

The role of institutional logics in the institutional change of brazilian cuisine

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THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS IN THE INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE OF BRAZILIAN CUISINE

Abstract

This study proposes an analysis of the form with which institutional entrepreneurs use institutional logics to perform institutional change. We investigate the institutional logics that influenced an insertion of the Brazilian cuisine in the high gastronomy of São Paulo. We analyzed data through interviews with process participants, and subsequently, with reviews of Brazilian restaurants published between 1988 and 2017. The data were treated by content analysis and results show that institutional entrepreneurs hybridized institutional logics in order to implement changes. In addition, Brazilian cuisine was legitimized as high gastronomy by combining the use of Brazilian exotic ingredients with consecrated foreign techniques. Despite of the national elements, the process required the work of foreign legitimating actors in order for the changes to be legitimized.

Keywords: Institutional Theory, Institutional Logics, Institutional Change, Brazilian Cuisine

Resumo

Este estudo propõe uma análise da forma com a qual as lógicas institucionais são utilizadas por empreendedores institucionais para a implementação de mudanças institucionais. Foram analisadas as lógicas institucionais que influenciaram a inserção da cozinha brasileira na alta gastronomia paulistana. Os dados foram coletados por meio de entrevistas com atores participantes deste processo e, posteriormente, críticas de restaurantes brasileiros publicadas entre 1988 e 2017. Os dados foram tratados por análise de conteúdo e seus resultados mostram que as lógicas institucionais foram hibridizadas por empreendedores institucionais para implementar a mudança. Além disso, a cozinha brasileira tem como estratégia de inserção na alta gastronomia a utilização de ingredientes brasileiros, normalmente exóticos, com técnicas estrangeiras consagradas. Por último, apesar dos elementos nacionais, o processo de legitimação necessitou de legitimadores estrangeiros em diversos momentos para que a mudança fosse legitimada.

Palavras-chave: Teoria Institucional, Lógicas Institucionais, Mudança Institucional, Gastronomia Brasileira

Introduction

Institutional change is a topic that draws attention from researchers, partially because institutions, in principle, tend to generate patterns and recurrence of practices. In fact, an expectation of social behavior (Kalantaridis & Fletcher, 2012; Scott, 2014). In addition, in neo-institutionalism, much has been developed on how institutions standardized the practices and behaviors of organizations (Dimaggio & Powell, 1983; Micelotta, Lounsbury, & Greenwood, 2017). Hence, with the evolution of neo-institutionalism, new elements have helped to better understand institutional change. Among these elements, the concepts of institutional entrepreneurship and institutional logics.

Institutional entrepreneurship happens through the creation of new logics or hybridization of divergent logics that modify existing institutions by generating new practices in a given field (Julie Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009). Institutional logics are cultural beliefs and socially shared rules that shape the cognition and behavior of actors, providing



meanings for socially shared symbols and practices by providing legitimization criteria (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Hence, the study of changes in institutional logics can benefit from the use of the institutional entrepreneurship perspective. Both institutional entrepreneurship and institutional logics have contributed to a better understanding of institutional change. This change may be the insertion of new logics in the field, changing the practices and role of the actors in this field (Maguire, Hardy, & Lawrence, 2004a), as well as the hybridization of existing logics (Tracey, Phillips, & Jarvis, 2011). In both cases, the process of change depends on the existence of actors who deliberately initiate change.

The act of institutional entrepreneurs performing institutional changes in gastronomy has been studied in Spanish cuisine (Svejenova, Mazza, & Planellas, 2007) and Nouvelle Cuisine (Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003). In these cases, the change happened through the action of certain actors who launched new logics in the field, initiating new gastronomic movements. However, there were no hybridizations of previous logics in these cases. Hybridization is, thus, an understudied topic in institutional changes in the field of gastronomy. In addition, both cuisines have very strong cultural roots, with little insertion of foreign elements in them.

The Brazilian context ties the idea of high gastronomy to French, Italian and Spanish restaurants, due to the influence of several groups of immigrants (Atala & Dória, 2008; Cascudo, 2011). This perspective contributes to what is known as the Brazilian “moot” complex, which values foreign elements to the detriment of local elements (De Holanda, Eulálio, & Ribeiro, 1995). Practiced daily, Brazilian cuisine had little prominence, obtaining a lower return than that of foreign cuisines, usually due to lower prices (and lower perceived value) in Brazilian-cuisine restaurants. However, after the 1990s, there was recognition of Brazilian gastronomic elements by the public and critic, causing restaurants with Brazilian elements to win several national and international awards (Dória, 2014). Although the raise of Brazilian as haute cuisine in Brazil has been astonishing, dominating the high gastronomy scene in Brazil since its debut, little has been explored on how the movements of legitimization and hybridization of institutional logics at the micro level worked to make it possible. We take the insertion of Brazilian cuisine into high gastronomy as a suitable phenomenon for the study of this theoretical line.

This article seeks to analyze how the interaction of several institutional logics and institutional entrepreneurs modified and repositioned Brazilian gastronomy. We conducted a qualitative study focusing on the São Paulo haute cuisine scene (as the country’s most notorious exponent). Initially, we collected data through semi-structured interviews with chefs, critics, bloggers and restaurant owners, following a semi-structured questionnaire. Then, we analyzed critic reviews of the Brazilian restaurants to complement the collected data. We added two additional interviews, obtained in TV programs, with Alex Atala – an important chef in the rise of the national gastronomy.

Our results indicate that Brazilian cuisine was able to assume a more central position in high gastronomy through the hybridization of the logics of sophisticated, foreign gastronomic techniques with national ingredients. In addition, this movement characterizes as institutional entrepreneurship, since this hybridization was a deliberate action of specific actors that resulted and a change in the field. Brazilian gastronomy has occupied places in haute cuisine which were previously held by Italian and French restaurants, by using typical ingredients that Brazilians always had at their disposal as a resource, applying a combination of day-to-day (simple) ingredients with internationally (complex) techniques.

This article contributes to a better understanding of institutional change through institutional entrepreneurs. In addition, Brazil, due to the diversity of nationalities in the



gastronomic environment of São Paulo, is an interesting context to study how this process of institutional change occurs. There were two fundamental elements for the institutional change, first, the gastronomic diversity allowed the presence of several techniques coexisting, second, the presence of institutional entrepreneurs willing to legitimate the element of the national ingredient in haute cuisine.

Literature Review

Institutional entrepreneurs are actors capable of manipulating the existing logics to modify the institutional field, implementing institutional change (Battilana et al., 2009; Micelotta et al., 2017). In addition, the institutional entrepreneur relies on previously legitimized logics to facilitate change and gain support in this process (Etzion & Ferraro, 2010; Tracey et al., 2011). Finally, new logics will generate new criteria and mechanisms of legitimacy, allowing new organizational forms to emerge and survive (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005).

Institutional Logics

Institutions can be defined as supraorganizational models by which human beings conduct their material life and locate it in time and space, and as a system of symbols by which human beings categorize and give meaning to their activities (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Institutions give meaning and legitimacy to actions between actors, and may also direct or limit such actions (Battilana et al., 2009; Bertels & Lawrence, 2016). Institutional logics, on the other hand, are the broad set of beliefs that define the boundaries, roles, identities, and arrangements of a professional field (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2009). They act as a guide to practical actions common to participants in the same field (Rao et al., 2003; Owen-Smith & Powell, 2008). That is, institutional logics act simultaneously on individuals and organizations, shaping the cognition and behavior of actors, which in turn give meaning to actions and delimit them in time and space (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton et al. 1990).

An organization or individual is influenced in a number of ways, generating different beliefs, practices and meanings according to the dominant logic at that time (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011; McPherson & Sauder, 2013), so that there is hardly uniformity of responses even though the context is the same (Greenwood, Diaz, Li, & Lorente, 2010). Most studies focus on how institutional logics work at their macro level, influencing institutions and the strategies and practices of organizations within institutions (McPherson & Sauder, 2013). Little attention is given to how institutional logics affect actors' decisions in their day-to-day actions (Currie & Spyridonidis, 2016; McPherson & Sauder, 2013). In this case, we first recognize the agency of actors, that is, actors will act not only under the influence of these various logics, but also under their interpretation and their interests of conforming to a logic over the other, especially in a field full of different logics (Delbridge & Edwards, 2013; Emirbayer & Mische, 1998).

At their micro level, institutional logics are highly related to the individual's social position. In a more prominent position, the actor has the possibility of influencing the interpretation of institutional logics by the less prominent actors (Currie & Spyridonidis, 2016). The higher the position, the greater the ability of the actor to promote change; the lower the position, the greater the cost to escape institutional pressures. The relations of the individual (micro) with institutional logics in the past not only define their interpretation of new logics in the future, but also how to deal with these logics, and the desire to want to modify them to their own interests (Bertels & Lawrence, 2016).

Institutional Entrepreneurship



Institutional entrepreneurship is the action of social actors, individuals or organizations, who make deliberate and divergent changes in their institutional fields (Battilana et al., 2009). It is necessary to consider the use of the word divergent, since institutional economics itself already has a mechanism of change and evolution intrinsically (Pacheco et al., 2010). In addition, the strength and heterogeneity of institutions facilitate the action of institutional entrepreneurs (Battilana et al., 2009; Micelotta et al., 2017). This is in line with Pacheco et al. (2010) in relation to the maturity of the institutional field and where the entrepreneurial action occurs. For instance, in emerging fields, institutional entrepreneurs must occupy or build a legitimate and prominent position and have strong political skills to introduce change and hold them in front of a dispersed group of other actors (Garud, Jain, & Kumaraswamy, 2002; Maguire et al., 2004a). On the other hand, in more mature fields, institutional entrepreneurs take advantage of the contradictions present in the institution itself and implement a process of change, since these contradictions generate conflicts that can be exploited by an actor in a privileged position (Greenwood, Hinings, Suddaby, 2002; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006).

Institutional logics are important elements for the institutional entrepreneur, since institutional change will be done through the insertion of new institutional logics in a field, or through the hybridization of preexisting logics by certain actors (Battilana et al. 2009). In fact, the institutional entrepreneur seeks to replace the existing logics by one of the following methods. First, the use of preexisting and previously legitimized logics facilitates the implementation of changes through the actors (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana & Lee, 2014; Tracey et al., 2011). This facilitation occurs through the perception of similarities and in the strategy of institutional entrepreneurs to gradually insert the changes in the field (Etzion & Ferraro, 2010). On the other hand, new logics can also be accepted because they have evidenced the changes in relation to previously dominant logics (Rao et al., 2003).

In this article, we present the results of the analysis of the relationship between the theoretical and the empirical aspects of the process. In both cases, in addition to the chefs, other actors were important in implementing and legitimizing changes, such as journalists and critics. In addition, the analyzed changes occurred in the following mechanisms: creativity, theorization, reputation and dissemination (Svejenova et al., 2007).

METHOD

Data and analysis

In this paper, we seek to understand how the action of certain actors and the interaction of several institutional logics have modified and repositioned Brazilian gastronomy in the country's haute cuisine. We obtained field data from the São Paulo gastronomic scene. Initially, we used secondary data - books, reports and blog posts - to better understand the object of this study and identify possible actors. These analyses led to a convergence of names from the 22 most important Brazilian gastronomy actors active in the city of São Paulo. These actors were selected for semi-structured, in depth interviews. Figure 1 shows the actors who agreed to participate in interviews, held between November and December 2015.

Table 1. Interviewees' profile

Actor	Function	Organization	Duration
Ailin Aleixo	Journalist	Gastrolândia	02:45:11
Bianca Monteiro	Sous-chef	Manioca	02:35:49
Hellô Bacellar	Chef	Lá da Venda	02:17:55
Ivan Ralston	Chef	Tuju	00:41:39
Ivo Ribeiro	Manager and shareholder	Tordesilhas	01:10:38
Julio Bernardo	Blogger	-	02:20:11



Luiz Américo	Critic	-	01:26:14
Ricardo Castilho	Editor	Prazeres da Mesa	01:51:41

Source: the authors.

The semi-structured script initially addressed the dimensions of institutional change following Rao et al. (2003). In addition, in order to analyze the role of institutional logics in the insertion of Brazilian cuisine in high gastronomy, we used the ideal types of the institutional orders of Thornton et al. (2012), with the addition of a category called Brazilian gastronomy. The categories that were part of the semi-structured interview script were:

- Dimensions of change (Rao et al., 2003): Gastronomic rhetoric, Gastronomic technique, Main ingredients, Role of the chef, The menu.
- Dimensions of institutional orders (Thornton et al., 2012): Family, Community, Religion, State, The market, Profession, Corporation, Brazilian gastronomy (adapted).

These categories, determined beforehand, were also the basis for analyzing data content, which sought to "obtain, by systematic procedures and objectives of describing the content of the messages, indicators (quantitative or not) that allow the inference of relative knowledge to the production / reception conditions (inferred variables) of these messages" (Bardin, 1979, p. 42). A computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), MaxQDA, was used to search, categorize, organize and record interpretations and provide agility and flexibility for research (Bandeira-de-Mello, 2010).

After this first phase, a new collection with secondary data was performed. We drew our second phase of analyses from reviews of restaurants with Brazilian elements. We selected restaurants that were positively evaluated in relevant vehicles in the city of São Paulo. The criteria were the restaurants of Brazilian cuisine present in the guide of the newspaper Folha de São Paulo and the magazine Veja SP and had evaluations superior than "good" in these vehicles. We also included restaurants present in the Michelin Guide in this list. Through of these criteria, 21 restaurants were selected, according to Figure 2.

Table 2. Brazilian Restaurants

DOM	A casa do Porco
Dalva e Dito	Lá da Venda
Esquina Mocotó	Bossa
Maní	Micaela
Tete a Tete	Maria farinha
Tuju	Garimpos do Interior
Jiquitaia	Capim Santo
Manioca	Jesuino Brilhante
Mocotó	Brasil a gosto
Sal Gastronomia	Arimbá
Tordesilhas	

Source: The authors.

In order to choose the vehicles from which the reviews would be withdrawn, we composed a list with several vehicles and submitted it to three specialists, one gastronomic critic and two bloggers. We conducted an internet search for the construction of the initial list as well as we added the vehicles that mentioned in the interviews. From this initial list, the three specialists maintained 20 vehicles. Figure 3 shows these vehicles.

Table 3. Chosen vehicles

Gastrolândia	Taste and Fly
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Blog – Boteco JB	Blog – Arnald Lorençato
Blog - Do pão ao Caviar	Blog – Que bicho me
Blog – Luiz Americo	Revista VIP
Blog – Josimar Melo	Aventuras Gastrômicas
SP Honesta	Foodstar
Guia da Folha	Blog – Marcelo Katsuki
Veja SP	Blog - E-boca livre
Paladar – Estado de São Paulo	Guia Michelin
Blog – Destemperados	Edifício Tristeza

Source: The authors.

In these vehicles were searched for the reviews referring to the restaurants listed in Figure 2. This search returned 418 reviews. To be considered for our sample, the content analyzed had to evaluate the service provided in these restaurants. In this way, news and notes that did not fit this criterion were disregarded.

These critiques were analyzed with the help of the software Iramuteq, the purpose of using this software was to work with a greater amount of data than in the interview and, through the analysis of perimeter content in the software, to perform a descending hierarchical classification. So as not to divide only the word groups, but to analyze the hierarchical relationship between them. It is worth noting that for this analysis, categories are not defined previously, categories are defined by analyzing the relationship between words in segments of texts defined by the software, in order to find categories that are statistically different from each other, being it up to the researcher to interpret these categories and statistic relations (Reinert, 1990).

Iramuteq also requires that variables be defined for each document analyzed. Thus, the following categories were defined in order to divide the reviews: year, vehicle, author, restaurant, chef. Based on the categories it was possible to divide the variables in relation to the categories found.

RESULTS

Interview Analysis - Brazilian gastronomy, techniques and ingredients

Table 4 presents the 15 most cited content analysis codes. Brazilian gastronomy appears more often, followed by Ingredient, Market and Technique. Brazilian Gastronomy and Ingredient are also the most cited in the analysis of co-occurrence, evidencing how the ingredient of the recipes is relevant and central for the current national gastronomy.

Table 4. Frequency of Codes

Code	N. of quantified segments	%	Accumulated %
Brazilian gastronomy	222	12%	12%
Ingredient	193	11%	23%
Market	181	10%	33%
Gastronomic technique	137	8%	41%
Alex Atala/DOM	99	6%	47%
Cultural capital	97	5%	52%
Profession order	93	5%	57%
Chef's role	88	5%	62%
Community order	86	5%	67%
Social capital	61	3%	70%
Critic	59	3%	73%
Change	51	3%	76%



Family order	48	3%	79%
Gastronomic rhetoric	37	2%	81%
Brazilian versus other gastronomies	37	2%	83%

Source: The authors.

Based on the answers to the interviews and the analysis of secondary data, it is possible to state that the current Brazilian gastronomy occupies a prominent place in the high gastronomy, defined by menus that use Brazilian ingredients, that use Brazilian and foreign techniques. For instance, the "Feijoada sphere", created by the restaurant in Maní, consists of the spherification (Spanish technique) applied to a bean broth with the typical ingredients of a feijoada ("Feijoada do Maní," n.a.). On the other hand, Tordesilhas restaurant serves Brazilian dishes with Brazilian techniques such as Bobó de Camarão and Pato no Tucupi. However, it was possible to analyze that in the rise of Brazilian gastronomy, there was a predominant use of a hybrid process: national ingredients (or dish) were prepared using foreign techniques. The excerpt from the interview with Ivan Ralston commenting on the various re-readings made by restaurants such as D.O.M and Maní exemplifies:

"I think so. Sincerely, in the 2000s those restaurants you spoke to, D.O.M. And Peanut, they all reviewed this traditional Brazilian recipe. All of them. Ah. This is my version of the Pato no Tucupi. This is my version of Cuscuz à Paulista. This is my version of Virado. This is my version ... always with different techniques." (I. Ralston, interview, 12/15/2015).

The following excerpt shows that Brazilian gastronomy, represented by regional and classic dishes that presuppose Brazilian ingredients, required more complex techniques to gain high gastronomy status or, at least, to escape the daily food label. This is corroborated by Ivo Ribeiro, partner of Tordesilhas:

"Look, Brazilian cuisine does not have to be heavy, it does not have to be sloppy, it does not have to be rude ... you can make a legitimate cuisine! Without deceiving anyone! With the same ingredients that people do, only with a touch of refinement" I. Ribeiro, interview, 11/17/2015.

Although the legitimating element for entry of Brazilian gastronomy into high gastronomy status has been the technique. It has been necessary previously that the national ingredient itself had been legitimated externally. This happened with the arrival of the French chefs to Brazil in the 1970s. In this case, a first institutional change in Brazilian gastronomy began with the use of Brazilian ingredients. These first changes were more related to professional reasons, to the professional order, and by Nouvelle Cuisine, The chefs would use fresh ingredients, vegetables, vegetables and fruits (Rao et al., 2003). That is, when using fresh Brazilian ingredients, chefs (micro) were obeying a normative (macro) pressure, what was taught them in their schools and previous jobs, something necessary to exercise their technique.

"When French chefs like Laurent and Jacquin came to Brazil, the focus was on national ingredients. Ingredients that Brazilians did not even know and that were ours. So they were actually the firsts to pay attention to something we always had. The Laurent with the Chefinho ... and from there we started, there in the late 80's, through them, we started to talk 'wow, we do have cool stuff'. Those were things that have always been here and we never noticed ... What the French chefs, when they came, they gave an endorsement of 'man, you have freaking good ingredients here, eh? We are people who know what we are talking about, we came from France. Cool, huh, good stuff here'" (A. Aleixo, interview, 12/01/2015)



These evidences suggest that this change was slow and in stages, initially there was attention to the national ingredient. But, the Brazilian ingredient alone did not bring considerable changes nor elevated, Brazilian cuisine to high gastronomy. Foreign techniques are key elements for the second change. But while the French obeyed normative pressure by adapting Brazilian ingredients to French cuisine, Brazilian chefs began to use the national ingredient under mimetic influence, more as a matter of market, as chefs were brought in to bring fame to restaurants. In one example of this mimicry:

"They have already come with some highlight, they came right on time because restaurants were looking at a late nouvelle cuisine when Brazilian cuisine started to pop. They were brought by large hotel chains that had an interest to promote their stars, you had a middle class a little more interested in this, so it was cool to promote these people, it was the chic French coming to serve a different food for us". L. Américo, interview, 11/23/2015.

This same dynamic happened in more recent changes, when chefs like Alex Atala, Helena Rizzo and Daniel Redondo brought avant-garde techniques: foams, spheres, sous vide. They learned and used these techniques by normative pressure, but these techniques were disseminated in Brazilian gastronomy by mimetic pressures, making this dissemination of practices, among the orders, a possible pattern of institutional change in Brazilian gastronomy. However, in this case, the chefs were not only following a school, there was, chefs were researching, taking risks and mixing logics, which can be evidenced in the excerpt below:

"There you have Alex Atala mixing a lot of influences until you end up in a restaurant, that I believe it is the first restaurant of high Brazilian gastronomy that declared itself Brazilian", L. Américo, interview, 11/23/2015.

The action of these actors led to a change in the market, because there was a discourse of valorization of the national cuisine, a valuation that changed the configuration of the gastronomic market of São Paulo. Especially since the restaurants that started to gain recognition were focused on Brazilian gastronomy.

"It was always French food, Italian food, where the award-winning chefs were, I know, the Italian restaurant owners, the French restaurant owners, so there was not a guy who made Brazilian food and was considered the best chef of the year, hence, usually, chefs that made Brazilian food had no highlight". B. Monteiro, interview, November 19, 2015.

The scenario of change did not happen by chance, it was articulated by the action of several chefs producing discourses, often competing with each other to coordinate these changes. In addition, there is an effort of several chefs to develop the national elements to gain property in leading these movements. This can be analyzed in the two excerpts below.

"Alex was more for research, Alex had many different stages, contact with ah ... first a classic European formation, then the contact with the Spanish avant-garde and then other vanguards and mixing all that". L. Américo, interview, 11/23/2015.

"You see, I do not know, groups like ATÀ (Alex Atala's movement) and C5 (a group with several chefs and researchers). They are groups that more or less do the same thing and are competing for this space to see who will coordinate this movement". (I. Ralston, interview, 12/15/2015).

Review Analysis - Restaurants, chefs and ingredients.

The Iramuteq output data are presented in five categories, presented in the following dendrogram figure (Figure 1). We checked each word (in Portuguese) in all these categories to find out a proper denomination for them. Class 1 was called the "ingredients". The second



class, was related to refined ingredients and cooking techniques, as we denominated it as "refined cooking". Class 3 was denominated the "professional chef". The forth class was related to the place of the restaurant, nominated as "restaurant". The last one, Class 5, was related to the restaurant service, and it was nominated as "service". The figure 1 below presents this dendrogram. These data not only corroborate the findings of the interviews in the sense that Brazilian cuisine is extremely dependent on its ingredient, as it reinforces the primacy of the ingredient in relation to the technique, since this is present in the figure of the chef. However, the role of the technique cannot be diminished, since this was fundamental in this process of institutional change.

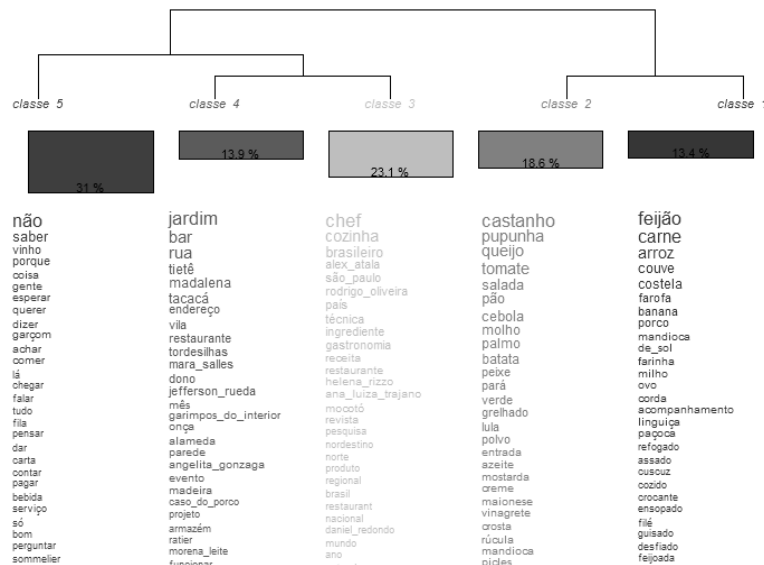
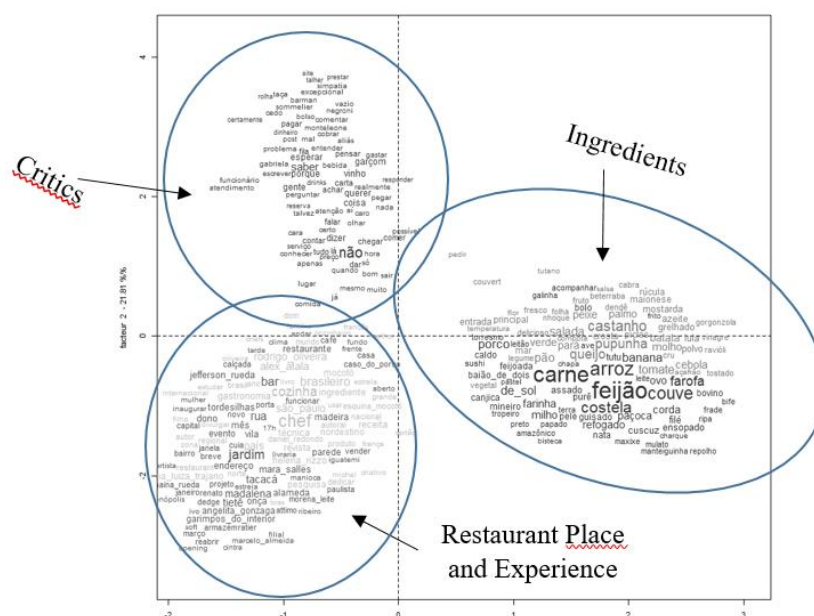


Figure 1. Whole years' dendrogram

Source: Iramuteq output.

It is possible to observe in figure 1 that the first and second classes together a product related group. The third and the forth classes can also be joined as they can be understood as the place where people go to eat, what includes the restaurant ambience and the chef and professional cooking activities related to this restaurant. At a higher level of grouping, the service received in the restaurant can be attached to the restaurant as a whole. However, as we look at these words MDS, figure 2, we can see a clear group between classes 1 and 2, a clear group Between classes 3 and 4, the fifth class would join this second group (formed by classes 3 and 4) only in a higher level.

Figure 2. 1988 – 2016 critics MDS





Source: Iramuteq output.

Based on these data, it is possible to observe that there are three main groups of arguments in the critiques analyzed: ingredients and cooking techniques; Restaurant place and experience; and finally, critics. These seem to be the three major categories to understand the Brazilian cuisine evolution at São Paulo. However, as we check this evolution in specific periods, divided by specific marks in São Paulo's restaurants industry, these categories serve as a far-out reference to further analysis and to understand the local logical institutional development.

1998-2010: Brazilian cuisine under development

During this period, the dendrogram presented in the figure 3 below shows that there are six classes of words in these critiques. When comparing with the previous general dendrogram, it is clear that the 1998-2010 dendrogram presents a split among the classes, mainly dividing food between salty ones (classes 2 and 3) ones and sweet ones (class 6). As it is an older period, we believe that this fragmentation was more associated with the very formation of the national ingredient and the gradual entry of national elements into the menus. For example, some restaurants presented main dishes with elements not so nationally, more inserted fruit and national desserts. That is, there was a 100% national menu in formation.

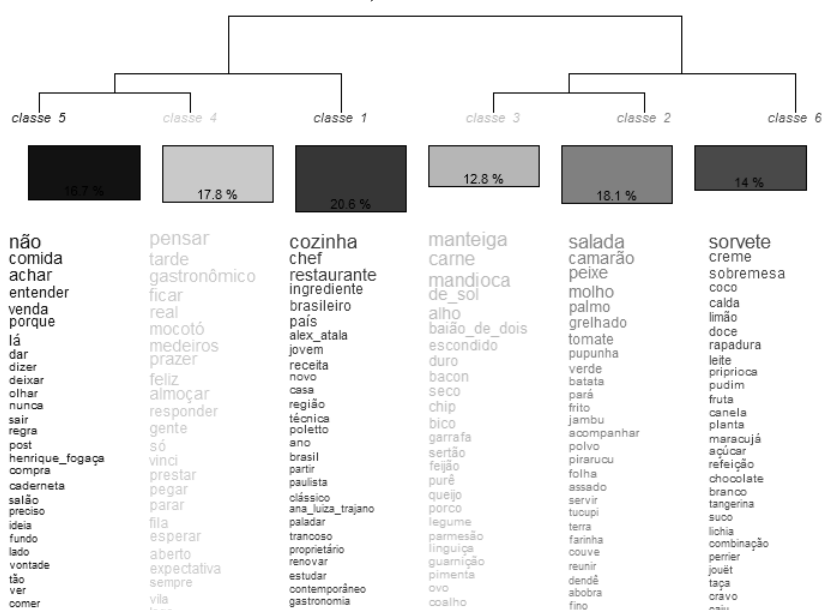


Figure 3. 1988-2010 dendrogram

Source: Iramuteq output.

It is important to note that in the first class related to the “professional chef”, the figure of Brazilian most famous chef, Alex Atala, appears as a prominent word, as he was constantly cited by reviews when talking about Brazilian cuisine in São Paulo. In addition, the forth class shows other chefs, as they also appears at classes 1 and 5 (Ana Luiza Trajano and Henrique Fogaça). Clearly, at this period, the Brazilian cuisine at São Paulo was being more centered at the chef's figure. In essay, what were more common to define this cuisine were not the Brazilian native ingredients, but the chefs' figure.

2011-2014: DOM restaurant among the top-10 restaurants in the world

After the nomination of DOM restaurant (led by Alex Atala), as one of the best restaurants in the world, being for the first time in the seventh position and among the ten best

restaurants in the world by Restaurant Magazine, new trends and new references were legitimated in the Brazilian cuisine at the São Paulo city. The Figure 4 presents the classification of this period.



Figure 4. 2011-2014 dendrogram

Source: Iramuteq output.

This figure represents four groups of words in this period. The first class is based on ingredients; the second one is based on the service along with the dining experience; the third one is based on the critiques itself; and the forth one represents the chef's figure. Hence, the chef's figure was still gaining attention as Rodrigo Oliveira and Ana Luiza Trajano, for example, were figure related to the chef statements. Although Alex Atala did not appear at this time, even when DOM was gaining international recognition, his Brazilian-oriented cuisine legacy started to appear. In addition, a market-orientation logic seems to be prominent.

At this period, the elements being institutionalized in the Brazilian cuisine were: the ingredients, centered in national ingredients and not in other kind of classification; the chefs, as Brazilian chefs were being recognized and new public figures was being attached to the restaurant image; and the dining experience, as the service was also being improved to attend new recognized restaurants.

2015-2017: Brazilian restaurants being nominated by Michelin Guide

This last phase was characterized by the insertion of Michelin guide in Brasil. As restaurants started being nominated by this guidance standard, a new logic was being also implemented in the way the high cuisine was working. As an international-oriented guide, some characteristics were highlighted in this period. At class 1 that could be joined with class 4, it is possible to notice that terms related to the chef, the restaurant and the service are all together. It means that the service expected is not only traditional functional service as the image and the name of restaurants and chefs are being related with the service provided. In essay, there is a logic that understand that greater chefs are in restaurants with great proposals and that have good services. So, as this international-orientation institutionalizes, there is a market orientation that puts the chef, the restaurant and the high cuisine service as embedded in the same category.

This assumption is reinforced by the fact that the chef figure was even more prominent and attached to the restaurant image. Chefs' names appear in the dendrogram (e.g. Helena Rizzo, Jefferson Rueda and Daniel Redondo) more frequently. It represents the attachment of



these names with their restaurants. The logic is more to look for a recognized and legitimized chef rather than for the food itself. Probably, because people do not know exactly the food they are going to eat in some restaurants (as they might be surprised by different mixes of techniques and ingredients), they just go where they know there is a distinct chef. The figure 5 represents these terms grouping.

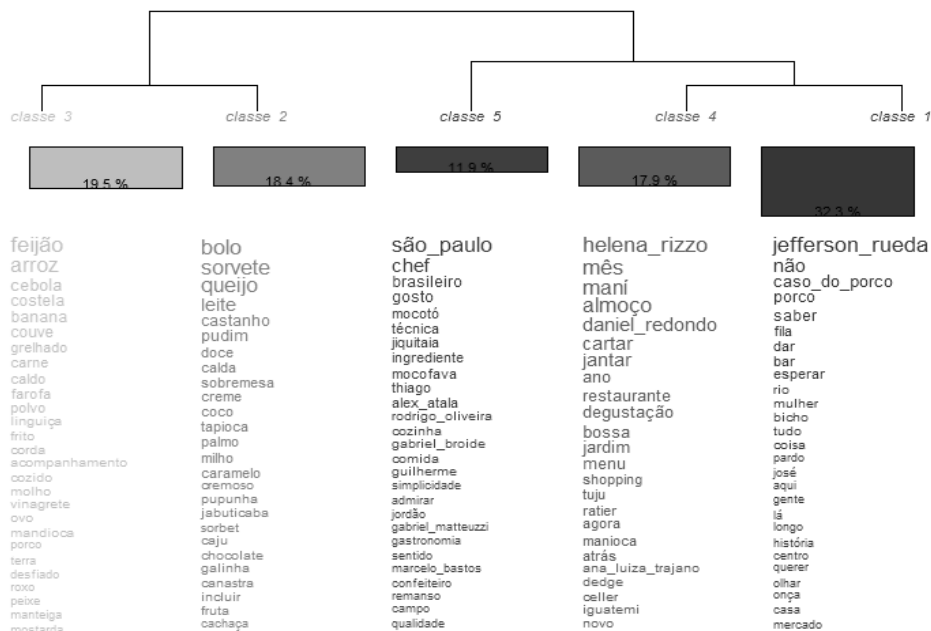


Figure 5. 2015-2017 dendrogram

Source: Iramuteq output.

At the third class we can notice the emergence of the São Paulo city term, demonstrating that the place was considering the city as part of the cuisine. This is one of the characteristics that represent São Paulo as an emerging center for Brazilian cuisine. When the city emerges as part of the ambience experience, we can notice that the local city cuisine was being considered as part of the place experience.

At the classes 2 we can see some national ingredients, considered exotic sometimes (e.g. pupunha, jabuticaba) related to some sweet food (e.g. bolo – cake, sorvete – ice cream), what represents that national ingredients are being applied in traditional deserts and sweet food. In addition, class 3 (in green) brings the traditional Brazilian ingredients and some traditional techniques as they are being valued as Brazilian food.

By the prominence of the class 1, one can perceive a prominence of the caipira cuisine, represented by the chef Jefferson Rueda. This prominence is interesting because differently from the beginning of this shift, where the focus was only the national ingredient. The caipira cuisine is represented not only by the ingredients, but by the techniques as well. In other words, a new appreciation of Brazilian cuisine may be underway, this time focusing on the technique as well.

DISCUSSION

In this study, we analyzed the institutional changes that provided the Brazilian style of cooking a place at the level of high gastronomy. Institutional logics were analyzed in the high gastronomy environment of São Paulo as an exponent of the high gastronomy of Brazil and how these were changed and hybridized by certain actors to modify the field of Brazilian gastronomy. These institutional logics were identified through interviews with experts (chefs, critics, bloggers and restaurant members). The main results showed that the Brazilian cuisine went from the exclusivity of the daily gastronomy to a position among the restaurants of São



Paulo. This institutional change was provided by a hybridization of logics in the micro level. These logics were hybridized by institutional entrepreneurs at the outset. The use of a current logic of sophisticated gastronomic techniques, already in use in the environment, with the adoption of the logic of the ingredients of Brazilian cuisine made it possible for high-gastronomy restaurants to develop a new hybrid logic. These institutional entrepreneurs played a prominent role in leading the institutional change that was subsequently followed by the other agents.

A first contribution of this study is that several levels of agency were found, and autonomy among the various logics in the gastronomic scene of São Paulo. The cultural capital, accessible from the beginning, made Brazilian ingredients available to the gastronomy. The coming of the international chefs brought their own professional institutional logic, for example with the application of French culinary techniques in Brazil.

Recently, the incorporation of the national ingredient into international techniques has resulted in a differential, which is in line with the market order. The research corroborates previous studies by showing that the interrelationships of the various institutional logics can lead to institutional changes (Bertels & Lawrence, 2016; Thornton et al., 2012). In addition, according to the steps proposed by Svejenova et al. (2007) there was the creativity of the first Brazilian chefs in mixing the foreign techniques with the national ingredient. Recalling that the French chefs did not do this, the use of the national ingredient, not for creativity, but for being in accordance with the precepts of Nouvelle Cuisine.

The other mechanisms proposed by Svejenova et al. (2007) are present in the process of institutional change in São Paulo gastronomy. Beyond creativity, there was theorization with the chefs' discourses, there was also the reputation and dissemination, as we can perceive in the criticisms. However, unlike the change caused by chefs in Nouvelle Cuisine or by Ferran Adrià (Rao et al., 2003; Svejenova et al., 2007), where external elements were only meant to develop the new idea, which was returning to elements. The external elements (French chefs using foreign ingredients and techniques) were highly necessary to legitimate the national element. That is, there is a need for an external legitimation for the national ingredient. In this case, instead of contradicting the second-class complex that surrounded Brazilian cuisine, these mechanisms strengthened the importance of these elements.

This plurality of logics offers alternatives of actions and interpretations for the agents in the same field. Choices and new interactions are mechanisms that can reinforce a logic, maintaining a certain stability in the field (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). These interactions create more logics and change the dynamics of the field (Delbridge & Edwards, 2013). In the case of the Brazilian reality, with its miscegenation and several cuisines coexisting in São Paulo, such plurality contributes to facilitate the presence of institutional entrepreneurs who use this logic to modify the field (Battilana et al., 2009; Micelotta et al., 2017).

However, as a gastronomic movement there is a risk, because the movements that have succeeded in recent years have exported more than ingredients. In fact, they exported a set of techniques and concepts (Rao et al., 2003; Svejenova et al., 2007). The exotic ingredients are presented to the world, but to build an identity of high gastronomy, these ingredients are transformed by means of foreign techniques. This dependence on the national ingredient, as well as foreign techniques, can be perceived in interviews and critics.

This article corroborates to the relationship between institutional entrepreneurs and institutional logics for institutional change. It reinforces the institutional entrepreneur as one who develops new logics to the institutional field. But more than corroborating this, it sheds light on the complex process of legitimizing institutional change. As in previous studies, the



role of critics as actors who legitimize change is reinforced. However, in the Brazilian case, the change was only possible by prior legitimization of the logics used, more than that, due to the Brazilian cultural characteristics, these legitimations had to be made by foreigners.

Although the change was based on convergent logics within the field, we can consider this as a case of institutional entrepreneurship, since the changes generated results that changed the power relations in the field. From the consecrated chefs, who started working with Brazilian cuisine, as to a minor role given to international gastronomy. However, although it is not the focus of this study, the gain of social capital that allows the change, continues being through the insertion of these chefs in an international context.

CONCLUSION

This study showed that Brazilian gastronomy, despite the foreign technique and Brazilian ingredient combination, is much more dependent on the latter to show itself as a typical national cuisine. In fact, this binomial puts technique as a legitimating element and ingredient as an element that defines identity. It is possible that this focus on the ingredient comes from the view that Brazil has typical, abundant and exotic resources.

The change promoted for the insertion of the Brazilian cuisine was very dependent on certain actors who adopted the role of institutional entrepreneurs. It is not, therefore, a simple evolution of the gastronomic market. That is, the change was a result of the use of foreign techniques applied to national ingredients by these chefs. In addition, these chefs have built a discourse to value these changes.

This study has three limitations that can be pointed out and explored in future research. The first limitation of this study is the sample used, a larger sample could also analyze the relationship between the actors and how this relationship influenced the dissemination of these logics and their practices. In previous studies, the number of early actors can moderate the intensity with which a logic is disseminated within an organization (Almandoz, 2014). Future research can examine whether the number of actors who initially advocate a new institutional logic moderates the speed with which the new logic spreads. By the number of reports and blogs, including chefs, longitudinal analysis of these secondary data could be useful for this analysis.

A second limitation is related to the geographical restriction of the analysis. Although the city of São Paulo is an exponent of the high gastronomy of Brazil, counting on most of the restaurants of high level in the country according to the main gastronomic rankings. It may present small variations in the institutional logics given to a locally competing market. Future research could develop analyzes that observe the differences in institutional logics among, for instance, the restaurants of the high gastronomy of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this way, it would be possible to indicate the regional differences in the institutional logics and how these differences are important for the process of hybridization and legitimization of the logics.

The third limitation is related to the selected object as a whole. Undoubtedly, Brazilian cuisine is a great exponent to be studied of an institutional legitimization provided by a process of hybridization at the micro level. However, as only the case of Brazilian cuisine was analyzed, it is possible that the process is different according to the national culture of the country. Future research could, in turn, develop similar analyses in other countries that had their national gastronomy lately promoted to high gastronomy. In this way, it is possible to analyze how elements of national culture can influence the adoption and legitimization of new institutional logics.

In spite of the limitations, this work can contribute to show how these institutional changes happen in elements as deep of the culture of a certain population as the gastronomy. In the case of Brazil, a country colonized by Portuguese, marks of colonialism remain strong.



Unlike the changes in the gastronomy perceived in European countries, where the process of change used internal elements to the culture of each country and legitimized internally, the Brazilian case depended of external legitimations at different times. From foreign chefs legitimating ingredients, and from international publications recognizing Brazilian cuisine, the elements that compose Brazilian style as a component of haute cuisine have been institutionalized.

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