

Performing Institutional Maintenance and Change Work in Concert at the Bocuse d'Or Haute Cuisine Contest

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Résumé :

Si la littérature dédiée aux événements configureurs des champs s'intéresse aux effets de ces arènes sur les champs organisationnels, les pratiques des acteurs engagés dans la conception et l'organisation de ces événements ont fait l'objet de peu de recherches. Nous avons étudié la manière dont les organisateurs d'événement configureur de champ utilisent les différentes formes de travail institutionnel pour accomplir leurs intentions de changement et de maintien du champ. Nos analyses du Bocuse d'Or, concours gastronomique international, montrent que plusieurs formes servent à la fois à favoriser des changements et à maintenir d'autres aspects de l'institution. Ainsi certaines formes habituellement associées à la création peuvent également être utilisées pour maintenir l'institution. De façon similaire, certaines formes habituellement associées au maintien institutionnel sont utilisées pour introduire des changements. Cette étude de cas contribue à la discussion sur la double nature des événements configureurs de champs comme catalyseurs de changement et mécanismes de maintien en proposant une lecture nuancée de l'usage des différentes formes de travail institutionnel.

Mots-clés : événement configureur de champ, travail institutionnel, haute cuisine

1. INTRODUCTION

Professional meetings and events are an important phenomenon in social and organizational life. They encapsulate and shape the development of professions, technologies, markets, and industries (Lampel & Meyer, 2008). Due to the temporal and spatial boundedness, they have the capacity to embody the field: “If the whole field were to be contained in a nutshell, a conference would be its most likely manifestation” (Garud, 2008: 1084). Organizational institutionalists have been interested in such events for their role in configuring organizational fields, particularly in the context of creative industries (Moeran & Pedersen, 2011), such as music (Anand & Watson, 2004) and films (Rüling & Pedersen, 2010). They theorize the concept of field-configuring events (FCEs) as arenas for building networks, recognizing reputations and successes, defining standards and dominant designs (Lampel & Meyer, 2008). Although initially recognized for their configuring effects (Garud, 2008), FCEs progressively gained popularity in institutional literature also providing new perspectives on the field maintenance (Hardy & Maguire, 2010; Schüssler, Rüling, & Wittneben, 2014) and deinstitutionalization (Delacour & Leca, 2011). This focus on effects can, however, be complemented by a better understanding of the intentions and practices of the actors involved in the organization of FCEs. Schüssler and Sydow (2013) promote the institutional work perspective on FCEs suggesting the event organizers can be knowledgeable agents who make intentional choices of location, scheduling, accreditation, etc. affecting the field configuring or the field maintenance.

Like FCE-related literature, literature on institutional work distinguishes forms of institutional work aiming at creation and change from those aiming at maintenance (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). As change (Helms, Oliver, & Webb, 2012; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010) and maintenance outcomes (Dacin, Munir, & Tracey, 2010; Heaphy, 2013) of institutional work are often investigated separately, we don't know much whether the same forms can be

used to serve a double purpose. Joining the call of Hampel, Lawrence and Tracey (2017) to draw on all the institutional work processes, we suggest a more integrative approach. Consequently, our study aims at understanding how FCE organizers perform institutional work aiming at both maintenance and change.

To answer this question, we conducted a case study of the Bocuse d'Or, the FCE of international haute cuisine. Highly institutionalized (Clauzel, Delacour, & Liarte, 2019), haute cuisine have been a privileged setting to study institutional change (Durand, Rao, & Monin, 2007; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003; Svejnova, Mazza, & Planellas, 2007) recognized for its constant search for creativity and innovation (Byrkjeflot, Pedersen, & Svejnova, 2013; Koch, Wenzel, Senf, & Maibier, 2018; Louisgrand & Islam, 2021).

Using institutional work as a frame of analysis for the practices of event organizers, we analyzed their intentions and how they were performed. Our analyses feature that the Bocuse d'Or organizers use 9 forms of institutional work associated with both creation and maintenance (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Interestingly, the forms aimed at creating institutions may be used to maintain the field of international haute cuisine, specifically under conditions of cyclical occurrence. Conversely, the forms aimed at institutional maintenance may help to introduce changes.

This research thus contributes to the literatures on FCEs, institutional work and haute cuisine. First, as most of studies feature FCEs as endogenous sources (Daudigeos, 2019) of institutional maintenance and change (Leca, Rüling, & Puthod, 2015; Rüling, 2011; Schüssler et al., 2014), we unpack how these outcomes can be achieved through institutional work performed by FCE organizers. Second, while analyzing the forms aimed at creating and maintaining institutions, we conclude the same forms may be used with the twofold purpose. Finally, we provide new perspectives on the role of social evaluation, and particularly peer evaluation, in the field of international haute cuisine.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

To understand how institutional maintenance and change can be performed by the FCEs organizers, we first review the extant literature on FCEs as both catalysts for institutional change and as mechanisms for field maintenance (Schüssler & Sydow, 2013). We then present different forms of institutional work aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), particularly prominent for FCEs.

2.1. FCE ORGANIZERS AS ACTORS OF INSTITUTIONAL MAINTENANCE AND CHANGE

FCEs have been defined as “settings in which people from diverse organizations and with diverse purposes assemble periodically, or on a one-time basis, to announce new products, develop industry standards, construct social networks, recognize accomplishments, share and interpret information, and transact business” (Lampel & Meyer, 2008: 1026). Embedded within a larger flow of field unfolding activities, they are seen as a “manifestation” or “venue” of a field (Garud, 2008), and act as “temporal milestones” that actors anticipate and organize (Delacour & Leca, 2011). “Tournament rituals” (Anand & Jones, 2008; Anand & Watson, 2004) are a particular type of FCEs. Comprising both “front-stage contests among competing social actors for obtaining ceremonial honor and back-stage tussles among multiple and conflicting interest within fields” they can serve as means for acknowledging, affirming, and adapting to significant changes within a field (Anand & Watson, 2004: 61).

FCEs can be products and sources of organizational fields. As pointed out by Lampel and Meyer (2008: 1028): “At certain junctures in their development fields generate field-configuring events as structuring mechanisms, and at others, field-configuring events trigger processes that drive field evolution”. Be they unique (Oliver & Montgomery, 2008) or recurrent (Anand & Jones, 2008), FCEs have the capacity to influence fields (Moeran & Pedersen, 2011). As “arenas for processes of institutionalization” (Rüling, 2011: 197), they create new standards, practices and categories for emerging fields (Lampel & Meyer, 2008)

and enable the entry for new or peripheral actors in the field (Rüling & Pedersen, 2010). In mature fields, FCEs refine and solidify beliefs (Lampel & Meyer, 2008) as mechanisms for field maintenance. FCEs serve as an opportunity for collective sense-making for group members, often during turning points and periods of uncertainty to restabilize organizational fields (Oliver & Montgomery, 2008). Their prominent role not only in the field configuring but also in the field maintaining resulted in advancing the term of “field-maintaining events” (Schüssler & Sydow, 2013) enabling relational, cognitive and resource structuring and facilitating structures of dominance. Being strongly embedded in norms and values of their field for a significant period of time, and largely taken-for-granted by actors, some FCEs become institutions themselves (Schüssler & Sydow, 2013). For example, Rüling (2011) considers the Grammy Awards (Anand & Watson, 2004) and the Olympic Games (Glynn, 2008) as institution. In order to get such a prominent role in a field, FCEs are designed and organized by institutional actors actively working on FCE’s institutionalization and maintenance (Rüling, 2011; Schüssler and Sydow 2013). We build on this agentic perspective on FCE organizers to suggest they engage in institutional work aimed at themselves as institutions and at the institutionalized fields they address.

2.2. FORMS OF INSTITUTIONAL WORK FOR FCE ORGANIZERS

Institutional work encapsulates “the efforts of individuals and collective actors to cope with, keep up with, shore up, tear down, tinker with, transform, or create anew the institutional structures” (Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2011: 53). FCEs can be considered a form of institutional work (Schüssler & Sydow, 2013), for example, as allowing regular coordination (Delacour & Leca, 2011). However, as “purposive action of individuals and organizations” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 215), institutional work can also be used to analyze the practices of FCE organizers.

Drawing on the new institutional and practice theories, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) consider institutions as constituted of actions of individual and collective actors. They review empirical research since 1990, to provide an extensive classification of 18 forms of institutional work in three categories: creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions featuring the life-cycle of institutional work. The most important body of research, the authors examine, focuses on the work aimed at creating institutions. It mainly investigates institutional entrepreneurs, the conditions that produce them and their characteristics. The authors list 9 distinctive types of work of actors comprising advocating, theorizing practices, or constructing actors' identities. Interestingly, these forms may be also studied in the context of institutional change if they are focused on the institutionalized rules, practices and technologies that "parallel or complement existing institutions" (Lawrence & Suddaby 2006: 228).

Although considered as relatively self-reproducing (Jepperson, 1991), most of institutions require maintenance work aimed at "supporting, repairing or recreating the social mechanisms that ensure compliance" (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 230). The actors engaged in the maintenance work can be more or less aware of the purpose and the impact of their actions. For example, while establishing networks of authorized agents and policing behaviors they are fully comprehensible of the effects in the field. Further, valorizing and mythologizing can occur in a routinized manner contributing to the reproduction of norms and beliefs.

Finally, the actors whose interests are not served by existing institutional arrangements work to disrupt exiting institutions by undermining taken-for-granted assumptions, disconnecting awards and sanctions from rules, or dissociating practices from moral foundations (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). In the context of FCEs, Delacour and Leca (2011) studied how the Paris Salon was progressively deinstitutionalized as a result of the emergence of the impressionist painting. Consistent with Lawrence and Suddaby's definition (2006), the deinstitutionalization process was driven by peripheral actors.

Although not explicitly referring to institutional work, the extant body of research on FCEs provides evidence for some of the forms. For example, the associated term of “tournament rituals” (Anand & Jones, 2008; Anand & Watson, 2004) feature the defining work in FCEs while distributing status hierarchies, defining boundaries for industries, and creating new categories. If the relevant stream of research mainly focuses on the outcomes in the field (Garud, 2008; Oliver & Montgomery, 2008; Schüssler et al., 2014), little is known about organizers’ intentions and practices to achieve them.

3. METHODS

3.1. SETTING – THE BOCUSE D’OR AS A FCE OF HAUTE CUISINE

To study how FCE organizers perform institutional work aiming at both maintenance and change, we investigated the Bocuse d’Or contest, occurring in haute cuisine. Haute cuisine as “high-end gastronomy” (Louisgrand & Islam, 2021), is a rich setting bringing valuable insights in institutional theory. Considered as a “highly institutionalized” field (Clauzel et al., 2019), a number of institutional scholars (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013; Koch et al., 2018; Louisgrand & Islam, 2021; Svejenova et al., 2007) use haute cuisine to study various topics including institutional entrepreneurship, legitimacy and institutional change.

3.1.1. Haute cuisine institutionalization.

Although culinary arts take their roots in Antiquity, the gastronomy emerged as an independent field in the first half of XIXth century in France (Ferguson, 1998), when the culinary arts moved into public space and acquired a public consciousness when the first restaurants opened. Gastronomy becomes institutionalized and is defined as “rules for eating and drinking transformed into the arts of dining” (Ory, 1998: 13). It is progressively registered and codified in cook books (Durand et al., 2007). First, Antonin Careme, the writer and the

chef who worked for Talleyrand, French diplomat, published his *Philosophical History of Cuisine* in 1833 where he suggests some fundamental principles about cooking and service that were soon adopted in French restaurants. He strived for a systematically organized profession (Ferguson, 1998) based on competitions and examinations. Later in the XIXth century, Auguste Escoffier, chef and culinary writer, pursued creating rules of classical cuisine served for the court and aristocracy (Mennell, 1996). Writers, journalists and culinary critics contributed to the further institutionalization of the field (Ferguson, 1998). It started expanding geographically (Matta, 2019), becoming a social and cultural phenomenon.

In the 70's, as an echo to major socio-economic and political changes, the “nouvelle cuisine” emerges as an opposition to the French classical cuisine to get rid of the rigid codes and leverage creativity and innovation (Rao et al., 2003). Paul Bocuse, the emblematic figure of the “nouvelle cuisine” (Svejenova et al., 2007) testified: “Periods of transition and political changes are over all periods of mutations in gastronomy” (Bocuse, 2016). A new generation of chefs including Michel Guerard, Pierre Troisgros, Alain Chapel and Paul Bocuse progressively introduced evolutions to the menu structure, the use of ingredients and techniques, the service on plates. The rules of “nouvelle cuisine” (Fischler, 1990) combine ancient cooking techniques with new ingredients and acclimatization using traditions from exotic cuisines (sauces and spices). Its logic and identity are institutionalized through 10 commandments published in *Gault et Millau Guide* promoting the values of truth, lightness, simplicity, and imagination (Rao et al., 2003). Regardless substantial resistance and contestation (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013), the “nouvelle cuisine” had become an establishment by the late 1990's (Svejenova et al., 2007). After, other identity movements and labels had emerged in the field of haute cuisine by 2000's, such as “molecular gastronomy” (Slavich, Svejenova, Opazo, & Patriotta, 2020) or New Nordic Cuisine (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013).

3.1.2. The organization of the Bocuse d'Or contest.

Animated by the “nouvelle cuisine” transgression spirit (Fischler, 1990), Paul Bocuse launches in 1987 a contest of the “cuisines of the world” cooked by professional chefs (interview IOC member 2). Organized during the SIRHA food service trade show in Lyon in France every odd year, the Bocuse d'Or is considered as the “Culinary Olympics” or the “World Cup of Gastronomy” (citations in leading journals, such as The New York Times). The contest meets the defining characteristics of a FCE (Lampel & Meyer, 2008) as it assembles chefs and catering professionals during 2 days providing opportunities for face-to-face social interaction, informal exchange and collective sense-making about the identity and the boundaries of the field. Although inspired by the “nouvelle cuisine” founding principles defended by Paul Bocuse, the contest addresses the institutionalized field of haute cuisine, influenced by various participating countries and identity movements. Highly ceremonial (time and space arrangements), the event provides outstanding status and reputation to its participants through peer recognition and media coverage.

From 4 participating countries over 30 years ago, it grew to a worldwide contest. Currently, candidates first compete in their country to access to a continental selection. National selections are organized by a network of the Bocuse d'Or Academies, the authorized agents, based in 67 countries. They are often supported by local chef associations and government bodies working on food and haute cuisine initiatives. However, in some countries where the haute cuisine field is nascent, the Bocuse d'Or Academy may be the only instance of governance of the field. Then a national team comprising a competing chef, his coach, commis and the president of the team applies for a continental selection. Four contests are held

in Europe, Americas, Asia/Pacific and Africa on the rotating basis to select candidates for the final in Lyon.

The contest is organized by the International Organizing Committee (IOC) named by Paul Bocuse, in the cooperation with the professional event management company GL events. The IOC is composed of 5 permanent members (4 chefs and the director of the contest). For each edition, it elaborates the technical file comprising the themes and the rules of the cooking process. It is also responsible for designing the assessment grid, managing jury and dealing with all possible questions from candidates in the preparation phase. The theme for each contest is communicated several months in advance so as to leave time for competitors to prepare their recipes and train to prepare the two dishes served on a tray and on plates. During the final, candidates prepare the two dishes during 5h35min in front of two juries of chefs, field actors, media and public. The Tasting jury, composed of the presidents of each competing team, evaluates presentation, taste, cooking method and innovation of dishes. The Kitchen jury, appointed by the IOC, assesses the respect of rules, kitchen organization, and sustainable criteria. The IOC tracks and coordinates the jury's assessment. The winners are announced during the awards ceremony at the end of the second day.

3.2. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSES

We investigated the Bocuse d'Or's purpose and organizing practices in the field of haute cuisine. The first author conducted 25 semi-structured interviews with the actors involved in the contest organization and competing chefs. 18 interviews were conducted in French, the verbatims were translated in English by the authors.

First, interviews were conducted with all the 5 IOC members to understand their vision of the purpose of the contest, its evolution for over 30 years, their intentions aiming at change and maintenance and practices to fulfil intentions. Next, 5 organizer's staff representatives (international development director, communication director, project managers) were

interviewed to collect their perspectives on the contest, its design and organization. The interviews with chefs aimed at understanding their experience of competing in the contest, lived emotions and perceived impact for their career. Finally, the interviews with other actors involved in the contest organizing (public relations agency, Bocuse d'Or Academies, Bocuse d'Or Winners Association, host venue for Bocuse d'Or Europe) aimed at investigating the role of the contest in haute cuisine institutionalization and maintenance. More details are provided in table 1.

Table 1: Semi-structured interviews

Informant type	Informant profile	N°	Purpose	Period of interview
International Organizing Committee Member	President, director et 3 vice-presidents of the contest	5	To understand the organizers' intentions of change and maintenance in the field of haute cuisine and practices to achieve them within the contest	July 2021 and January 2022
Event management company representatives (GL events)	International development director, communication director, project managers	5	To explore different aspects of contest organization	2022
Competitors (Podium winning chefs since 1987)	6 French chefs, 3 Norwegian chefs, 1 Danish/8 Bocuse d'Or, 1 Bocuse d'Argent, 1 Bocuse de Bronze	10	To understand their experience and the impact of competing in the contest	June-22
Other actors involved in the contest organization	2 Bocuse d'Or Academy directors, coordinator of the Bocuse d'Or Winners association, director of press agency of the contest, director of a host venue of Bocuse d'Or Europe edition	5	To investigate how the contest contributes to the maintenance of haute cuisine in France and its institutionalization internationally	2022-2023
Total		25		

The interviews were complemented by on-site observation of the contest conducted in September 2021 and of 12 hours of the recorded streaming of the contest. Other primary data

comprise the Bocuse d'Or's internal documents, contracts and technical files. The secondary data include on-line resources and articles extracted from Factiva database since 2011. During the studied period from 2011 to 2021, the database accounts 10,985 articles containing "Bocuse d'Or".

We proceeded to the coding and the analysis of the data from interviews (Miles & Huberman, 2017) to identify the practices used by organizers. We used 18 forms of institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) as a coding grid for practices. Our analysis shows the use of 5 forms of institutional work of creation, 4 forms of institutional of maintenance and no use of institutional disruption. We open coded (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to the intentions of change or maintenance associated with practices and found that 9 institutional forms could be used for both change and maintenance.

4. FINDINGS

We conducted the analysis of the FCE as a concrete instance of institutional work (Hempel, Lawrence, & Tracey, 2017) that organizers use to perform their intentions to shape the field. Our data from interviews highlighted 9 among 18 forms of institutional work listed by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), intentionally practiced by organizers of the Bocuse d'Or: advocacy, defining, theorizing, educating, constructing identity, enabling, policing, valorizing and mythologizing. Interestingly, the same forms can be used to both maintain the field status quo and to make it evolve. Table 2 summarizes how the same form may serve the twofold purpose.

Table 2: Forms of institutional work aimed at creation and change and at maintenance

Creation forms	Change	Maintenance
Advocacy	Advertising new actors and evolutions Legitimizing country's belonging to the international haute cuisine Lobbying to advance the field issues in the agenda of policy makers	<i>Defending the interests of established actors</i> <i>Recalling and reaffirming the legitimacy of haute cuisine in social and economic life</i>
Theorizing	Naming new concepts such as vegetal Specifying abstract categories such as the take away of haute cuisine	<i>Prescribing techniques and methods compliant with established norms</i> <i>Reinterpreting classic dishes</i>
Defining	Providing professional certification for chefs Establishing the standards for cooking for the contest and for the field	<i>Preserving traditional features and skills, namely with the dish on tray</i>
Constructing identity	Attributing new characteristics to the traditional identity, such as social responsibility	<i>Preserving traditional enduring chefs' characteristics such as technical mastery and competitive mindset</i>
Educating	Expanding haute cuisine internationally through training chefs	<i>Reiterating the training process cyclically</i>
Maintenance forms	Change	Maintenance
Enabling work	<i>Authorized agents facilitate haute cuisine institutionalization, particularly in the countries where the field is nascent</i>	Authorized agents contribute to maintain the legitimacy of the contest in the international context and the haute cuisine it promotes
Policing	<i>Ensuring acceptance and compliance with the change in rules</i>	Monitoring the compliance to the rules preserving the identity of the haute cuisine as it is seen by the organizers
Mythologizing	<i>Using the myth of Paul Bocuse to choose what to change</i>	Referring to Paul Bocuse to preserve the contest's identity and to diffuse it
Valourizing	<i>Creating increased status to the winners</i> <i>Introducing atypical chefs in the organization</i>	Providing recognition to chefs from peers and audience Involving recognized chefs to the contest organization
Conform Other use		

We will first document forms aimed at creating institutions and showcase how they are also used for the field maintenance in the case of the FCE. We will then look at the maintenance forms to understand under which conditions they can also enable institutional change.

4.1. FCE'S FORMS OF INSTITUTIONAL WORK AIMING AT CREATING INSTITUTION

4.1.1. Advocating the extension of haute cuisine in different countries while reinforcing it in the established countries.

Lawrence and Suddaby define advocacy as “the mobilization of political and regulatory support through direct and deliberate techniques of social suasion” (2006: 221). They refer to Suchman (1995), to specify that advocacy can be performed through advertising and lobbying enabling less powerful actors to actively shape their institutional environment. In the case of the Bocuse d'Or, the object for advertising and lobbying, performed by the organizers, is both the event itself and the field it addresses. The organizers engage in an active advertising effort of the contest directed to the field members, culinary critics, industry professionals, politics and larger audience. By promoting the contest, they always highlight the recent evolutions in the field, the chefs' trajectories, and the national haute cuisines of the participating countries. Indeed, the national tourism boards, press relation agencies and over 150 attending journalists, seize the opportunity of the Bocuse d'Or to legitimate their country's belonging to the haute cuisine field.

For example, many chefs from Nordic countries and related research (Byrkjeflot et al., 2013) acknowledge the role of the Bocuse d'Or in the emergence of the Nordic haute cuisine.

The Bocuse d'Or made the Nordic cuisine more popular, 100%. When it started 30 years ago, it wasn't well known. And then we started to compete like we do on skis. And then we started winning. And it's started to get in the newspapers and we're starting to get our own gastronomy. We are getting be well known about it, the Norwegian gastronomy and the Nordic gastronomy. So, I think the journey started with the Bocuse d'Or (Competitor 1).

Today, the organizers still lobby to put the FCE's and the field issues on the agenda of policy makers. They believe their advocacy is more important for countries entering the field of haute cuisine.

I think the contest is even more important in the countries where the gastronomy is not yet recognized. The contest has even a more salient impact than in France (IOC member 3).

Interestingly, while supporting institutional creation, advertising and lobbying perform institutional maintenance for the international field of haute cuisine. Although haute cuisine as an institution is acknowledged, organizers keep recalling and reaffirming it to maintain its value of in public cognitions.

We are here to inspire people who watch us, young and less young, cooks and not cooks. This contest shouldn't be limited to the profession (IOC member 4).

In France where haute cuisine has been institutionalized for a long time, the organizers lobbied for the visit of the French president Emmanuel Macron at the Bocuse d'Or 2021 to increase public attention to the field, its role in the society and its current challenges. His announcement of a set of measures to support haute cuisine and the restaurant sector contributed to the promotion of the field.

The advocacy of the haute cuisine field involves not only the cooking and the chefs, but also the whole value chain of established food producers, needed for the excellence. Therefore, the contest organizers can also defend the interests of meat, fish and vegetable producers. For example, in 2017, the committee decided to use Bresse chicken as a core ingredient for one of the two dishes of the contest to help to sustain these high-quality producers that were hit by avian influenza.

We try to help a sector. If, for example, the veal ribs industry was not selling at all, we decide to help the veal industry by using veal ribs and veal fillet as a theme (IOC member 3).

In conclusion, consistent with its main purpose of institution creation, the advocacy work performed by the organizers, drives the institutionalization of international haute cuisine in different countries. However, at the same time the advocacy work is aimed at sustaining the

established actors within the field and reinforcing the value of international haute cuisine for the society and economy.

4.1.2. Theorizing new practices in cooking while strategically defending the established norms.

One of the most critical steps of theorizing (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) is the naming of the new concepts and practices to integrate them to the cognitions of the field members (Oakes, Townley, & Cooper, 1998). Furthermore, this work refers to the development and specification of abstract categories (Greenwood, Hinings, & Suddaby, 2002). The theorizing work is performed by the IOC and followed by competing chefs of the Bocuse d'Or. The IOC members capture trends and phenomena, select some of them and work at their conceptualization in haute cuisine. For example, in 2019, in response to the vegetarian trend and reduction of meat consumption, the IOC suggested the theme “vegetal” plate. The term “vegetal” was purposefully conceptualized by the IOC to differentiate from “vegetarian”. It aims at featuring the growing pattern for consuming more vegetables and avoids any militant meaning, associated to the term “vegetarian” as explained by an IOC member.

We didn't call it vegetarian because that would mean we were stigmatizing something. But we didn't want to stigmatize anything. We realize people want to eat vegetal, but we don't mean to be against breeders (IOC member 4).

More recently, the IOC elaborated on the new practice of take away dish developed during the Covid pandemics. While working on the assignment for chefs, providing specifications and criteria for the take away boxes (aesthetic design, visual reference to the competing country, recyclable material, capacity to be stacked, to keep high and cold temperature...) the IOC elaborated the meaning of the “take away of haute cuisine”. While specifying the take away box for haute cuisine, it contributes to the emergence of new category and more largely alters the boundaries of the field of haute cuisine. In this way, the IOC performs the theorizing work

of the development and specification of abstract category, as defined by Greenwood et al. (2002).

Interestingly, although associated with creating institutions, in the case of the Bocuse d'Or, theorizing may aim at field maintenance. While working on the assignment before the contest and supervising the cooking process during the event, the IOC ensures candidates respect fundamental skills of cooking and the identity of haute cuisine. As technologies keep evolving, the IOC has to define which cooking techniques and utensils are authorized for the contest. For example, the IOC has forbidden vacuum cooking and sophisticated utensils to ease their work during the contest.

We forbid vacuum cooking of the main piece, we really wanted something more visual, more sensual. We therefore prescribed the techniques we require (IOC member 4).

The constraints to innovate can also contribute to theorize the past. Although claiming to strive for change, the IOC defended traditions by choosing a very classical French dish as a theme. The dish requires the mastery of traditional rules and skills of cooking.

We had to do a chartreuse, which was a little bit old school, old classic, old fashioned, and we had to do a new version of that. And I think for me, that was just really nice because the dish is really tricky. It needs some experienced chefs (Competitor 2).

The theorizing maintenance work is therefore performed through incentives to participants to theorize and reinterpret classic recipes.

In conclusion, the theorizing work is used by the organizers of this FCE to embrace and institutionalize changes in the field, as well as to reject other changes and theorize the past to maintain the established norms, rules and skills.

4.1.3. Defining rules and norms to change and to preserve the haute cuisine identity and standards.

Defining is directed towards establishing the parameters of future or potential institutional structures and practices (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). It may consist in the construction of the rule system (Scott, 2008), practice standards (Lawrence, 1999) and certification (Guler, Guillén, & Macpherson, 2002). The contest per se has become a professional certification for a chef. Our data from Factiva database features that in 80% of articles mentioning “Bocuse d’Or”, winning the contest features a professional certification of chef, similar to Michelin stars. Its regulation specifies the standards of cooking in the contest, the ingredients and the equipment to use, the assessment criteria. These rules are intensively used by chefs during the training for the contest. The acquired knowledge, skills, and values remain in the chefs’ further practice.

You see the most accomplished things. Chefs train so much that during the contest the dishes are accomplished with a millimeter precision. It’s like prototyping. So, it brings evolution to the restaurants on different ways to cook, to present, to imagine dishes. It brings new thoughts and ideas (Competitor 3).

In this way, the rules established by the organizers for the FCE’s purposes contribute to define the standards in the international haute cuisine field. Further, the FCE’s regulation is adapted to each edition to stimulate change. As indicated by an IOC member, the contest does not aim at stabilizing the field:

The DNA of the contest is not to fix (haute cuisine) but to make it evolve (IOC member 4).

A major intention of changing the definition of the field was the introduction of the take away dish in 2021 instead of the theme on plates. It aimed at introducing new practices and altering the boundaries of haute cuisine.

Although working on institutional change, the FCE organizers can also strive for institutional maintenance. For example, in the rules, the IOC preserves the traditional meat

dish on tray, requiring sophisticated cooking and presentation skills proper to the classical haute cuisine.

We always have our fundamental dish which is the history of the contest and the will of Paul Bocuse. It's the main dish, the specified piece of meat cooked in an elaborated manner (IOC member 3).

Although this type of cuisine is barely used in restaurant, it aims at preserving tradition, and the knowledge and skills associated to it.

In sum, while establishing the rules and rewards for each edition, the organizers diffuse what they want to change or to keep unchanged in the definition of the haute cuisine field. These two intentions tend to be reflected in the two parts of the contest: the first dish on tray aiming at preserving tradition and the second dish to introduce novelty.

4.1.4. Constructing and preserving chefs' identities.

Primarily associated with the development of professions (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), the emergence of new ones and the transformation of existing ones (Oakes et al., 1998), the construction of identities may be performed both by professional groups themselves and from outside. Constructing identity work in the case of the Bocuse d'Or is performed by the FCE organizers and focused on chefs. It first aims at creating new norms and values of professional chef identity. For example, integrating social responsibility is a new aspect encouraged by the contest. To shape professional identity towards more respect for people and products, the IOC changed the rules to integrate these considerations. The Kitchen jury composed of 4 chefs was introduced since 2013 to supervise waste optimization, hygiene, sustainability and the respect of commis. These aspects account for 20% in the assessment grid.

The kitchen jury observes the kitchen and notes its cleanliness, the eco-responsibility, the sorting of waste. It's been a few years since we've integrated this, now it's becoming a common practice (IOC member 3).

Furthermore, the new social and societal role of a chef was reinforced by the launching of Social Commitment Award in the aftermath of Covid-19 pandemics to recognize social initiatives of chefs, such as cooking for weak communities. By recognizing a chef as a social actor, the organizers contribute to the construction of new professional identity.

In contrast, the FCE organizers also seek to preserve traditional features such as: mastery of various techniques and processes, and competitive mindset oriented at the search of creativity and development. The recent development of technologies, the Internet and the social media tends to value presentation to the detriment of taste. In response to this evolution, organizers have purposefully reduced the weight of visual aspects in the assessment grid to emphasize the mastering of the cooking process and taste. According to the IOC members, chefs should “keep they soul”, meaning that they should preserve their know-how to produce taste before eyesight.

The DNA of our contest is to keep all this knowledge, to maintain it, to force people to do the things they don't do anymore because we shouldn't lose the knowledge. If today we lose all the knowledge because there is a trend for vegetal or vacuum cooking, it will be difficult to restore it in upcoming generations (IOC member 3).

Also, it is taken for granted in the field of haute cuisine that chefs should participate in professional contests. Accessing to the field of haute cuisine requires legitimation that can be achieved through qualification and evaluation process by external evaluators such as Michelin ranking or professionals.

Chefs compete. They compete to confront to each other, to evolve depending on what others do. And I think I will always encourage this (Competitor 5).

The organizers encourage this competitive mindset for innovation which is part of the contest's values. However, they don't want it to prevail on other values, such as technical excellence and friendship. As a result, the IOC works on reinforcing the aspects of identity that tend to decline, and that the IOC wishes to sustain.

In conclusion, the FCE organizers perform institutional work of constructing an evolving chefs' identity while strategically selecting aspects to maintain mainly through adapting the rules of the contest.

4.1.5. Educating chefs to innovate while maintaining tradition.

By providing Hargadon and Douglas' (2001) example of Edison's electric light, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) suggest educating is a form aimed at institution creating as it ensures actors' necessary skills and knowledge to support new institution. The Bocuse d'Or creates a space where chefs from all over the world learn, come together, and get inspired from each other. The contest requires knowledge about the classics as revisiting an old dish can be chosen as a theme. The preparation includes mastering skills such as appropriate gestures and starts about two years before the final. Each national competing team comprises a coach training the candidate, who may be a former winner or participant. This requirements at individual level to be able to compete accelerates the expansion of the haute cuisine norms, rules and skills in the nascent gastronomic countries.

Being able to draw on the knowledge of someone who knows the contest brings considerable contribution and drives evolution for new countries. As this is a very high level... it's like skating... you need to climb the ladder and it takes a bit of time, so we should help them (IOC member 5).

While contributing to the institutionalization of the haute cuisine globally, the educating work aims at maintaining the field. Reiterating the training process every 2 years to provide concentrated knowledge and skills to new generations, necessary to access to the field, contributes to its reproduction and sustainability. The new and established chefs acknowledge the role of contests and particularly the Bocuse d'Or in sustaining the field-specific knowledge.

When you compete, you realize it's extremely important for the future. When you work in the kitchen to prepare the contest you make a lot of progress in gestures, techniques, tidiness. You see after training when you cook that you adopt better habits (Competitor 6).

Some chefs consider the Bocuse d'Or is an instance of higher education.

For me, that contest is very important. It's almost like you're doing a higher education for the profession, like high studies in gastronomy (Competitor 1).

In conclusion, the purpose of the educational work of the FCE is twofold. It enables institutional maintenance while ensuring the knowledge transfer across generations and countries, as summarized by an IOC member:

Without any pretention, the Bocuse d'Or offers an exercise where chefs learn plenty of things with the common vision of international haute cuisine (IOC member 2).

4.2. FCE'S FORMS OF INSTITUTIONAL WORK AIMING AT MAINTAINING INSTITUTION

The Bocuse d'Or organizers use enabling work, policing, valourizing and mythologizing forms of institutional work to both maintain haute cuisine and to process changes.

4.2.1. Enabling work of an established institution facilitating its internationalization.

One of the prominent forms of institutional maintenance in case of the Bocuse d'Or, is enabling work. Referring to “the creation of rules that facilitate, supplement and support institutions” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 230), enabling work comprises the creation of authorizing agents and roles to carry on institutional routines. Some instances were created by the organizers and the competing chefs to maintain the legitimacy of the contest in the international environment and the haute cuisine it promotes, such as the Bocuse d'Or Winners Association, the National Bocuse d'Or Academies and continental contests. The Bocuse d'Or Winners Association was created by chefs in 2000 to enable maintenance. The purpose was to strengthen the links and cooperation among the podium winners and to involve them “by their words and deeds to promote the Bocuse d'Or as a prestigious contest” (the Association web

site). It accounts 48 podium winners since 1987 who contribute to maintain the contest legitimacy in different countries.

With the Bocuse d'Or Winners, we can impact not only our own nations, but also other countries that aspire to succeed and develop their culinary arts. Together, we have a responsibility to Monsieur Paul (Paul Bocuse) to continue his vision of growing the culinary community around the world (President of the Association, excerpt from the Association web-site).

The Bocuse d'Or Academies are also powerful actors at enabling maintenance. They were implemented with the responsibility to represent the organizer's authority in a geographically dispersed field of the haute cuisine. In 2021, they form a network of 67 Academies of authorized agents over four continents, supplementing the IOC. The Academy's mission is defined as follows:

Identify high-potential candidates, develop, coordinate and maintain a network of chefs in the region on a continuous and permanent basis, organize and promote the national selection and the contest to the public in the region, organize the training process of the winner of the national selection with the purpose of competing in the continental selection (Excerpt from the Bocuse d'Or Academies' network membership contract).

Academies are usually endorsed to local haute cuisine associations and may be funded by governments. In addition to organizing the contest, they can contribute to maintain the values and cognitions of the haute cuisine in different countries. For example, in Belgium, the Bocuse d'Or Academy closely cooperates with the tourism board to advertise haute cuisine. In Hungary, the Academy organizes trainings for young professionals. In addition, every even numbered year, a country hosts a continental selection under the supervision of Continental Organizing Committee that takes care of all the aspects of the contest organizing. It is structured on the basis of the local Academy, in collaboration with the IOC that ensures the contest and the associated values and cognitions of the haute cuisine are maintained.

We have the Bocuse d'Or Academy. We talk to each other in there. We are sending people to each other (Competitor 1).

Interestingly, whereas Academies enable maintenance, the creation of Academies in the countries where the haute cuisine is nascent, contribute to institutionalize the field locally. In particular, they perform advocacy, educating and defining work aimed at institution creation. For example, they contribute to advertise haute cuisine in each country where they are implemented. They lobby for the interests of haute cuisine to local governments to advance its issues in the political agenda.

The president of the Bocuse d'Or Academy in Georgia has just been appointed ambassador to the Ministry of Agriculture. The Georgian government is convinced that this is a strategic issue for the country (IOC member 2).

In addition, they contribute to research work to define what local haute cuisine is. The constraint of using local ingredients was and still is a trigger of evolution of haute cuisine in the world. For example, in Norway, the Bocuse d'Or Academy has contributed to institutionalize Nordic cuisine, which is now highly recognized. The Academy works now at sustaining and expanding itself beyond the participation to the contest.

We work to recruit new chefs and to develop the knowledge of food in Norway. We also do a competition for young people, like up to 13 years old. So, we do a lot of things around gastronomy in Norway, but originally it was created just for the Bocuse d'Or (Competitor 7).

In conclusion, although mainly aimed at institutional maintenance of the FCE itself, the enabling work performed by the Bocuse d'Or's authorized agents influences the institutionalization of haute cuisine in different countries. For example, they contribute to the development of haute cuisine locally by involving new local knowledge and technics.

4.2.2. Policing for the compliance to the rules and to the changes in the rules.

The policing form of institutional work involves compliance through enforcement, auditing and monitoring (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Both penalties and incentives can be used to ensure the field members' compliance to the rules and norms (Campbell & Lindberg,

1991). In the case of the Bocuse d'Or, the policing work is performed by the IOC whose role is to ensure the respect of the contests' regulation by the competing chefs.

The IOC intends to reign on all territories and all selections, and it carries the spirit, the DNA of the contest. It is there to preserve and to develop it (IOC member 2).

Although aimed at the compliance to the rules and standards of the contest, the policing work performed by the IOC is also oriented towards the field of haute cuisine. Monitoring for the compliance to the rules and standards of the contests helps to ensure compliance to the identity of the international haute cuisine as it is seen by the organizers. For example, the IOC travels to the continental selections to make sure the Continental Organizing Committee applies all the rules. In this way, the IOC members monitor the haute cuisine standards are preserved by the competing chefs in different countries by monitoring each step on the contest worldwide.

We choose themes, we remake the technical file, we choose our larger committee. Here we make a 400% control (IOC member 4).

Consistent with the policing purpose, the IOC members perform the maintenance institutional work to sustain the FCE itself and consequently the field. However, the IOC also takes into account the field members' feed back to introduce changes.

We use these frequently asked questions to make the rules evolve after each contest. We try to get everyone on the same page and avoid taking different directions (IOC member 4).

The IOC makes progressively evolve the contest's rules to fit with the evolutions in the field. For example, facing the growing concerns for sustainability and social responsibility, the IOC integrated new criteria to the assessment grid. It appoints the Kitchen jury to monitor for the compliance with the changed rules enforcing the adoption of the new practices by the field members.

To conclude, while policing for compliance to the rules of the contest, the IOC organizers contribute to maintain the identity, the boundaries of the field and the position of the field

members. However, by changing rules and monitoring compliance with these new rules, the FCE organizers work for institutional change.

4.2.3. Mythologizing Paul Bocuse's norms and values.

Another prominent maintenance form of institutional work is mythologizing. It focuses on the past stories (Angus, 1993) to preserve the normative underpinnings of institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Named after famous Paul Bocuse, the contest remains faithful to the chef who has created it and its definition of the haute cuisine comprising excellence, aesthetics and openness to the influences from different cuisines. The current organizing committee was appointed by Paul Bocuse. Although he passed away in 2018, his myth is nurtured through the name of the contest, the IOC members' loyalty, the involvement of his family and extensive use of related symbols. For example, his son Jerome is the President of Honor of the contest. The prizes handed to winners are statuettes of Paul Bocuse. Therefore, the myth of Paul Bocuse is a source of maintenance. For example, although the service on tray is seldom practiced in restaurant, there is a strong commitment to keep the tray theme considered as Paul Bocuse's DNA.

The tray was a real DNA of the contest. Because it was the Paul Bocuse's contest, it was anchored like that, it took time (to evolve)...we must not distort the contest, we are still the guarantors of what Paul Bocuse wanted to do (IOC member 5).

The maintenance mythologizing work is performed not only by the organizers but also chefs who fully perpetuate the myth of Paul Bocuse. In their discourse, they often refer to the privilege of meeting "Monsieur Paul", to be invited to the dinner in his restaurant and his implication during the contest.

I think that we should remember that if you are Bocuse d'Or, it's due to Monsieur Bocuse (Competitor 6).

However, although mythologizing Paul Bocuse to maintain traditional characteristics, the organizers can also use the myth of Paul Bocuse to introduce new norms and values. The IOC members refer to Paul Bocuse constantly looking for novelty, to justify embedding new evolutions to the contest.

Timeless, Paul Bocuse would be the first to show example, to help to adapt. He would be probably the first to offer take away, delivery. He would probably seize the opportunity of pandemics to diversity his activities as it was the case of fast food with his brasseries express, a kind of McDonald's of fine dining (IOC member 2).

Both organizers and chefs acknowledge that during over 30 years of the contest, Paul Bocuse strived to develop and “modernize” (competitor 6) the contest. As Paul Bocuse was willing to fit with the environment, adaptation to the evolutions in the field driving change becomes a part of the myth.

To conclude, the strategic use of the myth of Paul Bocuse enables the organizers to both sustain the norms and values of the field and process evolutions, as change becomes the part of the myth.

4.2.4. Valourizing field members representing current dominant value and a few atypical actors representing change.

The valourizing work consists in providing especially positive examples that illustrate the normative foundations of institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). The contest is a type of FCE that naturally valourizes winners. In the case of the Bocuse d'Or, the winning chefs personify the values of technical mastery, competitive and innovation mindset and other characteristics the FCE intends to maintain. The winning chefs get recognition from peers and the audience. It enables them to become a part of the community of established chefs, get impulse in their career, travel to meet and train chefs from over the world and be renowned in their country.

It (winning the contest) puts you in the spotlight. You're on the TV. You're in the newspapers. You're the World champion and the Olympic champion of cooking. It's a great moment and it transforms you. You go from the shadow to the light, you are invited everywhere: to do training, demonstrations, consulting, to travel abroad. You experience things that you would never experience. You are put on a pedestal covered with stage lights (Competitor 6).

Moreover, the IOC valorizes the field members by appointing them to the larger organizing committee and assigning specific responsibilities within the contest organizing. When the IOC names the Kitchen jury, the President of honor or just chefs to carry the tray, it is seen as a sign of recognition, a way to valorize their status in the field.

We must realize that indeed there are many people who would like to take our position (in the IOC) to be able to organize this contest because it is one of the greatest contests, along with the contest of the Best Craftsmen of France. It's in every cook's dreams. You know, when we have to choose chefs to help with the Kitchen jury, to carry trays or something else...believe me, when we call them, they are all delighted, it's a sign of recognition (IOC member 4).

In this way, the IOC has a capacity to maintain fields members status and positions. For example, calling for recognized chefs such as Best Craftsmen of France or Michelin-starred chefs sustains the field with its social and symbolic boundaries.

Interestingly, the Bocuse d'Or organizers also use valorization to acknowledge and contribute to the evolutions in the field. For example, the IOC can involve young chefs using atypical means to achieve status in the field of the haute cuisine, such as TV shows and on-line rankings.

The main evolution in the organization is that before we only had the Best Craftsmen of France to organize the contest. Now we changed it. It's interesting to have a different point of view (IOC member 3).

To conclude, the FCE organizers can choose to valorize actors either to embody tradition and maintain the field or represent change in the field they are willing to integrate.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Our research aims at understanding how FCE organizers perform institutional work aiming at maintenance and change. Our analyses of the Bocuse d'Or contest show that 9 forms of institutional work can be used – 5 forms of creation and 4 forms of maintenance, according to Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) – aiming at both maintenance and change.

The institutional creation forms – advocacy, theorizing, defining, educating and constructing identities used to build the field of international haute cuisine are still performed to expand the field, change the boundaries and beliefs. For example, by advertising new actors, theorizing new names, acknowledging new identity characteristics of chefs, the FCE organizers aim to alter cognitions, values and beliefs of the field members to make the field evolve in a direction they intend. Interestingly, the same 5 institutional creation forms are also used by the organizers to ensure the maintenance of international haute cuisine. For example, defending the interests of established actors, transmitting know-how, and defining what international haute cuisine is (and is not) are performed to sustain actors in a temporary trouble and reject some evolutions that they consider as unfit. The maintenance is thus partly performed by the repeated performance of creation forms of institutional work-

Similarly, the institutional maintenance forms – enabling work, policing, mythologizing and valourizing – are performed by the Bocuse d'Or organizers to maintain international haute cuisine. For example, policing for the compliance to the rules, referring to the myth of Paul Bocuse to preserve the contests' identity, valourizing established actors contribute sustain the FCE institution and maintain stability in the field. However, these four forms are also used to favor, introduce, recognize or valourize evolution of the field. In sum, each of the 9 forms of institutional work performed by the FCE can be aimed at institutional change and maintenance in concert.

It should be noted that no evidence of intentions of institutional disrupting was found, which is consistent with previous research that locates source of disruption outside of the field (Delacour & Leca, 2011). In addition, the FCE organizers ensured institutional maintenance through positive forms of institutional work, such as advocacy through advertising and valourizing and not demonizing. The IOC doesn't use coercive forms of institutional work in order to preserve attractivity of the FCE.

Our research contributes to the discussion on the role of FCEs in organizational fields and particularly in creative industries (Anand & Jones, 2008; Rüling & Strandgaard Pedersen, 2010; Schüßler & Sydow, 2013). Different studies feature FCEs' juggling between maintenance and change (Leca et al., 2015; Rüling, 2011; Schüssler et al., 2014). For example, Schüssler et al. put forward the concept of "high-stake event" (2014) with a particularly high expectations for change in contrast to regular events. Leca et al. advance the concept of "critical transitions" as relatively short periods of time during which fundamental changes are made (2015: 174). We suggest that institutional maintenance and change can occur in concert through institutional work performed by the FCE organizers. While bringing a further insight on the dual nature of FCEs as catalysts for institutional change and as mechanisms for field maintenance, we provide empirical evidence of the practices of the FCE organizers, as purposeful institutional actors, intending to preserve the FCE-institution and the field it addresses while regularly introducing changes.

Although institutional work has been one of the main streams in institutionalism since last decade (Hampel et al., 2017), many uncertainties remain about the way institutional actors negotiate institutional arrangements (Lawrence et al., 2011). Building on the Lawrence and Suddaby's framework of 18 forms of institutional work aimed at institutional creation,

maintenance and disruption (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), we suggest some forms can be used for a twofold outcome.

Finally, we enrich a long-standing tradition of research on institutional change in haute cuisine (Bouty, Gomez, & Drucker-Godard, 2013; Rao et al., 2003; Svejenova et al., 2007). First, we suggest the identity and boundaries of haute cuisine can be altered by a FCE. Second, we contribute to the discussion on the role of social evaluation (Clauzel et al., 2019; Durand et al., 2007) and particularly peer evaluation in haute cuisine, suggesting that being evaluated by peers is part of professional identity of chefs enabling their legitimation in the field.

Our study is not without limitations. This unique case presents several particularities that reduce the potential of transferability of our findings. First, the contest organizers acknowledge innovation as a value of the contest and the field of international haute cuisine, in reference to a constant search of creativity defended by Paul Bocuse. This value of innovation implies that maintenance includes some change rather than being opposed to change. It favors the concert of work of both maintenance and change. Second, the recursive character of the FCE that occurs every odd year contributes to the (re)creation and the reproduction of the institutional order on a regular basis. Third, the Bocuse d'Or as contest primarily aims at distributing prestige and attracting public attention like "tournament ritual" (Anand & Watson, 2004). As a consequence, this FCE is more legitimate to use incentives and inducements rather than sanctions and penalties reducing the possible options of forms of institutional work aiming at maintenance for the organizers. Further, as the FCE is not the only way to achieve status in the field, organizers have no interest to reduce attractiveness to participants, which could lead to the risk of deinstitutionalization. Thus, they can use valorizing, rather than demonizing, advocacy through advertising rather than deterring.

Despite these limitations, we believe that our findings can be relevant to other FCE settings, different from the contest. However, new studies are needed to investigate the institutional work of other types of FCEs such as scientific conferences, trade shows or corporate meetings in different institutional environments. They could bring further insights on the forms of institutional work used by the FCEs to change and maintain institutions. Furthermore, the relevance of the concert of forms of institutional works could be tested beyond FCEs in interstitial spaces, a growing body of institutional literature (Furnari, 2014; Ruebottom & Auster, 2018).

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