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**BUILDING *WITH*, OR *ON*, THE RUINS? :
INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN
THE FRENCH HAUTE CUISINE FIELD
(1951-2000) AS TRANSFORMATIONS
IN SYMBOLIC SYSTEMS,
ORGANIZATIONAL ROUTINES AND
ARTEFACTS**

Philippe MONIN

Professeur

Unité Pédagogique et de Recherche Stratégie et Organisation
EMLYON

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Résumé

Les institutions sont constituées de divers marqueurs : des systèmes symboliques, des systèmes relationnels, des routines et des artéfacts. Pendant les processus de changement institutionnel, notamment dans les champs culturels, les acteurs combinent / hybrident souvent des marqueurs existants et des marqueurs nouvellement inventés, qui relèvent de logiques institutionnelles concurrentes. Malheureusement, nous savons très peu de choses des processus par lesquels les acteurs hybrident ces marqueurs. Les acteurs hybrident-ils les différents types de marqueurs au même moment ? Selon la même ampleur ? Le statut des acteurs affecte-t-il les processus d'hybridation ? La lutte qui marqua le champ de la Grande Cuisine Française au cours de la seconde moitié du 20^{ème} siècle, entre *Cuisine Classique* et *Nouvelle Cuisine*, fournit un contexte empirique original pour explorer ces diverses problématiques.

Mots clés : Changement institutionnel ; Routines organisationnelles ; Artéfacts ; Grande Cuisine Française

Abstract

Institutions are embedded in various types of carriers: symbolic systems, relational systems, routines and artifacts. During institutionalization change processes, notably in cultural fields, actors often combine, i.e. hybridize existing and newly-invented carriers that reflect competing field logics. Unfortunately, we know very little about the processes by which field actors hybridize these various carriers. Do field actors hybridize the different types of carriers at the same time? In the same extent? Does field actors' status affect hybridization processes? The struggle between the *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine* logics that occurred in the French Haute Cuisine field during the 2nd Half of the XXth Century offers an original empirical setting to explore these various issues.

Key words: Institutional Change; Organizational Routines; Artifacts; French Grande Cuisine

INTRODUCTION

Much theory and research on institutional change has privileged the study of two moments: the formation of new institutional forms, and their diffusion across host forms. Only recently, during the last decade, have institutional theorists accorded an increased attention to the under-studied issue of how institutions decline, fail, and give way to new logics, actors and forms (see for instance Haveman and Rao, 1997; Beckert, 1999; Thornton and Ocasio, 1999; Scott, Ruef, Mendel and Caronna, 2000; Scott 2001; Lounsbury, 2002). Theoretical arguments have cast institutional change as the de-institutionalization or erosion of an existing order (Oliver, 1992), the emergence or re-institutionalization of a new order (Jepperson, 1991), and the sedimentation or layering of a new order alongside an existing order (Cooper, Hinings, Greenwood and Brown, 1996). As Sherer and Lee (2002: 106) have argued: “we believe that such change [the sedimentation or layering of a new order alongside an existing order] is often what marks institutional change. Indeed, the very term ‘institutional change’ connotes the enduring qualities of an existing order and its ability to modify itself in ways that ultimately makes it more sustainable”.

Unfortunately, our understanding remains limited about how old orders are being dismantled and new sets of institutional arrangements are put in place. I proffer that our understanding of institutional change processes would be significantly improved if we analyzed institutional changes at a deeper, fine-grained level, i.e. that of institutional carriers. Indeed, institutions are embedded in various types of repositories or carriers (Jepperson, 1991: 150). “A given organization incorporates with its own boundaries a multitude of institutionalized features, in the form of *symbolic systems*, *relational systems*, *routines* and *artifacts*” (2001: 77-82; italics added)¹. *Symbolic systems* refer to the conventional notions of rules and values, as well as narrower conceptions that include classifications, models, representations and logics. Symbolic systems provide field actors with shared frames that contribute to institutional durability. According to their preferences, theorists emphasize the importance of conventions, rules and laws; categories and distinctions; or values and normative expectations (Scott, 2001:78). *Relational systems* are patterned expectations connected to networks of social positions : role systems. According to their preferences, theorists emphasize the importance of governance systems; regimes and authority systems; or structural isomorphism and identities (Scott, 2001: 77). *Routines* have been defined as the building blocks of organizations (Nelson and Winter, 1982). Routines are executable capabilities for repeated performance in some contexts that have been learned by organizations in response to selective pressures (Cohen et al. 1996: 683). According to their preferences, theorists emphasize the importance of protocols and standard operating procedures; jobs, roles and duties; or scripts (Scott, 2001: 77). Finally, anthropologists have long recognized the importance of material culture or *artifacts* created by human ingenuity to assist in the

¹ In his earlier edition (1995: 52-54), Scott identified three carriers of institutions: cultures, structures and routines. In her analyses of publishing houses, Patricia Thornton (2002) referred to cultures, structures and routines. Scott’s additional distinction between routines and artifacts offers a more fine-grained decomposition of habitualized behaviors and scripts versus actual objects.

performance of various tasks. While earlier forms would be as primitive as shaped sticks or rocks, modern artifacts include complex technologies, embodied for instance in software and hardware. Artifacts embody and represent particular constellations of ideas, comply with mandated specifications, meet standards and conventions, and/or possess symbolic value (Scott, 2001 ; Orlikowski, 1992). While empirical studies address mostly Hi-Tech fields (for instance CT scanners, Barley, 1986), common objects can also be attributed symbolic values and act as artifacts. Scott (2001:82) notices that the symbolic freight of some objects can outweigh their material essence, for example, the significance of the bread and wine in the communion service, or the goal posts in the football match.

During institutionalization change processes, field actors play with existing institutional carriers *and/or* invent new carriers, *and* combine new institutional carriers with existing ones to justify past behaviors and guide current ones, creating prospects for stability or change (Clemens and Cook, 1999). In brief, they hybridize carriers. I define *hybridization* as the combination of existing institutional carriers with new institutional carriers that field actors invent. Unfortunately, we know very little about the processes by which field actors hybridize *symbolic systems, relational systems, routines* and *artifacts*. Do field actors change the various carriers at the same time? In the same extent? What is the role of institutional entrepreneurs as agents of institutional change (Sewell, 1992)? Do field actors behave differently according to their status ordering? This chapter explores these various issues.

Empirically, I offer a historical account of the de-institutionalization process of *Classical Cuisine* and institutionalization process of *Nouvelle Cuisine* that occurred in the French Haute Cuisine field during the 2nd half of the XXth Century. Starting in the late 60s, a social movement, called *Nouvelle Cuisine* in contrast with the *Classical Cuisine*, emerged and challenged the established positions of existing restaurants (Rao et al., 2003). French elite restaurants combined existing *Classical Cuisine* carriers with newly-created *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers. I track institutional carriers in French elite Chefs' signature dishes. Signature dishes act as rich fossil evidence for institutional carriers (Cohen et al., 1996) : gastronomy is essentially the discourse on culinary arts. While gourmets consume physiologically, gastronomes consume symbolically through the words: *culinary purism parallels with linguistic purism* (Höfler, 1996; Ecsossier, 1903). For centuries, names and appellations have been constituting precise grammars that reflect the symbolic systems, routines and artifacts of competing institutional logics, i.e. 'Ancien Régime' and 'Nouveau Régime'. The database contains more than 90 000 dishes offered by Elite French chefs from 1951 to 2000, codified in symbolic systems, artifacts and routines. Unfortunately, one can not track relational systems in dishes, but I provide a qualitative account for their evolution.

This chapter is organized in three sections. In the first section, I present the research context and detail the two logics: the *Classical Cuisine* and the *Nouvelle Cuisine*. Each logic refers to *competing* relational systems, symbolic systems, routines and artifacts. I provide a detailed account of how field actors invented *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers and combined them with existing *Classical Cuisine* carriers,

hence revealing the role of agency in institutional change. In the second section, I develop a theory of institutional change as hybridization. I suggest that field actors hybridize artifacts earlier than routines, and routines earlier than symbolic systems. I also suggest that the status of field actors is positively correlated with the extent of hybridization. In the third section, I present the quantitative data, methods and empirical findings. I use time-series models, test for structural breaks and identify three time periods (1951-1970; 1971-1980; and 1981-2000), then compare the time change for each type of institutional carriers, accounting for actors' status. This research offers new insights on typical institutional change processes, and suggests that de- and re-institutionalization, at least in cultural industries, are more complex processes than usually acknowledged: field actors use *different carriers*, at *different periods of time*, and at *different rates*, depending on *their status*.

RESEARCH CONTEXT:

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN Classical Cuisine AND Nouvelle Cuisine

Gastronomy emerged as a field in the first half of the 19th century, then consolidated. New social and cultural conditions, specific sites, and the institution of standards and models of authority acted as structural factors to signal the transformation of gastronomy into the gastronomic field (Ferguson, 1998). The *Nouvelle Cuisine* movement, but the last outburst of centuries of struggles between innovators and conservators, may be described as the fifth great renaissance of French professional cookery, after the 1650s, the 1730s, the 1800s, and the 1890s (Mennell, 1993). In this section, I detail the struggle between *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine*. Then, I present the two competing institutional logics : the *Classical Cuisine* logic and the *Nouvelle Cuisine* logic (see Thornton and Ocasio, 1999 or DiMaggio, 1999 for a similar line of thought). Finally, I explain the role of *Nouvelle Cuisine* evangelists in this institutional change process, accounting for agency in institutional change.

The struggle between *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine*. The XXth Century French Haute Cuisine can be apprehended as an institutional field. Up to the 60s, the field is characterized by a period of convention. Restaurants emphasize conservatism and absolute loyalty to Escoffier's universal treatises of cooking. Escoffier's *Guide Culinaire*, first published in 1903 (English 1907), has constituted the Bible that formed the body of what came to be known as Classical Cuisine. Escoffier's ambition was to normalize the culinary arts. He conceived the culinary arts as a structuralist and modern codified grammar: "a product can be cooked in different ways, served with different sauces, and accompanied with different fillings [...]. As a science, cooking should conform its formula and principles to a rigorous method excluding chance, fate or luck" (Escoffier's Preface, 1907). This *Classical Cuisine* developed worldwide during the first half of the Century: The European aristocracy found exactly the same cuisine in all the European luxury hotels and palazzo. Escoffier's guide was issued in several editions, and remained as the dominant orthodoxy until it was undermined by the *Nouvelle Cuisine* movement. It was during the Escoffier era that French Haute Cuisine achieved the

undisputed international hegemony that it had begun to acquire since the Restoration (Mennell, 1993). Escoffier (1907: Preface) summarized *Classical Cuisine* as follows:

"In a word, cookery whilst continuing to be an art will become scientific and will have to submit its formulas which very often are still too empirical, to a method and precision which leaves nothing to chance."

Greenwood, Suddaby and Hinings (2002) suggested that any institutionalization change process includes six steps: precipitating jolts; de-institutionalization; pre-institutionalization, theorization, diffusion and re-institutionalization. Their model fits nicely to describe the struggle between *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine*.

Precipitating jolts (1960s). Jolts destabilize established practices (Meyer, Brooks and Goes, 1990) and may take the form of social, technological, or regulatory changes (Greenwood et al., 2002: 59-60). Starting in the late 60s, a social movement called *Nouvelle Cuisine* in contrast with the *Classical Cuisine* challenges the established positions of existing restaurants. This social movement is a spin-off of a wider initiator movement – the May 1968 protests (Rao et al., 2003). The values, beliefs, and rules that were well established were challenged with new values. Technological innovation in the cooking field also triggered the contest between *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine*. For instance, robots allowed to cook lighter mousse-like preparation, and micro-waves, pulsed-air and vitro-ceramic technologies replaced coal stove and allowed shorter preparations.

Deinstitutionalization (1965-1969). These changes precipitate the entry of new players (Thornton, 1995), the ascendance of existing actors, in brief institutional entrepreneurship (for instance DiMaggio, 1988). Specifically, *Nouvelle Cuisine* evangelists garn new plaudits: the heralding signals are Paul Bocuse's third star in 1965, Haeberlin's third star in 1967 and Troisgros brothers' third star in 1967. Oppositely, archetypal *Classical Cuisine* chefs lose their third star in 1968 (La Mère Brazier) and 1969 (Lapérouse). *Nouvelle Cuisine* evangelists disturb the socially constructed field-level consensus by introducing new ideas, thus the possibility of change.

Pre-institutionalization (1970-1972). During this stage, chefs innovate independently, seeking technically viable solutions to locally perceived problems (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996). As some *Nouvelle Cuisine* evangelists told us (Interview with Pierre Troisgros): 'at that time, we were trying to solve the same problems in different parts of the country'. Problems included the disappearance of traditional ingredients (natural salmon in French rivers that disappeared following increased water pollution); the quest for lighter meals and healthy preparations (under-cooking; use of new cooking techniques: 'cuisine vapeur', etc.).

Theorization (1972-1975). Tolbert and Zucker (1996) have argued that theorization has been understudied, notably the processes that move innovations beyond pre-institutionalization toward full institutionalization. In the French Cuisine field, journalists – through the development of monthly journals and yearly guides – and *Nouvelle Cuisine* evangelists (through books and media coverage) – played a significant role. The most well-known journalists were Henri Gault and Christian Millau. Supposedly two mediocre journalists in the 60s, they were given the low-prestige restaurant chronicle in weekly magazines. They launched a monthly journal called ‘Le Magazine GaultMillau’ in 1970 and the eponym yearly guide in 1972, which has been competing since then against the Michelin Guide for customers’ attention. The definite manifesto of *Nouvelle Cuisine* was publicized in 1973, when Gault and Millau eventually theorized the *Nouvelle Cuisine* and published their Decalogue, a sort of manifesto: “Vive la *Nouvelle Cuisine* Française”. They formerly established the cardinal values that should prevail in the field: Truth, Lightness, Simplicity and Imagination. The Ten Commandments were:

1. *Thou shall not overcook:* This applies to almost all the products used (and abused) by classical cuisine: fish, shells, seafood, game birds, game animals, waterfowls, poultry...which were overcooked (overcooking protects from poisoning due to poor and long storage conditions);
2. *Thou shall use fresh, quality products:* Select products only if you are sure of their outstanding quality, avoid intensive agriculture
3. *Thou shall lighten thy menu.*
4. *Thou shall not be systematically modernistic:* Avoid a new orthodoxy
5. *Thou shall seek out what the new techniques can bring you:* this will also increase the cooks’ working conditions, through airing and ventilation, reduce consumption of coal or wood, which are replaced by electrical or gas techniques.
6. *Thou shall eliminate brown and white sauces:* abolishing marinated dishes and high game; abolishing white and brown sauces, which are heavy and indigestible.
7. *Thou shall not ignore dietetics:* the post-war times of malnutrition are over
8. *Thou shall not cheat on thy presentation:* simplicity instead of fakery.
9. *Thou shall be inventive.*
10. *Thou shall not be prejudiced.*

These commandments specified the general failures of *Classical Cuisine* restaurants, promoted and justified a solution: the *Nouvelle Cuisine*, and founded this solution in pragmatic legitimacy, or functional superiority (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996; Suchman, 1995). In brief, Gault and Millau fulfilled the three conditions that theorization requires to develop (Greenwood et al., 2002). As Beaugé (1999) observed, *Nouvelle Cuisine*’s first stirrings appeared in 1965, were visible in 1970, and it was labelled as an anti-school only in 1972.

Diffusion (1972 onwards). Culinary journalists writing in magazines such as *Le Cuisinier Français* (published since 1934) or newer culinary journals such as *La Revue Thuries* (published since 1988) propagated *Nouvelle Cuisine* by popularizing its virtues, advancing rationales for the adoption of *Nouvelle Cuisine*, and chronicling success stories of conversion and innovation. Favorable media coverage of *Nouvelle Cuisine* by culinary journalists undermined the logic of *Classical Cuisine*. *Nouvelle Cuisine* became objectified. The legitimacy of *Nouvelle Cuisine* became resounding in 1975 : Most of the *Nouvelle Cuisine* evangelists: Claude Barrier, Alain Chapel, Jean Delaveyne, Michel Guérard, Jean-Pierre Haeberlin, Paul Bocuse, Pierre Laporte, Louis Outhier, Pierre Troisgros and Roger Vergé, were received at the Elysée Palace by the French Président Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and awarded the *Légion d'Honneur* on February 25th, 1975 (Fischler, 1993: 254; Ory, 1983).

Re-institutionalization (early 1980 onwards). Full institutionalization occurs as the density of adoption provides ideas with cognitive legitimacy (Suchman, 1995), and the ideas themselves become taken-for-granted as the natural and appropriate arrangement (Greenwood et al., 2002; Tolbert and Zucker, 1996: 184). This stage occurs from the 1980s onwards, as *Nouvelle Cuisine* becomes the new orthodoxy. Not surprisingly, the mid 80s shows the decline of the GaultMillau guide and monthly journal, as processes of proselytism and evangelism are over (Henri Gault and Christian Millau leave the scene definitively in 1987).

Competing logics and sets of institutional carriers. *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine* are competing logics rather than opposed logics, because they can be hybridized. More specifically, their respective institutional carriers can be combined. Table 1 provides examples of relational systems, symbolic systems, routines and artifacts according to the two competing logics.

Table 1 - Two ideal types of French Elite Cuisine (Adapted from Rao et al., 2003)

<p>Symbolic Systems (culinary rhetoric)</p>	<p>Names of dishes refer to <i>Rhetoric, Memory, and Legitimacy</i>.</p>	<p>Appellations refer to <i>Poetry, Imagination and Evocation</i>: small ('petit'), diminutives (émincés, allégés). Symphonies, Trilogies, Menus, Assiettes</p>
<p>Routines (cooking rules and techniques)</p>	<p><i>Conformation</i>, or staying in conformity with Escoffier's principles. Exemples : gratins and quenelles, terrines, pâtés, confits, jambons, jambonneaux, saucissons, boudins, andouillettes.</p> <p><i>Sublimation</i>, or sublimating the ingredients: brioches, croûtes, vessies, farces, émincés, chaussons, croustades, vol au vent, sauces, flambages (flambé), bisques, délices, dodines, timbales, Chateaubriand.</p>	<p><i>Transgression</i> : using old cooking techniques with new ingredients, or using old cooking techniques with old ingredients, yet for which these cooking techniques were not legitimate: mixing meat and fish, salad mixing vegetables and foie gras, Pot au feu with fish.</p> <p><i>Acclimatization</i>, or importing "exotic" foreign cuisine traditions, notably seasoning and spices: Fresh pasta, raviolis, cannelloni, cheesecake, cappuccino, crumble, carpaccio, pudding, presskopf, risotto, tajine.</p>
<p>Artifacts (archetypal ingredients)</p>	<p>High game, shellfish, cream, poultry, river fish</p>	<p>Fruits, vegetables, potatoes, aromatic herbs, exotic ingredients, sea fish.</p>
<p>Relational Systems (chef versus waiter ; kitchen versus dining room)</p>	<p>The restaurateur, rarely the owner, and never the cook, has the power in the rooms of luxury hotels and palaces. The classical service is organized through the saucepan. The waiters cut and serve the dishes, blaze ("flambé") preparations. The rituals are outside the plate.</p>	<p>The chef is at the centre of operations. Since "service à la japonaise," service through the plate and service under a "cloche" waiters no more intervene in the process.</p>
<p>Organization of the Menu</p>	<p>Extremely long menu, almost all the classical dishes are registered. Need for large inventories, therefore less freshness. Consuming is a long ceremony. Related art is <i>Architecture</i> (three dimensions). Relief and contours are important. One sense is critical: vision.</p>	<p>Very narrow menu, even no menu: chefs propose "Cuisine du Marché," "Cuisine selon saison." No inventories to increase freshness. Consuming is a shorter ceremony.</p> <p>Related art is <i>Painting</i> (two dimensions): service through the plate leads cooks to add products only for esthetical reasons. Colors, contrasts and</p>

		decoration, and the five senses are important.
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Competing symbolic systems. Appellations play an important role under both regimes. *Classical Cuisine* appellations emphasize nobility, aristocracy, *personages des lettres et des arts*. Often, dishes have the names of places, noblemen, or mythological characters associated with them. Neirinck and Poulain (1997: 59-62) studied Carème's texts and found that 213 dishes had names associated with noblemen. Savouring a dish with a nobleman name was as if the guest was seating next to a Nobleman, and literally incorporated the value of nobility. Savouring a dish with a name of a *personage des lettres et des arts* was as if the guest was seating next to an Enlightened Personage, and literally incorporated the intellectual value. The culinary rhetoric changed completely under the *Nouvelle Cuisine* : disrespect with history and the past is erected as a cardinal value. Appellations refer to imagination and poetry rather than place names or Noble names. The philosophy of *Nouvelle Cuisine* was "no more the metamorphosis of the food product, but the revelation of its essential truth" (Fischler, 1993:238).

Competing cooking routines. French Elite restaurant are organized around four routines: the selling, buying, cooking and serving routines. Whatever the restaurant, ingredients have to be bought, cooked, sold, and served to customers. The selling routine refers to the process by which restaurants advertise and attract customers, and sell menus and specialties. The buying routine refers to the process by which restaurants source, select and buy inputs, i.e. raw ingredients. The cooking routine refers to the process by which the chef and his (rarely her) team transform raw ingredients into dishes, including sequential moves of skimming, roasting, larding, assembling, etc. The serving routine refers to the process by which dishes are physically transferred from the kitchen to the customers' table. *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine* restaurants differ in the ways they execute these four routines on a daily basis. We focus on the cooking routine, because it is supposedly the most central one.

The *Classical Cuisine* cooking routines are perfectly predictable. Recipes have to be followed in a straightforward manner and are being repeated for decades. The dishes are prepared in advance, sometimes days in advance, and often stored in poor conditions. Sauces are largely used to hide the poor quality of the raw ingredients. Over-cooking is a widespread systematic technique to protect the customer's health from infectious diseases. Under *Classical Cuisine*, cooking consisted of the application of two rules: *conformation* to the rules formulated by Carème and Escoffier, and *sublimation* of the ingredients such that the raw material is visually transformed. Fischler (1993: 238) summarized it as follows:

"The art of the cook consisted in accommodating, in transforming, in metamorphosing the raw material, to put it from Nature to Culture [...] The maître queux was a kind of grand 'sophisticator', in the etymologic sense of "falsificator".

Examples of rules of conformation include respecting the hierarchical principle of sauces (Neirinck and Poulain, 1997), or respecting the internal logic of the cooking modes (boiling, braising, roasting, browning, frying, etc.). For instance, frying includes covered cooking, browning and adding wine or

water, while braising does not include adding wine or water (Neirinck and Poulain, 1997: 78-79). Examples of rules of sublimation include soufflés, flambés, gratins, quenelles (Beaugé, 1999: 99-100). Under *Nouvelle Cuisine*, the cooking routines relate to two other rules: *transgression* and *acclimatization* (Fischler, 1993). Transgression consists of using old cooking techniques with new ingredients, or using old cooking techniques with old ingredients in illegitimate ways; for example, mixing meat and fish, salad mixing vegetables and foie gras, *pot au feu* with fish. Acclimatization is the import of exotic foreign cuisine traditions, notably seasoning and spices, to rejuvenate and enrich the available repertoire of cooking techniques. Two influences can be identified: the influence from Japanese cuisine during the 70s, when most of the *Nouvelle Cuisine* evangelists (Troisgros brothers, Bocuse, etc.) travelled to Japan, and the growing influence of former colonies and immigrants (Beaugé, 1999). The *Classical Cuisine* sublimation rule is rejected: the cooking techniques should serve the product, hence news practices: émincés, salads, under-cooked meats emerge.

Competing artifacts. In the culinary arts, the symbolic freight of ingredients often by far outweighs their material essence and face value. Ingredients are much more than basic inputs, they are artifacts: 'tell me what you eat, and I will tell you who you are'. Ingredients do comply with mandated specifications, do meet standards and conventions, and do possess symbolic value (Scott, 2001:77). Under *Classical Cuisine*, ingredients had to be expensive and rare. Under *Nouvelle Cuisine*, basic ingredients such as potatoes or salad have an inestimable value. Under *Classical Cuisine*, the archetypal ingredients used were high game, shellfish, cream and poultry, and the menu was organized so that it consisted of a long menu, and required substantial inventories in the restaurant. The ingredients of *Nouvelle Cuisine* are sea fish, fruits, vegetables, potatoes, aromatic herbs and exotic ingredients. New cooking routines and ingredients transform ordinary dishes into meaningful aesthetic postures :

"The salad imposes itself as a territory of superlative freedom, of a more or less considered madness. It is by definition the domain of mélange and organized disorder. It therefore escapes from traditional culinary grammars, and henceforth permits unhindered transgression and innovation" (Fischler, 1993: 264).

"If there were to be a theorization of nouvelle cuisine, it would be a theory of exceptions, nuances, refinements [...] The operative terms for the use of condiments, for instance, are often referred to as *un rien, un soupçon, une touche, une idée* (a nothing, a suspicion, a touch, an idea)" (Weiss, 2001: 233-234):

Opposite relational systems. Finally, the regimes are based on opposite relational systems: specific distributions of roles between the chef and the head-waiter characterize the relational systems. Elite restaurants are relatively small organizations, made up of two main groups: the chef and his (rarely her) highly hierarchical team; the head-waiter and his (sometimes her) team whose place is the dining room. Under *Classical Cuisine*, the chef was one anonymous employee of the restaurant-owner and

was in the background. The rituals of dining prominently featured the waiter who cut and served dishes, flambéed the preparations, and organized the service through the sauce pan. The head-waiter was often, though not always, the owner. Then, as a saying goes in the profession: *the room ran the kitchen*, and entertainment was in the dining room.

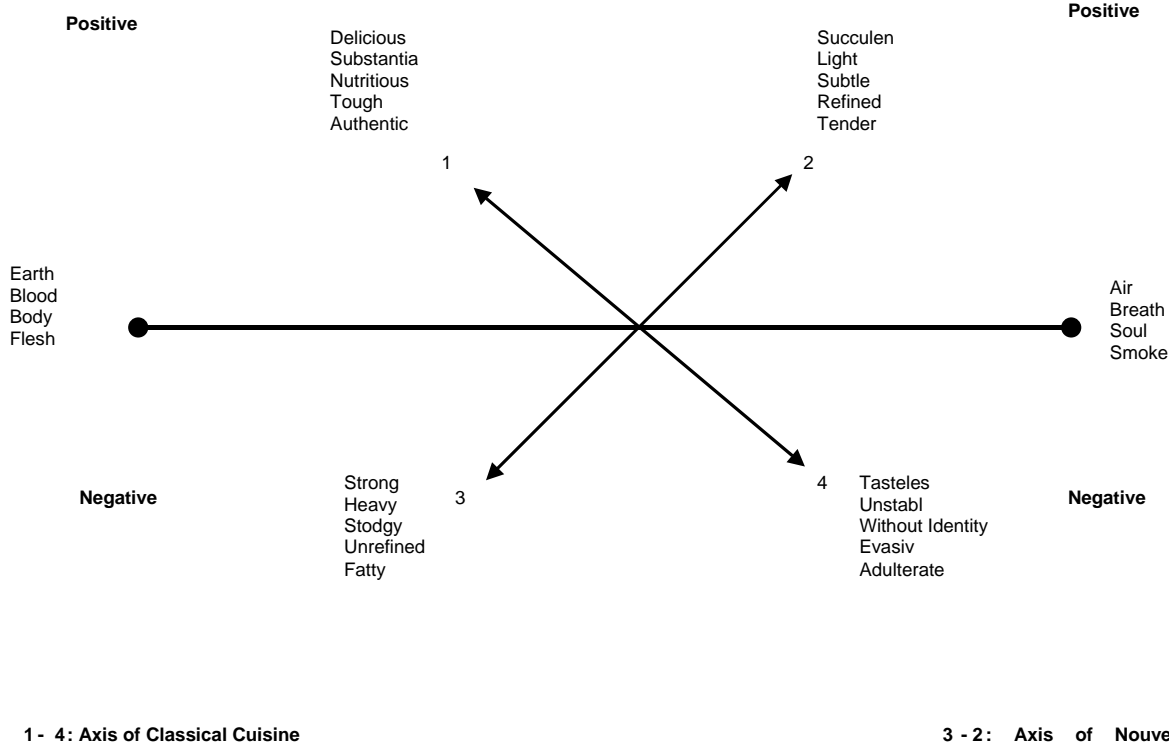
The *Nouvelle Cuisine* was an identity movement (Rao et al., 2003), whereby the chef fought for his (her) autonomy and claimed a superiority over the room. The role of the chef was reframed to that of an innovator, creator and owner, and the role of the waiter was minimized. *The kitchen ran the room*. 'Service à la japonaise' or service through the plate (first offered by Troisgros in the late 60s) and 'service under a cloche' (first presented by Guérard in the early 70s) minimized the role of the waiter. Service through the plate and service under a cloche led cooks to add products only for esthetical reasons: colors, contrasts and decoration were emphasized in a shorter ceremony, where flambéed preparations and service through the sauce pan disappeared. In brief, service through the plate and service under a cloche completed inverted the power relations between the room and the kitchen. It is a common practice in the field that cooks in the kitchen serve dishes in burning plates without warning, and the waiters physically suffer to avoid dropping the plates. Waiters suffered from being reduced to 'plate-holders', and their declining status led to acute shortage of personnel in Elite starred restaurants, not to mention other restaurants, as well as insufficient applications to professional schools. In brief, the *Nouvelle Cuisine* entailed a complete shift in the relational system, which, unfortunately, could not be tracked through dish names.

Carriers versus carriers ! Chefs as institutional entrepreneurs. Institutions are assumed to be located into institutional carriers. Nonetheless, portraying institutions as human creations turned into nature-like givens neglects the role of agency, and scholars have emphasized the role of social actors in the maintenance of institutions (Sewell, 1992; Karnoe, 1997), and defined institutional change as an interplay between actions, meanings, and actors (Zilber, 2002). In brief, only human carriers carry institutional carriers: "human agents... are creating and applying these symbols, interpreting these meanings, and formulating, conforming to, disobeying, and modifying these rules (Scott, 1994: 60).

Some chefs: the *Nouvelle Cuisine* evangelists, acted as powerful institutional entrepreneurs, and manipulated the meanings of values of words. Transformations of rationales given to the same practices over time, as part of actors' efforts to gain legitimacy, were documented by Dobbin, Sutton, Meyer and Scoot (1993). Zilber (2002) also describes the processes whereby new actors inverted the values and meanings of actions in a rape crisis centre in Israel: therapists infused new meanings into originally feminist practices. In the French elite field, the French philosopher Jean-Paul Aron, in his famous 'Les Modernes' (1984), observed how the dominant positive and negative values associated to ingredients under *Classical Cuisine* were completely inverted under *Nouvelle Cuisine* (see Figure 1, from Neirinck and Poulain, 1997: 112). On a horizontal axis, ingredients can be ranked according to the symbols to which they refer: earth, blood, body and flesh, versus air, breath, soul and smoke. Ingredients that were considered authentic, delicious, substantial, tough and nutritious *Classical Cuisine*, became strong, heavy, stodgy, unrefined and fatty under *Nouvelle Cuisine*. Oppositely,

ingredients that were considered tasteless, unstable, evasive, adulterated, in brief without identity under *Classical Cuisine*, became succulent, light, subtle, refined and tender under *Nouvelle Cuisine*.

Figure 1 – Values associated to *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine*



In brief, *Nouvelle Cuisine* evangelists, in their attempt to invert the positive and negative values associated to both Cuisines, acted as institutional entrepreneurs. In this field, institutional change was a process of *intra*-professional legitimation.

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AS HYBRIDIZATION

In this section, I develop a theory of institutional change as hybridization. First, I define the boundary conditions to a theory of institutional change as hybridization. Hybridization refers to the combination of newly created and existing carriers. Hybridization is theoretically distinct from entropy, substitution and bricolage, three other institutional change processes. Second, I argue that symbolic systems, routines and artifacts change at different periods during hybridization processes. Specifically, I suggest that field actors hybridize artifacts earlier than routines, and routines earlier than symbolic

systems. Third, I argue that status plays a role. Specifically, the extent of hybridization should be positively correlated with field actors' status.

Boundary conditions to institutional change as hybridization. The research context presented above suggests that hybridization is prominent in the French Haute Cuisine Field during the second half of the 20th Century: field actors combine existing carriers with newly created carriers. However, hybridization is only one out of four possible theoretical processes: depending upon whether field actors keep, or abandon, existing carriers; and depending upon whether field actors invent new carriers, or not, four options exist (see Table 2).

Table 2 – A typology of institutional change processes

	Absence of new carriers	Creation of new carriers
Abandonment of existing carriers	ENTROPY	SUBSTITUTION
Conservation of existing carriers	BRICOLAGE	HYBRIDIZATION

Entropy refers to de-institutionalization without re-institutionalization. Jepperson (1991: 147-148; 152) suggested that if institutionalization is a property of an order, it can be opposed to the absence of order, in effect social entropy. De-institutionalization refers to the disappearance of reproductive processes, and disorder, divergence and entropy are the negative to order, convergence and institutionalization. *Substitution* is the full-scale abandonment of one set of practices and its replacement by another set of practices. Greve (1995) described an extreme case of substitution: the outright abandonment of an existing radio format, and its direct replacement with a new radio format, in the US radio broadcasting industry. *Bricolage* refers to institutional change processes based only on existing carriers. Bricolage can take two forms: the re-arrangement, or new ordering, of existing carriers that lead to novel forms (Claude Lévi-Strauss, 1962; Campbell, 1997; Stark, 1996); the re-interpretation, or attribution of new meaning to existing carriers, a process conceptually close to robust action and multi-vocality (Padgett and Ansell, 1993). Re-arrangement and re-interpretation are likely to coexist. Finally, *hybridization* refers to the combination of newly created and existing carriers. Hybridization refers to the incremental change process whereby organizations replace some of their current logics with one or more other logics (Zucker, 1983). I focus thereafter on hybridization processes.

Temporality of institutional carriers change. During hybridization processes, field actors combine existing and newly created carriers. However, *when* field actors recombine *what* institutional carriers remains unclear. I will suggest that field actors are likely to hybridize artifacts earlier than routines, and routines earlier than symbolic systems.

First, institutional change entails shifting legitimacies, and stakeholders give different values to the different, possibly competing logics. Therefore, institutional change is a hazardous move, and field actors change incrementally, with minor modifications. During the emergence of the competing logic, field actors experiment cautiously: they initiate small changes, for instance through addition of new artifacts, then look for external cues to validate their initiative, and observe whether it pays off to defect (Rao et al., 2003). If successful, they expand the scope of change, and hybridize more deeply-rooted routines.

Second, existing artifacts may be easily re-interpreted according to the new logic, because it is relatively easy to attribute multiple and shifting interpretations to single objects. Pratt and Rafaeli (1997: 862), for instance, observe how organizational members in a rehabilitation unit of a large hospital use dress to represent and interpret a web of issues inherent to conflicting identities and logics. Dress takes on various and often contradictory messages. "A seemingly simple symbol such as organizational dress is shown to reveal complex notions of social identity, comprising multiple layers of meaning". In that case, dress is an artifact that conveys several meanings, upon which actors can draw depending on the context. "Dress can not only take on a variety of meanings in organizations but can also be relatively easily shaped and adapted to outwardly reflect competing demands imposed by multiple identities (Davis, 1992; Rafaeli et al., 1997)" (Pratt and Rafaeli, 1997: 890).

Third, artifacts are more malleable than routines. Routines are often associated with specialized human or physical capital, called routine-specific assets. These physical idiosyncratic assets define a set of possible actions that give rise, in practice, to repetitive patterns (Pentland, 1992, 1995). They determine the sequential order of elementary moves, and constitute the physical structure in which problems are solved (Pentland and Rueter, 1994). Changes in routines would significantly affect the use of these assets, and vice versa (Garud et al, 2002; Tushman and Anderson, 1986). In the Cuisine field, technological progress by robots allowed to cook lighter mousse-like preparation. Micro-waves, pulsed-air and vitro-ceramic technologies replaced coal stove and allowed shorter preparations. These new assets modified the organization of the brigade. In brief, given the political nature of routines and the existence of routine-specific assets, field actors are likely to change artifacts first, wait for external endorsement of the initial changes, and then only hybridize routines.

Finally, routines are cognitive and political by nature: they serve both as problem solving action patterns and as mechanisms of governance and control. Routines involve legitimating an asymmetric distribution of power (Postrel and Rumelt, 1991; Cohen et al., 1996). This perspective is convergent with Nelson and Winter's (1982) conception of routines as truces among conflicting interests. Changes in routines would affect the distribution of power within the organization, in Scott's (2001) word, the relational system. In brief, field actors are likely to initiate artifacts changes and delay routines hybridization.

Hypothesis 1: Field actors hybridize artifacts earlier than routines.

Symbolic systems may be the least malleable carriers. Although it is conventional among institutional scholars to characterize symbolic systems as operating in the organization's environment, it is important to recognize that these systems are carried as ideas or values in the heads of organizational actors (Scott, 1995: 53), or in the minds of individuals (Scott, 2001: 79), often unconsciously. Symbolic systems infuse rules and values to a large number of objects, i.e. artifacts: in brief, symbolic systems act as glue for the routines and artifacts. To combine existing and new symbolic systems, field actors need to find linkages between competing institutional logics at the field level, a challenging task. Therefore, hybridizing symbolic systems is likely a late and moderate process relatively to routine hybridization. Eventually, successful changes in artifacts and routines lead to an entire shift in the representations and beliefs, and field actors need time to make sense of large shifts in logics. In brief :

Hypothesis 2: Field actors hybridize routines earlier than symbolic systems.

Status and field actors' motivation for change. Status ordering is a key component of industries and fields (for instance Elsbach and Kramer, 1996). Status in the field is likely to affect the field actors' motivation for institutional change. The heightened uncertainty that comes with challenging extant institutions opens up possibilities for a variety of changes in field-wide practices as actors struggle to gain or maintain status while simultaneously engaging in efforts to construct a new, stable set of rules (Fligstein, 1996; Powell, 1991; Lounsbury, 2002). Since field logics provide the context within which status orders are reproduced (Bourdieu, 1984), shifting field logics facilitate status mobility projects by field actors to attain higher status, prestige and income (Grusky, 1994). So, *who* are the likely institutional entrepreneurs? Does prestige play a role? Two sets of arguments contradict each other.

On one hand, several authors (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Leblebici et al., 1991) have argued that organizations at the margin are the first to innovate. According to inertia theory, field actors with higher status have a lot more to lose from institutional change, specifically when routines are affected, because institutional change disrupts external linkages and connections, and increases coordination costs (Hannan and Freeman, 1984).

On the other hand, however, field actors with a high status are more likely to reap benefits from institutional change in the form of a more enhanced status. First, hybridization is a difficult task. High status actors are likely to be more talented and have larger competences – though status and reputation have distinct bases, i.e. respectively social ascription and economic efficiency. Then, they would hybridize more and face lower risks. Second, according to the Matthew effect, high-status actors are given more credit for undertaking the same improvement as low-status actors (Podolny, 1993; Rao, 1994). Third, organizations with prestige have the legitimacy to act as initial innovators and early adopters (Rogers, 1983; Sherer and Lee, 2002). Initial innovators and early adopters use their prestige or status to pull off being different by creating and disseminating new technical rationales.

“Within the organizational field of law firms, a field where prestige matters, it is the highly prestigious that initiate change. Although we do not believe that this is always the case, we do believe that there is a larger role for elites in initiating change than has been suggested by recent research on institutional change.” (Sherer and Lee, 2002: 116). In brief:

Hypothesis 3: The extent of hybridization is positively correlated with field actors' status.

QUANTITATIVE DATA, METHODS AND EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

Tracking institutional carriers in chefs' dishes. The quantitative dataset was constructed from archival data. We drew upon the yearly Guide Michelin from 1951 to 2000. Each year, the Michelin Guide awards one, two or three stars to elite chef/restaurant dyads. Field actors were defined as the elite French restaurant-chef dyads, who garnered at least one star from the well-known Guide Michelin. Before 1951, the Michelin Guide did not attribute 3 stars to chefs, except during an early interval between 1933 and 1939. The entire population of starred chef/restaurant dyads declined progressively over the period from, a high 732 restaurants in 1951, to a low 498 in 2000 (646 in 1960; 639 in 1970; 609 in 1980; 605 in 1990). The Michelin Guide provides neither comments to justify its awards, nor qualitative textual indications about the setting, atmosphere, etc. It only lists the chef/restaurant dyad's signature dishes. As we mentioned earlier, dishes embed the institutional carriers of both logics. Therefore, we collected the yearly trio of specialties, or signatures dishes, of all French Elite chef/restaurant dyads, from 1951 to 2000. 31 024 chef/restaurant/year observations, hence 93 072 signature dishes, make up the database. On average and over the period, 500 restaurant/chef dyads received 1 star, 80 restaurant/chef dyads received 2 stars, and 20 restaurant/chef dyads received 3 stars.

Coding institutional carriers in chefs' dishes. Considering the study of routinized behaviors, Pentland and Rueter (1994: 506) argued: “Assuming that data is available, the success of a grammar-like approach depends on the ability to formulate an appropriate lexicon and syntactic constituents [...] A top down strategy is the most appropriate when the overall logic of the routine is known in advance or when one has a priori expectations based on theory”. Pentland and Rueter's view is as valid for symbolic systems and artifacts.

I used five complementary Culinary arts treatises to code the dishes: Escoffier (1903), Gringoire et Saulnier (1914), Fischler (1993), Neirinck and Poulain (1997) and Höfler (1996). These treatises provided the lexical repertoires used to codify the symbolic systems, cooking routines, and artifacts. Gringoire and Saulnier were disciples from Escoffier. They belonged to the French Academy of Culinary Arts. They created a repertoire, still extensively used in culinary school today, which classifies recipes into topics. Here is the often mentioned quote of their preface:

“The question of names deserves the closest attention for it seems full of pitfall. Almost every day, some well-intentioned chef or cook will either give a new name to a dish which is already known to everyone as something else or he will introduce under a well-known name a preparation different from that which the name normally implies. These are *bad practices* which all chefs and cooks conscious of their professional responsibility should do their best to stamp out. If allowed to continue, such practices will debase the culinary art beyond *redemption*” (*Italics added*; Introduction to *Le Repertoire de la Cuisine*, translated from the Original French edition by Brunet, 1914, 17th edition, 1982).

Höfler’s *dictionary of French culinary arts : Etymology et history* (1996) was a specially useful reference, as this dictionary studies texts related to culinary arts from a scientific and linguistic perspectives. Höfler and his team of linguists have studied over 10 years all existing texts about culinary arts, and suggest that *culinary purism parallels with linguistic purism*. Their dictionary of appellations is complementary to Gringoire and Saulnier’s treatise. Finally, Jean-Pierre Poulain’s unpublished doctoral thesis in sociology (1985) provided the exhaustive study of Carême’s appellations. Based on the extensive reading of these culinary treatises and cross-checking with experts in culinary arts, we decomposed the names of all specialties of all these dishes into 19 categories. These 19 categories were eventually subsumed into CC symbolic systems, CC routines and CC artifacts; and NC symbolic systems, NC routines and NC artifacts.

Classical Cuisine symbolic systems combine 45 appellations of regions, cities, countries and class-aristocracy (for instance Archiduc, Lutèce, Luxembourg, Napoléon, Navarrin or Wagram) ; 6 appellations of culinary artists (Apicius, Berchoux, Grimod de la Reynière, Lachapelle, Laguepierre and Vatel); 22 appellations of personage from the art and literature (for instance Aristote, Buffon, Cicéron, Molière, Virgile); 52 appellations of personage from Politics and Nobility (for instance Choiseul, Dupéré, Gringoire, Léopold, Suffren or Vendôme); and 168 appellations from Carême and Escoffier (for instance Armorica, Bénédicte, Cordon-Bleu, Impératrice, Margot or Strogonoff); *Classical Cuisine* routines include 29 carving and cutting techniques (for instance braisé, blanchi, pané, paré, rissolé, singé or saupoudré); 190 fillings (for instance Berny, Clamart, Duchesse, Financière, Lucullus or Orloff); 82 sauces (for instance Colbert, Chivry, Newburg, Béchamel, Soubise or Yorksgire); 18 ‘fonds’ (gelée, glace, Matignon, marinade, Chaud-Froid, Reine or Roux); and 61 preparations (croustade, fricassée, gratin, Macédoine, Mirepoix or Timbale). Finally, *Classical Cuisine* artifacts include 61 seafood (fish from rivers and shells: Homard, Lamproie, Sole and so forth), and 42 poultry including game (for instance Chapon, Perdrix, sanglier or Pintade). *Nouvelle Cuisine* symbolic systems include 23 appellations (for instance marché, léger, moelleux, frais, doux or salade); *Nouvelle Cuisine* cooking techniques include 15 preparations (for instance papillote, pissaladière, émincé, feuilleté, réduit or vapeur) ; and *Nouvelle Cuisine* artifacts include 43 vegetable, 22 fruits and flowers, 22 spices, 6 fishes from sea and 23 exotic appellations (for instance Al dente, Canneloni, Carpaccio, Keftedes, Ravioli, Tajine or Carbonara).

We designed a computer program to code these dishes into *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine* symbolic systems, routines and artifacts. Then, we extracted a random sample of 400 dishes, and asked two raters to code these signature dishes into *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine* categories. One rater was a consultant to two- and three-star chefs and a former chef himself, and the other was a retired chef with two Michelin stars to his credit. The raters did not know each other. The inter-rater reliability was 95%. We also estimated the match between the ratings of the raters and those of the computer program, and found a 95% degree of reliability.

Below, we provide two contrasted examples of codification. In 1951, a 1 star chef offered the following trio. The 'Rouget à ma façon' ('red mullet my way') includes one *Classical Cuisine* ingredient (1 fish). The 'Sole farcie' ('stuffed sole') includes one *Classical Cuisine* ingredient and one *Classical Cuisine* cooking technique;. Finally, the 'Rognons' ('kidneys') do not refer to any category, as kidneys are neither typically *Classical Cuisine*, not typically *Nouvelle Cuisine*. This trio of specialties adheres strictly to the *Classical Cuisine* regime. Oppositely, in 1995, a three stars chef offered the following trio of specialties : 'Gelée de canard de Challans au foie d'oie' ('Challans duck in aspic with goose liver'); 'Ragoût de grenouilles poêlées, petit chou farci à la choucroute et aux grenouilles' ('fried frogs in stew, small cabbage stuffed with sauerkraut and frogs'); and 'Suprême de pigeonneau au chou en crépinette, pastilla d'abats au foie d'oie' ('young pigeon supreme with cabbage in crépinette, giblets pastilla with goose liver'). This trio includes the largest number of codes (15) in the entire database, hence could be qualified as highly complex compared with the former examples. In detail, this trio includes 5 *Classical Cuisine* artifacts (4 poultries and 1 fish); 3 *Classical Cuisine* symbolic systems; 2 *Classical Cuisine* routines; 4 *Nouvelle Cuisine* artifacts (2 vegetable, 1 spice and 1 exotic) and 1 *Nouvelle Cuisine* routine.

Dependant variables. For each chef/restaurant dyad, we computed the number of CC symbolic systems, CC routines and CC artifacts; number of NC symbolic systems, NC routines and NC artifacts; number of CC carriers and NC carriers; and total number of carriers. Finally, we computed the yearly means of the population for these nine categories. The final dataset consists of 50 lines – one per year – and the means for the nine categories. These figures represent an institutional density for each carrier type. **These institutional density variables are our dependant variables.** Table 3 provides the institutional density average, minimum and maximum for the nine categories in 1951, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000. These figures suggest a gradual and enduring change rather than a sudden substitution. Chefs were experimenting with *Nouvelle Cuisine* and were waiting for cues before increasing their commitment to *Nouvelle Cuisine*. *Nouvelle Cuisine* steadily increased over time, and *Classical Cuisine* remained relatively stable.

Table 3 – Institutional Density Minimum, Maximum and Means in 1951, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000

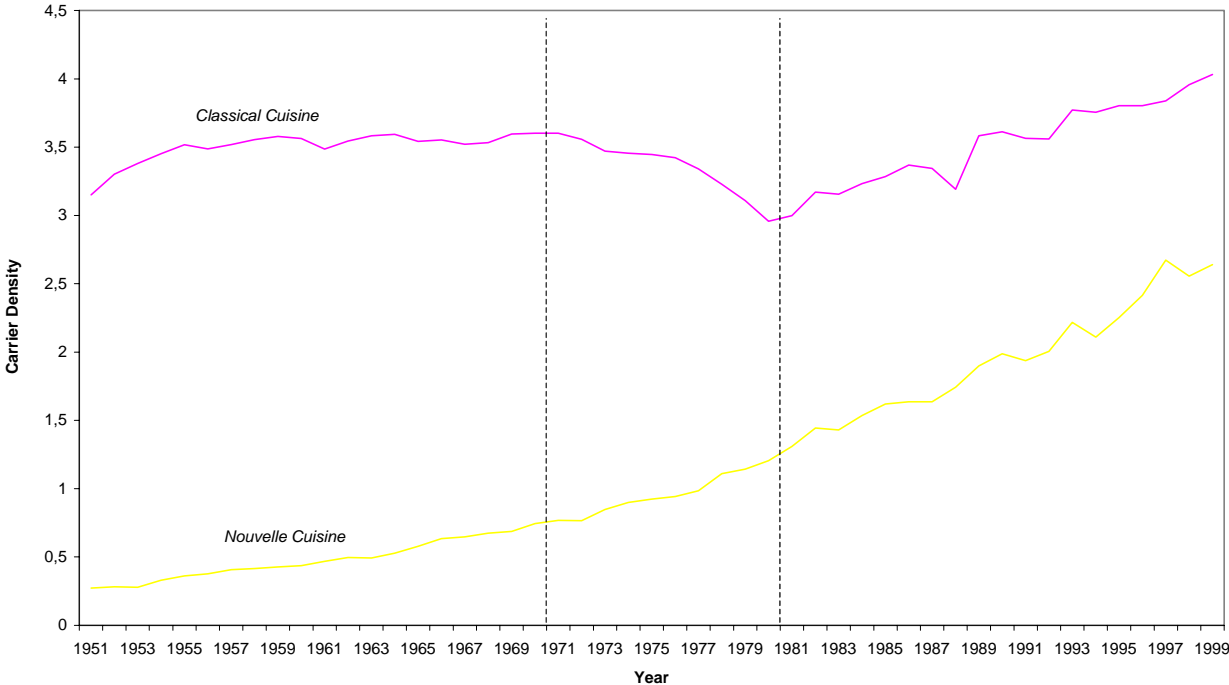
	1951	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Total carriers : Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total carriers : Maximum	9	10	11	14	12	13
Total carriers : Mean	3.42	4	4.34	4.16	5.60	5.61
CC carriers : Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	0
CC carriers : Maximum	8	9	9	9	9	10
CC carriers : Mean	3.15	3.56	3.60	2.96	3.61	3.59
NC carriers : Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	0
NC carriers : Maximum	3	3	4	6	7	7
NC carriers : Mean	0.27	0.44	0.74	1.21	1.99	2.02
CC artifacts : Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	0
CC artifacts: Maximum	6	6	6	7	7	7
CC artifacts: Mean	1.66	1.89	1.93	1.78	2.27	2.33
CC routines : Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	0
CC routines: Maximum	4	4	4	4	4	3
CC routines: Mean	0.63	0.77	0.81	0.65	0.63	0.61
CC symbolic systems : Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	0
CC symbolic systems: Maximum	4	4	4	3	4	4
CC symbolic systems: Mean	0.86	0.91	0.86	0.52	0.72	0.65
NC artifacts : Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	0
NC artifacts: Maximum	2	2	3	4	6	6
NC artifacts: Mean	0.17	0.30	0.49	0.69	1.26	1.36
NC routines : Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	0

NC routines: Maximum	1	2	2	3	3	3
NC routines: Mean	0.06	0.08	0.12	0.21	0.23	0.23
NC symbolic systems : Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	0
NC symbolic systems: Maximum	1	3	3	3	5	3
NC symbolic systems: Mean	0.04	0.05	0.14	0.31	0.49	0.43

Selection of models. Since institutional densities constitute our dependant variables, and time is our independent variable, we used regression analysis with time series data. When time series data are used in regression, often the error term is not independent through time. Instead, the errors are serially correlated or auto-correlated. Then, parameters estimated with ordinary least squares (OLS) are affected and standard errors are biased. Consequently, we used an autoregressive model that corrects for serial correlation, i.e. the AUTOREG procedure on SAS Version 8th (see SAS OnlineDoc: Version 8, Chapter 8: 303-395. Specifically, see p. 307-).

Selection of time periods. We relied on both graph analysis and statistical analysis of time-series data to determine time periods. The Figure 2 presents time series data on restaurants' *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine* density. As suggested by graphical inspection, the slopes for *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine* followed very distinct paths. Over the period, the institutional density raises from 3.42 in 1951 (lowest) to 6.67 in 1999 (highest), but *Classical Cuisine* carriers remain dominant over *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers: restaurants built *with* the existing carriers *and* added new carriers.

Figure 2 - Time Series Data on Restaurants' Institutional Density



Over the entire 50 year period, *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers grew regularly, from a 0.27 value in 1951 up to a 2.64 value at the highest peak in 1999. The growth in *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers is positive and highly significant (0.04***, R2=0.94). All categories of *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers grow significantly: 0.01*** (R2= 0.86) for symbolic systems; 0.004*** (R2=0.84) for artifacts; and 0.029*** (R2=0.86) for routines. The story is very different for *Classical Cuisine* carriers: the *Classical Cuisine* carriers remained fairly stable, from an initial 3.15 in 1951, up to 3.60 in 1970, down to 2.96 in 1980, and back up to 4.03 in 1999 at the highest. Over the entire 50 year period, the growth in *Classical Cuisine* is not significant (0.004, R2=0.07). However, once the *Classical Cuisine* carriers are broken down into categories, the story is more subtle: the artifacts grow slightly over the period (0.011*** and R2=0.69) while symbolic systems (-0.003***, R2=0.20) and routines (-0.004***, R2=0.54) decline slightly over time.

To select the exact time periods for the models, we undertook statistical tests – the Chow test for structural breaks. Perhaps the most important assumption of any time series model is that the underlying process is the same across all observations in the sample. It is therefore necessary to carefully analyze time series data that include periods of change. A tool that is particularly useful in this regard is the Chow test. The Chow test divides any time series into two (or more) periods, and compares the sums of squared errors from three regressions: one for each sample period and one for the pooled data (Chow, 1960; Fisher, 1970; Greene, 1993). We use PROC AUTOREG with the Chow statistical test on SAS 8th.

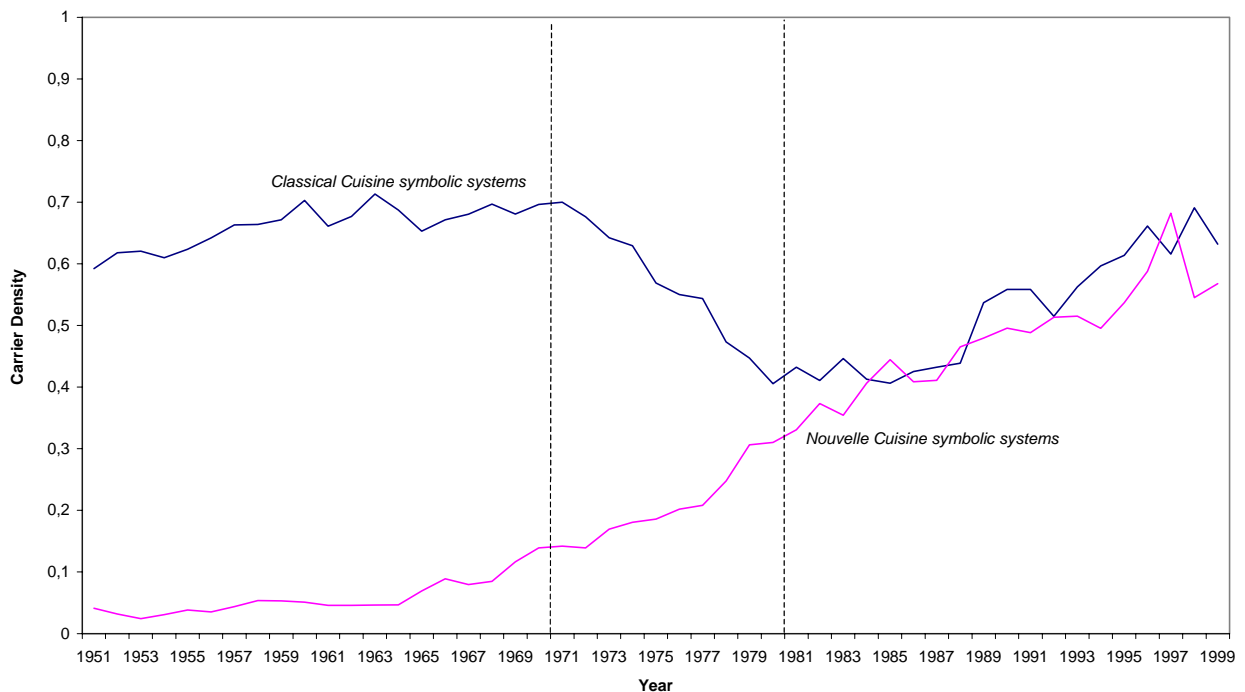
First, we considered possible structural breaks in the evolution of *Classical Cuisine* carriers, and picked the years with the highest F value: 1970 and 1980. The first major break appears in 1970 (F value = 62.60***), while the second one develops ten years later, in 1980 (F value = 49.08***). To our surprise, when considering *Nouvelle Cuisine* Carriers, *any year* could be considered a very significant breaking point (at 0.1% level). Moreover, the value and significance of the Chow test kept increasing with time. This statistical pattern suggests that the curve displaying the *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers follows a quadratic slope: *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers are adopted at an increasingly faster rate, as if they were snowballing. We estimated a quadratic equation, and the R square for the quadratic equation (0.85) was only slightly smaller than the R square for the linear estimation (0.93). In brief, we observed two different patterns: one of slow growth, sharp decline, then recovery for *Classical Cuisine* Carriers, and one of progressive acceleration for *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers. These Chow tests converged with graphical analyses and qualitative data, and we finally divided observations for further empirical analysis into three time periods.

During the first period, from 1951 to 1970, the *Classical Cuisine* erodes marginally, while restaurants slowly invent *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers. During the second period, between 1971 and 1980, *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine* struggle, *Classical Cuisine* carriers being partially replaced by *Nouvelle*

Cuisine carriers. The third period, starting in 1981 and still continuing in 2000, is a period of sustained invention of new carriers and *hybridization* with old carriers. Chefs invent *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers at an increasingly higher rate, which they combine with a growing number of *Classical Cuisine* carriers. At the end of the period, they use *Classical Cuisine* carriers at an even higher extent than at the apogee of the *Classical Cuisine*, in the early 50s, when *Classical Cuisine* was dominant and unchallenged.

Hybridization by period and carrier type. Figures 3 to 6 present time series data for symbolic systems, artifacts and routines, and offer contrasted curves and additional nuances.

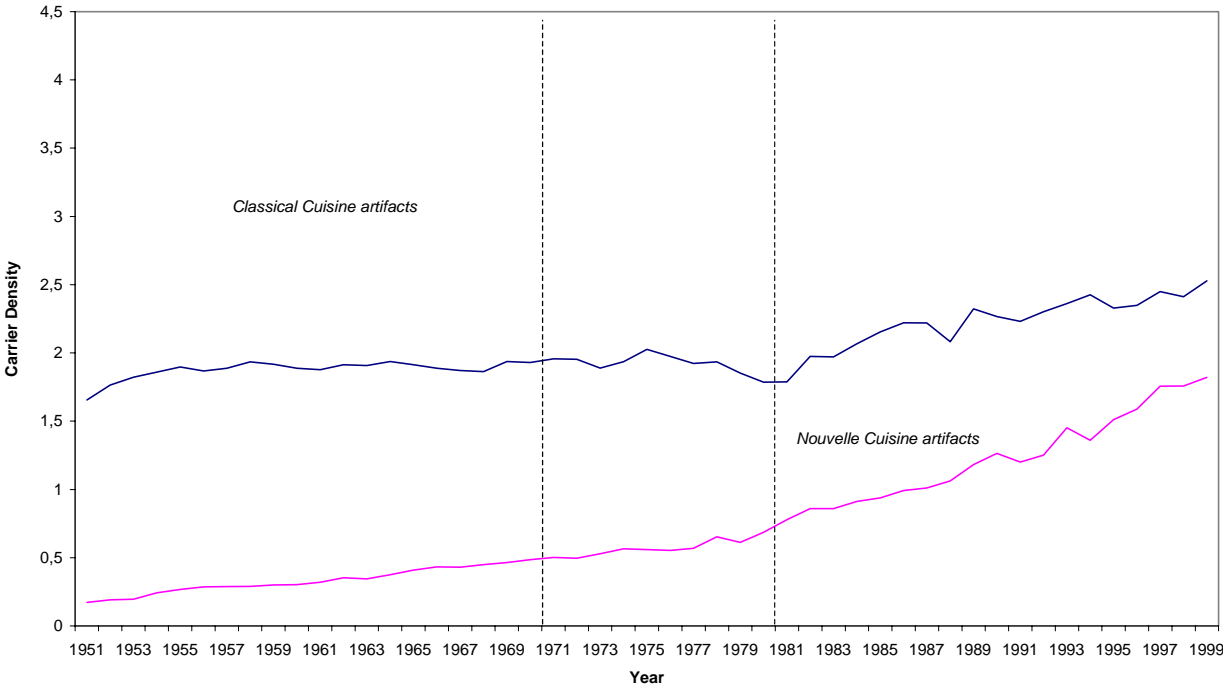
Figure 3 - Time Series Data on Restaurants' Symbolic Systems Density



Symbolic systems. For *Classical Cuisine* symbolic systems, the Chow test provides inflexion points in 1971 and 1982 (see Figure 3). We observe the same three periods: two decades of slow growth (estimate = 0.0004***, R2 = 0.65), one decade of sharp decline (estimate = - 0.03***, R2 = 0.98), and two decades of recovery (estimate = 0.01***, R2 = 0.71). A simple visual inspection indicates that the distribution of the *Nouvelle Cuisine* symbolic systems shows a huge multiplier factor of 34, from a low 0.02 in 1953 to a high 0.68 in 1997. The Chow test keeps growing over the period, as if *Nouvelle Cuisine* symbolic systems were adopted at a increasingly faster rate. Autoregressive models confirm this increasingly faster rate of adoption (estimate = 0.008***, R2 = 0.83 during periods 1 and 2; estimate = 0.01***; R2 = 0.62 during period 3).

Combined together, the first two decades show an invention of *Nouvelle Cuisine* symbolic systems, that are combined with *Classical Cuisine* Carriers, however without substitution effects. During the third decade, field actors hybridize even more *Nouvelle Cuisine* symbolic systems that replace partially *Classical Cuisine* symbolic systems. Finally, during the final two decades, field actors combined both types of symbolic systems in a growing extent. To check whether the growth of *Classical Cuisine* symbolic systems was correlated to the growth of *Classical Cuisine* symbolic systems during the third period (1981-2000), we used the same model and regressed *Classical Cuisine* symbolic systems on *Classical Cuisine* symbolic systems. The coefficient is positive, smaller than 1, and highly significant (0.76***, R2=0.68). Therefore, chef/restaurant dyads combined the two types of symbolic systems, with a proportionally higher rate of *Classical Cuisine* symbolic systems.

Figure 4 - Time Series Data on Restaurants' Artifacts Density

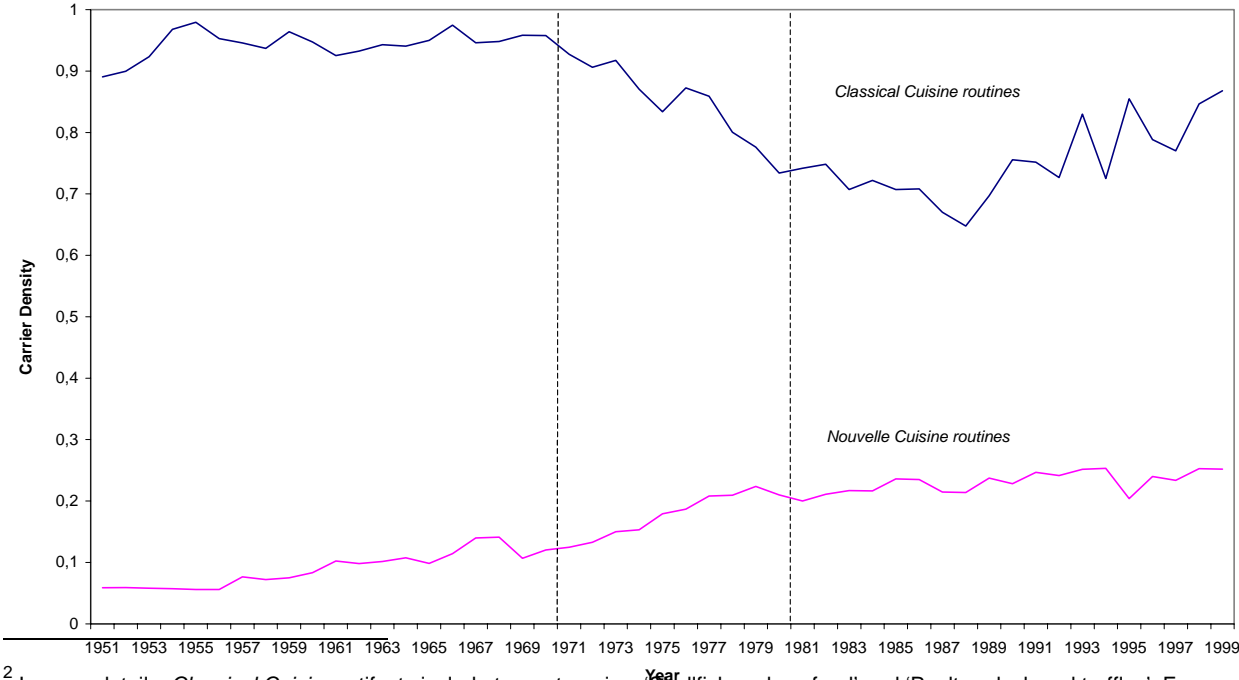


Artifacts. We observe the same three periods for artifacts (figure 4), and find exactly the same cutoffs (1971 and 1982): in brief, *Classical Cuisine* cultural elements, either artifacts or symbolic systems, were partially replaced (1971), then re-adopted (1982) by field actors at the same time. We found the following estimates: 0.007** (R2= 0.39) for period 1; -0.01 (R2=0.08, yet only significant at 10%) for period 2; and 0.02*** (R2=0.79) for period 3. The *Nouvelle Cuisine* artifacts grow continuously over the period: the distribution of the *Nouvelle Cuisine* artifacts shows a multiplier factor

of 10, from a lowest 0.17 in 1951 to a highest 1.82 in 1999, close to the level of *Classical Cuisine* carriers in 2000². The Chow test keeps growing over the period, as if *Nouvelle Cuisine* artifacts were also adopted at an increasingly faster rate. Autoregressive models confirm this increasingly faster rate of adoption (estimate = 0.01***, R2 = 0.98 during periods 1 and 2; estimate = 0.05***, R2 = 0.87 during period 3). Combined together, we observe exactly the same pattern for symbolic systems and artifacts.

During the final two decades, field actors combined both types of artifacts in a growing extent. To check whether the growth of *Classical Cuisine* artifact was correlated to the growth of *Classical Cuisine* artifact during the third period (1981-2000), we used the same model and regressed *Classical Cuisine* artifacts on *Classical Cuisine* artifacts. The coefficient is positive, greater than 1, and highly significant (1.55***, R2=0.79). Therefore, chef/restaurant dyads combine the two types of artifact, with a proportionally higher rate of *Nouvelle Cuisine* artifacts. In brief, field actors combine artifacts and symbolic systems of both *Cuisine* in a growing extent, but with different proportions.

Figure 5- Time Series Data on Restaurants' Routines Density



² In more details, *Classical Cuisine* artifacts include two categories: 'Shellfish and seafood' and 'Poultry, duck and truffles'. From a low 0.77 in 1951, the 'shellfish and seafood' category increases up to 0.92 in 1962, declines slowly to 0.73 in 1980, and grows slowly up to 1.00 between 1989 and 1996 (mean is 0.88). Oppositely, the 'Poultry, duck and truffles' increases regularly from a lowest 0.89 in 1951 to a highest 1.55 in 1999 (the mean: 1.14, is crossed in 1982).

Nouvelle Cuisine artifacts include five categories: 'Sea Fish', 'Fruits and Flowers', 'Vegetables', 'Exotism' and 'Spices'. The use of 'Sea Fish' ingredients is multiplied by 10 (from 0.02 in 1953 up to 0.23 in 1987, mean = 0.12); The use of 'Fruits and Flowers' is multiplied by 15 (from 0.03 in 1951 up to 0.46 in 1999, mean = 0.17); The use of 'Vegetables' is multiplied by 15 (from 0.04 in 1952 up to 0.59 in 1999; mean = 0.17); The use of 'Exotic' inspiring sources is multiplied by 7 (from 0.03 in 1951-1952 up to 0.21 in 1998; means = 0.08); Finally, the use of 'Spices' is multiplied by 10 (from 0.05 in 1951-1953, up to 0.47 in 1998; means = 0.18).

Routines. Finally, we observe three periods for *Classical Cuisine* cooking techniques (Figure 5). However, while partial substitution starts again in 1971, the re-adoption of *Classical Cuisine* routines is delayed by almost one decade (1989). We found the following estimates: 0.001* (R2= 0.18) for period 1; -0.02*** (R2=0.87) for period 2; and 0.006** (R2=0.38) for period 3. *Classical Cuisine* routines remain at a high level throughout the period, and the continuous addition of *Nouvelle Cuisine* cooking techniques does not, by far, equalize *Classical Cuisine* routines, although restaurants developed four times more *Nouvelle Cuisine* routines in 1993 (highest 0.24) than in 1951 (lowest 0.06). The Chow test suggests that the rate of invention of *Nouvelle Cuisine* routines remains positive but decreases progressively during the 80s, as if the potential for routine invention was over, and the new priority went to combining newly created cooking techniques with existing ones. Autoregressive models confirm this decreasing rate of adoption (estimate = 0.005***, R2 = 0.91 during periods 1 and 2; estimate = 0.001**, R2 = 0.37 during period 3). To check whether the growth of *Classical Cuisine* routines was correlated to the growth of *Classical Cuisine* routines during the third period (1981-2000), we regressed *Classical Cuisine* routines on *Classical Cuisine* routines. The coefficient was positive but not significant (0.09, R2=0.11).

To summarize, chefs invented new artifacts and combined them with existing artifacts early in the process. This pattern suggests that actors easily re-interpret existing artifacts and mix them up with new artifacts. It took more time for restaurants to invent new routines and the hybridization process was smaller. The limited scope and time-lag in routine hybridization might be due to both the existence of idiosyncratic assets in the field, mainly cooking technologies and energy sources, and the political nature of routines, which reflect the power distribution between the dining room and the kitchen.

These results support our first hypothesis: field actors hybridize artifacts earlier than routines.

While we expected a late hybridization between existing and new symbolic systems, we rather observed an early process, in two distinct steps : a first step of hybridization through substitution from *Classical Cuisine* to *Nouvelle Cuisine*, during which *Nouvelle Cuisine* symbolic systems, once marginal compared to *Classical Cuisine* symbolic systems (0.1 versus 0.7 in 1970), fully compensated for the decline of *Classical Cuisine* symbolic systems during the 70s (0.4 for both types of cuisine in 1980); and a second step of hybridization through addition, still going on nowadays, whereby restaurants combine an equal amount of *Classical Cuisine* and *Nouvelle Cuisine* symbolic systems, but at an increasing level (0.4 in 1990; 0.5 in 1988; and 0.6 in 1997 for both types of cuisine). **These results do not support our second hypothesis: field actors hybridize symbolic systems earlier than routines.** More specifically, they hybridize artifacts and symbolic systems, two cultural components, at the same time. It is remarkable to observe the similarity in artifact and symbolic systems evolution. When re-editing and enriching his book, Scott (1995, 2001) added a distinction

between artifacts and symbolic systems as two species of cultural carriers: indeed, they are different species but behave in the same manner.

Field actors' status and extent of change. To test our third hypothesis: the extent of hybridization is positively correlated with field actors' status; we proceeded further through graphical and statistical tests. First, we drew and compared the curves for each institutional carrier and each sup-population to the curves for the entire population. Given the (very) small number of 3 stars chefs (minimum is 7 and maximum is 23 over 50 years), the slopes for this sub-population were erratic, and this was an obvious limitation for further statistical tests. The extent of hybridization seemed to differ according to field actors' status. We compared the institutional density of 1*, 2** and 3*** restaurants, to check whether restaurants with different status adopted different hybridization strategies. For the sake of brevity, we do not report all the graphs and figures from pair wise tests, but summarize the findings in Table 4.

Table 4 - Restaurants' status and extent of change in institutional carriers.

	1star / population	2 stars / population	3 stars / population	1star / 2 stars	1 star / 3 stars	2 stars / 3 stars
Total carriers	1star < pop. (***)	2 stars > pop. (***)	3 stars > pop. (***)	1 star < 2 stars (***)	1 star < 3 stars (***)	NS
<i>Nouvelle Cuisine</i> carriers	1star < pop. (***)	2 stars > pop. (***)	3 stars > pop. (***)	1 star < 2 stars (***)	1 star < 3 stars (***)	NS
<i>Classical Cuisine</i> carriers	1star < pop. (**)	2 stars > pop. (***)	3 stars > pop. (***)	1 star < 2 stars (**)	1 star < 3 stars (**)	2 stars < 3 stars (*)
<i>Classical Cuisine</i> symbolic systems	1star < pop. (**)	2 stars > pop. (***)	NS	1 star < 2 stars (***)	NS	NS
<i>Nouvelle Cuisine</i> symbolic systems	1star < pop. (*)	2 stars > pop. (*)	NS	1 star < 2 stars (**)	NS	NS
<i>Classical Cuisine</i> artifacts	1star < pop. (**)	NS	3 stars > pop. (***)	NS	1 star < 3 stars (**)	NS
<i>Nouvelle Cuisine</i> artifacts	1star < pop. (***)	2 stars > pop. (***)	3 stars > pop. (***)	1 star < 2 stars (***)	1 star < 3 stars (***)	NS
<i>Classical Cuisine</i> routines	NS	NS	3 stars > pop. (***)	NS	1 star < 3 stars (***)	2 stars < 3 stars (*)
<i>Nouvelle Cuisine</i> routines	1star < pop. (**)	2 stars > pop. (**)	NS	1 star < 2 stars (**)	1 star < 3 stars (*)	2 stars > 3 stars (*)

*** p <.01, ** p <.05, * p <.10 ; NS : Non significant

The three first lines suggest that high-prestige elite restaurants (2 and 3 stars) combine carriers of both cuisine types in a greater extent. However, 2 stars and 3 stars restaurants do not significantly differ. These results fit with the idea that the Michelin Guide awards higher status to restaurants that offer more sophisticated specialty dishes, i.e. dishes that reflect higher degrees of combination.

Details related to specific carriers offer more nuanced and subtle results. First, whatever the category of institutional carriers, one star restaurants – the massive 80% of the population – use less *Classical Cuisine* carriers, invent less *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers, in brief hybridize in a smaller extent than 2 and 3 stars restaurants. However, three stars restaurants do not systematically differ from 2 stars restaurants. In two cases, they differ marginally (significance level at 10%): 2 stars restaurants would use less *Classical Cuisine* and more *Nouvelle Cuisine* routines than 3 stars restaurants. The lack of significant differences between 2 and 3 stars restaurants is likely due to the insufficient population size for three stars restaurants. Overall, these results support our third hypothesis: **the extent of hybridization is positively correlated with field actors' status.**

In detail, the most noteworthy result relates to routines, which are less malleable and whose hybridization is delayed. It seems that high-prestige established restaurants preserve existing *Classical Cuisine* routines more than their competitors. This result speaks in favor of DiMaggio and Powell (1991) or Leblebici et al. (1991), who argued that organizations at the margin are the first to innovate, and against Sherer and Lee (2002), who argued that high-prestige firms are likely to initiate change. In the French culinary field, three stars restaurants could have a lot more to lose from routine change, because it could disrupt external linkages and connections, and increase coordination costs (Hannan and Freeman, 1984). In the discussion of their contribution, Sherer and Lee (2002: 117) attempted to reconcile DiMaggio and Powell's perspective with theirs. They argued that what the most and the least prestigious have in common is that they both have less to lose by being different. Highly prestigious firms can use their prestige to legitimize their actions. Less prestigious firms are often able to compete with highly prestigious organizations by changing the rules of the games. We found the exact opposite: the extent of *Nouvelle Cuisine* routine invention is greater for 2 stars restaurants. We would provide the following explanations. First, all field actors are prestigious restaurants relatively to the thousands of non starred restaurants listed in the Michelin Guide. Second, three stars restaurants have a lot to lose while one-star restaurants simply lack the expertise and talent. Two-star restaurants are eager to innovate in terms of routines, because they already have recognized talents and competences, and have little to lose while a lot to win if they reach the three stars club.

DISCUSSION AND PERSPECTIVES

In this chapter, I have examined how field actors facing a new institutional logic hybridize existing institutional carriers with newly-invented carriers to justify their changing behaviors. I would like to underline three contributions. First, in this artistic and esthetic field, the process of institutional change is rather a sedimentation process by which field actors play with existing ruins and recombine them with new materials to create new forms. Institutional change was more than bricolage, i.e. the simple re-arrangement and/or re-interpretation of existing elements, or substitution, i.e. the simple replacement of old by new carriers. What we have observed in the culinary field may be typical of cultural industries, in which identity and artistic / esthetic claims are prominent over functional and/or efficiency objectives. In brief, in fields where institutional change is driven by socio-political pressures (rather than economic pressures) (Oliver, 1992) and where artistic expression and political representation predominate over performance claims, hybridization may be the prominent process of institutional change.

Second, empirical results suggest a hierarchy among institutional carriers: field actors experiment cultural change and delay structural change. Culture, embedded in both symbols and artifacts, seems more malleable than structure, as field actors delayed routine change, and changed routines in a lower extent. Routines, as executable capabilities for repeated performance that have been learned by organizations in response to selective pressures, would be more difficult and would take longer to alter than ideas and values held in the heads of individuals. Routine change tends to be delayed, and this result is consistent with the view of routines as political and cognitive devices by nature. Unfortunately, we could not measure the time and extent of change in relational systems, the missing institutional carrier, and the one that taps the political dimension of institutional change. This undoubtedly opens up an avenue for future research. Within cultural carriers, we observed nuances. Specifically, field actors hybridized cultural elements: artifacts and symbolic systems, simultaneously. However, one difference was noteworthy: field actors seemed to combine symbolic systems of both logics with a preference for the existing logic. Oppositely, they combine artifacts of both logics with a preference for the new logic. This result again calls for further empirical examination.

Third, empirical results suggest that agency plays a role in institutional change (Powell, 1988; 1991). First, institutional entrepreneurs – both chefs as evangelists and journalists as theorizers - framed the *Nouvelle Cuisine* logic as an anti-school. Second, field actors with different social ranks adopted distinctive hybridization strategies. Our results confirm neither DiMaggio and Powell's view: low-prestige, marginal actors are proselytes, nor Sherer and Lee's view: high-prestige actors initiate institutional changes. Instead, we observed more nuanced hybridization strategies, and further

analyses in other cultural fields are needed to develop a theory of hybridization as institutional change in cultural industries.

Our empirical design is not without limitation. Given the archival nature of the data, we could not control for potentially important exogenous variables that may influence how field actors manipulate institutional carriers: revenue, geographical location, ownership structure of the restaurant/chef dyad, etc. Moreover, given the nature of our data, we could not study systematically and quantitatively the evolution of relational systems. However, we provided qualitative evidence of the shifting power distribution between the room and the kitchen over the period. Finally, we worked with means of count data and sometimes small sub-population sizes. These limitations are but the compensation for an innovative research design that tracked institutional carriers in unusual fossil materials: elite chefs' signature dishes (Cohen et al. 1996).

Finally, hybridization as an institutional change process appears to be more a move towards complexity and richness, i.e. diversity, than a move towards simplicity and unity, i.e. isomorphism, as early institutional theorists have argued: while most restaurants adopted *Nouvelle Cuisine* carriers over the 50 years period of time, hence a certain degree of isomorphism at the form's level, we observed an increasing diversity at the carriers' level. This dialectic suggests that isomorphism - or variety decrease - at the form level may be misleading and often hide increased variety in arrangements of institutional carriers. Eventually, following recent empirical contributions (Thornton, 2004), this chapter is a call for more fine-grained studies of institutional change at the level of institutional carriers.

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