

## **Cooking Up Change in Haute Cuisine: Ferran Adrià as an Institutional Entrepreneur<sup>1</sup>**

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## **Cooking Up Change in Haute Cuisine : Ferran Adrià as an Institutional Entrepreneur**

### **Summary**

Based on a longitudinal, inductive study of a critical case from a cultural sector, this article explores how institutional entrepreneurs initiate change. Our explanation points to four mechanisms: *creativity* that generates continuous flow of new ideas; *theorization* that takes stock of these ideas; *reputation* within and outside the field that endorses ideas as worthy of attention, and *dissemination* that brings ideas to the public domain. As novel ideas challenge received practices in the field, paradoxes of logics and identity emerge and provide potential for change.

The study contributes to institutional theory by examining a preliminary, understudied stage of institutional change that provides a potential for change. Further, it shows how institutional entrepreneurs engage in the theorization and dissemination of their work. Finally, it reveals how reputation plays a critical role in the dissemination of new ideas and thus in the shaping up of the paradoxes and the potential for change.

Key words: *creativity, theorization, reputation, dissemination, paradoxes, haute cuisine.*

## **Cooking Up Change in Haute Cuisine: Ferran Adrià as an Institutional Entrepreneur**

Barcelona, not Paris, is now the vanguard capital of Europe – not least because of its wildly experimental cooking. And no one there is cooking more daringly and ingeniously than Ferran Adrià.

*The New York Times Magazine, August 10, 2003*

The latest wave in cooking incorporates ingredients from all over the world, in unlikely combinations. The emblem of this movement is Ferran Adrià, the chef-owner of El Bulli, on the Costa Brava, in Spain... His restaurant is open only six months of the year; Adrià spends the rest of his time in a laboratory kitchen in Barcelona, experimenting with new recipes. He changes the menu of El Bulli constantly, adding dozens of new items each year. Adrià's influences are overtly scientific: using a nitrous-oxide canister, he prepares "foams" out of cod, pine nuts, asparagus, and mushrooms; ... waiters at El Bulli instruct how and when and in what order to eat the food, as if choreographing a complex chemical reaction. ... From black-truffle lollipops to polenta ice cream - through twenty-nine tapas-size courses that sometimes include seawater mousse and pulverized Fisherman's Friend lozenges and spaghetti noodles made from Parmesan cheese - meals at El Bulli can last six hours.

*The New Yorker, May 12, 2003*

Ferran Adrià – l'alchimiste - est-il le plus grand cuisinier du monde?

*The cover of Le Monde, January 25, 2004*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Ferran Adrià is the Spanish celebrity chef-owner of the three-Michelin-starred restaurant elBulli<sup>2</sup> on the Costa Brava, two hours north of Barcelona, the best restaurant in the world according to the UK magazine "Restaurant". The global media has pronounced Adrià the Picasso and the Dalí of haute cuisine, the world's best chef, and one of its most influential citizens. His innovative genius transpires in extraordinary dishes such as *pastilla gelada de caipirinha* (frozen pastille of caipirinha), *carbassa en textures amb desgranat de pomelo* (pumpkin in textures with grapefruit segments), or *quinoa gelada de foie-gras d'ànec amb consommé* (frozen duck foie gras quinoa with consommé). Adrià's artistry is in the contrasts (hot-cold, soft-crunchy, solid-liquid, sweet-savory), the concepts (e.g. foams), the techniques (e.g. spherification), and the creative methods (e.g. deconstruction). His creativity has become the engine of the New Spanish cuisine and a major reference in the field of international gastronomy.

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<sup>2</sup> "el bulli" means "small bulldog" in Catalan

How did a self-taught chef copying classical and nouvelle cuisine recipes by the book in his early career become a celebrated original winning plaudits from both the profession and critics alike? How, after working for a decade in the remote elite restaurant elBulli (which already had two Michelin stars when Adrià joined it in 1983), did he manage to break free from tradition, and become the emblem of a new wave in cooking? These questions have significance beyond the particular case of the chef Adrià. They point in the direction of an under-studied yet increasingly important issue in the institutional literature: how institutional entrepreneurs initiate change.

Institutional entrepreneurs are actors who seek to replace existing logics (DiMaggio, 1988). However, “the source of their entrepreneurial ideas and how these ideas are associated with institutional change remains unclear” (Thornton, Jones, & Kury, 2005: 127). A nascent stream within the institutional literature argues that the strategic use of language, by which entrepreneurs theorize their new ideas, is a means to making shifts in institutional logics (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). Greenwood, Suddaby and Hinings (2002) examined how professional organizations engaged in theorizing to legitimate change. In this process of theorization, organizational failings were conceptualized and linked to potential solutions (Greenwood et al., 2002).

Theorization has been acknowledged important in legitimating change. However, its role as a precursor of change has remained understudied. Further, attention has been placed mostly on the role of specialized actors and gatekeepers – critics, journalists, art historians – as theorizers. For example, theorization in the shape of articles and editorials by culinary journalists in France increased the abandonment of classical cuisine (Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003: 835). In the rise of Impressionism, while painters made some theoretical arguments on their techniques, it was the critics who presented these

discussions as organized theories (White & White, 1965).

Successful theorization is followed by diffusion, which is characterized by patterns and mechanisms used in spreading ideas within organizational communities (Greenwood et al., 2002). Diffusion also encompasses the adoption and acculturation of an innovation by the recipient population (Kaufman & Patterson, 2005). However, research on diffusion has been predominantly “relational” and has overlooked the role of power and status in the process (Kaufman & Patterson, 2005).

This paper focuses on a particular way of setting a change process off. It contributes to the institutional literature by defining essential and understudied initial steps that shape the potential for change, such as creativity, theorization, reputation, and dissemination. Drawing on the case study of a renowned institutional entrepreneur in a cultural industry field, we suggest that commitment to creativity generates a continuous flow of new ideas. It is achieved through methods for creativity and organizing that provides dedicated space, time and teams working on new ideas. Theorization takes place through record-keeping, self-reflection, and categorization, while reputation is shaped through the actor’s efforts to project and protect new ideas and in turn leads to these novel ideas being seen as worthy of attention and dissemination. Once in the public domain, the new ideas generate paradoxes with existing logics and identities in the field. Thus, this is a paper about the potential for change. Explaining whether, and to what extent, institutional entrepreneurs succeed in the change effort is beyond the scope of the study.

The paper is structured into four sections. In the first, we discuss the research methodology. In the second, we shed light on the context and setting of the study. Next, we advance and discuss the key findings, developing a theoretical model of change

initiation. Finally, we conclude the study and outline avenues for further research.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

We conducted an in-depth study of the trajectory of Spanish haute-cuisine chef, Ferran Adrià, for the period 1980-2006. It is a critical case (Yin, 1994) of a creative individual who, having learnt the conventions and understood the boundaries of the international and local culinary fields, embarked on a quest for a personal style that challenged conventions and crossed boundaries. The study design was inductive and open-ended. We sought to identify themes from the data (Ibarra, 1999). Several iterations between data and extant literature took place before themes, related concepts and relationships took on shape and clarity.

### **Data Collection**

Data came from a variety of sources. *First*, we accessed the electronic press archive of elBulli and read through hundreds of articles and interviews in newspapers and magazines. *Second*, we collected press clippings from the local, national, and international press, as they appeared. *Third*, we drew heavily from the personal accounts of Ferran Adrià and his partners, Juli Soler and Albert Adrià (Ferran's sibling), as co-authors of five books dedicated to the evolution of elBulli's cuisine, covering the period 1983 to 2004, and totaling over 2,000 pages with accounts of creative, organizational, management and cuisine-related aspects of their trajectory. *Fourth*, in December 2005 we interviewed Ferran Adrià in elBullitaller, his creativity workshop in Barcelona. The hour-long interview was recorded and used in the data analysis. We took observational notes during the visit, and compared impressions after it. Five additional

meetings were held in Spring 2006, bringing up to 12 hours the interactions with the chef and allowing for a deeper understanding of his work and evolution. We also visited elBullicarmen, the unit that coordinates the chef's consulting activities and businesses. We were provided with videos of the restaurant and different innovative techniques, as well as extensive documentation on the ir history and creative philosophy.

*Next*, we studied a 50-minute documentary on Ferran Adrià (Herrero & Casal, 2004), in which the chef explains his creative methods, techniques, and concepts. We also interviewed an expert who helped us understand the evolution of Spanish creative cuisine. *Finally*, we also included accounts of former collaborators of Ferran Adrià (e.g. Abellán, 2005). In addition to sources on Ferran Adrià, we also reviewed sources on the evolution of the Spanish and international gastronomy fields. Appendix A provides a list of the data sources that allowed us to develop a holistic understanding of the case, and served as the basis for unraveling themes and categories relevant to this study.

We collected data mainly in English, Spanish and Catalan, with a few exceptions consisting of articles on and interviews with Ferran Adrià published in other languages (e.g. French, Italian and Portuguese). To preserve the original meaning and context of the data as far as possible, we initially worked with the documents in their original language. Translations into English of relevant quotes and insights took place at the open coding stage, when we had to identify, name and develop meaningful categories with specific characteristics and dimensions.

## **Data Analysis**

Data analysis was an inductive, iterative process following techniques and procedures proposed by Strauss and Corbin (1998). We also addressed issues raised by

Whetten (1989, 2002) as regards what constitutes a good theory. In our data analysis we sought to identify mechanisms. Mechanisms are defined as “the wheelwork or agency by which an effect is produced” (Hernes, quoted in Davis & Marquis, 2005). Mechanism-based theorizing provides an intermediary level of analysis between social laws and pure description (Davis & Marquis, 2005).

First, the three authors independently read through the wide range of data sources to form a holistic understanding of the case and gain new insights. At several points in time, we discussed our interpretation of the vast amount of information, and what themes could be extracted. In these discussions, we did not seek to measure inter-rater convergence. Rather, impressions and interpretations of the case were shared and commented until understanding and agreement was reached by all three authors, both in face-to-face interactions and via e-mail.

Initially, our theoretical forays went in the direction of identity and field transformation. After discussing our findings with colleagues and interviewing the chef Adrià on numerous occasions, however, our interest shifted to the way in which the chef initiated change in the haute cuisine field<sup>3</sup>. Once the main theme was agreed on, we went back to the data and theory in search for mechanisms through which the chef initiated change. We identified four mechanisms: creativity, theorization, reputation, and dissemination, which led to logics and identity paradoxes.

Once mechanisms were identified, we continued the analysis with axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), during which we mined the data for elements of these mechanisms and how they operated. Following Strauss and Corbin’s indications, we sought to define each mechanism through the questions: What? Why? Who? How?

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<sup>3</sup> We thank Guest Editor Candy Jones and an anonymous reviewer for drawing our attention to the salience of that theme.



Where? and When? For example, concepts and techniques were elements of “creativity”, which operated through organizing and methods for creativity.

The fractured and labeled data were then re-connected through selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), which aimed at identifying connections between the mechanisms and allowed an explanation to get shaped and integrated. The model was further refined in continuous movement between data and theory until it appeared to be sufficiently grounded both empirically and theoretically.

The availability of a range of data sources allowed for the triangulation of evidence (Eisenhardt, 2002). For example, we compared the chef’s accounts with those of former and current members of his team and other Spanish and international elite chefs, as well as critics from the local and international media. Accounts were found largely consistent, further strengthening our findings.

## **CONTEXT AND SETTING**

To understand the context in which the case of Ferran Adrià unfolds, we highlight some characteristics and milestones in the evolution of the international and Spanish gastronomy fields. Then we briefly review the empirical setting of the study.

### **International Gastronomy Field**

Gastronomy is the systematic pursuit of culinary creativity and excellence (Ferguson, 1998). Initially meant for the court and aristocracy, modern culinary creativity moved to restaurants, with chefs first as employees then, with the arrival of nouvelle cuisine, as restaurant owners. Like any field that has undergone structuration, haute cuisine has its institutions, convention setters and tradition guardians. Among these are:

the Guide Michelin, which over the years has remained the standard by which haute cuisine is judged; the GaultMillau guide, initiated by Henri Gault and Christian Millau, journalists known for having defined Nouvelle cuisine's 10 commandments and for their support to it; a wealth of professional magazines and events; and culinary and other journalists and scholars who theorize about cuisine; etc. These field actors and institutions impose pressures on accomplished elite and aspiring chefs to both comply with conventions and to innovate. Thus, with its continuously updated pecking order and demands for both consistency and novelty, haute cuisine provides high visibility for star performers along with high volatility of their reputations.

Nouvelle cuisine, which in the late 1960s initiated a major transformation in haute cuisine (see Rao et al, 2003, for an enlightening account) thereby liberating the chef's creativity from Escoffier's conventions, had by the late 1990s become an establishment. The centuries-long hegemony of France as the epicenter of international haute cuisine is being challenged by a number of rising regional cuisines due to globalization processes seen in global media spreading information on elite chefs and restaurants, and in both chefs' and diners' traveling.

### **The *Nueva Nouvelle Cuisine***

Among these regionally-embedded alternatives is the new Spanish cuisine. A New York Times article (Lubow, 2003) announced the arrival of "The Nueva Nouvelle Cuisine" (*nueva* being Spanish for the French "nouvelle" and the English "new"), its explanation of "How Spain Became the New France" initiating a wide media debate. Articles in the international press followed suit, questioning the French super-powers in cuisine, and noting the surprising rise of Spanish creative cuisine.

Modern Spanish cuisine emerged with the end of the dictatorship in 1975 and the country's subsequent creative renewal and economic advancement. With Spain's growing economic prosperity, households' disposable income increased and, with it, the role of the meal changed from the fulfillment of a necessity to a social activity for entertainment and pleasure. These conditions of political freedom, economic prosperity and social change shaped a context propitious to the rise of the new Spanish cuisine, which in its beginnings was largely influenced by French cuisine.

Spanish chefs from the Basque and Catalan regions read books by French celebrity chefs and took *stages* in or visited their elite restaurants to get inspiration. French chef Paul Bocuse, an emblematic figure in French Nouvelle cuisine, inspired Juan Mari Arzak (who became the *padre* of modern Spanish gastronomy) and other Basque chefs to plant the seeds of what would soon become known as new Basque cuisine, the first wave in the Spanish culinary revolution. At that time, Arzak had already received the highest national gastronomy recognition, the Premio Nacional de Gastronomía (National Gastronomy Award) in 1974, while the third Michelin star for his restaurant was to arrive in 1989. The second wave in new Spanish cuisine was initiated in Catalonia in the late 1980s, with Ferran Adrià at the crest of the wave. Adrià received the Premio Nacional de Gastronomía in 1992 and the international recognition of a third Michelin star for his restaurant came in 1997.

Essential in understanding the ability of Spanish chefs to achieve recognition in an international gastronomy field dominated by French haute cuisine is the supportive relationship they establish and maintain across generations. They collaborate in projects, write books together, travel and give master classes abroad, and exchange ideas. Thus the two consecutive waves, rather than bringing conflict to Spanish cuisine, have actually

been very inclusive, creating a critical mass of novelty – the first wave of new Basque chefs supported the new Catalan chefs a decade later, who in turn have respected and built upon the experience of their Basque predecessors. The Basque and Catalan chefs have worked hand in hand, grooming the next (third) generation of chefs, and spreading the fame of the New Spanish cuisine beyond its national boundaries.

### **Setting: Ferran Adrià and elBulli**

As The New York Times has remarked, “while there are many exciting chefs throughout Spain, ... the man who is redefining haute cuisine into alta cocina is a prodigiously talented, self-taught Catalan [Ferran Adrià]” (Lubow, 2003). Ferran Adrià’s career since his beginnings at elBulli in 1983 and up to the present is summarized in Table 1, which highlights the main stages and milestones in the chef’s professional and organizational evolution. In the professional domain, he has evolved from copying existing recipes to being an original, avant-garde, influential chef, followed and imitated by others. In the organizational domain, like French elite chefs, over time he has expanded his business activities to catering and consulting. He has also built a workshop for creativity, at the time a novel practice in the field. In terms of reputation, over time he has gained both recognition by critics and elite chefs, and renown with the general public, facilitated by the interest in his work and persona by the global media.

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Insert Table 1 about here

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## **FINDINGS**

The study revealed four mechanisms through which the chef initiates change:

creativity, theorization, reputation, and dissemination. *Creativity* is about the committed quest for novel concepts and techniques through methods for creativity and appropriate organizing. *Theorization* is manifested in the restaurant's guiding philosophy and its evolutionary map, used to order the developments in the chef's cuisine. It takes place through record-keeping, sense-making, and categorization. *Reputation* is about recognition by peers and critics and a more universal renown, achieved by the chef's projecting and protecting his novel ideas and building consensus about the worth and merit of these ideas among relevant audiences. Finally, *dissemination* is about publications and participation in events in which the chef spreads his ideas. Once public, the chef's novel ideas challenge existing conventions, thus generating paradoxes and providing potential for change.

In the following paragraphs, we discuss the main elements of this model, which is summarized in Figure 1. Several particularities of the model are worth noting. First, the model has two levels – a micro level, at which creativity and theorization take place, and a macro level, at which dissemination is achieved and paradoxes manifested. Reputation is a boundary-spanning activity between the micro and the macro levels, as it combines the chef's own efforts with the building of agreement on his worth and merits among relevant field actors. Arrows between mechanisms show sequence and feedback loops, and not causality. The model also depicts a parallel process generated by the mechanisms and taking place in the domain of ideas – from new ideas' generation to their challenging received ideas.

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Insert Figure 1 about here

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## **Creativity**

Individuals make choices about their engagement in the production of new ideas (Drazin, Glynn, & Kazanjian, 1999). For artists, a steady engagement is essential because gatekeepers judge them on their resilience and seriousness (Lang & Lang, 1988; Caves, 2000). Adrià realized the importance of creativity in 1987 when he heard renowned French chef, Jacques Maximin, explain that “creativity is not copying”, a phrase which had a profound and enduring impact on him.

For Adrià, creativity is a way of life, a passion for creation, an act of honesty and professionalism. It is “the union of two elements: will and ability. The will to do something new, and the ability to do it”. Adrià seeks novelty constantly: “I change the menu every year. A menu is a film where things have to happen... I can’t repeat the same film year after year” (Adrià, in Fancelli, 1999). This is possible because of the “commitment to creativity on a daily basis” (Adrià et al., 2003: 7). In our model creativity denotes both the chef’s willingness to come up with new concepts and techniques and his ability to do that through methods for creativity and organizing.

*Concepts and techniques.* The chef’s creativity is focused on new concepts and techniques. A concept, “foam” for example, is based on a single idea and as such allows experimentation with variations along its dimensions such as taste (e.g. carrot foam), temperature (e.g. hot foam), texture (e.g. air, as a lighter form of foam) etc. Similarly, a technique such as spherification permits the making of caviar-like balls from apple or melon juice, or yolk-like forms from peas. This technical-conceptual creativity “marks one of the most important differences between a simply creative cuisine and a cuisine that is evolving” (Adrià et al., 2004: 111) as it expands the possible variations and combinations, and thus increases the pace and rate of innovation. In addition, concepts

and techniques are at a higher level of abstraction than dishes and thus are easier to theorize about and spread, as they provide room for interpretation by critics and improvisation by adopters.

*Methods for creativity.* The chef uses a great number of methods for creativity. One such method, deconstruction for example, consists in taking a known dish, and then altering the temperature and texture of all or some ingredients. When we try it at first, in visual terms we don't recognize it, but in the end our memory makes us recognize the original dish. This allows Adrià to introduce humor and irony into his dishes, playing with the culinary memory of the diners and surprising them. The following recipe for a deconstructed “Kellogg’s paella” (paella being a traditional Spanish dish made of rice, and Kellogg’s refers to the cereal brand) is an illustration of how a creativity method can be a source of novelty, as it can be applied to different dishes:

“We fry puffed rice in saffron. We drain it. We season the fried rice with a mixture of tomato powder, prawn powder and salt. We boil the stock with which the paella will be moistened. We place a prawn in a pipette with its head (caramelized) and serve them with the paella soup on the side and the Kellogg’s saffron rice, mixing it to remind us of our breakfast Kellogg’s”.

*Organizing.* Due to their nature, art and business call for loose coupling, in which they preserve distinctiveness, yet remain sufficiently responsive for artwork to be produced and reach the market (Alvarez et al., 2005). Part of Adrià’s creative genius is precisely his organizational genius. To sustain his commitment to creativity, Adria has spatially and temporally separated operations (restaurant) from creativity (workshop) and consulting, product/concept development for companies, and own businesses (businesses). These organizations are both autonomous (having dedicated space, time, team and resources) and interdependent, obeying the common logic of creativity and professionalism.

The workshop provides ideas for the restaurant to maintain both high scores on

innovation year after year and its position at the helm of the industry rankings. The strong brand of the restaurant and the chef's reputation bring consulting projects and clients for his own businesses. The revenues from the businesses sustain the creativity workshop and protect the restaurant's purity and exclusivity. For interdependencies to be realized, the decoupled organizational practices of creativity, operations, and businesses need to be coupled back together. This takes place through shared values (e.g. the culinary synthesis discussed in the section on theorization) and a core team.

Ferran is the visible figure at elBulli; yet he is not a sole creator, he relies on a number of committed teams. "In order to be at the top you need to have the best team; what distinguishes us from the rest is that we are one big family, and we have the best team possible" (Adrià, in Oppenheim, 2003: 31). This family has a core that persists over time and guarantees stability, and a periphery which changes over time and brings novelty in. The core consists of the owners of elBulli, Ferran Adrià and Juli Soler, and the pair at the heart of the creativity workshop, Albert Adrià and Oriol Castro. Ferran Adrià describes Juli Soler, his business partner, as 50% of elBulli in all senses, and defines their relationship as a marriage. As for brothers Ferran and Albert, their creative relationship is described as a "perfect symbiosis", which is also true for Albert Adrià and Oriol Castro.

## **Theorization**

Theorization is a process of simplification and abstraction, which develops categories and identifies their properties and relationships (Greenwood et al., 2002). Theorization of artwork has been traditionally a domain of critics, dealers, or art historians (White & White, 1965; Becker, 1982; Caves, 2000). Aiming "not to feed people but to advance culinary knowledge", Adrià has internalized the mechanism of theorization, engaging in



the ordering of his own evolution in a synthesis and an evolutionary map through record-keeping, self-reflection, and categorization.

*Synthesis of elBulli cuisine and evolutionary map.* Theorization takes the shape of a synthesis of the restaurant's consolidated style (see Exhibit 1) and evolutionary map of the chef's work and ideas over time. The synthesis reveals the elements of this distinctive style and also acts as an integrating device that brings together the separated in time and space activities of the restaurant and the workshop.

*Record-keeping* is essential for artists, as "the durability of reputation is closely tied to the artist's leaving behind both a sizable, accessible and identifiable oeuvre" (Lang & Lang, 1988: 95). It facilitates the attribution of artistic endeavors, especially of those with a fleeting life and impossible patenting, such as the dishes in haute cuisine. The chef and his team scrupulously document every permutation they make during the processes of experimentation and creation at the workshop (Bourdain, 2003). Similar thoroughness and discipline in recording is observed when the team travels to "hunt for ideas": "Everything that calls our attention we note down in a notebook, and when we get home we transfer these notes to a general notebook where we include many other ideas, not always related to travel. When we decide to start work for the next season, this is the database that we use. From all these notes will come what is cooked at elBulli the following year".

Thus, creativity provides new ideas that are preserved through record-keeping. They can be reviewed at later time and become a source of new ideas (hence, the feedback arrow connecting theorization and creativity on Figure 1). Record-keeping also allows compiling a kind of annual report on creativity, which is material for self-reflection.

*Self-reflection.* Adrià's interest in reflection dates back to the time when the innovation, production and service all took place in the restaurant. For example, a member of the core team at elBulli at the time explains that Adrià "made me question everything, rethink everything... There was one requirement: the interest to comprehend the "why" of everything. It was about a very tight collaboration and evolution, which the entire team lived profoundly. It was like an open colloquium... We used to spend 24 hours a day together" (Abellán, in Moret, 2005: 33-34). The importance of self-reflection is also manifest in Albert Adrià's accounts of a typical day in the Creativity workshop: "Back at the workshop, we start off with different tests. At four o'clock, [we] get together and assess what we've done, bringing together all the ideas and sensations that have come up throughout the day" (Vicente, 2003). Furthermore, at the workshop "the questions – some of which are clearly threatening, even heretical to the gastronomic status quo – never stop: What is a meal? What is a dinner? What is a chef?" (Bourdain, 2003: 82).

Self-reflection is about sensemaking, as the "primary site where meanings materialize that inform and constrain identity and action" (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005: 409). As Weick et al. (2005) explain, sensemaking has a retrospective part, through which cues are extracted and sense made (explicit comprehension into words), and a prospective part, which serves as a springboard into action. An articulation which converts tacit knowledge into knowledge that is explicit and usable is a sensemaking vehicle that allows improving the process of innovation, and at the same time facilitates the recognition of the artist's contribution and reputation.

*Categorization.* This is the classification of chef's new ideas and their ordering in time lines and in relation to the chef's previous developments. An essential means for categorization is elBulli's evolutionary map which traces the development in products,

techniques, elaborations, styles and characteristics. At the conceptual level, categorization theory belongs to the family of cognitive theories and “describes the formation and use of natural and social concepts of objects by individuals to organize their worlds” (Dutton & Jackson, 1987: 78). This theory argues that individuals form categories through observations of the features and attributes of objects and issues. In this sense, both record-keeping and self-reflection facilitate categorization. Developing categories in turn facilitates recognition of contribution and the dissemination of the ideas.

Record-keeping, self-reflection, and categorization facilitate the attribution of the artist’s work and the identification of his/her worth and contribution. Thus, theorization feeds into reputation, because “what artists do in their lifetimes to facilitate the survival and future identification of their oeuvres is critical in determining whether, and how well, their names will be known to posterity” (Lang & Lang, 1988).

## **Reputation**

Reputation is a prevailing collective definition based on what relevant audiences know about the artist (Lang & Lang, 1988). Thus, the making of reputations is a consensus building process among relevant insiders on the worth and artistic merits of a member of the art world (Becker, 1982). Following Lang and Lang (1988), we distinguish between two elements in Adria’s reputation: (1) his recognition by peers and critics in the haute cuisine field, and (2) his renown beyond this professional circle, in which his work and persona have been legitimized by the global media.

*Recognition* is the esteem, in which peers and other art world insiders hold an artist (Lang & Lang, 1988). Recognition is manifested in evaluations of the artist’s worth

and measures, such as awards won. The data we collected revealed Adrià enjoys wide recognition by elite chefs, both in Spain and internationally, who acknowledge his distinctive style, creativity, and great influence on the field. While skeptical voices exist, calling Adrià's creations "lab food" or "technocuisine" (Steingarten, 2004)), these are rare and the agreement of his worth and merits by the profession is wide. Adrià's worth has also been recognized with numerous prestigious awards from the international culinary critics, among the most recent that of being in the 10 most influential chefs in haute cuisine of the past decade (as voted by 60 international specialized journalists). Furthermore, he has been consistently at the top of the most prestigious rankings: best restaurant in the world by "Restaurant" magazine, a three-Michelin-starred restaurant since 1997, at the top of the ranking of GaultMillau as well as of the Spanish gastronomy guide "Lo Mejor de la Gastronomía" (The Best of Gastronomy).

*Renown* is a more cosmopolitan form of recognition that transcends the artist's art world and shows in the interest of the general press in the artist's work and persona (Lang & Lang, 1988). The chef is known beyond the professional circles of haute cuisine, as revealed in feature articles and covers of The New York Times or Le Monde magazines, or the Financial Times and Newsweek, as well as the acknowledgement given to him as the first chef to enter the 100 most influential persons 2004 Time magazine ranking. The National Geographic and CNN have also shown longer or shorter documentaries on his creativity.

Further, he is the first chef ever invited to take part in the 2007 edition of *Dokumenta* at Kassel in Germany, the most prestigious event for avant-garde art. In a sense, this signal could be interpreted as significant beyond the individual recognition of Adrià, and – through him – as a way of acknowledging that haute cuisine could be

considered as an artistic manifestation, thus moving away from a low towards a high art form. This in itself is a signal for a potential for change in a field, in which “Cooks as a group have not fully achieved artistic status in the eyes of the public”; “Like tattooers, hair stylists, decorators, and graphic designers, they are “quasi-artists” (Fine, 1996: 100).

This has allowed Adrià to develop and leverage a very strong brand: “...for the past few years of practically rabid press interest, the chef has got involved with, and lent his name to, a host of projects that are separate from his restaurant. There is no doubt about it; the Adrià name has become a marketable commodity” (Simon, 2004: 12).

*Actor's efforts to project and protect new ideas.* Reputations arise out of the comparison between what an artist and others doing similar work in the art world have done (Becker, 1982). For this comparison to take place, artists could proactively spend time and energy to communicate and signal their uniqueness and worth (Kapsis, 1992; Jones, 2002). In their quest for authenticity, artists combine identity expression with image manufacturing, the latter realized through self-presentations of the artist with relevant audiences or through presentations by an intermediary, who is either chosen by the artist or self-appointed (Svejenova, 2005).

Central to understanding the building of the chef's reputation is his ability to get attention by and approval of legitimating gatekeepers and high status players in the field.

As expressed by the chef:

You know that in this life you are what others say you are. Having said that, there have been three important moments in my professional career: first, when the Gault Mile guide came to Spain - and put us on a level with the French. Second, when the mythical Joel Robuchon said that I was the best chef in the world; and third, when Carlo Petrini, the creator of Slow Food, currently the most important movement in the world of gastronomy, came to El Bulli this year [1998] and said to me: “This is unique in the world”. He went back to Italy, sent a team from RAI to record a program that was broadcast on a Sunday at prime time. They spent twenty minutes recounting marvels about elBulli, and it was in Italy that the revolution broke out.

By intensifying media interest in Adrià, these high esteem actors in the field help shape and spread his reputation.

Further, Adrià has been very responsive to the media. His awareness of, availability for and attention to local and global media has been essential in the making of his renown, and in his becoming a celebrity chef and a recognized brand of vanguard and creativity. He does not have a PR team (this function is performed by his personal assistant, who is a former employee in the kitchen and service of the restaurant) and does not proactively seek contact with the media. However, he continues meeting with the different media regularly, on their request. To avoid frequent interruption of his creative activities, he usually concentrates the interviews into certain weeks. For example, on the day we went to interview him, there were 6 other interviews scheduled.

The continuous efforts of the chef to project and protect his novel ideas demand keeping track of those ideas as well as reflecting upon and categorizing them (hence, the feedback arrow from reputation to theorization depicted on Figure 1). Having become a high-status actor, the chef has more latitude with being original and can spark a process of imitation by his peers (Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2005), which facilitates the spread of his ideas and influence.

## **Dissemination**

It is the mechanism for spreading new ideas that have been generated through creativity, theorized, and given worth through the chef's reputation. Dissemination consists of publications in different media and presentations by the chef in courses or at events.

*Publications and presentations.* Publications in the form of books by the chef, his regular contributions to selected magazines, or articles about the chef in the general press,

all of which allow the chef's ideas to spread within and outside the field of haute cuisine. Further, the publishing of books allows the chef to protect his contributions in an industry that lacks any other mechanisms for safeguarding them: "The only way we have to combat plagiarism is by publishing our books. In these, we set out our recipes, how each dish is made, etc. Basically, it is like patenting our recipes" (Adrià, in Molina, 2005).

Presentations could be at courses, such as those organized between 1994 and 1999 at elBulli during the periods when the restaurant was closed, and targeting new or aspiring chefs. They could also be at events in front of elite professional audiences. Adrià explains what happens in a presentations they held in Adelaide, Australia, in the premises of the Cordon Bleu school there:

"...For four hours, we explained our philosophy, how we understand that the senses work in cuisine, our way of seeing the sixth sense, the symbiosis between the sweet and savory worlds, and our overall understanding of cuisine. At the end, they stood up and applauded for twenty minutes. It was one of the happiest moments of our gastronomic lives. We were 20,000 kilometers from home, but here were many leaders of opinion from different countries who now understood that there was a modern Spanish cuisine" (Adrià, 2002, 14 August).

*Actor's efforts to spread his work.* Adrià uses a number of different media to disseminate his work – DVDs, contributions to magazines and radio programs, or books. Books are of two types – elite and targeting the art world, or accessible and aimed at the mass market, which corresponds to gaining recognition from peers and renown from various audiences. Since 2002, through their own publishing company elBullibooks, Adrià and his team have published what has been considered a "culinary bible" – five luxury volumes of over 2000 pages, with accompanying guidebooks and CD-ROMs, tracing the history and evolution of the culinary philosophy, the organization and the most emblematic dishes of elBulli. Published in a number of languages the book has inspired chefs in Spain and abroad, becoming "the most talked-about, sought-after, wildly impressive and imposingly intimidating collectible in the world of professional chefs and

cookbook works” (Bourdain, 2003).

A major gate for contact with interested media, professionals and individuals is the website of elBulli, which provides a wealth of information on the culinary philosophy, history and organization of the business, as well as giving access to the chef’s press archive and a photo gallery. The chef’s dissemination activities target a number of key stakeholders (e.g. media, profession, general public). These activities not only build his reputation, but also secure and enhance his reputation over time by maintaining his visibility with audiences and chronicling his contributions and new ideas. (hence, the feedback arrow from dissemination to reputation depicted on Figure 1).

### **The Flow of New Ideas**

As Figure 1 reveals, the outcomes of the process from creativity to dissemination are manifested in the flow of new ideas. Creativity leads to generation of new concepts and techniques. These in turn get recorded, reflected upon and categorized within the evolutionary line of the chef’s trajectory. Legitimated by powerful gatekeepers through the chef’s reputation, these ideas gain worth, which facilitates their dissemination and allows them to enter the public domain, where they challenge received ideas. The accumulation of such contradictions is manifested in paradoxes and plants “the seeds of institutional change” (Seo & Creed, 2002: 226).

### **Paradoxes**

A paradox is about contradiction - ruptures and inconsistencies among and within social arrangements - that continuously generate tension and conflicts that may, under certain circumstances, become a driving force of institutional change (Seo & Creed, 2002). The



literature on institutional change has acknowledged that “insiders with expertise can attack existing logics and social identities because these inhibit autonomy, creativity and freedom, and can proffer new logics and identities on the grounds that these expand individual autonomy and, by implication, enlarge professional control” (Rao et al., 2003: 805). Our study identified a logics paradox and an identity paradox, which arise when the chef’s ideas are contrasted with the haute cuisine’s ruling conventions.

*The Logics Paradox.* Logics are the deeply held and often unexamined underlying assumptions that shape the framework of reasoning; they encode criteria of legitimacy and provide guidelines for action (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). When there are competing logics in a field, there is an opportunity for a dominant logic to be substituted by a novel one. For example, Nouvelle cuisine’s activists rejected classical cuisine: “desire emerged in us... to do something else, to singularize ourselves, to be recalcitrant and reject the traditional authority and whatever existed before” (chef Michel Guérard, quoted in Rao et al., 2003: 808).

We argue that Adrià’s way of cooking anchored in incessant creativity (see the “Synthesis of elBulli Cuisine” on Exhibit 1) could spark off contradictions with the canon of the still dominant Nouvelle cuisine. According to the chef, “There’s always been art in haute cuisine. What’s happening now is that there is a demand for the art to be surprising, that it have a greater design factor. There’s a demand for creativity in everything, and cooking couldn’t be an exception...we live from creativity”. At the heart of Adrià’s culinary logic are the six senses - sight, smell, touch, hearing, taste, and reasoning, the latter being about irony, humor, provocation, childhood memories, surprise, game, magic, de-contextualization, and gastronomic culture of the diner in the appreciation of a meal. It allows the introduction of emotions into the dining experience.

Consumption *à la Adrià* is long, and can consist of a couple of dozen small portions, unlike the usually short consumption in the restaurants of French Nouvelle cuisine. Service in Nouvelle cuisine is through the plate. At elBulli, the server has a particular didactic role that consists of educating the diner, explaining to him or her how the dish should be consumed to make the most of the experience. As in the chef's culinary philosophy food marries fun, in the quest for the diners' happiness, servers are no longer waiters, they are "bearers of happiness". Thus, the utilitarian blends with the aesthetic and the emotional, producing a unique and multi-layered hybrid logic. This is the source of the first paradox, the Logics Paradox, which juxtaposes the hybrid logics put forward by elBulli with that of the Nouvelle cuisine, which misses the emotional dimension.

Below is a brief illustration of some differences between Adrià's style and some conventional representatives of the Nouvelle cuisine. It is an excerpt from an article in the New Yorker on the changing landscape of French cooking, which explores the disquieting suicide of Bernard Loiseau, a French chef of a three Michelin stars' restaurant:

Adrià designs new plates every year to complement his latest dishes. Foie-gras sorbet and foie-gras consommé sit side by side on a white porcelain dish, an oval with two shallow depressions. Loiseau served a traditional grilled foie gras on a traditional round plate. Loiseau felt threatened by these developments and the attention they attracted. A number of his employees told me that, unable to grasp the notion of a Spanish celebrity chef, he focused his jealousy on Marc Veyrat, the most passionate advocate of Adrià's style creativity in France (Echikson, 2003: 66).

Neither the notion of a Spanish celebrity chef, nor his vanguard creations were comprehensible or conceivable for Loiseau. Chefs cope differently with the pressures of a field demanding incessant innovation and constantly reshuffling the reputation hierarchy. Some chefs voluntarily renounce being part of the Guide Michelin stardom in attempt to regain freedom back (e.g. Alain Senderens, Joel Robuchon). Others abandon the quest for

invention, praised by the haute cuisine, to embark on extensions of their celebrity brands. The media celebrates, accentuates, and magnifies this tension between the hegemony of the Nouvelle cuisine and the rising alternatives to it, such as the Nueva Spanish cuisine, which puts additional pressures on the survival of reputations and leads to “a shift in the zeitgeist” (Lubow, 2003: 41).

*The Identity Paradox.* The second paradox is about the pursuit of both distinctiveness and inclusion. It is manifested in the chef’s pursuit of personal reputation based on a unique style, yet the use of this reputation to raise the collective reputation and identity of modern Spanish cuisine: “It is a movement in Spain. It is not only me. In a culture with a very strong traditional gastronomy, there is a cuisine for the first time with new techniques and concepts. It is a new nouvelle cuisine,” affirms Adrià (Lubow, 2003). Asked about his achievements, he tends to divert attention away from his own merits to those of the New Spanish cuisine as a whole, thus using his individual recognition and renown to foster the collective reputation of the local haute cuisine field. Further, he recognizes the contribution of previous generations and shows respect and support for both tradition and new talent.

Thus, paradoxically, Adrià is inclusive rather than exclusive with respect to the the Spanish haute cuisine field. For example, when presenting his work abroad, he is aware of his symbolic role: “... Most of those present were specialist journalists from all over the world... We were aware that we had to leave them with a good impression of contemporary Spanish cuisine, of which we form a part” (Adrià, 2002, 14 August).

As an identity, the chef in Nouvelle cuisine is an artist and a restaurant owner. For Adrià, the chef is also a passionate and disciplined creator, a learned man who advances the culinary knowledge, a marketer of his own reputation, and a missionary of his own

ideas and of the reputation of his local field. He is also inclusive, rather than exclusive in building his identity, which allows him to extend his reputation and renown to that of the Spanish culinary field as a whole.

Both the logics and the identity paradoxes generate tensions and conflicts, and thus cook up the seeds for change, which under some circumstances may sprout and trigger action to alter the present order in haute cuisine.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

Our objective was to understand how an institutional entrepreneur initiates change. Our research suggested the following dynamic: the actor's commitment to creativity generates a continuous flow of new ideas, which are then theorized and, because of the actor's reputation, considered worthy of attention. This helps them reach the public domain and challenge existing ideas, which in turn leads to paradoxes in the field and a potential for change.

Our first contribution to the institutional literature is to shed light on the initial stage of a change process, when a potential for change gets shaped by identifying its mechanisms (creativity, theorization, reputation, and dissemination) and providing an explanation of how they shape the potential for change. Based on our choice of mechanism-based theorizing, our model can aspire to explain but not to predict (Davis & Marquis, 2005).

Second, this study also adds to the work on cultural industries by providing an insight into how creativity, as a mechanism, is handled in a systematic way for the incessant generation of novel ideas. While in the business world such disciplined (Drucker, 1985) and continuous (Hargadon, 1998) innovation is well accepted and

manifested in dedicated R&D facilities of science and high technology companies, in cultural sectors having a research lab where artists experiment with new ideas for a dedicated time and in a dedicated space, has been less frequent or usual. The case shows that this R&D-like approach to creativity in a cultural setting can increase the pace and rate of innovation without sacrificing artistic quality and authenticity. Further work is needed on how R&D practices are organized and operate in under-researched areas such as the arts and other cultural settings.

Third, we add to the conversation on theorization, by suggesting that this mechanism operates not only at the stage of legitimating change but also at the rather incipient stage of change initiation. Further, it could be carried out not only at the macro level by legitimate gatekeepers, but also at the micro level by institutional entrepreneurs who internalize this role to gain control over theorization.

Fourth, diffusion has been an essential element in studies of field transformation. Yet, similarly to theorization, diffusion has been depicted as a macro level process, which takes place in the field after a jolt has happened and change has been legitimated through theorization. By focusing on dissemination instead of diffusion, we examined an important, yet largely unstudied process of a proactive spread of new ideas by their authors as a source of potential change.

Next, institutional scholars have been neglectful to the role of actors' reputation in developing a potential for change. While they have recognized that high status actors have it easier to set the change process off, they have said little on how reputation helps the dissemination of ideas by conferring them worthy of attention. Our model provided some insights in that direction.

The two paradoxes we unraveled also add to the understanding of change. Unlike

conflict-based field change, the identity paradox we put forward sought to explain the emergence of a shock promoted by a high-status agent who influences the field evolution in an inclusive fashion. In this way, we provide an important counterpart to those institutional stories which involve social movements and conflict (Zald, 1996). We believe this is a useful direction for further exploration that may refine understanding of institutional evolution, which is cumulative rather than substitutive. The logics paradox we identified has manifestations beyond haute cuisine in an increasing number of sectors, such as the blending of the expressive and the functional in architecture (Jones and Thornton, 2005), the synthesis between the artistic and mechanical worlds achieved by European modernist architects of the 1890-1930 period who found an aesthetic message in scientific management (Guillén, 1997), or the bringing in of fashion logic into mobile telephony (Djelic & Ainamo, 2005). Further study of logics hybrids that combine multiple dimensions is needed.

In more general terms, this study sought to contribute to the theoretical debate on the role of agency in institutional change. In this sense, we acknowledge that fifteen years later, Fligstein's (1997) concern with the underestimation of "the relative power of actors" (p. 312) in regard with institutional change is still compelling and worth investigation. Exogenous shocks have been recognized as a trigger of change, but the role of continuous creativity of an institutional entrepreneur as a potential endogenous shock has been rather neglected and deserves further attention, beyond the incipient stage of change initiation.

The study has limitations that invite further research. We examined and defined how an institutional entrepreneur initiates change on the basis of a single case. To deepen insight on creativity as a potential endogenous jolt that is able to trigger a field change,

cases from other creative sectors should be examined. Furthermore, such framing would require an examination of the composition and relationships in a field before and after the endogenous jolt. Research efforts are also needed to untangle the mechanisms for legitimating and diffusion of the type of change we encountered – cooperative, expansive, and inclusive. Finally, in an era in which creativity is essential to companies' survival and competitiveness, understanding how creativity can be sustained over time may yield useful insights and implications for artistic, academic, and business endeavors.

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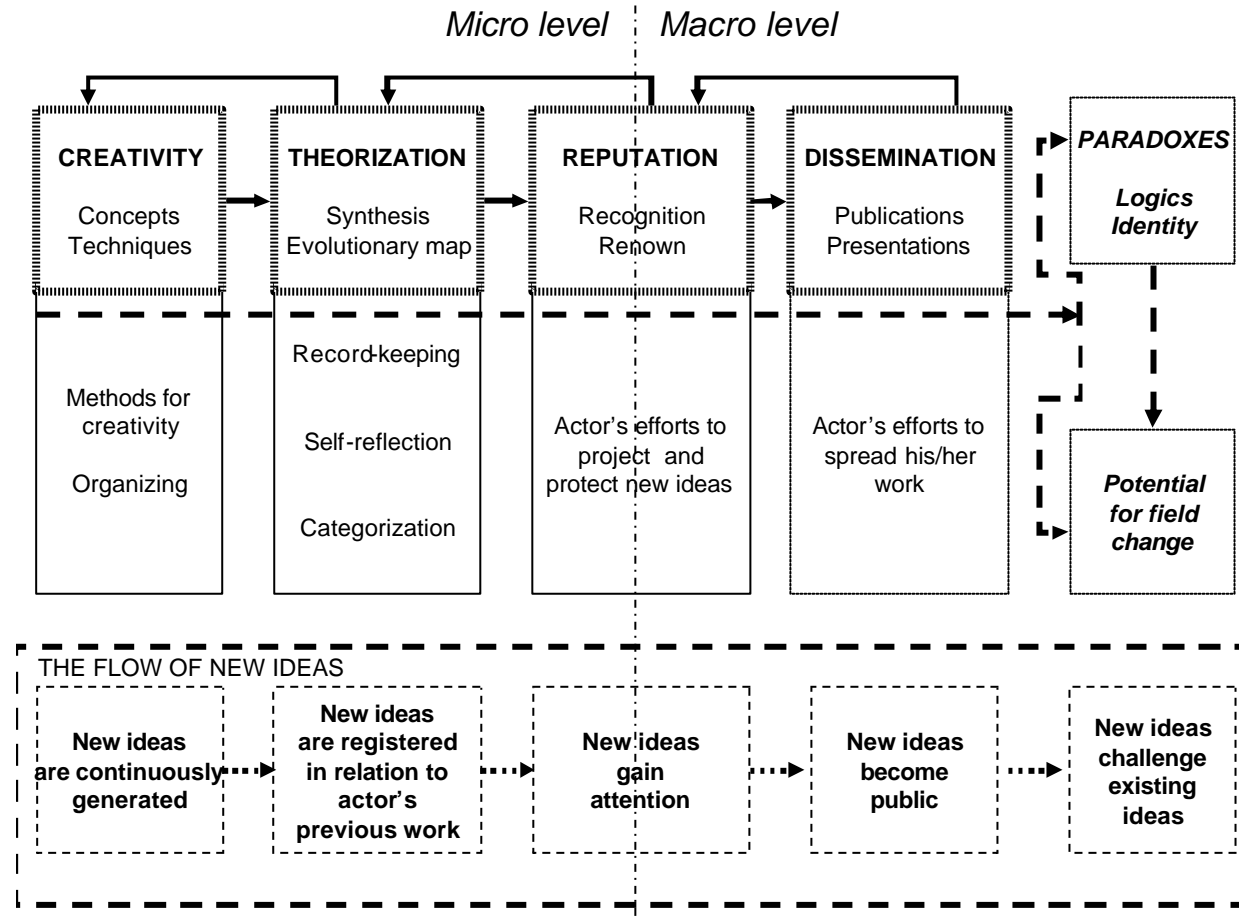
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**TABLE 1**  
**Ferran Adrià: Professional and Organizational Evolution**

Stages	1983-1986	1987-1993	1994-1997	1998-2002	2003-2006
<b>PROFESSIONAL EVOLUTION</b>					
Career	Stage/Co -chef of elBulli <sup>4</sup>	Chef of elBulli (cuisine becomes vocation)	Chef and co-owner of elBulli	Elite chef and co-owner of elBulli	Celebrity chef and co-owner of elBulli
Style	French Nouvelle cuisine	Local heritage (Catalan, Spanish, Mediterranean)	Quest for personal style	Personal style	Consolidated personal style
Method	Learning & Copying Classical and Nouvelle cuisine recipes	Inspiration, Adaptation, Association	Technical-conceptual search	Creative methods and principles	Synthesis, 23 principles (see Exhibit 1)
Reputation	Enters haute cuisine at the core, as a chef of a two-Michelin -star restaurant	Respects international and local field conventions	Recognition by peers and critics with highest ratings in leading industry guides and magazines; 1995 - 19 points by Gault & Millau (maintained) 1997 - Third Michelin star (maintained)		Renown outside the culinary field; on the cover of major national and international magazine; numerous prestigious awards
<b>ORGANIZATIONAL EVOLUTION</b>					
Organizing the business	elBullirestaurant (closed 2 months a year) kitchen of 50m2  Consulting projects for restaurants and hotels on an ad-hoc basis	elBullirestaurant (closed 5 months a year) new kitchen of 325 m2  Consulting projects for restaurants and hotels on an ad-hoc basis	elBullirestaurant (closed 6 months a year)  elBullicatering, a catering business based in Barcelona	elBullirestaurant (closed 6 months a year, serving only dinner)  elBullicatering (Madrid) elBullicarmen – consulting for major quality brands elBullihotel	elBullirestaurant (closed 6 months a year, serving only dinner)  Consulting to Food, Beverages, and Hotel businesses; own businesses: catering, publishing
Organizing the creativity	Sporadic visits to and internship ( <i>stage</i> ) in restaurants of French elite chefs	Sporadic visits to restaurants of French elite chefs  Dedicated time for creativity in cooking at the studio of a Catalan sculptor	R&D section created at the elBullirestaurant (when not serving meals)  Temporary workshop at Talaia restaurant (after work)  Creativity workshop at the premises of elBullicatering (dedicated to creativity team of two)	elBullitaller - creativity workshop opened in dedicated premises, Barcelona; Additional creativity workshop at the restaurant;  Two creativity teams: creativity for the restaurant and creativity applied to business	ALICIA Foundation (scientific, cultural and social work in food)  Four creativity teams  Scientific department – a bridge between the Creativity Workshop and Alicia

<sup>4</sup> A two-star Guide Michelin restaurant with French influence; Two stars was the highest recognition for a Spanish restaurant until 1987 when Zalacaín in Madrid received three stars from the Guide Michelin.

**FIGURE 1**  
**How an Institutional Entrepreneur Initiates Change**



## EXHIBIT 1

### Synthesis of elBulli cuisine<sup>5</sup>

*In the mid-1990s a new style of cuisine began to be forged. Today, this style has been wholly consolidated and may be defined in the following terms:*

1. Cooking is a language through which all the following properties may be expressed: harmony, creativity, happiness, beauty, poetry, complexity, magic, humour, provocation and culture.
2. The use of top quality products and technical knowledge to prepare them properly is taken for granted.
3. All products have the same gastronomic value, regardless of their price.
4. Preference is given to vegetables and seafood, with a key role also being played by dairy products, nuts and other products that make up a light form of cooking. In recent years red meat and large cuts of poultry have been very sparingly used.
5. Although the characteristics of the products may be modified (temperature, texture, shape, etc.), the aim is always to preserve the purity of their original flavour, except for processes that call for long cooking or seek the nuances of particular reactions such as the Maillard reaction.
6. Cooking techniques, both classic and modern, are a heritage that the cook has to know how to exploit to the maximum.
7. As has occurred in most fields of human evolution down the ages, new technologies are a resource for the progress of cooking.
8. The family of stocks is being extended. Together with the classic ones, lighter stocks performing an identical function are now being used (waters, broths, consommés, clarified vegetable juices, nut milk, etc.).
9. The information given off by a dish is enjoyed through the senses; it is also enjoyed and interpreted by reflection.
10. Taste is not the only sense that can be stimulated: touch can also be played with (contrasts of temperatures and textures), as well as smell, sight (colours, shapes, trompe d'oeil, etc.), whereby the five senses become one of the main points of reference in the creative cooking process.
11. The technique-concept search is the apex of the creative pyramid.
12. Creation involves teamwork. In addition, research has become consolidated as a new feature of the culinary creative process.
13. The barriers between the sweet and savoury world are being broken down. Importance is being given to a new cold cuisine, particularly in the creation of the frozen savoury world.
14. The classical structure of dishes is being broken down: a veritable revolution is underway in first courses and desserts, closely bound up with the concept of symbiosis between the sweet and savoury world; in main dishes the "product-garnish-sauce" hierarchy is being broken down.
15. A new way of serving food is being promoted. The dishes are finished in the dining room by the serving staff. In other cases the diners themselves participate in this process.
16. Regional cuisine as a style is an expression of its own geographical and cultural context as well as its culinary traditions. Its bond with nature complements and enriches this relationship with its environment.
17. Products and preparations from other countries are subjected to one's particular style of cooking.
18. There are two main paths towards attaining harmony of products and flavours: through memory (connection with regional cooking traditions, adaptation, deconstruction, former modern recipes), or through new combinations.
19. A culinary language is being created which is becoming more and more ordered, that on some occasions establishes a relationship with the world and language of art.
20. Recipes are designed to ensure that harmony is to be found in small servings.
21. Decontextualisation, irony, spectacle, performance are completely legitimate, as long as they are not superficial but respond to, or are closely bound up with, a process of gastronomic reflection.
22. The *menu de dégustation* is the finest expression of avant-garde cooking. The structure is alive and subject to changes. Concepts such as snacks, *tapas*, pre-desserts, morphs, etc., are coming into their own.
23. Knowledge and/or collaboration with experts from different fields (gastronomic culture, history, industrial design, etc.) is essential for progress in cooking. In particular collaboration with the food industry and the scientific world has brought about fundamental advances. Sharing this knowledge among cooking professionals has contributed to this evolution.

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<sup>5</sup> Source: <http://www.elBulli.com> (last accessed on 24<sup>th</sup> July, 2006)

## APPENDIX A

### Data Sources

#### *Sources in Spanish*

- (a) 1 semi-structured interview with Ferran Adrià (19 December 2005, duration: 57 min, recorded).
- (b) 1 semi-structured interview with Toni Massanés, Director of Alicia, an initiative of Ferran Adrià with Caixa Manresa and the Generalitat de Catalunya, and an expert in haute cuisine (10 May 2005, duration: 2 hours, recorded).
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