulatory systems. The movement has influenced political initiatives, which has legitimized the message. Restaurant Nose2Tail and restaurant Rub & Stub have used different approaches to reduce food waste, and therefore also incorporate the idea.

Just as producers inspire other producers to incorporate new philosophies, and producers can influence consumer preferences, such as the organizational entrepreneur Thomas Klitbo and his restaurant empire, Cofoco. This case has influenced consumers' habits and contributed to a new consumer segment within the culinary field. Klitbo has build restaurants within the existing institutional mould of restaurants, which means that it has not been that important for his business to gain legitimacy (Battilana et al., 2009) making him an organization entrepreneur, not, institutional. However, he definitely has being a change agent within the field. During the financial crisis, when most of the Danish eating out sector was struggling, Cofoco made the crisis work in its own favour, and expanded a great deal in the period. Cofoco has thus constituted institutional work and been the forerunner for evolving the field. Cofoco has created new methods of distribution as well as it has enacted a mimetic mechanism by inspiring other producers. Additionally, many other food producers today have benefited from economies of scale and opened either a 'little-brother', as the case of most Haute Cuisine restaurants, or more restaurants at the same level, like Oubæk. Whereas the financial crisis has worked a restraining force for many industries, it has for some parts of the culinary field of Copenhagen actually been a driving force by encouraging cheaper dining alternatives.

Within the field, some producers, such as Madeleines, 1. Th., I'm a Kombo, Rødder and Sweet Sneak, approach the dining concept more holistic. These work for creating eating experiences instead of restaurants experiences. In turn, more producers move away from the restaurant format and find new forms of delivery releasing producers from some financial constraints, meaning that high-levelled food can be served at more affordable prices. The experience economy has been a driving force for the culinary field of Copenhagen, and during the last 15 years, it has been legitimized to create dining experiences outside of restaurants. New forms of delivery are a result of mimetic, normative and coercive mechanisms. First, producers have inspired each other and events have made it possible to work with food temporary and moveable food business. Events have also encouraged the core-field food producers to take part in the periphery of the field by serving food on an event basis. Secondly, food critics not only review restaurants, but also review alternative dining experiences. Thirdly, the Municipality of Copenhagen has eased some regulations making it more attractive to start temporary and moveable food businesses.

At events (festivals, markets, pop-up events etc.), producers benefit from a format that allows them to experiment and test ideas compared to the restaurants format, which is not that flexible and does not have the same scope for experimentation, as the production must cover high operation costs. Events have furthermore contributed to new organizing aspects where food producers benefit from constellations in which they collaborate. Events are a driving force for the culinary field of Copenhagen towards new concept deliveries for dining experiences.

## Normative Forces

A strong normative mechanism is the educational system, as the educational system “generates” the producers of the culinary field. Meaning that it formats the producers and provides them with certain knowledge considered an imperative in order to fulfil the specific work area of culinary producers (Pedersen, 2014). Copenhagen Hospitality College has played a dominant role for the culinary field, as it since the 1920s has educated the main part of the field’s producers, specifically in the area of French cuisine. Without being able to prove it by numbers, I argue that this education in some respects works as a restraining force for the field, as it is my conviction that the majority of educated chefs tend to direct their careers towards restaurants, and thereby sustain the classical restaurant format. However, the education has in other respects worked as a driving force for the field, as it enables cook apprentices to take part of the education abroad, and thus introduces different food philosophies and cooking styles in Copenhagen. Without drawing a causal explanation, I notice that in Copenhagen today, there exist restaurants serving food from the Southern states, Mexico, and Peru, and since 2007, chef apprentices have taken part of their educations in countries such as Bolivia, Cambodia, Chile, South Africa, and Mexico. In general, the educational system represents a strong force for the field, as it has the power to define the standards for the educated producers.

Ranking systems also work as a normative mechanism by setting quality standards. In some cases, it works as a driving force, and in others as a restraining force. Even though the Michelin Guide ranks restaurants around the world today, some argue that the guide still is conservative and tends to favour French restaurant (Brovall, 2015a, 2015b; Christensen & Pedersen, 2011). Awarding Noma, however, has worked as a driving force for the field, as it has legitimized a restaurant with a new food philosophy, and a restaurant that does not emphasize fine dining principles in terms of decorating the restaurant with table clothes. Other ranking systems such as San Pellegrino and the White Guide contribute to a common conception of quality standards within the field, however, because of its history, Michelin Guide still is the principal ranking system, and thereby also is the dominant factor for determining quality.

However, Michelin Guide is not always the most telling factor for what actual exists of high-levelled dining experiences. First of all, it only inspects restaurants; meaning dining experiences with alternative delivery concepts are excluded. Secondly, it only inspects major cities, even though high-levelled food might be found outside the major cities as well. This thesis’ focus area is delimited to Copenhagen, because it’s a metropolitan for exclusive, creative and innovative dining experiences, which the Michelin Guide supports by awarding many restaurants in Copenhagen. However, high-levelled dining experiences are not delimited solely to Copenhagen, and these can be found all around

in Denmark<sup>26</sup>. Thirdly, the Michelin Guide is not a telling factor for new culinary fields. Copenhagen might have the first Michelin-starred Asian restaurant, but it does not mean that Copenhagen had the first Asian restaurant with a Michelin star level. For example, in 2008 when Michelin published its first guide for Tokyo, it was record-breaking in terms of the number of Michelin stars awarded to a city, meaning that Tokyo had Michelin levelled before being considered in the guide, or in 2015, when the guide included the Danish city Aarhus, it did not mean that Aarhus in one year gained Michelin level restaurants, but the awarded restaurants had actually existed for several years (Brovall, 2015a). These arguments support Christensen & Pedersen's (2011) claim asserting that Michelin is a conservative system.

## Regulative Forces

Alongside with the evolution of the culinary field, politicians' attitudes towards the eating out sector have changed. The idea of the experience economy gained ground, and food officially became part of the creative industries in Denmark, meaning that a special focus was given to the sector by means of the food zone. In this sense, politicians have legitimized the creative and innovative evolution of the field, which has been a driving force for the field.

Denmark was not the first country to present concepts such as street food and pop-up restaurants, and in other countries these formats more visible objects in the eating out sector. This might be explained by the Danish regulations, which for many years have worked as a restraining force for the field. Firstly, the food safety system as well as the business and food authorities are mostly designed for restaurants, why it has been difficult for new culinary entrepreneurs to figure out what regulations apply to food trucks and pop-up formats (Fetz & Fieseler, 2014; Roe, 2014). Secondly, running a moveable food business was for many years only possible for people with a disability in Denmark, presenting a case of coercive isomorphism and a highly restraining force. In 2008 though, the Municipality of Copenhagen made it possible for everybody in the Copenhagen area to operate as a street vendor, and in 2013, it also made it favourable by removing the charges for operating as street vendor. Since 2013, the culinary field has gained more dining experiences out on the street, and in that sense this definitely is a driving force for the field. However, the food producers initiate a great part of the field's evolution, why it might be possible that the field has evolved in a new direction without the eased regulations from the municipality. Still, it has a strong legitimizing effect for the new dining formats that the municipality supports culinary activities.

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<sup>26</sup> Examples: Svinkøv Badehotel, Munkbjerg Kro, Babette, Ruths Hotel, Falsled Kro.

## Institutional change

During the last 15 years, the culinary field of Copenhagen has given birth to the new food wave, New Nordic Cuisine, to new food philosophies concerning food waste and organic production, to new delivery concepts and to a new eating out segment, and in the same time, the field has become world famous. Thus, the culinary field of Copenhagen has changed.

Mechanisms that constitute change such as institutional entrepreneurship and institutional work are not equally likely to be found in every organizational field. The degree of heterogeneity, i.e. the variance in the characteristics of different institutional arrangements, might play a role. Such heterogeneity is likely to give rise to institutional contradictions that produce tension in a given system. An on-going experience of contradictory institutional arrangements is likely to trigger actors' reflective capacity, enabling them to take some critical distance from existing institutional arrangements, and thereby act as IEs, being driven by their cultured-cognitive, normative and regulatory forces and initiate institutional change (Battilana et al., 2009; Sine & David, 2010).

My analysis illustrates the dynamics and mechanisms through which professionals choreograph change. What can be derived from the analysis is that food producers are the primary crafters of the culinary field. Culinary ideas stem from producers and develop as a mimetic mechanism, meaning, ideas are spread to other producers and legitimized and supported by normative and regulative agents. However, this does not mean that normative and regulative elements are powerless. In order to understand the change process, it must be perceived as a circular process. The degree of involvement from normative and regulative agents influence whether the ideas are just a fashion or if the ideas are actually sustained and spread to other producers, which in turn change the culinary field. Philosophies and concepts such as New Nordic food, Stop Wasting food, Bistros, and New Delivery concepts are all initiated by producers. These have been invented and spread to the culinary field within the last 15 years. In contrast, organic food production has mostly been promoted by regulative agents. In Denmark, we have known of the organic principles in 40 years, and it was not until 2007 the idea began to be incorporated by producers in Copenhagen. This means that in case of organic production the regulations' use of a normative mechanism, in terms of a certification system for organic production, has not worked very effective.

The analysis also highlights that the financial situation can work as a mechanism for driving the field to a new state of affair, as in the wake of the financial crisis. After the financial crisis, a new market for cheaper dining experiences was created, which Cofoco evolved and benefited from.

Thus, food producers are the primary crafters within the field and the primary change agents for this field.

I argue that the culinary field of Copenhagen is a case of institutional change. As explained, change can derive from different places, and it is a challenge to explain because of the paradox of embedded agency (Battilana & D’unno, 2009; Battilana et al., 2009; Mazza & Pedersen, 2004; Pedersen et al., 2013; Scott, 2010a). In the case of the culinary field of Copenhagen, I argue that change derives from the periphery of a field, i.e. innovations come from marginal organizations in the field network. One might argue that the greatest change within this field is the creation of New Nordic Cuisine. The forerunner for this creation is the IE, Claus Meyer, who is not embedded, i.e. educated or trained, like most others in the core-field. He might therefore find inspiration outside of the field more easily compared to the embedded agents. Other non-educated producers start up in this field by means of events, street food, pop-ups and social medias (as seen in figure 26) and with a special focus on delivery concepts, which form new culinary activities. However, in the periphery does not only consist of new producers. Producers from the core-field also take part in this part of the field by participating in events, making street food and creating pop ups on event basis. I therefore argue that producers from the core field use the periphery as a playground to test ideas and get inspiration.

I perceive the change process as a practice, in which professionals have restructured institutions. I characterize the institutional change as reinstitutionalization, meaning that existing value systems or governance structures are replaced by a new value systems or governance structure (Muzio et al., 2013; Rao et al., 2003). Following Muzio et al. (2013), reinstitutionalization is a process, where professionals first create or open up for new spaces of expertise, after which the professionals populate existing social spaces with new actors, and lastly the professionals re-draw the boundaries and rules governing contiguous fields.

This corresponds with the culinary field of Copenhagen. Firstly, new spaces of expertise have developed in forms of new practices based on food philosophies and delivery concepts. Secondly, existing social spaces have been redefined by new corporate structures and a creation of new professional roles. Today, the culinary field is a playground for people with diverse backgrounds. Before, it was organizations (restaurants) that were the most power dominant within the field, now, however, it is also constellations in which different food producers work together, meaning power dominance is found in the organizing aspect. Thirdly, it does not make sense to denote the field as the restaurant industry, dining sector or similar terms that refer to restaurant businesses anymore, as consumers today want dining experiences, which can be obtained other places than in restaurants. Thus, the boundaries of the field have been redefined. This means that within this field, there has been created new occupations, institutionalized new practices and relational patterns and power hierarchies are redefined (Muzio et al., 2013).

## Chapter 8: Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I will explain the changes that the culinary field of Copenhagen has undergone the last 15 years. The answers are derived from researching the critical case sample: the culinary field of Copenhagen. The culinary field of Copenhagen has been studied by means of qualitative ethnographic organizational fieldwork.

I perceive the culinary field of Copenhagen as an institutionalized organizational field, which means it consists of organizations that are similar to each other. Within such fields, actors tend to reproduce institutions because the institutions within the field shape them. Therefore, it is rare that fields undergo changes. Within the culinary field of Copenhagen, however, there are many dynamics in play, strongly indicating institutional change.

The primary focus has been the field's food producers the last 15 years, however, historical elements, regulatory bodies, educational systems, ranking systems, media and critics, social movements, events and financial analytics have been examined as well in order to provide a holistic understanding of the field and in turn, the changes it has undergone. In my view, the producers are the primary crafters of the field. I perceive the producers as a complex group of actors and therefore they are divided into and examined through the four categories: Haute Cuisine, Gastronomy for all, Subject food, and Delivery concept. The examined producers are innovative in either the concept of the food or in the form of serving.

The producers of the culinary field in Copenhagen today are different from the producers 15 years ago, as primarily French restaurants used to dominate the field. Today, the field encapsulates all sorts of world kitchens. Copenhagen has birthed culinary innovations, beginning with Noma in 2003 and from 2005 other innovative restaurants have followed. The Danish achievements have become known to the world, because of the great and growing amount of awards by the Michelin Guide and the San Pellegrino list. The educational system is an important institutional builder and it has also changed in the last 15 years, as French cuisine used to be the predominant factor, and now the values from the Nordic kitchen have gained ground instead. Moreover, before it was only possible to do the education in Denmark and parts of the education in France, London and Italy, today's educated chefs have the opportunity to take part of the education all around the world.

15 years ago there did not exist any organic restaurants, but the organic principles have now spread throughout Copenhagen, and today 23 restaurants produce organic. During the last 10 years, there has also been formed a discourse on food waste, and today food producers such as Nose2tail and Rub & Stub work for minimizing food waste.

Today, politicians consider the food sector as part of the creative industries and have established programmes to enhance this sector. Local politicians have enabled a street food culture in Copenhagen by making it possible to operate as a food street vendor.

15 years ago, the fine dining restaurants experienced growth, today it is cheaper eating alternatives that experience growth; mostly because food producers have begun to benefit for economies of scale or eating experiences in event form. Haute Cuisine restaurants have moved a long with this trend, and have created 'little-brother' restaurants. It can be said that the field has moved from fine dining to community dining. The field in general struggled during the financial crisis, but the crisis has actually created a new segment, namely the younger segment, and in the last five years the eating out sector has experienced extreme growth and more street food and more restaurants are started to show.

15 years ago most eating experiences took place in restaurants, but today more and more businesses have moved away from the classic restaurant format. Now, there are orchestrated eating experiences, street food, food trucks, pop-up restaurants, events and markets. It used to be organizations that dominated the culinary field, but today, it is also the organizing aspect, where different food producers collaborate.

As seen, the culinary field of Copenhagen has experienced change. The change is caused by different mechanisms such as events, social movements, institutional entrepreneurs and institutional work.

Culinary ideas stem from producers and develop as a mimetic mechanism, meaning that ideas are spread to other producers and legitimized and supported by normative and regulative agents. The degree of evolvment from normative and regulative agents influence whether the ideas are just a fashion or if the ideas are actually sustained and spread to other producers, which in turn change the culinary field.

Additionally, the financial crisis has also worked as a mechanism for pushing the field into a new state of affair. After the financial crisis, a new market for cheaper dining experiences and a new segment, the younger segment, were created.

The change derives from the periphery of the field. The culinary field of Copenhagen is constituted of a core-field of restaurants. During the last 15 years, new culinary activities have started to show, which are created by both established and new food producers. Established food producers are moving out of the core-field and take part in these new culinary activities on an event basis.

This is a case of institutional change explained as reinstitutionalization, meaning that existing value systems or governance structures are replaced by a new value systems or governance structure. New

spaces of expertise have developed in forms of new practices based on food philosophies and concept deliveries. Existing social spaces has been redefined by new corporate structures and a creation of new professional roles. The boundaries of the field have been redefined. This means that within this field, there has been created new occupations institutionalized new practices and relational patterns and power hierarchies are redefined.

In just 15 years, Denmark has become world famous and benefitted from the culinary field. In order to hold this position, I find it important that actors within the field work actively to support the field's evolvement and that there is created knowledge on how to provide the best conditions for the field and the culinary innovations and new culinary activities within the field.

Based on my research, I recommend local politicians in Copenhagen to provide the best conditions for the new culinary activities, as these have constituted a peripheral part of the field, from which a lot of the change derived from, and thus are an important driving force for the field's evolvement. I recommend the local politicians to keep supporting events and markets in Copenhagen as these works as valuable test platforms as well of platforms for new organizing aspect, in which food producers collaborate and work together. I further recommend the local politicians to assist new food producers when they face barriers. New food producers face barriers in relation to capital, complex regulations, lack of production facilities (a certified kitchen), and the process of start up businesses (Hansson, 2014).

In terms of creation of knowledge, I find it important to continue the research within this field. European countries believe that creative industries will become the most important markets for the countries in terms of growth (Ernst & Young, 2014). In order to benefit from creative industries, it is necessary to know more about the mechanisms that make creative industries evolve. With point of departure in this particular work, I would find it interesting to carry on the research. First of all, the consumers and suppliers were not included in this thesis. I find it interesting to research whether the mechanisms and the dynamics within the field would have been pictured differently if these were taken into consideration. Secondly, this thesis was delimited to the area of Copenhagen. In the last Michelin Guide, Malmö and Aarhus, both cities near Copenhagen, have been awarded with Michelin stars. I would find it interesting to enlarge the scope of this research to include these fields and study the mechanisms at play within newly established Haute Cuisine groups. As these fields are new, I believe that valuable knowledge on mechanisms affecting change processes could be found within such cases. Thirdly, this thesis has provided enlightenment to the mechanisms within a field that undergoes changes. According to this specific case, change is derived primarily from the cultured-cognitive aspect of institutions. This thesis has also showed how the financial situation adds to the evolvement of a field. For further research, I would find it interesting to see, whether change in other

fields within the creative industries also derive primarily from cultured-cognitive mechanisms and if financial situations also work as mechanisms that for some parts of a fields become a driving force. This will not only create valuable knowledge about the creative industries, but will add to the institutional theory as well.

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## Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guides

Appendix 2: Transcriptions

Appendix 3: Organic Restaurants and Cafés

Appendix 4: The municipality's guidelines for new market

Appendix 5: Full List of Michelin Stars in Copenhagen

Appendix 6: Participants at the New Nordic Cuisine Symposium

Appendix 7: Cofoco and Madklubben's Restaurants

Appendix 8: Food Market, Eurovision

Appendices can be found at [www.miamaja.dk/mastersthesis](http://www.miamaja.dk/mastersthesis)