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Institutional Change in Toque Ville: Nouvelle Cuisine as an Identity Movement in French Gastronomy¹

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A challenge facing cultural-frame institutionalism is to explain how existing institutional logics and role identities are replaced by new logics and role identities. This article depicts identity movements that strive to expand individual autonomy as motors of institutional change. It proposes that the sociopolitical legitimacy of activists, extent of theorization of new roles, prior defections by peers to the new logic, and gains to prior defectors act as identity-discrepant cues that induce actors to abandon traditional logics and role identities for new logics and role identities. A study of how the nouvelle cuisine movement in France led elite chefs to abandon classical cuisine during the period starting from 1970 and ending in 1997 provides wide-ranging support for these arguments. Implications for research on institutional change, social movements, and social identity are outlined.

Institutions are composed of logics and governance structures and are produced or enacted by individuals and corporate actors (McAdam and Scott 2002). Institutional logics are the belief systems that furnish guide-

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lines for practical action (Friedland and Alford 1991), and governance structures consist of the arrangements by which field-level power and authority are exercised. So defined, institutions denote durability: logics constitute the identities of actors and generate obligations, and governance structures constrain action. Since institutions structure human action, organizations resemble each other and reflect little diversity (Meyer and Rowan 1977; DiMaggio and Powell 1983).

Such institutional arguments that explain stability are poorly suited to illuminate institutional change (Powell 1991, pp. 183–200). So, a central challenge facing cultural-frame institutionalism consists of explaining the locus and sources of institutional change (Clemens and Cook 1999). Institutional change can consist of (a) institution formation or the birth of a new logic or governance structure, (b) deinstitutionalization or the dissolution of an existing logic or governance structure, and (c) reinstitutionalization where an existing logic or governance structure is replaced by a new logic or governance structure (Scott 2001).

An emerging synthesis of social movement theory and cultural-frame institutionalism suggests that social movements are important motors of institution building, deinstitutionalization, and reinstitutionalization in organizational fields (McAdam and Scott 2002; Rao, Morill, and Zald 2000). Social movements are collective challenges to authority in political and cultural domains that endeavor to affect change at various levels of social life (Snow 2002). Researchers distinguish between instrumental movements and identity movements. Instrumental movements seek to redress injustices, challenge economic and political structures, and strive for policy impact in the form of new laws or governance structures. By contrast, identity movements arise in opposition to the dominant cultural codes, consist of a “we-feeling” sustained through interactions among movement participants, and are expressed through cultural materials such as names, narratives, symbols, and rituals (Taylor and Whittier 1992). Identity movements seek autonomy rather than justice, aspire to cultural change, and promote new institutional logics (Gamson 1995). Unlike instrumental movements powered by bureaucratic social movement organizations, identity movements tend to be more informal, decentralized, and diffuse (Melucci 1996).

Students of institutional change have emphasized instrumental movements but have devoted little attention to identity movements. Thus, scholars have looked at how instrumental social movements have promoted the rise of new institutions such as consumer watchdog groups (Rao 1998) or alternate dispute resolution systems (Morrill 2001). Other scholars have analyzed how instrumental social movements compelled American colleges to disinvest from firms with business interests in South Africa (Soule 1999) and prompted the replacement of managerial capi-

talism by investor capitalism (Davis and Thompson 1994). However, cultural-frame institutionalists have yet to grapple with how identity movements challenge cultural codes, reshape the identities of individuals, and promote changes in lifestyles and individual practices.

Moreover, cultural-frame institutionalism says little about how social movements underpin reinstitutionalization in the professions. For the most part, cultural-frame institutionalists have portrayed the professions as an exogenous force operating on organizations, but they seldom study how old logics are replaced by new logics in the professions (Scott 2001). Cultural-frame institutionalism has tended to emphasize the role of professional logics in shaping the role identity of actors but has glossed over the sources of variation in professional logics and role identities (Clemens and Cook 1999). The study of identity movements in professions can enable us to understand how social movements foster cultural change in the professions by reshaping logics and redefining the role identities of individuals (Polletta and Jasper 2001).

We start with the premise that institutional logics are the organizing principles that furnish guidelines to actors as to how to behave (Friedland and Alford 1991). Institutional logics create distinctive categories, beliefs, expectations, and motives and thereby constitute the social identity of actors. One link between an institutional logic and the behavior of individual actors is social identity, or the self-image derived by actors when they categorize themselves as members of a collectivity or occupants of a role (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Stryker 2000; Deaux and Martin 2000). The other link between logics and individual behavior, of course, is a system of incentives that rewards actors for conformity to a given logic and penalizes actors for violations of behavior (Ingram and Clay 2000).

We propose that identity movements in the professions critique the existing logic and role identity as constraints on autonomy, and they offer a new logic and role identity emphasizing expanded autonomy. Since role identities are more proximal and concrete when compared with institutional logics, identity movements celebrate differences between the traditional role identity and the new role identity (Bernstein 1997). Both role identities compete for behavioral expression at the level of individual actors. Drawing on self-categorization theory (Turner 1985), we suggest that identity movements disseminate identity-discrepant cues that jeopardize the old logic and role identity and lead actors to adopt the new logic and new role identity. We discuss four types of identity-discrepant cues as the sources of change: the sociopolitical legitimacy of activists, theorization of new roles to be adopted, defections of peers from the traditional logic to the insurgent logic, and gains that accrue to prior defectors. We also predict that theorization is a more influential identity-

discrepant cue than prior defections by peers and gains accruing to prior defectors.

Empirically, we study how these identity-discrepant cues disseminated by the nouvelle cuisine movement induced elite French chefs to abandon the orthodoxy of classical cuisine for nouvelle cuisine. The nouvelle cuisine movement arose in opposition to classical cuisine embodied in Escoffier's academism and was built around 10 commandments centered around the values of truth, light, simplicity, and imagination. Classical cuisine emphasized the power of the restaurateur, long menus requiring huge inventories and little freshness, rituals outside the plate, flambé preparations, and a long consumption process. By contrast, nouvelle cuisine emphasized the autonomy of the chef, with short menus requiring fresh ingredients and low inventories, service through the plate, and a short consumption process. We undertake a longitudinal study of elite French chefs and begin our window of observation in 1970, when the nouvelle cuisine movement arose, and end our observation in 1997, because by then, "cuisine sous contrat" and "cuisine rassurante" (comforting and reassuring cuisine) had arisen on the scene.

We draw on multiple sources of data to develop an analytical narrative of the nouvelle cuisine movement. We interviewed gastronomic critics and faculty members at the leading professional schools (École des Arts Culinaires et de l'Hotellerie created under the patronage of Paul Bocuse in the late 1980s in Lyon, France, and École de Savignac in Périgord) to gain a contextual understanding of classical and nouvelle cuisine. These interviews lasted from two to four hours and were recorded; all told, there were 20 chefs, 15 gastronomic critics, and four professors. Some chefs had one star, others had two stars, and a few had three stars. Some of the chefs had lost a star, and others had gained a star. Some chefs worked in restaurants that included a complementary hotel service, and others belonged to the top-end luxurious chain Relais et Châteaux. Our gastronomic critics were editors or columnists in leading journals such as *La Revue Thuries*. We relied on annual directories issued by the *Guide Michelin* to obtain panel data on elite French chefs. Below, we draw on all of these sources to chronicle how French chefs abandoned the institutional logic and role identity embodied in classical cuisine and embraced nouvelle cuisine.

NOUVELLE CUISINE IN FRENCH GASTRONOMY AS AN IDENTITY MOVEMENT

French gastronomy is a site of convention and invention (Ferguson 1998, p. 637). Gastronomy emerged as a field in the first half of the 19th century

with the advent of restaurants—a secular culinary tradition that countered negative judgments of gastronomic pleasure—and with the rise of a culinary discourse in which gastronomic journalists and chefs codified culinary knowledge and formalized French national cuisine (see Ferguson [1998] for a detailed account of its early origins). Subsequently, its development in the 20th century may be understood as a professional project consisting of the creation of a body of knowledge, the organization of professional bodies, and the consolidation of a professional elite.

The French Revolution of 1789 undermined the institutional logic of the ancien régime cuisine and the associated role identity of the chef. In the ancien régime, meals were public spectacles organized according to hierarchy, and the chef was virtually owned by patrons or nobles. But after the French Revolution, chefs who once worked in the houses of private patrons offered their services to the public by establishing restaurants in Paris and its environs. Haute cuisine shifted from private homes into public restaurants; the spectacle of the banquet was replaced by a more intimate encounter; the hierarchy of the banquet of the ancien régime was supplanted by a more egalitarian order; and the extravagance of banquets gave way to economy (Ferguson 1998).

An informal and decentralized gastronomic effort to systematize the principles of this cuisine was led by chefs and gastronomic journalists. Among these writers, the most influential was Antonin Carême (1784–1833), a chef who worked in the houses of great patrons such as Talleyrand. He pioneered the effort to systematize the principles of the modern cuisine that emerged after the French Revolution. Carême disparaged the old cuisine of the ancien régime because it did not mesh with the zeitgeist of postrevolutionary France, and in his *Philosophical History of Cuisine* (1833), Carême took the idea of chef as artist from ancien régime cuisine and created a vision of *grande cuisine* as both an art and a science. He simplified meals so that there were four courses at dinner instead of eight, gave more space to those persons sitting at the table, and sought to redefine humble dishes such as the *pot au feu* as the essence of a modern cuisine. He and his disciples produced sauces that were works of art; sauces such as bourguignonne, salmis, sauce suprême, or sauce hollandaise camouflaged the meat, game, or fish being served rather than enhancing their flavor (Simon 1952). Stressing delicacy, order, and economy, Carême brought symmetry to the service of meals and introduced a new awareness of freshness and sanitation into the French kitchen. Carême's ideas quickly diffused throughout the kitchens of Parisian restaurants, and the rest of France, and reshaped the culinary culture of the times (Ferguson 1998).

Classical Cuisine: Institutional Logic and Role Identity

Carème's ideas were strengthened by a new breed of chefs such as Georges Auguste Escoffier (1847–1935) and his circle of collaborators—including his friend Prosper Montagné (1865–1948), author of the *Larousse Gastronomique* (1938), who worked in the kitchens of fashionable hotels that had been established in the major cities of Europe, notably by César Ritz, toward the end of the 19th century. If Carème's books constituted the Old Testament, Escoffier's *Guide Culinaire*, first published in 1903, was the New Testament that formed the body of what came to be known as classical cuisine and remains a central text in the training of professional cooks, even to the present day (Mennell 1993). Escoffier wrote down dishes in the order of presentation (*service à la russe*) and developed the first *à la carte* menu. He simplified the art of cooking by getting rid of ostentatious food displays and elaborate garnishes and reduced the number of courses served. He emphasized the use of seasonal foods and urged that sauces be used to reveal the flavors of game, meat, and fish rather than to conceal them. Escoffier simplified professional kitchen organization, as he integrated it into a single unit from its previously individualized sections, which operated autonomously and led to waste and duplication of labor. It was during the Escoffier era that French haute cuisine achieved the undisputed international hegemony that it had begun to acquire since the Restoration (Mennell 1993). Escoffier summarized classical cuisine as follows: "In a word, cookery whilst continuing to be an art will become scientific and will have to submit its formulas which very often are still too empirical, to a method and precision which leaves nothing to chance" (1907, preface).

He conceived of classical cuisine as codified grammar of culinary practice: a *product* can be *cooked* in different ways, *served* with different sauces, and *accompanied* with different fillings. Escoffier's guide was issued in several editions and remained the dominant orthodoxy until it was undermined by the nouvelle cuisine movement. Fischler (1989, 1993) identified five dimensions as useful in understanding the institutional logic and role identity of classical cuisine: culinary rhetoric, rules of cooking, archetypal ingredients used, role of the chef, and the organization of the menu. Table 1 displays these dimensions, and we describe them below.

The culinary rhetoric of classical cuisine reveals the emphasis on conservatism and preservation. Often, dishes have the names of places, noblemen, or mythological characters associated with them. Neirinck and Poulain (1997, pp. 59–62) studied Carème's texts and found that nearly 213 dishes had names associated with noblemen. Moreover, cooking consisted of the application of two rules: conformation to the rules formulated by Carème and Escoffier and sublimation of the ingredients such that the

TABLE 1
 CLASSICAL CUISINE: INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS AND ROLE IDENTITIES

Dimension	Defining Characteristics
Culinary rhetoric	Names of dishes refer to <i>Rhetoric, Memory, and Legitimacy</i> .
Rules of cooking	<i>Conformation</i> , or staying in conformity with Escoffier’s principles. Examples: gratins and quenelles, terrines, pâtés, confits, jambons, jambonneaux, saucissons, boudins, andouillettes. <i>Sublimation</i> , or sublimating the ingredients: brioches, croûtes, vessies, farces, émincés, chaussons, croustades, vol au vent, sauces, flambages (flambé), bisques, délices, dodines, timbales, Chateaubriand.
Archetypal ingredients	High game, shellfish, cream, poultry, river fish
Role of the chef	The restaurateur, rarely the owner, and never the cook, has the power in the rooms of luxury hotels and palaces. The classical service is organized through the saucepan. The waiters cut and serve the dishes, blaze (“flambé”) preparations. The rituals are outside the plate.
Organization of the menu	Extremely long menu, almost all the classical dishes are registered. Need for large inventories, therefore less freshness. Consuming is a long ceremony. Related art is <i>Architecture</i> (three dimensions). Relief and contours are important. One sense is critical: vision.

raw material is visually transformed. Moreover, the archetypal ingredients used were high game, shellfish, river fish, cream, and poultry, and the menu was organized so that it consisted of a long menu, which required substantial inventories in the restaurant. The chef was an employee of the restaurant owner and was in the background. The rituals of dining prominently featured the waiter who cut and served dishes, flambéed the preparations, and organized the service through the saucepan. Fischler summarized it as follows: “The art of the cook consisted in accommodating, in transforming, in metamorphosing the raw material, to put it from Nature to Culture. . . . The maître queux was a kind of grand ‘sophisticator’, in the etymologic sense of ‘falsificator’” (1993, p. 238).

This logic and role identity of chefs became institutionalized through a network of training schools, such as Le Cordon Bleu, and professional societies, such as Association des Maîtres Queux. Although it was started in 1896 to provide training to housewives, Le Cordon Bleu began offering courses in haute cuisine classique from 1900 that were first overseen by Charles Driessens, then by Mademoiselle Distel from 1904 until 1930, and

later by Henri-Paul Pellaprat for several decades. In 1950, 40 chefs trained in haute cuisine classique established the Association des Maîtres Queux to certify master chefs who were exponents of haute cuisine and to ensure the highest standards of professional excellence.

Classical cuisine reigned supreme for three decades after Escoffier's death in 1935, due to the role of training schools such as Le Cordon Bleu and societies such as the Association des Maîtres Queux. Such was the ascendancy of classical cuisine that the magazine *Le Cordon Bleu* had 25,000 subscribers in 1930 and became a drawing card in its own right. Thereafter, it declined in importance as classical cuisine became taken-for-granted, and it was eventually discontinued in the early 1960s. Below, we elaborate how the edifice of classical cuisine gave way to nouvelle cuisine and discuss how an external shock, the events of May 1968, enabled activist chefs to exploit hitherto latent tensions between the logic of classical cuisine and the emerging zeitgeist of the times. We begin with a theoretical account of how activists gain opportunities to attack the existing institutional logic and role identity.

Institutional Change: Nouvelle Cuisine as a Spinoff Movement

Given the durability of institutions, early writers sought to explain institutional change as the outcome of exogenous shocks emanating from outside the institutional system in the form of wars or crises (see Powell [1991, pp. 181–200] for a review). These initial arguments glossed over how actors from within the institutional system could exploit the mutability of the existing logic, internal contradictions of the existing logic, or its incompatibility with logics in cognate fields and generate a momentum for change (see Clemens and Cook 1999).

Logics are mutable to the extent that they value autonomy or rely on ambiguous language that can be appropriated. Innovators justify changes by recasting them as efforts to restore tradition (Skrentny 1996, pp. 154–58), or exploit the ambiguity of language, as English cotton spinners did when they appropriated the discourse of the dominant class, fashioned their own identity, and mobilized themselves for collective action (Steinberg 1999). Institutional logics also sow the seeds for change to the extent that they embody contradictions; for instance, citizenship classifications used by empires to construct “nationalities” became the basis for opposition to the central state (Brubaker 1992). Tensions between multiple logics can trigger instability; thus, in the savings and loan industry, competing institutional logics induced founders of thrifts to develop hybrid forms that combined the properties of competing models (Haveman and Rao 1997). Exogenous shocks such as the growth of new constituencies (Amenta 1998) or initiator movements (McAdam 1995) can expose mu-

tability, trigger contradictions, and exacerbate hitherto suppressed tensions among multiple logics. By doing so, exogenous shocks create opportunities for activists within professions to critique the existing orthodoxy and proffer a new logic and a role identity.

Nouvelle cuisine arose because an initiator movement exposed the mutability of the logic of classical cuisine and surfaced tensions between the logic of classical cuisine and the new logics that were being established in cognate fields such as literature, drama, and film. McAdam (1995) distinguished between rare, but exceedingly important, initiator movements that set in motion an identifiable protest cycle and more populous spin-off movements that drew inspiration from the original initiator movement, and he suggested that initiator movements create a political opportunity for spin-off movements. Spin-off movements represent the diffusion of the master logic animating an initiator movement and entail the customization of the initiator movement's master logic. Just as the French Revolution was the master movement that sounded the death knell of the ancien régime cuisine and the construction of classical cuisine by Carème and other gastronomic writers, the events of May 1968 triggered the decline of classical cuisine and the growth of the nouvelle cuisine movement. Fischler writes, "The Grande Cuisine, at the end of the 1960s, experiences a kind of revolution and revelation. Beyond this sudden vogue, there is a larger wave, one of wide-ranging social and economical movements that had been transforming the French society, and wavelets, those that the larger wave indirectly induced in the Cuisine and catering industries. The Grande Gastronomy crystallizes and precipitates latent trends in the society. . . . When studying the nature and content of the Nouvelle Cuisine, one could perceive a large part of further evolutions in the attitudes and behaviors in France" (1993, p. 247).

The larger wave was the protests of May 1968, which hastened the wavelet of nouvelle cuisine. On May 6, 1968, students at the Sorbonne who were protesting against the punishment meted out to eight students at Nanterre for their opposition to the Vietnam War were attacked by police on the boulevard Saint-Germain. Scores of students were arrested, and many students and policemen were injured. Soon students mobilized with marches, decried examinations as a rite of initiation into capitalism, called for the triumph of the "general will over the General" (De Gaulle), and sought to create a society that valued personal autonomy and eliminated distinctions between order-givers and order-takers. France was on the verge of a revolution, with 12 million workers on strike, 122 factories occupied by workers, and students battling against an authoritarian system. The antiauthoritarian wave of May 1968 amplified the effect of undercurrents already visible in the literary, theater, film, and culinary worlds through the *le nouveau roman*, *la nouvelle critique*, *le nouveau*

théâtre, and *la nouvelle vague* antischools. All of these antischools shared similar conceptual principles (Beaugé 1999).

The nouveau roman movement, which first appeared in 1956 with the publication of "*Pour un nouveau roman*" written by Robbe-Grillet, challenged the traditional plot premised on coherent and well-defined characters with the corresponding assumptions of logic, order, sequence, cause and effect, suspense, climax, denouement, beginning and an end. It reached new heights with the publication of *Triptyque*, authored by Claude Simon in 1973, which featured a wedding party, the drowning of a boy, and a scene in a hotel room—these three narratives ran concurrently without paragraph breaks. In a similar vein, nouvelle critique, championed by Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida, sought to redefine the identity of the critic and argued that texts were not limited by the intentions of authors but were recreated through acts of reading. Subsequent writers suggested that the fundamental relationship was not one of speaking and hearing but one of writing and reading. Thus, distinctions between author and critic and author and audience were blurred. In the world of the performing arts, le nouveau théâtre, epitomized by Beckett's *En attendant Godot*, attempted to displace the traditional model of theatre characterized by the ideas of unity of tone and register, and instead explored incomprehension, terror, suffering, and death. By the late 1970s, le nouveau théâtre had moved from the fringe into the mainstream. In the realm of film, la nouvelle vague arose in the late 1950s and sought to replace the primacy of the scriptwriter with the director and to emphasize natural light, realism, improvisation, and audacity.

The nouvelle cuisine movement was an echo of these antischools; its first stirrings appeared in 1965 and were visible in 1970 (Beaugé 1999; Fischler 1993, p. 254), and it was labeled as an antischool only in 1972. The time lag between the antischools in the literary, theatre, and film worlds and the onset of nouvelle cuisine was a consequence of the professionalization of French gastronomy.

There were no professional requirements to write a novel, stage a play, make a low-budget movie, or even critique a book. By contrast, it took a long time for a chef to acquire professional accreditation, and recruits had to progress through various phases. Thus, antischools in the realms of film, theatre, criticism, and novels were championed by insurgent new entrants from the outside. By contrast, nouvelle cuisine was promoted by activists in the centre of the French culinary world who had received honors from the French state and had garnered plaudits from the *Guide Michelin*. Nouvelle cuisine was led by insiders with more credentials and expertise than outsiders because professional talk embodies a culture of critical discourse. In the culture of critical discourse, the right to question the rationality of existing arrangements is based on technical criteria

(DiMaggio 1991; Gouldner 1979). Moreover, members in professions simultaneously value collective identity and individual autonomy. So insiders with expertise can attack existing logics and social identities because these inhibit autonomy, creativity, and freedom, and they can proffer new logics and identities on the grounds that these expand individual autonomy and, by implication, enlarge professional control. In such cases, identity movements may arise to “invert” the dominant symbols and structures and to replace hierarchy with individual freedom, ritual with spontaneity, and routine with virtuosity (Gerlach and Hine 1970; Ansell 2001).

In this sense, *nouvelle cuisine* was a bid to enhance the professional control of restaurants by chefs. Under classical cuisine, chefs possessed the freedom to establish their own restaurants in classical cuisine and design their menus, and celebrity chefs with three Michelin stars could also control financial promoters. However, they lacked technical autonomy because their role was to translate the intentions or prescriptions of Escoffier’s guide into products. Chefs under classical cuisine lacked the freedom to create and invent dishes, and the *nouvelle cuisine* movement sought to make chefs into inventors rather than mere technicians. The movement was shaped by activists such as Paul Bocuse, Michel Guérard, the Troisgros brothers, and Alain Chapel. Each of these chefs had won the *Meilleur Ouvrier de France* title (MOF) and were awarded stars by the *Guide Michelin*. Below, we discuss how these activists constructed a new logic and role identity.

Nouvelle Cuisine: New Institutional Logic and Role Identity

Identity movements arise when activists construct institutional gaps by showing how the existing logic cannot be an effective guide for action. In doing so, activists exploit the inherent mutability of an institutional logic or seize on its incompatibility with other master logics on the landscape. Institutional gaps arise when movement activists develop rationales for why the existing logic cannot dictate action effectively and then offer a repertoire of practices that embody a different institutional logic (Swidler 2001). Identity movements create institutional gaps through framing activities that situate “relevant sets of actors in time and space and by attributing characteristics to them that suggest specifiable relationships and lines of action” (Hunt, Benford, and Snow 1994, p. 185). Bernstein (1997) identified two mutually exclusive identity deployment strategies—suppressing differences with the mainstream or celebrating differences with the dominant group.

Nouvelle activists celebrated their differences with the dominant orthodoxy of classical cuisine but also exploited the foundations of classical cuisine for their project. Bocuse and other activists were able to denounce

the lack of autonomy for chefs in classical cuisine because their criticisms resonated with the sentiments against hierarchy gaining ground after the events of May 1968 and were also in tune with the avant-garde movements in the literary and artistic worlds. However, Bocuse and other activists exploited the ideas of simplicity and economy in classical cuisine to fashion a new logic and a new identity for chefs. Just as students in Nantes and film directors such as Godard challenged old rules such as exams or a stylized sequence of shots, Bocuse and his allies questioned culinary conventions and exhorted chefs to engage in culinary invention. In an echo of the students' protests against ostentation and fakery and filmmakers' struggles for realism, Troisgros and Chapel wanted simplicity and economy of presentation. If literary critics like Barthes and Derrida sought to portray the reader as a creator of meaning, Bocuse and Chapel wanted chefs to have a role in creating and inventing dishes rather than simply understanding the intentions of Escoffier. "In their way, Nouvelle Cuisine Chefs were a conceptualist avant-garde; one often went to their restaurant to enjoy the shock of the new" (Ferguson and Zukin 1998, p. 94).

Table 2 shows that the institutional logic and role identity of nouvelle cuisine had five dimensions: culinary rhetoric, rules of cooking, archetypal ingredients used, role of the chef, and the organization of the menu. The culinary rhetoric of nouvelle cuisine emphasized innovation, and the appellations of dishes referred to poetry and imagination rather than place names or the names of nobles. Weiss writes, "If there were to be a theorization of nouvelle cuisine, it would be a theory of exceptions, nuances, refinements. . . . The operative terms for the use of condiments, for instance, are often referred to as *un rien*, *un soupçon*, *une touche*, *une idée* (a nothing, a suspicion, a touch, an idea)" (2001, pp. 233–34).

Nouvelle cuisine relied on the rules of transgression and acclimatization (Fischler 1993). Transgression consisted of using old cooking techniques with new ingredients, or using old cooking techniques with old ingredients in illegitimate ways; for example, mixing meat and fish, preparing salads containing vegetables and foie gras, and fixing *pot au feu* with fish. Acclimatization was the import of exotic foreign cuisine traditions, notably seasoning and spices. Two influences can be identified: the influence from Japanese cuisine during the late 1970s, when most of the evangelists traveled to Japan, and the growing influence of former colonies and immigrants (Beaugé 1999). The ingredients of nouvelle cuisine were fruits, vegetables, potatoes, aromatic herbs, exotic ingredients, and sea fish. The new rules and ingredients transformed ordinary dishes such as the salad; as pointed out by Fischler, "The salad imposes itself as a territory of superlative freedom, of a more or less considered madness. It is by definition the domain of *mélange* and organized disorder. It therefore escapes

TABLE 2
NOUVELLE CUISINE: INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS AND ROLE IDENTITIES

Dimension	Defining Characteristics
Culinary rhetoric	Appellations refer to <i>Poetry, Imagination and Evocation</i> : small ('petit'), diminutives, émincés, allégés. Symphonies, trilogies, menus, assiettes.
Rules of cooking	<i>Transgression</i> , or using old cooking techniques with new ingredients, or using old cooking techniques with old ingredients, yet for which these cooking techniques were not legitimate: mixing meat and fish, salad mixing vegetables and foie gras, pot au feu with fish. <i>Acclimatization</i> , or importing "exotic" foreign cuisine traditions, notably seasoning and spices: Fresh pasta, raviolis, cannelloni, cheesecake, cappuccino, crumble, carpaccio, pudding, presskopf, risotto, tajine.
Archetypal ingredients	Fruits, vegetables, potatoes, aromatic herbs, exotic ingredients, sea fish.
Role of the chef	The chef is at the centre of operations. Since "service à la japonaise," service through the plate and service under a "cloche" waiters no more intervene in the process.
Organization of the menu	Very narrow menu, even no menu: chefs propose "Cuisine du marché," "Cuisine selon saison." No inventories to increase freshness. Consuming is a shorter ceremony. Related art is <i>Painting</i> (two dimensions): service through the plate leads cooks to add products only for esthetical reasons. Colors, contrasts and decoration, and the five senses are important.

from traditional culinary grammars, and henceforth permits unhindered transgression and innovation" (Fischler 1993, p. 264).

The role of the chef was reframed to that of an innovator, creator, and owner, and the role of the waiter was minimized. *Service à la japonaise* or service through the plate (first offered by Troisgros in the late 1960s) and service under a *cloche* (first presented by Guérard in the early 1970s) minimized the role of the waiter. The nouvelle cuisine menu was far shorter than the classical cuisine menu, and large inventories became superfluous since chefs emphasized freshness. Service through the plate and service under a cloche led cooks to add products only for esthetic reasons: colors, contrasts, and decoration were emphasized but in a shorter ceremony. In summary, the object of nouvelle cuisine was "no more the metamorphosis of the food product, but the revelation of its essential truth" (Fischler 1993, p. 238).

Conversion to Nouvelle Cuisine as Identity Change: Stories of Chefs

Conversion from classical cuisine to nouvelle cuisine was an identity change for chefs and not a mere question of strategy. We discuss the early conversion experiences of three-star chefs who were key activists, such as Michel Guérard and Pierre Troisgros. We then present the conversion experiences of Gilles Etéocle and Jean-Paul Jeunet (two-star chefs), who inherited their restaurants from a father or father-in-law. We also discuss the conversion experience of Bernard Collon, a one-star chef who was downgraded.

Dissatisfaction with their own knowledge and the desire for autonomy were triggers of identity change for key activists. Michel Guérard, a winner of three Michelin stars and the MOF in cooking and pastry, was a nouvelle cuisine activist who rejected classical cuisine. Guérard, speaking of himself and Delaveyne, who also started as a pastry chef, said that “classical cuisine itself had been lifeless, inert, apathetic for a while. . . . The desire emerged in us to do something else, to singularize ourselves, to be recalcitrant and reject the traditional authority and whatever existed before” (Michel Guérard, quoted in Charretton and Charetton 1985, p. 30). “I was complaining about my cuisine and the classical discipline. Jean Delaveyne came in and told me: You are a . . . idiot! At least do what you would like to do. Do not consider failure, at least you will have enjoyed what you did” (Michel Guérard, quoted in Nanteau 1999, p. 224).

The conversion story of Pierre Troisgros, the “garde manger” and his brother Jean, the sauce chef, also underscores the salience of identity. Jean Troisgros died in 1983, but Pierre, awarded a third star in 1968, remains in 2003 the longest-titled three-star chef after Paul Bocuse, a three-star chef since 1965. In an early article, Jean Troisgros pointed out that nouvelle cuisine required just-in-time assembly, whereas classical cuisine implied advance preparation and noted that identity rather than task difficulty was the issue. “Is that so much more difficult to prepare the dishes at the last moment? I am not sure. It is a question of habits and organization. I think that, in many restaurants, everything or almost is ready in advance and stuffed into the fridge, one could well work differently. There are many bad habits in this profession. And bad routines” (Jean Troisgros, quoted in Gault and Millau 1976, p. 123).

In an interview with one of the authors, Pierre Troisgros described innovation as an act of blasphemy and spoke of the need to jettison old reflexes and ways of thinking when making a nouvelle cuisine dish such as “L’escalope de saumon à l’oseille” and said,

What was *revolutionary* in this dish was the cut in scallops, and not in “darne” [like a steak], whilst the salmon was a luxury product. *What a cheek! What a nerve!* It was *blasphemous*. Moreover, we abandoned the

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starchy liaison in the sauce. Then, we under-cooked the product, only 25s on one side, and 15s on the other: such cooking times were really short at that time. We also cooked in a Tefal plate; hence we could reduce the fat on the slice of the salmon scallop. . . . The shock of the time, a revelation, was not to add a fish velouté sauce. This was my reflex of an old cook. Nor to add a knob of butter. Only a very fat cream with special Vermouth and very little white wine. . . . And when you tasted it, you really tasted the fresh savors and flavors of pasture. (Troisgrois interview with Phillippe Monin, Roanne, January 25, 2001)

Identity change was accomplished gradually when a chef succeeded his father or father-in-law, and chefs underwent personal struggles when making the transition. Jean-Paul Jeunet, the chef of the Restaurant de Paris in the Jura province, worked along with his father André from the mid-1970s and took over from his father in the late-1980s. One star for decades, Restaurant de Paris was awarded a second star in 1996. During the early 1970s, under the direction of André Jeunet, classical cuisine was fully endorsed, and the restaurant adhered to Escoffier's grammar. Jean-Paul Jeunet stated,

This is a familial history, we have just celebrated my father's 50 years of professional activity. I cannot disrupt everything. On one hand, I am guided by my inspiration towards more simplicity, lightening, stripping all the unnecessary ornamentations. I am confronted with my own personal desire to go ahead, while keeping my personality, my natural instincts that tell me to thrive towards a simplified, more original, creative cuisine. But on the other hand, I consider the reassuring and comfortable side of a traditional cuisine that will rally more people. . . . We [younger chefs who take over after our parents] are all facing this difficulty of managing the coexistence of two kinds. Now my leitmotiv is the individualization of dishes according to one's personality. My role is to bring something, to transcend the product through the techniques. *I am a technician, first and above all.* (Jeunet interview with Monin, Arbois, March 9, 2001)

The conversion of Gilles Etéocle, chef of *La Poularde*, located in Montrond-les-Bains, a large village in a sparsely populated, agriculture-based area of the center of France, shows how chefs also had to respond to old customers while embracing nouvelle cuisine and had to manage the transition. *La Poularde*, awarded two stars since 1967, is the oldest two-star French restaurant, and Johannes Randoing, a cook since 1934, was succeeded by his son-in-law Gilles Etéocle in 1988. Etéocle declared,

We are a family business. My father-in-law cooked a very rich cuisine. We used up to 200 liters of cream a week, down to 15 liters a week now. The sauce drove all the cuisine. The sauce was the quintessence. . . . There is an old cook's saying: "If you are not capable of some sorcery, it is not worth getting involved in cuisine." The sauce chef was the alchemist. At that time,

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the customers came for that cuisine. When I took over in the mid-80s . . . I started to innovate and proposed a more personal cuisine. However, it was very complicated to have two ethics living under the same roof. When loyal old customers come along and tell you: "it is no more what it used to, there is no more Creole rice to sponge up the sauce." . . . It has taken more than fifteen years for me to affirm my spirit in my cuisine. . . . Now, I have done it, I am in coherence with my cuisine. You know, it is an art; I have been on the edge for years to keep this second star. I have flogged myself to death. But in my head, I felt unwell. Today, I regret it, I should have set up my business elsewhere, I should not have taken over this business. *These two stars were a nightmare.* . . . People came for these two stars and the classical, sauce-led cuisine of the restaurant. . . . After I took over, my father-in-law was over 70, but he would show up on Sundays and shake hands to all his loyal customers. I got ill. The family composition was tough." (Étéocle interview with Monin, Montrond-les-Bains, March 1, 2001)

Conversion to nouvelle cuisine was by no means complete. Quite a few chefs who persisted with classical cuisine also saw it as a question of maintaining identity. Consider the case of Bernard Collon of Auberge de Letraz, located on the border of Lake Annecy. Collon was awarded one star in 1975 but downgraded in 1996, and he characterized identity as follows:²

I do not like the caricatured classification between classical and nouvelle cuisine. I categorize myself in the "Classics," but . . . I use fresh products. I have learned a classical basis, I know the Escoffier by heart, and by the way I have taught the Escoffier Cuisine in Japan. It is a bit like music, one cannot be a musician without knowing the rudiments of music. One can't! The rap musicians, they know their rudiments, they know the rhythm! But afterwards, either you remain a classic, or you modernize. (Collon interview with Monin, Annecy, February 20, 2001)

Thus, each of these chefs discusses how the shift was a matter of logic and identity and not a matter of marketing strategy, despite variations in regional location and training: some started as cooks by education, and others were initially pastry cooks (see Ruhlman 1997, pp. 187–202).

² "It took me three years to accept my new identity of not being an elite chef any more. . . . With time, you get to think you deserve it, and you give less attention to details. What is especially difficult to cope with, is that I was never given a rationale for my losing this star, it is the Michelin guide policy. . . . But since they also awarded you this star years before, without given reasons, you cannot but accept the decision" (Collon interview with Monin, Annecy, February 20, 2001).

Was Nouvelle Cuisine a Fashion?

An alternative rendition is that nouvelle cuisine was a fashion. Hirsch (1972) notes that fashions are social patterns favored for a short time by a large number of actors and that fads are unconventional social patterns embraced briefly but enthusiastically by actors. By contrast, social movements differ from fads and fashions in that they are organized efforts to reorganize a social field and result in more gradual and enduring social change. In order to address whether nouvelle cuisine was a short-lived fad, information on the temporal pattern of abandonment of classical cuisine and adoption of nouvelle cuisine is required.

Our interviews with our panel of elite chefs and industry experts indicated that it was unwise to code the role identity of chefs using a binary variable, and they instead urged us to code their identity on the basis of the number of signature dishes of the chef. These signature dishes are dishes defined by the chef as emblematic of his or her style and are therefore sources of pride for the chef. Each year, the Michelin guide lists three “signature” dishes of any chef in a given restaurant who received a star.

We collected information on the signature dishes of all of the chefs in our database and designed a computer program to code over 54,000 dishes into classical and nouvelle cuisine based on the rules of both cuisines as stated in Fischler (1993) and Neirinck and Poulain (1997). We then extracted a random sample of 400 dishes and asked two raters to code these signature dishes into the classical and nouvelle cuisine categories. One rater was a consultant to two- and three-star chefs and a former chef himself, and the other was a retired chef with two Michelin stars to his credit. The raters did not know each other. The interrater reliability was 95%. We also estimated the match between the ratings of the raters and those of the computer program and found a 95% degree of reliability.

Table 3 provides a breakdown of the chefs according to the number of nouvelle cuisine signature dishes in 1970, 1975, 1987, and 1997 and suggests gradual change rather than sudden adoption. In 1970, when our window of observation was started with the onset of the nouvelle cuisine movement, 47.69% of chefs had all three signature dishes in classical cuisine. Only 2.26% had all three signature dishes in nouvelle cuisine. By 1997, only 6.32% of chefs were all classical, and 30.83% were all nouvelle cuisine.

Table 3 also shows that in 1970, 225 chefs (35.77%) had one nouvelle cuisine dish (and, by implication, two classical cuisine dishes). Our interview data suggested that chefs were experimenting with nouvelle cuisine and were waiting for cues before increasing their commitment to nouvelle cuisine. Chefs in 1970 considered one nouvelle cuisine dish to

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF CHEFS BY CUISINES, 1970–97

Year	<i>N</i> Chefs	0 Nouvelle (All 3 Classical Dishes)	1 Nouvelle	2 Nouvelle	3 Nouvelle
1970	629	300 (47.69)	225 (35.78)	86 (13.67)	18 (2.86)
1975	600	219 (36.5)	264 (44)	96 (16)	21 (3.5)
1987	646	98 (15.17)	221 (34.21)	226 (34.28)	101 (15.63)
1997	506	32 (6.32)	119 (23.52)	199 (39.33)	156 (30.83)

NOTE.—Nos. in parentheses are percentages.

be a trial and did not take risks; in many cases, they copied Troisgros's *l'escalope de saumon à l'oseille*. So, right at the outset of the movement, there was interest in nouvelle cuisine. If a dominantly classical cuisine chef is defined as one with zero or one nouvelle cuisine dish, they accounted for 83.46% of chefs in 1970. By 1997, this had declined to only 29.84%, and 70.16% of chefs were dominantly nouvelle cuisine, having two or more signature dishes in the nouvelle realm. Table 3 indicates that nouvelle cuisine steadily gained adherents over time, and classical cuisine eroded over time, which is consistent with the growth of a social movement rather than a fad.

Did chefs merely flirt with nouvelle cuisine only to abandon it later? Table 4 defines the risk set as chefs who had one or more nouvelle cuisine dishes and shows that the majority of those who had one or more nouvelle cuisine dishes did not abandon them wholesale. In 1975, 84.8% of nouvelle cuisine adoptees did not abandon even one nouvelle cuisine dish for classical cuisine, and this number remained as high as 74.3% in 1997. Chefs abandoning one nouvelle dish for a classical dish rose from 14.9% in 1975 to 25.6% in 1997, thereby indicating some degree of hybridization. But none of the chefs with three nouvelle cuisine dishes abandoned them for classical cuisine, and less than 1% of chefs with two nouvelle cuisine dishes abandoned them for classical cuisine in 1975 and 1987. We also checked the mean time since adoption of a nouvelle cuisine dish and found that it ranged from 0 to 144 months, with a mean of 28.8 months (SD = 31.2 months), thereby indicating that people did not adopt nouvelle cuisine and shortly abandon it.

On balance, these data indicate that nouvelle cuisine was not a case of fashion but is compatible with the gradual and enduring change characteristic of social movements. Below, we outline why French chefs abandoned classical cuisine for nouvelle cuisine and begin with a theoretical

TABLE 4
 PERCENTAGE OF ABANDONMENTS OF NOUVELLE CUISINE,
 1975–97

Year	0 Changes to Classical	1 Changes to Classical	2 Changes to Classical	3 Changes to Classical
1975	84.8	14.9	.3	0
1987	80.1	19.6	.3	0
1997	74.34	25.6	0	0

discussion of how identity movements lead to identity competition by disseminating identity-discrepant cues that undermine traditional role identities.

Why Did French Chefs Leave Classical Cuisine for Nouvelle Cuisine?

When identity movements celebrate the differences between the traditional logic and role identity, and the insurgent logic and new identity, both identities compete for behavioral expression at the individual level (Stryker 2000). Self-categorization theory provides a useful point of departure to understand identity competition, and its starting point is the premise that actors sometimes think of themselves as group members when they share a common category (e.g., race) or a shared attribute (e.g., role) with other anonymous individuals, or have common interpersonal bonds. At other times, actors think of themselves as unique entities. The first is referred to as social identity, the latter is referred to as personal identity, and both are basic to a self-concept (Tajfel 1981; Turner 1985; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, and McGarty 1994).

Self-categorization theory holds that actors define groups in terms of the appropriate behaviors expected of a category or role, identify with the group that they perceive themselves as belonging to, and compare the in-group (the group to which an actor belongs) to an out-group (a rival group). Members preserve their positive social identity by positively stereotyping their group and by negatively stereotyping others. When negative feedback threatens these stereotypes and jeopardizes social identity, members respond to threats to their social identity by using the three basic strategies of social mobility, social creativity, and social change (Turner 1985). One strategy is that of social mobility, where actors can exit their group and join another group. A second strategy centers around social creativity, where actors can change the criteria of comparison so that the in-group becomes more favorable. A third strategy hinges on social change, where actors compete directly with the out-group to alter the relative status of both groups through collective action. Several laboratory

studies have suggested that social mobility strategies are preferred when boundaries are permeable and changing group membership is a realistic possibility (e.g., Jackson, Sullivan, Harnish, and Hodge 1996; Ellemers, Spears, and Doosje 1997; Taylor and McKirnan 1984).

When an identity movement in a profession critiques a traditional logic and its concomitant role identity and promotes a new logic and a new role identity, actors encounter negative feedback that induces them to abandon the traditional role identity for the new identity. For such negative feedback to be persuasive, it should create discrepancies between their existing identity and desire for positive image. In turn, persuasive messages lead to change only when they fall within an actor's zone of acceptance and are discrepant enough so that they cannot be assimilated with the anchor point.

Social judgment theory, developed by Sherif and Hovland (1961), holds that actors possess three categories of judgment: zone of acceptance (positions we accept), zone of rejection (positions we disagree with), and zone of noncommitment (zone of positions we neither accept nor reject). When actors encounter a persuasive message, they locate it in one of the three zones. A persuasive message judged to be within a zone of rejection is likely to be disregarded, and if a message is judged to fall within the latitude of acceptance, individuals adjust their attitude to accommodate it.

Actors also distort incoming information to fit with their categories of judgment; new information in the zone of noncommitment that is judged to be close to their anchor point is assimilated by individuals, but messages in the zone of rejection are distorted to become more incompatible than they are from the anchor point, and then they are summarily rejected. These mental processes are mechanical and unthinking (Sherif and Hovland 1961). Persuasion occurs when new messages fall in the latitude of acceptance and are discrepant or different from the anchor position. The greater the discrepancy between a persuasive message and an individual's own anchor, the more people adjust their attitudes, as long as the message is within their latitude of acceptance. When applied to identity movements, the implication is that persuasion is a gradual process occurring through the accumulation of discrepant cues. Moreover, messages from credible speakers stretch the latitude of acceptance, as do the actions of similar others. Below, we depict the sociopolitical legitimacy of activists, theorization of new roles, defections of peers, and gains that accrue to defecting peers as identity-discrepant cues, and then we show how they were central in the success of the *nouvelle cuisine* movement.

Sociopolitical legitimacy of activists.—Activists deliver identity-discrepant messages when they highlight institutional gaps, articulate problems with the existing logic and identity, and demand redress. They

also proffer a solution to correct the situation and provide motives for actors to undertake change (Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford 1986). Such identity-discrepant messages are more likely to fall within the zone of acceptance of the targeted individuals when activists possess sociopolitical legitimacy. Absent sociopolitical legitimacy, members of a profession may dismiss activists as irrelevant gadflies and may be unwilling to jettison old logics and identities because of adverse career consequences. When activists are accepted by powerholders as legitimate representatives of a point of view, they are likely to gain access to political resources and to influence the agenda of the professions (Schumaker 1975; Gamson 1990). The greater the number of activists who occupy key positions in field-wide organizations and champion a new logic and a role identity, the more favorable it is vis-à-vis the traditional logic and role identity.

Nouvelle cuisine benefited from the fact that activists derived sociopolitical legitimacy due to their positions in the professional society of French chefs. In 1969, the professional society of French chefs, *Maitres Queux et Cordons Bleus de France*, was renamed as *Maitres Cuisiniers de France* (MCF), and its management consisted of four groups: (1) founders and honorary presidents and vice presidents, (2) an executive committee composed of an active president, three to five vice presidents, two general secretaries, two treasurers, and between five and ten appointed members drawn from the ranks, (3) an admission committee composed of 12–18 members, and (4) a control commission, made up of three members. The first group, composed of founders and honorary officials and the control commission, played marginal and cosmetic roles. Real power resided in the executive committee because it designed the agenda of the MCF, nominated members of the admissions committee, and thereby influenced admissions into the MCF. In turn, membership in the executive committee was by invitation, and the tradition was to invite recipients of three Michelin stars or winners of the MOF titles.

Early nouvelle cuisine activists such as Paul Bocuse, Jean Delaveyne, and Charles Barrier played key roles in the executive committee in the early years. These three chefs were winners of the prestigious MOF, respectively, in 1961, 1952, and 1958 and were also chefs in restaurants awarded three stars by the *Guide Michelin* in 1965, 1972, and 1968, respectively. By virtue of these accomplishments, they were welcomed in the executive committee because existing members believed these chefs would promote and develop the fading image of the MCF association. During 1970–72, Barrier was treasurer, Bocuse was a member of the executive committee, and Delaveyne was a member of the admissions committee. By 1973, as older members retired, nouvelle cuisine proponents increased their power: Bocuse became a vice president, two other nouvelle cuisine chefs, Vandenameele and Ferriere, entered the board and were

friends of Bocuse, and in 1974, Jean Delaveyne became the general secretary and Vandanameele became the treasurer. Over the years, newer nouvelle cuisine activists (such as Alain Senderens) and other nouvelle cuisine chefs who had worked as “seconds ” to Bocuse (Delaveyne and the others) were also inducted into the executive committee, and in 1984, five of the six entrants to the executive committee were nouvelle cuisine exponents. After 1984, nouvelle cuisine activists and exponents steadily expanded control of the MCF board. Taken together, the theoretical arguments about the sociopolitical legitimacy of activists and the composition of the MCF suggest that as the number of activists who occupy key positions in field-wide organizations increases, the more acceptable is the logic and role identity implied by nouvelle cuisine. Therefore,

HYPOTHESIS 1.—The greater the sociopolitical legitimacy of activists, the greater is the extent to which actors abandon classical cuisine for a nouvelle cuisine.

Theorization of new roles.—Activists create gaps and proffer solutions, but deliberate attempts to spread such ideas among the population are necessary for mobilization to occur. One such mechanism is theorization of the new roles and practices to be adopted. Theorization increases the zone of acceptance by creating perceptions of similarity among potential adopters and by providing rationales for the practices to be adopted (Strang and Meyer 1993). Theories can originate from many places, ranging from academic researchers to journalists, and can be communicated to the public in various ways, ranging from research articles to media articles. Journalists are interesting sources of theories because they have a predisposition to cover newsworthy disruptions and celebrate the differences between the old logic and identity and the insurgent logic and identity. Media coverage of innovations is seldom neutral, often laudatory, and a study of media coverage of quality circles reported that 85% of references were laudatory (Strang 1997).

In the case of nouvelle cuisine, culinary journalists sympathetic to nouvelle cuisine played an important role in creating a shared symbolic environment for chefs and the public to appreciate the new logic and identity. A monthly periodical was created in 1972 by Henri Gault and Christian Millau, two culinary journalists, to advance nouvelle cuisine, and Gault and Millau went on to encapsulate the 10 commandments of nouvelle cuisine in *Vive la Nouvelle Cuisine Française*. These 10 commandments reflect four values, which also characterized the protests of May 1968: truth, lightness, simplicity, and imagination.

1. *Thou shall not overcook.* This applies to almost all the products used (and abused) by classical cuisine: fish, shells, seafood, game birds, game animals, waterfowls, poultry, which were overcooked

- (overcooking protects from poisoning due to poor and long storage conditions).
2. *Thou shall use fresh, quality products.* Select products only if you are sure of their outstanding quality, avoid intensive agriculture.
 3. *Thou shall lighten thy menu.*
 4. *Thou shall not be systematically modernistic.* Avoid a new orthodoxy.
 5. *Thou shall seek out what the new techniques can bring you.* This will also increase the cooks' working conditions, through airing and ventilation, reduce consumption of coal or wood, which are replaced by electrical or gas techniques.
 6. *Thou shall eliminate brown and white sauces.* Abolishing marinated dishes and high game; abolishing white and brown sauces, which are heavy and indigestible.
 7. *Thou shall not ignore dietetics.* The postwar times of malnutrition are over.
 8. *Thou shall not cheat on thy presentation.* Simplicity instead of fakery.
 9. *Thou shall be inventive.*
 10. *Thou shall not be prejudiced.*

Culinary journalists writing in magazines such as *Le Cuisinier Français* (published since 1934) or newer culinary journals such as *La Revue Thurries* (published since 1988) propagated nouvelle cuisine by popularizing its virtues, advancing rationales for the adoption of nouvelle cuisine, and chronicling success stories of conversion and innovation. Favorable media coverage of nouvelle cuisine by culinary journalists undermined the logic of classical cuisine, created a discrepancy between members' desire for a positive social identity and their current affiliation, and induced them to jump ship. Therefore,

HYPOTHESIS 2.—*The greater the theorization of new roles, the greater is the extent to which actors abandon classical cuisine for nouvelle cuisine.*

Prior defections by peers and gains to peers.—Actors are influenced by those who are similar to themselves (Turner et al. 1994; Scott 2001). Defections by peers in the traditional camp signal that the boundaries of the new group are permeable, create a discrepancy between actors' desire for a positive social identity and current realities, and enhance the acceptance of innovations. Krackhardt and Porter (1986) found that turnover in fast food restaurants tended to snowball because individual exits undermined role identity. When peers of the traditional group join the insurgent group, existing members in the traditional camp are likely to infer that there is something wrong with their social group and, by implication, their own

social identity. As these identity-discrepant cues cumulate, the social identity of members is likely to be damaged, and the new insurgent identity becomes progressively acceptable. Defectors also vary in their reputation, and the greater their visibility as an exiter, the more consequential they are as role models (Podolny 1993; Strang and Soule 1998; Haunschild and Miner 1997).

When high-status peers with two or more Michelin stars abandoned classical cuisine for nouvelle cuisine, chefs felt that they received permission to defect. Sometimes, this sense of permission arose from direct contact between a defector and a prospective adopter, given the small social world of elite French chefs. Often, direct contact was superfluous, as prior defectors became role models for others to copy recipes and begin the abandonment of classical cuisine. In an interview, Pierre Troisgros, an early activist with three stars, complained of plagiarism and offered an example of a specific dish:

To understand the story of this famous dish: L'escalope de saumon à l'oseille, you need to know the context. We were in a very creative period, with the nouvelle cuisine, new journalists, new cooking techniques. . . . I remember, it was in 1970; I presented the recipe to the Culinary Academy. It was refused, it was too easy! Yet, afterwards, the recipe spread. We were sickened, appalled by the plagiarism. But you know, Coco Chanel once said: "Sad is the day, the day when I won't be plagiarized any more." It was great, if my colleagues mentioned our dish with a mention "according to Troisgros." My friend Paul [Bocuse] did it. Nobody could ignore . . . the inventors, the creators. (Troisgros interview with Monin, Roanne, January 25, 2001)

Defections of visible peers are damaging because they are accessible and vivid (Greve 1995). So, the larger the number of defectors, weighted by the extent of their reputation and participation in the new role identity, the more acceptable nouvelle cuisine becomes, and the more likely they are to abandon the traditional role identity. Therefore,

HYPOTHESIS 3.—The greater the number of defectors weighted by their reputation and extent of defection, the greater is the extent to which actors abandon classical cuisine for nouvelle cuisine.

Gains to defectors as identity-discrepant cues.—If members of the group are able to observe the successful outcomes accruing to defectors, they are likely to be susceptible to outcome-based imitation (Haunschild and Miner 1997). A key indicator of a social movement's success is the advantages obtained by challengers that can be observed by all (Gamson 1990). One such advantage may be heightened reputation or positive evaluations by independent third parties (Fombrun and Shanley 1990).

Defection can be risky to the extent that the adoption of a new role identity modifies their reputation and standing in the eyes of third parties outside the group. Reputational gains that accrue to defectors create discrepancies between the social identity of actors in the traditional camp and their desire for a positive image, but these gains also make the new identity more acceptable.

In the case of nouvelle cuisine, elite chefs realized that unlearning classical cuisine and embracing nouvelle cuisine was risky, so they paid keen attention to whether the adopters of nouvelle cuisine gained in reputations and Michelin stars as a result of their change. Chefs were attentive to the number of Michelin stars, desired more stars than they had, and were terrified of losing the ones they possessed. Although the inspection by the *Guide Michelin* is performed by anonymous inspectors and is opaque, chefs attributed gains or loss of stars to changes in the menu and, by implication, the shift from classical to nouvelle cuisine. The greater the reputational gains that accrue to defectors embracing the new role identity, the stronger are the identity-discrepant cues faced by group members, and the more intense are pressures for them to abandon the traditional role identity. Therefore,

HYPOTHESIS 4.—*The greater the reputational gains that accrue to defectors, the greater is the extent to which actors abandon classical cuisine for nouvelle cuisine.*

Relative salience of theorization versus imitation.—When identity movements celebrate differences between an insurgent logic and identity and the traditional logic and identity, theorization is likely to be more influential than defections by peers. Strang and Meyer (1993) opined that theorization has dramatic empirical consequences because organizations adopt standard forms despite wide variation in resources and constituencies. Theorization and defections by peers and gains to defectors may be seen as alternative pathways by which the new logic and identity become available for actors. McAdam, Tilly, and Tarrow (2001) argue that local innovations undergo a scale shift and become widespread when brokers connect hitherto unconnected groups and create similarity or when actors imitate peers. However, they are silent about whether theorization or imitation is more consequential as a source of scale shift. Below, we propose that theorization had stronger effects on the adoption of nouvelle cuisine than imitation of peers in the case of French gastronomy.

Culinary journalists were theorists who brokered among chefs from different regions and led to perceptions of similarity between adopters of nouvelle cuisine and potential adopters. Defections by peers and gains to peers were mechanisms of imitation. Defections by peers made the new

logic and identity available through sheer frequency but lacked vividness since they were not grounded in a story. Gains to defectors validated the new logic and identity but said little about the similarity between the focal actor and the successful defector. By contrast, theorization of the new practices by journalists was vivid since it consisted of stories that created proximity between the focal actor and those who had embraced nouvelle cuisine. Such theorization made the new logic and identity comprehensible and fostered a shared understandings of what a chef is and ought to be among chefs based in different regions and having different backgrounds. Therefore,

HYPOTHESIS 5a.—Theorization is likely to be a stronger identity-discrepant cue than defections by peers.

HYPOTHESIS 5b.—Theorization is likely to be a stronger identity-discrepant cue than gains to defectors.

DATA AND METHODS

In order to investigate our hypotheses, we restricted our attention to elite chefs since classical and nouvelle cuisine defined the identities of elite French chefs. Our panel of interviewees suggested that elite French chefs were those who had received a one-star rating or more by the *Guide Michelin*. We obtained a listing of elite French chefs from the *Guide Michelin* since it is an authoritative and widely disseminated guide in which experts rank chefs (Ferguson 1998; Karpik 2000). By contrast, the *Gault Millau* guide favors nouvelle cuisine, and the two founders of the guide were culinary journalists who codified the principles of nouvelle cuisine into the 10 commandments of nouvelle cuisine. An elite chef was defined as an individual who had received a minimum of one star in the Michelin guide during our window of observation.

We focused on the nouvelle cuisine era from 1970 until 1997 because the institutional impacts of movements and their effects on individual biographies unfold over time (Giugni 1998). So for each year, we collected information on all chefs who had received one star or more during the period from 1970 until 1997, and chefs who had lost their only star in a given year were also followed throughout the window of observation. We started our window of observation in 1970 when the nouvelle cuisine movement first appeared on the culinary landscape (Fischler 1993). We ended our window of observation in 1997 because by then the logic of nouvelle cuisine was being breached by two trends: the growth of *cuisine sous contrat* and the rise of bistros and *cuisine rassurante*.

Under the cuisine sous contrat, the chef and owners (using hospitality firms) have a written and explicit contract in which both cooperate to

develop the company's image by garnering stars from Michelin. Again, this new agency relationship is at odds with the *nouvelle cuisine* philosophy and with the chef being the owner. However, *cuisine sous contrat* lightens the burden of the chefs in significant ways: they are no more required to be profitable, with losses being expected and compensated for with related gambling or hospitality businesses. The first step was taken in August 1996 when Alain Ducasse, the chef of the three-star Louis XV in Monaco, opened his eponymous restaurant in the Hotel Le Parc in Paris. Soon other famous three-star chefs followed. In parallel, some chefs, such as Christian Constant who had worked in high-status three-star restaurants, also led a renegade movement, wherein they wanted to make "comfort food" or *cuisine rassurante* in less ostentatious surroundings.

Chef-Restaurant Dyad as the Unit of Observation

Although our interest was in how the *nouvelle cuisine* movement reshaped the social identities of chefs, we were also sensitive to how chefs were embedded in restaurants. On the one hand, chefs embodied the culinary model of the restaurant, but on the other hand, restaurants were the vehicle by which these culinary models were expressed. Our interviews with the panel of chefs and industry experts suggested that the appropriate unit of analysis was the chef-restaurant dyad because elite chefs decided on the choice of cuisine and could have moved from one restaurant to another. Accordingly, our data set consisted of chef-restaurant dyad years, and new dyads were created when chefs changed employment. The *Guide Michelin's* policy is that when an existing chef moves from an origin restaurant to a destination restaurant, the origin restaurant gets to keep its number of star(s) in the year of the move, but the next year, the number of stars is adjusted on the basis of new visits by its anonymous inspectors; the new chef either maintains the rank or the restaurant gets regraded. A similar policy applies to the destination restaurant; it retains its previous number of stars in the year in which it received the new chef, if any, and then is evaluated afresh in the next year and regraded.

Variables

Dependent variable.—Our dependent variable, extent of abandonment of classical cuisine for *nouvelle cuisine*, was defined in terms of the number of signature *nouvelle cuisine* dishes reported in the *Guide Michelin*. When all three signature dishes listed in the *Guide Michelin* were classical cuisine, the score was "0"; and when all three dishes were *nouvelle cuisine*, the score was 3; when two dishes were *nouvelle cuisine*, the score was

“2”; and when a chef had one dish in nouvelle cuisine, it was coded as a “1.”

Independent variables.—We focused on four identity-discrepant cues. To test hypothesis 1, the sociopolitical legitimacy of activists was defined as the number of positions held by nouvelle cuisine activists in the executive board divided by the total number of positions in the executive board of the MCF. We defined a nouvelle cuisine activist as a chef who was identified by culinary journalists as such and whose signature dishes were all nouvelle cuisine. Thus, Bocuse, Delaveyne, Guérard, and others were included in this category of actors.

Since theorization of new roles implies the codification and dissemination of information (Strang and Meyer 1993), it was defined as the number of articles written by gastronomic journalists such as Henri Gault, Christian Millau, and others. To test hypothesis 2, the number of articles describing and extolling nouvelle cuisine in culinary magazines was computed annually. We used the Myriade database produced by l'Agence Bibliographique de l'Enseignement Supérieur (the French Bibliographic Agency of Graduate Education) and Code 641 of the Classification Décimale Universelle to find the reviews covering nouvelle cuisine in France. Examples of magazines covered include *Le Cuisinier Français*, published since 1934, and the more recent *La Revue Thuries*, published since 1988. The counts of articles favorable to nouvelle cuisine were standardized by the number of issues of the magazine for each year and then summed across all magazines.

To test hypothesis 3, we computed the number of prior defectors as follows. A prior defector was defined as a chef who had added a minimum of one nouvelle cuisine dish as part of his signature trio of dishes. Each defector was weighted by the extent of his or her participation in nouvelle cuisine on the basis of our scale and the number of stars received from the *Guide Michelin*. For example, if one defector had two dishes in nouvelle cuisine and two Michelin stars, he or she received a score of “4.” In cases where the defector had no star in the past year (but had at least one star in his or her career history), three dishes received a weighting of 0.75, two dishes a weight of 0.50, and one dish a weight of 0.25.

To test hypothesis 4, gains to defectors were defined as the number of increases in rank experienced by them in the *Guide Michelin*. Since an increase from a one star to two stars is different from an increase from two stars to three stars, we weighted increases by the number of stars. Thus, increases from two to three stars were multiplied by three, and an increase from one to two was multiplied by two, and so forth. All of the independent variables were lagged by a year.

Control variables.—We included the past affiliation to nouvelle cuisine as a control and defined it as the number of nouvelle cuisine signature

dishes listed by the chef in the previous year.³ Since reputation can influence mobility (Podolny 1993), we controlled for the lagged reputation of a chef; it was measured by the number of stars awarded by the *Guide Michelin* in the previous year. This variable ranged from “0” to “3.” We also included two dummy variables to account for gain of reputation and loss of reputation in the previous year.

It is likely that chefs located in major cities such as Paris or Lyon are cosmopolitan, whereas chefs located in more rural areas are local. We created a variable called distance to large cities (measured in kilometers) to account for localness, with low scores meaning high cosmopolitanism. Since it is likely that new entrants into the world of elite chefs, that is, those chefs gaining one star or more for the first time, behave differently from established incumbents, we created a variable called duration, which measured the number of years since they were first ranked by *Guide Michelin*.

Restaurants sometimes may be owned by chefs or by other entrepreneurs, but data on ownership could not be obtained from publicly available archives or in the *Guide Michelin*. Our panel of interviewees indicated that a useful proxy for the chef’s discretion was whether the restaurant was evaluated by the *Guide Michelin* as having a special charm or idiosyncratic characteristics (*agrément*). Chefs in such restaurants are less constrained than others because they derive their identity from the location and also because customers are less sensitive to the cuisine and more interested in the special charm. Accordingly, we created a dummy variable to account for restaurants with *agrément*.

We also controlled for period effects. We created a dummy variable for the early period of nouvelle classique cuisine and defined it as the period from 1970 until 1975. Fischler notes that “the 70s marked a rupture. The change, preceded by a heralding sign in 1965 [Bocuse’s third star], and clearly perceptible in 1970, became manifest and resounding in 1975” (1993, p. 254). We also defined the period from 1976 to 1987 as the middle period, since chefs traveled overseas and were also exposed to influences from the erstwhile colonies of France.⁴

We treated the late period, from 1987 until 1997, as the reference category. This period witnessed the growth of the bistro phenomenon; in 1987, Michel Rostang first opened Le Bistrot d’à Côté, and since then

³ This specification assumes interval scaling. An alternative is to create dummy variables for one, two, and three nouvelle cuisine dishes using all classical cuisine as the reference category. Similar results were obtained when using the latter specification. Note that we also use interval scaling for our measure of lagged reputation and obtain similar results when we use dummy variables for one, two, and three Michelin stars and treat no stars as the reference category.

⁴ We included these period effects at the suggestion of an anonymous reviewer.

many other famous Paris chefs have opened annex restaurants that roughly follow the same formula—stylish rustic cooking at easy prices in a relaxed but attractive setting (Ferguson and Zukin 1998, pp. 94–95). Moreover, in late 1987, some elite chefs who had never joined the MCF association, like Robuchon or Loiseau, along with a very small group of MCF members (but not MCF board members) created a new association, called *Chambre Syndicale de la Haute Cuisine Francaise*. This association defended business values: while MCF claimed the chef had to personally supervise the kitchen, the *Chambre Syndicale* pretended that, if correctly staffed and managed, the kitchen crew could do without the chef being physically present. Only two- or three-star chefs could join, and it was a very small group. At its height, there were 80 members. This association was dissolved in 1998.

All of these variables were lagged, and a chef-restaurant dyad years data set was compiled. Table 5 displays the correlations among the variables used to test the hypotheses. Table 5 also shows some high correlations between the early period dummy variable and theorization by culinary journalists and prior defection, and between the legitimacy of activists and theorization (by culinary journalists).

In view of these correlations, we conducted a test to discern if collinearity was a problem. Belsley, Kuh, and Welsch (1980) recommend that the conditioning number of the matrix of independent variables should not exceed 30. In our case, it was 8.4 and well below their stated threshold. Moreover, Belsley et al. (1980) also recommend that the variance inflation factors should not exceed 10. In our case, the mean variance inflation factor was 3.0 and did not exceed 10 for any of the independent variables.

Methods

We initially checked whether our dependent variable had ordinal properties since it had outcomes ranging from “0” to “3.” Accordingly, we began with an ordered logit model that assumes that higher values on the dependent variable imply “higher” outcomes. The ordered logit models presume that odds in k categories have the same ratio for all independent variable combinations. But a constraint of the ordered logit model given the presumption of proportional odds is that it implies that the coefficients are identical across all levels of the ordered dependent variable. Following Long and Freese (2001), we tested whether the proportional odds assumption was valid. When we constructed an ordered logit model with control variables, we were forced to reject the null hypothesis that the coefficients were identical across the levels of the dependent variable with a Wald chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 1356.00$; $df = 18$).

As a result, we had two options. One was to estimate a generalized

TABLE 5
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Past affiliation to nouvelle cuisine												
2. Lagged reputation . . . . .	.01											
3. Prior loss of reputation	-.001	-.02										
4. Prior gain of reputation . . . . .	.01	.14	-.01									
5. Agrément . . . . .	.03	.20	.03	.01								
6. Duration . . . . .	.04	.23	.04	.02	.08							
7. Localness	-.005	-.08	-.02	-.02	.04	-.01						
8. Early period	-.11	-.04	-.007	-.03	-.07	-.40	.05					
9. Middle period . . . . .	.02	.006	-.005	.01	-.01	.009	.01	-.43				
10. Legitimacy of activists . . . . .	.08	.04	.009	.01	.08	.36	-.06	-.45	-.40			
11. Theorization by culinary journalists . . . . .	.09	.05	.01	.01	.09	.41	-.06	-.60	.36	.70		
12. Prior defections . . . . .	.11	.05	.01	.03	.08	.42	-.07	-.70	.03	.60	.60	
13. Gains to defectors . . . . .	.04	.02	-.01	.03	.01	.14	-.01	-.37	.29	.17	.07	.24

logit model that relaxes the proportional odds assumption and allows coefficients to vary by category level. The second was to estimate multinomial logit models. We opted for the latter because it has two advantages (Long and Freese 2001). First, a Hausman test allows us to test whether the number of categories influences the odds. This independence of irrelevant alternatives test is an important method of validating our categories. Second, a Wald test explores whether categories should be pooled and treated as identical because the coefficients do not differ. These tests are available in the `spost` post estimation commands specially written for STATA by Long and Freese (2001). Since our data set consisted of chef-restaurant dyad years, there was within-cluster dependence of yearly observations, and we used a robust estimator or Huber-White sandwich estimator to obtain the results.⁵

We used STATA 7.0 to estimate multinomial logit models. In the multinomial logit model, we assume that the log-odds of each response follow a linear model where α_j is a constant and β_j is a vector of regression coefficients, for $j = 1, 2, \dots, n$:

$$\eta_{ij} = \log \frac{\pi_{ij}}{\pi_{iJ}} = \alpha_j + x_i' \beta_j.$$

This model is analogous to a logistic regression model, except that the probability distribution of the response is multinomial instead of binomial. If $J = 2$ the multinomial logit model reduces to the usual logistic regression model, contrasting successes with failures. In the multinomial logit model, we contrast each of the categories with the reference category. In our case, with $J = 4$ categories where 0 is the reference category (all classical cuisine signature dishes), categories 1, 2, and 3 correspond to the number of nouvelle cuisine dishes. Accordingly, we contrast category 0 versus 1, 0 versus 2, and 0 versus 3.

RESULTS

Table 6 presents the results obtained from our analyses. Model 1 displays the effect of all control variables. Prior affiliation to nouvelle cuisine has significant and positive effects, understandably, since those committed to nouvelle cuisine are likely to increase it. Lagged reputation has positive and significant effects, indicating that higher-status chefs were more likely to have nouvelle cuisine dishes. The effect of a loss of a star in the previous year is significant and positive, but the gain of a star in the previous year

⁵ We also present generalized ordered logit estimates as a robustness check.

is significant and positive for categories 2 and 3. The effect of the agrément dummy is significant and increases abandonment of classical cuisine. Duration in the elite system is significant and negative for all categories. The effect of localness is significant and negative for category 2 of the dependent variable, but insignificant elsewhere. The effect of the early period dummy is significant and negative when compared to the reference category (the period after 1987), but the middle period dummy is significant and negative for categories 1 and 2 only.

Model 2 includes the effects of identity-discrepant cues, and the Wald chi-square statistic indicates that it is a significant improvement over model 1. We conducted the Hausman test of the independence of irrelevant alternatives and found that the odds were not influenced by the number of categories present. We computed a Wald test to discern if the categories were indistinguishable from each other and found that they were significantly different from each other.

Model 2 shows that the sociopolitical legitimacy of activists is significant and positive at all categories of the dependent variable, thereby indicating support for hypothesis 1. The impact of theorization by culinary journalists is positive and significant and endorses hypothesis 2. Past defectors weighted by participation and reputation have significant and positive effects on the extent of involvement in nouvelle cuisine, and so hypothesis 3 is supported. Reputational gains to defectors have positive and significant effects, and so hypothesis 4 is endorsed.

Hypotheses 5*a* and 5*b* assert that theorization by culinary journalists was a stronger cue than prior defectors and gains to defectors, respectively. In order to test these predictions, we reestimated model 2 after standardizing the variables and obtained standardized coefficients. We used the Lincom procedure in STATA to test for the differences between the standardized coefficients. This procedure provides an estimate of the difference, the standard error of the difference, and a *z*-statistic for determining whether the difference is significant or not. The effect of theorization was significantly greater than prior defectors at category 2 ($x = .33$; $SE = .16$; $z = 2.9$) and category 3 ($x = .53$; $SE = .12$; $z = 4.1$) but not at category 1 ($x = .12$; $SE = .11$; $z = 1.2$), thereby providing support for hypothesis 5*a* in two out of three cases. The impact of theorization was significantly greater than gains to defectors at category 1 ($x = .20$; $SE = .07$; $z = 2.6$), category 2 ($x = .54$; $SE = .08$; $z = 6.6$), and category 3 ($x = .83$; $SE = .09$; $z = 9.2$), thereby fully endorsing hypothesis 5*b*.⁶

⁶ Does the salience of imitation decline with increasing theorization? In unreported analyses, we interacted theorization by culinary journalists with prior defections by peers, and the interaction term was significant and negative. However, the salience of gains to defectors did not decline with increasing theorization; the interaction term

TABLE 6
 MULTINOMIAL LOGIT ESTIMATES: ABANDONMENT OF CLASSICAL CUISINE FOR NOUVELLE CUISINE

VARIABLE NAMES	MODEL 1			MODEL 2			MODEL 3		
	NC 1	NC 2	NC 3	NC 1	NC 2	NC 3	NC 1	NC 2	NC 3
Constant	-.40*** (.14)	-.12 (.16)	.02 (.19)	-2.0*** (.28)	-3.3*** (.66)	-4.6*** (.34)	-2.0*** (.30)	-3.0*** (.30)	-4.1*** (.36)
Past affiliation	1.5*** (.07)	1.3*** (.06)	1.1*** (.06)	1.5*** (.07)	1.3*** (.06)	1.1*** (.06)	1.5*** (.07)	1.3*** (.06)	1.1*** (.06)
Lagged reputation .....	.20*** (.07)	.40*** (.09)	.30*** (.12)	.38*** (.08)	.59*** (.11)	.49*** (.13)	.30** (.09)	.48*** (.12)	.28* (.15)
Prior loss of reputation	1.1*** (.23)	1.0*** (.25)	.95*** (.28)	.62** (.24)	.27 (.31)	.26 (.37)	.55* (.29)	.17 (.31)	.04 (.38)
Prior gain of reputation .....	.16 (.20)	.58** (.18)	.87*** (.20)	.13 (.20)	.54*** (.19)	.84*** (.20)	.15 (.20)	.56*** (.19)	.88*** (.21)
Agrément .....	.14 (.10)	.37*** (.12)	.38** (.15)	.11 (.10)	.32** (.13)	.32** (.15)	.05 (.11)	.24* (.13)	.15 (.15)
Duration	-.02** (.007)	-.04*** (.008)	-.05*** (.01)	-.03*** (.007)	-.05*** (.009)	-.07*** (.01)	-.03*** (.007)	-.06*** (.009)	-.07*** (.01)
Localness	-.000 (.001)	-.003** (.001)	-.002 (.002)	.000 (.001)	-.002 (.001)	-.001 (.002)	.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)	.0000 (.001)
Early period	-.11** (.10)	-2.4*** (.13)	-3.6* (.20)	-.23 (.17)	-.38** (.17)	-.73** (.24)	-.10 (.19)	-.41** (.18)	.11 (.11)
Middle period	-.62*** (.08)	-1.1*** (.09)	-1.7 (.11)	-.11 (.12)	-.006 (.12)	.05 (.14)	.0004 (.14)	-.01 (.13)	.02 (.15)
Legitimacy of activists .....				.46**	.68***	1.0***	.47**	.56***	.83***

				(.20)	(.20)	(.22)	(.20)	(.20)	(.23)
Theorization by culinary journalists ...				.002**	.005***	.008***	.0010	.004***	.007***
				(.0009)	(.0009)	(.001)	(.0009)	(.0009)	(.001)
Prior defections .....				.005***	.009***	.009***	.003**	.008***	.008***
				(.001)	(.01)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.002)
Gains to defectors .....				.009*	.03***	.01***	.009*	.01***	.006
				(.006)	(.005)	(.006)	(.006)	(.005)	(.007)
Price .....							.002***	.002***	.004***
							(.0009)	(.001)	(.001)
Average price difference between nouvelle and classical cuisine .....							.01	-.01	-.03**
							(.01)	(.009)	(.01)
Log-likelihood	-17,028.3	-17,028.3	-17,028.3	-16,889.9	-16,889.9	-16,889.9	-16,677.5	-16,677.5	-16,677.5
df	27	27	27	12	12	12	18	18	18
Wald χ^2	1,312.2***	1,312.2***	1,312.2***	276.8***	276.8***	276.8***	701.6***	701.6***	701.6***

NOTE.—NC1, NC2, and NC3 refer to the number of nouvelle cuisine signature dishes. The comparison category is all dishes being classical. The χ^2 statistics for all model 2 and 3 is vis-à-vis model 1. In the case of model 1, it is vis-à-vis a baseline model with no covariates. N of spells = 14,962. All significance tests are based on two-tailed tests. Figures in parentheses are SEs of estimates.

* $P < .10$.

** $P < .05$.

*** $P < .01$.

To What Extent Was Nouvelle Cuisine a Response to Market Factors?

An alternative explanation is that the adoption of nouvelle cuisine was simply a response to market considerations. One leg of the argument is that restaurants that were able to charge higher prices more easily adopted nouvelle cuisine because they were able to garner resources and innovate. We gathered data on the price of a *prix fixe* menu for each restaurant for each year and included it as a covariate in our analyses. A second leg of the argument is that classical cuisine was abandoned because *prix fixe* classical cuisine meals were less expensive than *prix fixe* nouvelle cuisine meals. So nouvelle cuisine was adopted because it allowed restaurants to charge higher prices. We categorized restaurants into two groups: dominantly classical cuisine (two or all three signature dishes being classical) and dominantly nouvelle cuisine (two or all three signature dishes being nouvelle), and for each year, we computed the average price of a *prix fixe* meal in a classical cuisine restaurant and a nouvelle cuisine restaurant. A *t*-test of the average price of a nouvelle cuisine meal (mean = Fr 284.44; SD = 171.8) and the average price of a classical cuisine meal (mean = Fr 179.29; SD = 154.1) showed that the nouvelle cuisine meal was significantly costlier than the classical cuisine meal ($t = 42.9$). We then computed the difference between these two average prices (average price difference) for each year and included it as a lagged covariate in our analyses.

Model 3 adds the effects of the market factors, lagged price, and lagged average price difference. The effect of price is significant and positive, indicating that higher priced restaurants were likely to abandon classical cuisine, presumably because they had greater access to resources. The effect of average price difference is significant and negative for category 3, thereby indicating that chefs were *less likely* to make radical changes on account of their ability to charge higher prices. However, it is positive for category 1 but not significant. On balance, market factors do play a role, but despite their inclusion, the effect of the legitimacy of activists, theorization, prior defectors, and gains to defectors remains largely unchanged from model 2. The only differences are that the effect of the theorization by culinary journalists becomes insignificant at category 1, and gains to defectors become insignificant at category 3. There are no other differences from model 2.

was positive and significant at categories 2 and 3 of the dependent variable. One implication is that gains to defectors and theorization by journalists make success stories more visible to adopters and create general models.

Robustness Checks

We conducted robustness checks designed to rule out other objections to the results and present them in table 7. One potential objection is that we did not include the number of classical cuisine supporters on the MCF board, the number of stayers, and the number of losses accruing to defectors. Recall that we had included the proportion of nouvelle cuisine activists/total members of the executive board of the MCF. However, we neither included the influence of weighted stayers (those whose all three signature dishes were classical and were then weighted by reputation) or losses to defectors. Therefore, we computed the proportion of defectors/stayers and gains to defectors/losses by defectors and included them instead of the weighted number of defectors and gains to defectors. Model 4 shows that the results support the hypotheses; sociopolitical legitimacy, theorization, and proportion of defectors/stayers have significant and positive effects on all categories of the dependent variable. The proportion of gains to defectors/losses to defectors has significant and positive effects on categories 2 and 3 of the dependent variable.

A second objection hinges on the specification of the dependent variable. In our analyses, we treated one, two, and three nouvelle cuisine dishes as categories that were compared to the baseline or reference category of all signature dishes being classical and, by implication, nouvelle cuisine dishes being equal to zero. What happens when a moving baseline is used? What happens when the baseline is defined as nouvelle cuisine dishes ≤ 1 and is compared with the outcome category where nouvelle cuisine dishes > 1 . Similarly, what happens if the baseline is nouvelle cuisine dishes ≤ 2 and then is compared with an outcome category where nouvelle cuisine dishes $= 3$. We reestimated model 2 using the gologit procedure in STATA. In model 5, the first column of the coefficients is based on a baseline where nouvelle cuisine signature dishes $= 0$ and the outcome category is nouvelle cuisine signature dishes > 0 . The second column of the coefficients is premised on a baseline where nouvelle cuisine signature dishes ≤ 1 and the outcome category is nouvelle cuisine signature dishes > 1 . The last column of coefficients is based on a baseline or reference category of nouvelle cuisine dishes $= 2$ and nouvelle cuisine dishes ≤ 2 and the outcome category is nouvelle cuisine dishes $= 3$. Model 5 reveals that the results endorse the hypotheses; sociopolitical legitimacy, theorization, weighted defectors, and gains to defectors all have significant and positive effects on all three categories of the dependent variable.

Another alternative is to treat one, two, and three nouvelle dishes as stages in a sequence of abandonment. In such cases, an option is to estimate ordered continuation ratio models (Wolfe 1988), where the ordered categories represent a progression through stages, so those individuals

TABLE 7
ROBUSTNESS CHECKS OF THE ABANDONMENT OF CLASSICAL CUISINE FOR NOUVELLE CUISINE

VARIABLE NAMES	MODEL 4 MULTINOMINAL LOGIT MODEL			MODEL 5 GENERALIZED ORDERED LOGIT MODEL			MODEL 6 ORDERED CON- TINUATION RATIO MODEL
	NC 1	NC 2	NC 3	NC ≥ 1	NC ≥ 2	NC = 3	
Constant	-1.9*** (.26)	-2.9*** (.27)	-4.5*** (.32)	-1.5*** (.23)	-2.4*** (.21)	-3.5*** (.28)	
Past affiliation	1.5*** (.07)	1.3*** (.06)	1.1*** (.06)	1.5*** (.07)	.16*** (.06)	-.14*** (.06)	.27*** (.01)
Lagged reputation .....	.38*** (.08)	.59*** (.11)	.49** (.13)	.43*** (.09)	.29*** (.08)	.07 (.09)	.15*** (.02)
Prior loss of reputation ....	.61*** (.29)	.27 (.31)	.26 (.37)	.32 (.25)	-.22 (.31)	-.10 (.27)	.01 (.10)
Prior gain of reputation ...	.14 (.20)	.55*** (.18)	.85** (.20)	.38** (.17)	.48*** (.11)	.51*** (.13)	.29*** (.06)
Agrément .....	.11 (.10)	.32** (.13)	.31** (.15)	.23** (.10)	.25*** (.08)	.12 (.09)	.09*** (.02)
Duration	-.03*** (.007)	-.06*** (.009)	-.07** (.01)	-.04*** (.007)	-.03*** (.006)	-.03*** (.007)	-.02*** (.001)
Localness	-.0006 (.001)	-.002* (.001)	-.001 (.002)	-.001 (.001)	-.003** (.001)	-.001 (.002)	-.001*** (.0003)
Early period	-.27* (.16)	-.46** (.17)	-.74* (.24)	-.36** (.14)	-.28** (.12)	-.57*** (.22)	-.17*** (.06)
Middle period	-.12 (.12)	-.05 (.11)	.004 (.14)	-.06 (.10)	.09 (.07)	.08 (.11)	.05 (.04)
Legitimacy of activists ....	.38** (.20)	.48** (.20)	.83*** (.24)	.61** (.16)	.51*** (.12)	.57*** (.15)	.32*** (.06)

Theorization by culinary journalists .....	.001** (.0009)	.004*** (.0009)	.008*** (.001)	.004*** (.0009)	.005*** (.0006)	.005*** (.0008)	.003*** (.0003)
Prior defections .....				.006*** (.001)	.006*** (.001)	.004*** (.001)	.004*** (.0004)
Gains to defectors .....				.01*** (.005)	.01*** (.003)	.007* (.004)	.004** (.002)
Prior defections/prior stayers	2.1*** (.53)	3.9*** (.56)	4.3*** (.70)				
Gains to defectors/losses to defectors .....	.01 (.01)	.03** (.01)	.05*** (.01)				
Cut point 1 .....							.09 (.10)
Cut point 2							1.4*** (.12)
Cut point 3							2.4*** (.12)
Log-likelihood	-16,889.6	-16,889.6	-16,889.6	-17,152.3	-17,152.3	-17,152.3	-18,286.7
df	15	15	15	42	42	42	13
Wald χ^2	277.4***	277.4***	277.4***	5,345.9***	5,345.9***	5,345.9***	3,086.7***

NOTE.—NC1, NC2, and NC3 refer to the number of nouvelle cuisine signature dishes. The comparison category is all dishes being classical. The χ^2 statistics for model 4 is vis-à-vis model 1. For models 5 and 6, it is vis-à-vis a baseline model with no covariates. N of spells = 14,962 for models 4 and 5 and 32,866 for model 6. All significance tests are based on two-tailed tests. Figures in parentheses are SEs of estimates. Robust SEs of estimates are used for models 4 and 5. No constant is provided for model 6.

* $P < .10$.

** $P < .05$.

*** $P < .01$.

must pass through each lower stage before they go on to higher stages. The original data set must be restructured to account for transition through stages, and the new data set is created by repeatedly including a subset of all observations contributing to each respective cutpoint (which is why the number of observations for this model is much larger than comparable multinomial logit models). A separate intercept is modeled for each stage, but the covariates are assumed to conform to proportional odds for each of the three stages. We estimated model 2 using the *ocratio* procedure in STATA, and model 6 reveals that the effects of legitimacy, theorization, prior defectors, and gains to defectors are all significant and positive.

We also conducted additional analyses that we do not report for the sake of brevity. We included dummies for regions to account for regional variations in economic forces and reestimated model 2 and did not find any change in the pattern of support for our predictions. Objections may possibly be leveled against our unit of analysis—chef-restaurant dyads because one might obtain different results if chefs were used as the unit of analysis or if restaurants were used as the unit of analysis. We reestimated model 2 by clustering observations separately by chef and by restaurant and obtained similar results.

The results may be challenged on the ground that they overlook the role of friendship networks in the reshaping of social identity and institutional logics in the field of gastronomy. Such social cohesion arguments imply that a chef may be more influenced by the defections of a friend than by the defections of anonymous peers. The empirical implication is that it is not the weighted count of defectors that matters but the weighted defections of friends that is consequential. Unfortunately, we could not obtain time-varying friendship network data to empirically ascertain the effect of such defections. However, the lack of these data is mitigated by two counterarguments. Self-categorization theorists presume that categorization entails depersonalization such that individuals view themselves and others as interchangeable representatives of a category, and hence, friendship ties may not be privileged sources of social identity. Thus, arguments about social identity are predicated on structural equivalence rather than cohesion, and studies have shown that structural equivalence is more powerful than cohesion (Galaskiewicz and Burt 1991). Here, all elite chefs who gain a Michelin star view themselves as members of that category and constituted our database of elite chefs. One could be stringent in the definition of equivalence and define peers as chefs belonging to the same region and having the same star level. In analyses not reported for the sake of brevity, we reestimated model 2 but found a broadly similar pattern of results to those reported in model 2.

DISCUSSION

The findings reported in our study advance the literature of cultural-frame institutionalism, social movement theory, and social identity theory. Below, we elaborate these contributions and also outline directions for future research.

Contributions to Cultural-Frame Institutionalism

Although cultural-frame institutionalists have argued that institutional logics furnish guidelines for action, they have been silent about how social identity is the link between institutional logics and individual behavior (Strang and Meyer 1993). Moreover, cultural-frame institutionalists have emphasized the durability of institutions but have said little about how existing logics and identities are dismantled and how actors adopt a new logic and identity. While cultural-frame institutionalists insist that institutional change entails a “politics of identity,” researchers have neither explicated the social-psychological mechanisms underlying the politics of identity nor provided empirical evidence (Scott 2001). Our study shows how identity movements create institutional gaps by highlighting defects at the immediate and proximal level of identities rather than at the abstract and distal level of logics. Since actors categorize themselves as group members and identify with the group, conversion hinges on identity-discrepant cues that jeopardize the existing role identity and validate a new role identity.

Cultural-frame institutionalists have treated professional logics as exogenous influences on organizations but have seldom studied sources of variations in professional logics (Scott 2001; Thornton and Ocasio 1999). The results show that identity-discrepant cues are important mechanisms that trigger institutional change within professions and implicate the sociopolitical legitimacy of activists and theorization as important identity-discrepant cues. Institutional logics and professions undergo change when activists gain control of professional societies, critique the traditional logic, and proffer a solution hinging on a new institutional logic. Theorization consisting of the dissemination of models and stories, as Strang and Meyer (1993) note, creates similarities and provides social proof, but has seldom been studied as an antecedent of institutional change. Theorization in the shape of articles and editorials by culinary journalists in France increased the abandonment of classical cuisine. Prior defections by peers and gains to defectors are also identity-discrepant cues that destabilize the existing logic and role identity and validate the new logic and identity.

This study recasts diffusion as the social construction of identity rather than the mechanical transfer of information. We build on other studies

that emphasize how the content of innovation affects diffusion (Rogers 1995; Greve 1995; Soule 1999), and we suggest that diffusion is not a mindless process of replication but a mindful process of identity construction. Chefs paid attention to the number of defectors and to reputational gains accruing to defectors to make sense of the new role identity implied by *nouvelle cuisine*. Both are identity-discrepant cues that dismantle the old logic and role identity and create appeal for the new logic and identity.

Contributions to Social Movement Theory

Our study also enriches the literature on social movements in three respects. First, social movement researchers have paid little attention to the effects of identity competition on the behaviors of individuals (Stryker 2000). One approach, as outlined by Howard (2000), is to focus on what identities we distance ourselves from, and what identities we embrace, and show how collective identities are linked to the behavioral choices of individuals. In turn, this requires an understanding of how collective identity is connected to individual-level social identities (Klandermans and de Weerd 2000, pp. 68–69). We connected social movement theory and social identity theory to demonstrate that identity competition hinges on identity-discrepant cues that jeopardize the social identity of existing members and promote social mobility. We depicted four identity-discrepant cues as the source of negative feedback about the existing logic and identity: the sociopolitical legitimacy of activists, theorization (by journalists), defections of peers, and reputational gains to defectors. All four identity-discrepant cues led chefs to distance themselves from the role identity implied by classical cuisine and to reconfigure their roles according to the logic of *nouvelle cuisine*.

Second, a notable deficiency of the social movement literature is that it has glossed over how actors may be differentially recruited into the social movement (Stryker 2000). This omission is redolent of cultural-frame institutionalism's treatment of innovation adoption as a binary, yes-no phenomenon and its neglect of variety in adoption (Rogers 1995; see Soule [1999] for an exception). By treating the number of signature dishes in *nouvelle cuisine* as the outcome variable, our study accounts for heterogeneity of participation in the *nouvelle cuisine* movement. An added benefit is that such a dependent variable allows us to test whether the strength of identity-discrepant cues varies according to the category of participation in *nouvelle cuisine*. We conducted analyses using the Lincom procedure in STATA but do not provide details for the sake of brevity and only summarize them here. We found that the legitimacy of activists had the weakest effect on category 1, but there was no significant difference in the effect of the legitimacy of activists between categories 3

and 2. Prior defections had the smallest effect on category 1, but there was no difference in its effect between categories 2 and 3. By contrast, the effect of theorization by culinary journalists was strongest for category 3, followed by category 2, and then category 1. However, the effect of gains to defectors did not significantly differ across categories. These findings imply that theorization by culinary journalists increased in salience for defectors in contrast to other identity-discrepant cues. These results highlight the need to study the extent of change and the impact of social movements.

Finally, the results also speak to a question in social movement theory as to whether brokerage or diffusion is the source of scale shift. McAdam et al. (2001) posit that local innovations can spread when brokers connect hitherto unconnected groups and create similarity or when actors emulate peers, and they urge researchers to discern which is a more powerful source of scale shift. In our study, culinary journalists may be considered to be brokers among chefs of different regions and locations. Defections by peers and gains to peers may be seen as the main mechanisms of imitation. Our results show that theorization by journalists was a stronger identity-discrepant cue than prior defections or gains to adopters, and suggest that theorization is a source of scale shift in identity movements. Absent theorization, similarities between activists and potential recruits may be latent rather than manifest, and local experiments and innovations may be unable to spread (McAdam et al. 2001).

Contributions to the Study of Social Identity

Our results also enlarge the literature on social identity. Social identity theory holds that members preserve their positive social identity by positively stereotyping their group (in-group) and by negatively stereotyping others. But when negative feedback threatens these stereotypes and jeopardizes social identity, members respond to threats to their social identity by using the three basic strategies of social mobility, social creativity, and social change (Turner 1985). The strategy of social mobility consists of leaving the in-group group and joining another group with a better image or reputation. The strategy of social creativity implies that actors change the basis of comparison so that the in-group looks better than out-groups. The strategy of social change means that actors compete directly with the out-group to alter their access to resources and power. Social mobility and social change are at two ends of the continuum, with social mobility being an individual-level strategy and social change being a collective strategy.

A limitation of this portrait of identity management is that it overlooks how social change can lead to social mobility and how social mobility also can be a foundation for social creativity. For example, low-performing

actors can leave an in-group and join a new group so that they can look good with a new set of performance criteria. Social change need not be driven by a sense of injustice or illegitimacy such that in-group members fight to reclaim status (e.g., Mummendey et al. 1999). Instead, as our study shows, identity movements may discredit existing logics and role identities and induce members of an in-group to embrace the new insurgent identity and logic. Thus, social movements can lead to social mobility.

A more potent criticism of social identity theory is that it presupposes group identity to be unitary in nature and excludes the possibilities of schisms and splits in groups despite their ubiquity (Ashforth 2000; Sani and Reicher 2000). Although splits in organizations and occupations arise through social movements and lead to defections of individuals from the parent group, social identity theory has had little contact with social movement theory (McAdam and Snow 2000).

In recent years, a number of scholars have shown how groupness is variable rather than fixed and have explored social processes by which categories get invested with groupness and are institutionalized in routines in the domains of sexuality (Kulick 1998), musical practice (Herzfeld 1988), and citizenship (Brubaker 1992; Laitin 1998). We extend this line of reasoning to the realm of the professions in general, and cuisine in particular, by showing how identity processes undergird boundary dynamics. For the most part, extant research that analyzes boundary-crossing behavior by individuals pays little attention to the hybridization of social identities (Ansell 2001; Lamont 2001). Some scholars have analyzed the formation of conglomerate citizen identities when minority populations learn the language of the majority, as Russians did in Estonia or Latvia (Laitin 1998). However, such studies of assimilation entail a debatable degree of choice and imply the erosion of the original identity. By contrast, chefs had a choice of whether to adopt *nouvelle cuisine*, and some chefs did not completely eliminate classical cuisine from their repertoire of signature dishes but instead made space for *nouvelle cuisine* dishes. Thus, even as identity movements aim to celebrate differences and replace a traditional identity with a new identity, their success may be limited and may produce hybridization. In turn, cross-cutting affiliations of chefs to classical and *nouvelle cuisine* prevent closure of boundaries and generate an institutional settlement through a bottom-up process of individual choice rather than a top-down mandated outcome.

Directions for Future Research

The literature on social movements has been more concerned with the origins of social movements rather than with their consequences (Giugni 1998). This study looked at the effects of an identity movement on in-

dividuals (chefs) working in organizations (restaurants). A natural extension of the study is to consider the effects of identity movements such as the nouvelle cuisine movement on outcomes such as curriculum changes in professional schools.

A rich area for future research is the effect of identity change on the fates of individuals and organizations (Polos, Hannan, and Carroll 2001). Chefs can engage in identity-enhancing changes, wherein they replace classical cuisine dishes in their repertoire with other classical cuisine dishes, or where they replace nouvelle cuisine dishes in their arsenal with nouvelle cuisine dishes. Alternatively, they can engage in identity-transforming changes, wherein they abandon classical cuisine for nouvelle cuisine and possibly nouvelle cuisine for classical cuisine. Research on the effect of identity-enhancing changes and identity-transforming changes on reputations and survival of restaurants have the potential to shed light on the content effects of organizational change rather than its process effects.

Moreover, this article studied how an identity movement led to institutional change when there was little explicit resistance from the die-hard defenders of the dominant orthodoxy. Although nouvelle cuisine activists celebrated their differences vis-à-vis classical cuisine and denounced it, proponents of classical cuisine did not succeed in launching a countermovement to resist such attacks. One reason was that nouvelle cuisine activists were chefs who had earned plaudits for being adept at classical cuisine and then felt the need for change and experimentation. Another reason was that nouvelle cuisine sought to make the chef an inventor of cuisine rather than an interpreter of Escoffier and sought to enhance the technical autonomy of the chef. A final reason was that the nouvelle cuisine movement did not mean that classical cuisine would be discontinued in the curriculum or training of chefs. However, the mere fact that identity movements celebrate differences with the dominant code does not automatically mean that resistance exists and thwarts the identity movement. So resistance from defenders of the orthodox is a variable rather than a given. What influences the success of identity movements when they face a countermovement defending existing cultural codes? Do the movement and countermovement exploit different arenas? How do they coevolve? Research into these and related questions is essential in order to understand how culture and politics permeate the world of organizations.

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